



# THE LEBANON:

(Mount Souria.)

## A HISTORY AND A DIARY.

BY

DAVID URQUHART,

AUTHOR OF

“THE SPIRIT OF THE EAST,” “THE PILLARS OF HERCULES,”

“TURKEY AND ITS RESOURCES,” ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES

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## CONTENTS.

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IN these Volumes will be found :

How a Primitive Race, under the name of Sourians, Itureans, Mirdites, and Moarni, have maintained themselves in the Lebanon, from the first peopling of the globe down to the present day.

How, from hatred to the Byzantine Empire, which had betrayed them to the Mussulmans, they admitted a belief of the Impersonation of the Deity, hateful alike to Christians and Mussulmans ; that of Ismaëlians and Durzi.

How, on the arrival of the Crusaders, the religious animosities and conversions ceased, by their replacing their Christian prince by a family of strangers and Mussulmans.

How that family, the Tenhouk, having

been treacherously cut off by the Crusaders, a second line was elected, the Maan ; and five centuries later, a third line was elected, the Shaab, being equally strangers and Mussulmans. So that, during these 800 years, political division and religious animosity remained unknown.

How Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, subverted the institutions and the liberties of the Lebanon, by constraining Beshir Shaab, Emir of the Lebanon, to become a Christian.

How the Four Powers, who signed the treaty of July, 1840, called upon the people of the Lebanon to upset their Emir.

How the Five Powers, who signed the treaty of July, 1841, by dividing the Mountain into two governments of Druzes and Maronites, and imposing ruinous duties upon exportation, have brought upon it, in the course of ten years, four civil wars.

How the Four Powers commenced their work on the pretext of excluding French influence, and the Five Powers completed it by causing the country to be occupied by French troops.

How the Lebanon having been withdrawn from an existence of insignificance, tranquillity, and prosperity, is now raised to a station of highest importance in the affairs of mankind: affording to Russia a pivot on the south for the upturning of the Ottoman Empire, and to France an Algeria on the east of the Mediterranean, so as to envelope Egypt, and furnish a basis for military and naval operations against India.

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These Volumes consist of notes taken on the spot, in the years 1849 and 1850. They are now printed unchanged, as testimony of what was then observed, and then predicted.

To preserve this rule unchanged, the author has abstained from either altering or suppressing what he then wrote in reference to the derivation of Races, and the cosmogony of the globe, which otherwise he might have desired to modify and extend.

He had not at that time discovered in the great book of the Himalaya, the real Eden of all the Races of the Earth. He has, therefore, to request the reader, curious in such matters, to accept what is here stated on the subject of the Deluge, and the

Antediluvian World, as merely a first stage in the journey; should he be induced hereafter to accompany the author to the "Roof of the World," and the Cradle of the Human Race.

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## ERRATA IN VOL. I.

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- Page 37, line 12, *for* "the year of the battle of Hastings," *read*  
"twenty years after the battle of Hastings."
- „ 178, line 11, *for* "the Monophysites were called Jacobites from  
their founder," *read* "the Monophysite monks of Syria  
were called," &c.
- „ 178, line 27, *for* "the Dictionary of Asseman," *read* "the  
Bibliotheca Orientalis of Asseman."
- „ 179, line 1, *for* "John Maro, elected Patriarch of Antioch,  
A. D. 673," *read* "686."

# HISTORY OF THE LEBANON.

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## CHAPTER I.

### STRUCTURE OF THE MOUNTAIN—PRODUCE— INDUSTRY—AND SYSTEM OF EXCHANGE.

ELSEWHERE man has cultivated the Land : in the Lebanon he has made it. Elsewhere the harvest is the produce : here it is the soil. Man collects and carries to the hollow of the rock the vegetable mould ; then hedges round with stones his wells of cunning fertility to conceal and increase them. From below you gaze upwards at barrenness : from above you look down on an arabesque of verdure : the rosy hues of the fresh turned furrows, the soft green of sprouting crops, nestling within the puckeringings, grey and brown, of layers of limestone cast up on end, the faces of which are worn like glaciers. This is their arable land formed on the central range.

The rest of the Lebanon is formed of horizontally lying strata. The masses break off rectangularly, presenting wall-like abutments of interminable extent and endless variety. Taluses have been accu-

culated below them, as at the base of ruined walls. Those banks and slopes, the faces of the precipices, and the hollows of the watercourse, are all held up by low walls five to seven feet high, the terraces seven to eight feet wide. These lines, stretching indefinitely, or winding round the valleys and sinuosities of the soil, appear, when looked down upon from the peaks, as furrows, or as flights of steps, or as the seats of an amphitheatre. Here they seem an embroidery—there as the concentric lines of an engraving: revealing every happy fold of the earth, and shadowing forth each bold projection of the rocks. Moving along the hollows of the valleys, the traveller or invader finds himself encased in a labyrinth of fortress, each evolution of which is crested by inaccessible heights, fringed with pines, and crowned with snow.

The soil so supported bears no crops, being left for the mulberry, the olive and the vine to feed upon. It is industriously tilled with the spade or plough. The cattle, adapted to their work, are scarcely larger than goats, and can turn in the narrow spaces with their toy-like ploughs, and scramble with them over the rocks. Each village has its cattle, and its flocks of sheep and goats, which are sent to the uncultivated regions in spring and summer, and brought to be fattened in the autumn on the second crop of mulberry leaves. Grapes are abundant and excellent, giving besides the fruit, wine, raisins, and dibs (the honey of grapes). The last is an important article of food. The olives are

sufficient for food, both in the shape of preserved olives and of oil, and they also furnish light. They have vegetables, tobacco, and cotton enough for their consumption. The mountain furnishes trees for timber and fuel, stone and lime for building, clay for pottery, and flints for muskets. Thus every house has sheep, cattle, orchards, gardens, vineyards, and, if not fields, at least furrows. In each establishment there is an oil-press and a plough, a wine-press and a shepherd's crook, a pruning-hook and a shuttle, a spindle and a spade, a Dibs vat in the rock and a copper dyeing-vat in the kitchen. Nor are the sabre and the musket wanting. Thus they possess within themselves means of independence such as are to be found in no other community on earth; and thence this Society has possessed the durability of the rocks which shelter them. Yet are they, of all people upon earth, the most dependent upon external things. They have no bread—they must sell their silk to buy it.

The seed of the worm is hatched by the women in their breasts, and the worms are fed in the cottages. The gathering of the leaves and the winding of the silk occupy in Midsummer the whole population.

The tilling of the terraces, the repairing of the walls, the management of the watercourses, are the important out-door occupations of the rest of the year. The women spin the raw silk that remains, and it forms a considerable portion of their clothing.

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Hence has sprung up an industry, not that of factories, of which certain spots arrogate the exercise, and a few capitalists absorb the profits — not that which divides men from the soil and so severs the triple cord ; but one carried on by the fireside, under the shade of the vine, along the lanes, one which without interrupting domestic avocations, but only filling up the moments of leisure, clothes the family without cost, and preserves to it its simple manners. The people were distinguished by their luxurious attire. Gold and silver tissues were worn by the poorest classes ; and the remnants which still subsist of their picturesque costume is distinguished by its taste, original forms, and the pleasing mixtures of colouring, in the dyeing of which they excel.

The root of the system is the mulberry. It furnished the bread, paid the taxes, clothed the people, occupied the family, kept alive the love of labour, the taste of art, the elegance of forms, conferred independence of character, and maintained the freshness of busy life among rugged precipices, while the plains below lay waste and silent ; picturesque prosperity filled with admiration the stranger attracted to the Lebanon by the shadows of its still unbowed magnificence, and the echo of its long renown.

These habits, still extant, and the enormous amount of labour during successive ages required to pile up these terraces, are evidences of a continuity of well-being from the earliest times, and the conse-

quent continuity of system adapted to it. That system was liberty of trade and exchange.

The culture of silk was brought from China in the time of Justinian, who introduced it at Tripoli. But the terraces of the Lebanon, which then received the mulberry, were not constructed for that tree. Before its introduction the cities of Eden, Hadeth and Dam were fed. How, the Prophets and the terraces themselves inform us. Olive trees, though few, are scattered over the terraces both high and low, and the trees are of much older date than the time of Justinian. A plantation of them at Tripoli, attributed to that Emperor, are *young trees* compared with those of the Lebanon.

The Olive is the physical document of history. The method by which it repairs the natural decay of its wood induces a change of form in which, with experience, may be read the age of a tree as easily as that of a man, putting centuries for years. It is of so slow a growth that it never has been planted by a people that has been grasping, in times that were insecure, or under a system that was ignoble. The periods of such plantations are therefore very rare, and their eras not difficult to ascertain. The oldest traces that remain resemble fragments of ruined walls with shrubs sticking upon them—such may be seen in the neighbourhood of Smyrna. Those of the Lebanon belong to the second great period of plantation, which cannot be nearer to us than 3000 years. The greatness of human society is pre-historic.

These vegetable records show that the terraces existed in the Lebanon in the seventh century, such as now they exist. The people of the Lebanon had therefore then some other produce instead of silk to exchange for grain. By olives alone this exchange could not have been effected; we must look for other produce as well, or for a greater relative value in the articles still produced.

The Vines might supply wine and dried fruit, but could not have sufficed for their necessity, that produce not being peculiar to the Lebanon. Before the common use of sugar, and the enormous supply poured in from the New World, saccharine substances were scarce, and consequently highly prized and dearly paid—such was the “Honey of Grapes.” Jacob is careful to select the Dibs\* to send to Joseph. Proof of the vast extent of this production in the remotest ages is afforded by the vats cut in the rock all over the country.

The third resource was in the Musical Instruments, the carving in cedar, sycamore,† and Tyrian ivory, so often referred to by the Prophets.

The vines and olives must have been rapidly displaced by the mulberry, for two reasons: the first, the enormous price of silk; the second, the facility of irrigating the terraces, which was no advantage in the culture of vines and olives. In the last

\* Our version renders this word “Honey.” Genesis xliii. 11.

† This tree must not be confounded with that which in England bears the same name.

century, the people of the Lebanon was wholly a proprietary people; so that there was no fictitious obstruction to prevent them from at once turning their industry into a new and more profitable channel. Nor was there any fiscal obstruction, as in modern times; the Lebanon never had its freedom of exchange interfered with. The customs of Syria were famed at the time of Justinian. The importance acquired by the cities of that coast, while so many signs of decay were exhibiting themselves in the other portions of the empire, can only be attributed to the introduction of the Chinese tissue, which came to replace the glass and the dyes of Tyre, and to revive the activity of the ancient Phœnicians on the mountains, which had witnessed their rise and greatness.

The Lebanon was included in, not subjected to, the Byzantine Empire, which, following the principles of Rome, admitted no duties whatever on commerce into its treasury.\*

After the division of the Empire, in consequence of the facilities which the Straits of Constantinople afforded, commerce was interfered with; but it is recorded of the very Emperor who introduced the silkworm into the Lebanon, that he restored freedom of trade. Had it been the system of the Empire to tax commerce, it would not have been very easy

\* The Protorium, or Voctigal, was paid into the municipal treasury, and devoted to the repair of roads, bridges, and harbours.

to have caused the inhabitants of the Lebanon to submit to it. They soon afterwards, besides, acquired two ports of their own—Gebail and Patrour.

The Lebanon never was included in the Empire of the Arabs; and, if it had been, their system resembled that of Byzantium and Rome, and, indeed, no other had at that time been known in the world.

Of the Crusaders, the same may be said. They did not conquer the Lebanon; and, if they had, they would not have dreamt of taxing commerce. There were duties on entering the towns introduced under the Ayoubites; but the consistency which was given to the small kingdom of Jerusalem by Baldwin the Second has been attributed to the measures adopted by him, and are worthy of the imitation of the Turkish Government to-day, for they meet directly all the evils of the country. He granted the property of the land to any one who had occupied it and cultivated it for a year, and he abolished the duties on articles of consumption on entering the towns. The only tax which entered his treasury was the tenths.

To the Crusaders succeeded Islam. The mountain was subjugated by the Ottomans under Selim the First with the rest of Syria; but it was not until the reign of Murad the Third that the direct authority of the Porte was there established.

The three systems of the Greeks, the Crusaders, and Islam all coincided in this respect. The utmost

duty ever imposed was three per cent. When, at a recent period, monopolies were introduced into the Ottoman Empire, the Lebanon again remained free from them, and the customs duty, by the deterioration of the coin, was reduced to one and one-and-a-half per cent.

Thus the silk of Lebanon enjoyed perfect immunity from the period of Justinian down to the expulsion of the Egyptian troops and the restoration of Syria in 1840 to the authority of the Porte.

## CHAPTER II.

THE PEOPLE BY WHICH IT IS INHABITED AND  
THEIR NAME.

UNTIL England and France, in the middle of the 19th century, quarrelled about the limits of a Syrian Province, and the succession of a Turkish Pasha, the Lebanon knew no law save its own custom; and, like the Basques, its people remained a primordial society. The waves of conquest which successively flowed over Palestine, encircled but never rose over the Lebanon. Its children looked down on events in their course, races in their toil, and ignored history by defying fortune. The Assyrian, the Egyptian, the Persian, the Roman, and the Arab, have recorded their advent only with the chisel\* on its rocks. The Mede, the Persian, the Philistine, the Jew, the Greek, the Turkman, the Crusader, the Tartar, and the Ottoman, have not done even so much. Its tongue till yesterday was that which interprets the names that have descended to us from antediluvian times. On its borders tradition has placed the tomb of Adam; it claims to hold the ashes of the second peopler of the earth.†

\* The Sculptures at Nahar El Kelb.

† Noah's tomb is shewn near Zachli, on the side of the Lebanon, overlooking the Bkaa, and just where we might suppose the

• What the Patriarchs spoke of as things of “ancient days,” are still here to be found as familiar practice, and the metaphors of the Prophets are still illustrated in the life and customs of its people.\*

Here may be seen the rudiment of the Pyramid,† and the element of the calculations carried by the Etruscans to the west.‡

Ark to have been left aground by the subsiding waters. I cannot here stop to enter into the matter; but the Lebanon is Ararat. The Ark was built at Bir, or in its vicinity. What could take it to the north? The current, from whichever course the waters rose, must have oscillated between East and West. From Ararat the dove must have gone an equally incomprehensible distance to get olive leaves, and Noah must have travelled an equally incomprehensible distance before planting his vineyards.

\* The “Exalted Horn” is still the wonderful appendage of the married woman. It cannot be seen without carrying the conviction that it is a practice which ascends to the remotest antiquity, and is therefore an evidence of the unbroken continuity of the people. But I have found a singular confirmation in two curious bronzes found in one of those ancient Sarcophogi cut into the rock of which such numbers are scattered over the Lebanon. The Horn is on the head of a woman whose costume is but a cord round the loins.

† Volney first observed the cubes superimposed which are used as tombs. They present the very diagram of Lepsius in explaining his theory of the Pyramids.

‡ The carat, or division by 24 in Europe, preserved in the testing of the precious metal, the weighing of gems, and the division of ship property, is in the Lebanon in common use. A man sells, not this or that field, or so many acres, but so many carats, *i.e.* of his whole property. The administration of the Lebanon itself is held to be a carat or perfect unity, and its 24 parts are always imagined.



The schisms of Islam, the heresies of the Church, Fire-worship and Sabæism have here left their traces, and had history become the prey of moths, the Lebanon, as page after page was turned over, would reveal to the human mind the series of its own bewilderments. But the very reason why creeds were preserved was that races did not enter. The relics are of weakness that was protected, not of conquests that had been achieved.

It was after the Druze religion was extinguished in Egypt that it appeared in Lebanon, and the mysteries of the Assassins, which Alamoot knows no more, survive in the orgies of the Nosâiri.

Nowhere is there record of its subjugation. Its monuments, often on the grandest scale, are referable only to the earliest periods, and present nothing to which Egypt, Greece, or Rome can lay claim. Their institutions have lasted like the piles of Baalbeck: up to the year 1840, the labour of man was free as when Adam delved and Eve span.

The sight of the mountain and its people at once suggested the idea that no foreign race at any period had established itself in Lebanon. When I came to examine, I found that historical evidence was not wanting, although writers will insist on inventing a people instead of seeing one.\*

\* Chelibi Effendi, followed by D'Herbelot, peoples the Lebanon with Monophysites expelled from the lowlands of Syria. Aboul Faradi peoples it with Roman soldiers, called by the Syrians "Audacious;" with whom Michael the Syrian is pleased to

To a people its name is what title-deeds are to a landed proprietor. The name of Lebanon is a forgery. The true name—the name given by the people to themselves—is SUR. The race is the Surian—the *Zύροι* of the Greek, and Syrian of modern tongues. The mountain is GEBEL SURIA. Lebanon is a foreign and a descriptive term: it means “white,” and is Hebrew. As it is the name they both use and cling to to-day—repudiating for their mountain that of Lebanon, and for themselves that of Arab—so was it the name it bore in the time of Moses.\* That the Hebrews should have called it by a name of their own invention shows how strange it was to them. The Jews, 700 years later, did not understand the Syrian tongue.† The Jews wanted no interpreter with the people of Canaan.

The circumstances which show that the Hebrews did not conquer the Lebanon, show likewise that the Canaanites had not conquered the Lebanon. Had the same race occupied the mountain and the plain, or had the Canaanites conquered this mountain, the

exterminate the Mirdites, whom Le Beau brings from the north of Syria; the Emir Hydar, the historian of the Druzes, peoples it with desert tribes from Nejid.

\* “And we took at that time out of the hand of the two kings of the Amorites the land which was at this side Jordan, from the river of Arnon unto Mount Hermon; (which Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion, and the Amorites call it Shenir).”—Deut. iii. 8, 9.

† “Speak unto thy servants in the Syrian language, for we understand it.”—Isaiah xxxvi. 11.

defeated and expelled nations would have retreated thither and made there their stand, which they did not, and they too gave to Gebel Suria a name of their own—*Shinir*. The people who, on the shores of the Atlantic, have preserved the names of “Hivite” and “Amonite,” and recal the event of their dispersion by “Joshua the robber, the son of Nun,” would not have forgotten and abandoned memory and name among inaccessible retreats and mountain fastnesses\* overlooking their native land. This is certain; that neither the Canaanites, when pressed by the Hebrews, nor the Hebrews, when pressed in their turn, ever took refuge in the Lebanon; which they must have done had it not been already occupied by a powerful and warlike people.

The Canaanites and Philistines were themselves invaders. The land was occupied before by “giants,” that is, great nations; generally known under the name of Anakim, from which the Greek name for “king” is derived. The impress of their character on the early world is not effaced, though the circumstances themselves have long vanished from the memory of man; and to this day we commend a noble and a chivalrous deed by calling it by their

\* I found in the Lebanon no less than three villages named *Ai Tat*—the Hittites of Scripture, and a tribe still flourishing in Morocco. The name of a people would not be given to its own villages, but settlements of refugees would naturally be so called.

name. Avim, Horim, are, besides, Chaldaic words, that is, Syriac.

But the Anakim, whatever they were, when pressed by the Canaanites had not taken refuge in the Lebanon; for if they had, it could not have failed to have been mentioned. We may, therefore, rest assured that they also had been invaders, and equally unsuccessful against the Lebanon as their successors. Perhaps other invasions had preceded this; but, at all events, from the date of the earliest extension of foreign races of which we have records, the Lebanon must have been inhabited by a population equal to its own defence.

It stands to reason that in the mountains will be found the earliest race of any country, and so much the more when in a country such a mountain as the Lebanon is found.

The Assyrian in the eighth century before Christ did penetrate into the Lebanon. To this irruption we owe the first specific notice of its internal state and well-being. They went to attack *cities*, and destroyed them, without, however, being able to hold the land. *Eden* was then of sufficient importance for its fate to be quoted to strike with terror the masters of Jerusalem, yet no Assyrian domination followed that event any more than when, sixteen centuries afterwards, the Arabs took and sacked the adjoining city of Hades.

\* The word "Hero" ascends to the Horim, through Greek, Etruscan, Phœnician, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean.

Then followed the Egyptian, the Persian and the Macedonian conquests. At last the Romans came, and this seventh conquest of Judea left the Lebanon as it had found it, a virgin land. The operations of Pompey were confined to the destruction of their *maritime strongholds*. They were a people of builders living in fixed habitations.

At the period of the overthrow of Rome 700 years later, they had occupied again the fortresses from which they had been expelled. When the Roman power was at its acmé, Strabo speaks of the inhabitants of the Lebanon just as a Russian writer might to-day of the Circassians.

“The mountainous country (in the rear of the coast) is inhabited by Itureans and Arabs, all given up to robbery. The inhabitants of the plains are cultivators, and to protect themselves against the mountaineers they have fortified places of natural strength. The inhabitants of the Lebanon have also up in the mountains Sonnan and Bonama, below Bostra and Gigarton, the caverns on the sea coast, and the castle of Theoprosopon.”

For the first time they are here called by name, and that is no other than Sourian; Iturea is also the name given by the Romans to the district lying between Anti-lebanon and Damascus, and confining on the Trachonites and the Hauran, which latter the Druzes hold to be their original country. Aturea was the name of the province of Nineveh. In Hebrew and Arabic Athourean stands for Assy-

rian. Xenophon speaks of the *Σύροι* to the east as well as the west of the Euphrates, and Strabo makes these extend, mingled with the Arabs, from Cilicia to Judea, Phœnicia, and the coast; just as to-day, were there a common name for Nosaïri, Metuali, Druze, and Maronite, it would include the same districts. At one half of the interval between Noah and our own times we find the Lebanon occupied, not by refugees, but by a distinct people; and, in the height of Roman power, in the centre of the Roman Empire—independent.

Maronite, Druze, Nosaïri, and Cadmieh, are that people, and it has dwelt in its present sites from the earliest peopling of the globe.

## CHAPTER III.

## MILITARY CONFIGURATION AND STRENGTH.

THE Lebanon as limited to-day extends but seventy or eighty miles from the Akkar above Tripoli, to the Gebel Rehan above Tyre. But a much larger tract of country to the north, south, and east belongs to it. The valley of the Orontes, alone separates the chain from Allah Dagh, which joins the Taurus, and closes in Syria to the north. There a people of Lebanon dwell up to this day, and its inhabitants were identified with it in its struggle of five centuries with the Christian Emperors of Constantinople and the Mussulman Califs of Kufa, Bagdad, and Damascus.

The stream of land, the Bkkaa, which divides it on the east from the Anti-Lebanon, and extends eastward and northward till it confines the desert, bordering the district of Hauran, of 4 or 5,000 square miles in extent, is also occupied by the same people, who there dwell in tents. Next comes the volcanic fastness of the Ledja, which it cost Mehemet Ali 10,000 men to subdue. The Nosaïri, a branch of the Druzes, lie to the north of the Maronites; they are again found at the southern extremity of Anti-Lebanon. The Metuali are on the northern frontier of the Bkkaa, at Baalbec, and they occupy the

Beled Bscharré to the south, stretching as far as Acre. The Lebanon thus occupies a wide and varied region, within which are included strongholds and recruiting grounds, and wherein are combined the obstacles which the desert presents to the invasion of disciplined troops, and the strength of military defences against the incursions of the sons of the Hedjaz.

With this extent of territory, and these resources of recruitment or defence, it possessed two no less essential, though negative, securities. Its figure was such as not to impose the necessity of its subjugation on the holders of Syria, and its nature was such as to hold out no temptation to the conqueror of Syria for its possession.

It does not intercept the communications by land or sea of the continents and kingdoms between which it is placed.\* Stretching in a double line from north to south, it affords three passages for those who, from the north, would invade Egypt or Judea, or from the south Damascus or Asia Minor. The range is crossed from east to west by two great roads, and the communications of the interior with the sea never suffered interruption.

\* In the expedition of Baldwin III. against Bozra, the capital of Upper Arabia, the Crusaders, instead of the direct road from Jerusalem to the East, found it more convenient, both in their advance and their flight, to pass across the Anti-Lebanon, which they never subdued. So in the Greek expedition of the Emperor of Germany and the King of France against Damascus itself, they took the same route.



On the other hand it is a country which can neither be held, attacked nor invested. There are no passes which can be occupied ; there is neither a seacoast which can be blockaded, nor a land frontier which can be guarded ; for by its extended lines, and the repetition in the Anti-Lebanon of the same circumstances, its borders are out of all proportion to its extent. An invader may any where be suffered to advance without compromising their defence ; every terrace is a fortification, and every square yard a bastion. Gunpowder has in some degree impaired these advantages ; but when enemies could distinguish each other's countenances as they drew up in battle array, the stones of the loose walls of the terraces were a ready made artillery ; the besieged would lose one wall only, to occupy another, and could retreat through a hundred stages, till—one crest lost—they had only to run down the declivity, and recommence the same operation in the succeeding hollow.

The land is so broken that, from camp to camp or town to town, though miles may intervene they can make themselves to be heard ; when warriors were summoned or war proclaimed, the criers ascended a neighbouring rock, and the cry taken up and echoed from crest to crest, until, in a few hours, it reached the borders of the land.\* The terraces are not

\* “ When the Emir and the Sheiks had decided on war at Deir el Cammar, a crier ascended, towards the evening, to the tops of the hills and then commenced to cry with a loud voice, “ War !

level with the earth, but are built up three or four feet. A gap is left in each, and, when using them as defences, these could be successively closed as they retired out of each covered way.

Where the rocks themselves are cultivated, the stones are, in like manner, gathered out, and piled on the protruding edges, forming a succession of walls, where the defenders could be hid till you look into them. With a resolute population the Lebanon is impervious to any force, however armed, however led, however numerous. Comparing those natural defences with the mountains which are of greatest celebrity, the Caucasus, the Atlas, the Alps, no such combination of obstacles, with absence of tenable positions, will be found. Neither do any of them afford, united, to the same extent, asperity of surface with means of support. At the same time, it is unsuited to that concentration of power at home which is the prelude to every people's fall. The structure, therefore, of this range, coincides, with the appearance of the people in suggesting the idea of one per-

War! Take the musket, take the pistols, noble Sheiks; mount your horses, arm yourselves with the sabre and lance; appear tomorrow at Deir el Cammar. Zeal of God! Zeal of Battle!" This cry, heard from the neighbouring villages, was repeated there, and, as all the country is piles of mountains and deep valleys, this cry reached in a few hours the extreme frontiers. During the silence of the night, the accent of this cry, and the long reverberations of the echoes, joined to the nature of the subject, had something imposing and terrible. In three days fifteen thousand muskets were assembled at Deir el Cammar."—*Volney Voyages*, t. ii. p. 11.

manent race as having occupied it through all time.

Thirty-five centuries ago the Holy Land was in the highest state of prosperity. A then old population cultivated its plains, and lived in cities "fenced to the skies." They must have cultivated every rood of earth; for how otherwise could that enormous population have been supported, exceeding in numbers ten times its inhabitants to-day.\*

The Hebrews entered to exterminate and occupy. The Lebanon, however, arrested the sword of Judah, which the walls of Jericho could not stay. At the source of history, in the most extraordinary of invasions, we find the Lebanon remaining alone "mistress of herself."†

\* Syria, including Damascus and Aleppo, contains 3,000,000; but Syria proper cannot have more than 1,500,000. The Jews were 3,000,000 when they entered, (602,730 fighting men. Num. xxvi. 51.)

† Sousia had never been mistress of herself, except perhaps in the heroic ages.—*Strabo*.

The province of Sousia bore the same name as the Lebanon—Iturca.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE ITUREANS, UNDER THE NAME OF MIRDITES, ERECT THEMSELVES INTO A PRINCIPALITY, AND THEN A PATRIARCHATE, UNDER THAT OF MARONITES.

THE Persians had overcome Syria. The Empire oscillated between paroxysms of courage and despair. The unaccommodating spirit of the Itureans alike defied the enemies and the orders of the Emperor. Chosroes II. had made Tripoli a place of arms, and tempted by the richness of a region, then the centre of the culture of the precious fibre from China, sought to extend his dominion. Immediately above Tripoli are to be found the strongest positions, and the densest population. Hadeth, which soon after stood a siege of seven years, Bischarré, not inferior to it, Eden and Dam, all overlooked the valley of the Cadesha, passing downwards from the Cedars to the sea, and were almost within hail of each other.

Art and industry, then doubtless as now, had completed the intention of nature where she seemed already to have exhausted her ingenuity to combine strength and fertility, and to accumulate, on the smallest space, defenders and defences.

The Persians had struck some chord in the breast

of the mountain, which had never before vibrated. Perchance they laid axe to the "Cedars of God." Who can tell where the train was laid, or how? The explosion came; the Persians discomfited, were pursued to the coast. The torrent of armed men which the Lebanon had hitherto held, she now let loose. A new people appeared, or a very old one re-appeared, on that stage which the world has appropriated to tragedy—the land of Canaan.

The appearance they made was not such as belongs to the incursions of a nomade people, nor to the expeditions of a marauding one. They evince a constituted and a formal society; that character is substantiated, on the one hand, by the commanding part which they will be seen to play in the contentions of the greatest empires in the succeeding centuries, and, on the other, by the slender amount of their numbers. They are recorded as marching under Princes whose titles can be traced amongst no other race, Assieh\* and Dalkieh. As we depend entirely on incidental notices in foreign writers, in an age that was not literary, and these belonging to races animated with hatred to the people of the Lebanon, we are without the means of knowing whether these Princes, and the constitution which they represented, were of early date or recent creation. We may infer the former from antecedent

\* This term the ethnographer and philologist will doubtless associate with the Assas and Assad of the Hindus and Scandinavians, and the dominant tribes of early Hindostan.

circumstances, and the peculiarity of title. What we positively know is this :—that, on the expulsion of the Persians, the Prince by whom they were led was named Joseph, and that the ancient halls of Byblos became his court, which recovered its Scriptural name of Gebail on receiving its ancient lords. Beside the colossal blocks of its now ruined towers, the masonry of Etruria, Greece, and Rome sinks into insignificance ;\* to find a Western parallel for it, we must travel back to the grander and ignored periods, of which such records only remain as those which stand on Salisbury plain.

With Joseph a second Prince was afterwards associated, Kesr (Cosroës), from whom the province of Kesroan derives its name.

Their successor was Job, who consolidated the power of his people on its new basis, extending his sway over the maritime border, and along the valley of the Jordan, down to the lake Tiberias.

The difficulty in the identification of this people arises, not merely from the absence of native annals and annalists, but also from the change of name at

\* There are single stones in the wall twenty feet long. They belong to an earlier structure, but the present ruin is of the second period of this people. The Crusaders, Saracens, and Turks never hewed such blocks. Nor could it have been an object to any of them to strengthen this point. It does not serve to control the Lebanon, but for the Lebanon it is most essential as affording communication with the sea. The harbour is now filled up. The stones of the Phœnician ruins are dwarfs to those of Gebail.

various periods as given to them by foreigners. At and from the period at which we are now arrived, they are called Mrad and Mirdite, which is the same word, according to its Syriac or its Greek form. This name was subsequently restricted to the people of the Lebanon, but it was, when first introduced, the name of a Faction. In the year rendered memorable by the birth of Islam, A.D. 622, the people of Syria were divided into "Marad" and "Melekite." Marad meant rebel or marauder; a term which the Crusaders imported into Europe.\* In antithesis stood Melekite, or loyalist, derived from Melek, King. In those times and countries religious doctrines were mixed up in every political contest, and arms decided the fate of every polemical schism. The rebellious character of the mountain, however, appears to have been created rather by the relations of the Empire with Persia than by any attempt to impose upon the mountaineers, who professed the orthodox belief in the two natures, the Monothelite and Monophysite heresies, then in favour at Constantinople. Their creed had not conformed to that of the Eastern Church. Connected with it by their general faith and their political interests, no administrative relationship bound them to the Empire. The Emperor had neither afforded them support as allies, nor as Suzerain invested their Princes; they had worked their own way, chosen their own chiefs;

\* Our philologists are content to derive it from the Count de Mérode of the Thirty Years War!

and the Empire, which did not acknowledge them, styled and treated them as rebels. The religious disassociation with Constantinople, together with the political importance which this people had now achieved, brought about the institution of a Patriarch; from which time we have a consecutive ecclesiastical history, and therein complete evidence of an independent political existence. The first election was made by a General Council, with no foreign investiture. The choice fell upon a monk, named John, from the convent of St. Maron, who was thence called John the Moarni, (John the Maronite). Petroun was selected for the seat of the Patriarchate. The jurisdiction extended over the original twenty-four Carats or Mucatas, of the Lebanon.

The convent of Maron, on the Orontes, had been founded by a saint of that name in the fifth century. During the Homousian controversy, it became the centre and the refuge of the orthodox belief; so that the name of Maron served as a distinguishing epithet for those opposed to the Greek creed. It naturally passed into the designation of the people on the selection of a Maronite, that is, a member of the convent of Maron, as first Patriarch of the Mirdites. At that time the terms Mrad, Mirdite, and Moarni were equally applied to the Sourians: the religious one, Maronite, has alone survived in the Lebanon; the political one, Mirdite, is only borne by an expatriated fragment on the Adriatic;



the ethnographic one, Sourian, is only whispered among themselves to some curious stranger; when the rare incident occurs of the presence of a stranger, who takes interest in them as men, and not in their factions, their schisms, their passions, and their crimes.

## CHAPTER V.

## THE MIRDITES INTERPOSE BETWEEN THE CALIPHATE AND THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE, AND ARE BETRAYED.

UNDER Elias, the successor of Job, and who was styled Emir, the relations with the Empire were changed. Heraclius had beaten the Persians who, menaced by the Saracens, withdrew from a country now threatened by their advance, and again overshadowed though not protected by the Roman banner. Elias joined the Greek army before the disastrous battle of Emessa, and if Syria was then lost to Heraclius, nevertheless Elias retained Gebail.

The Emir Jussef, not only retained but extended the possessions of his predecessor. His son Emir John, urged the Emperor by representation, as well as by example—for he harassed the Mussulmans even under the walls of Jerusalem and Damascus—to undertake the re-conquest of Syria.

Aroused by such audacity, the Caliph Moawiyah dispatched a large army into the Lebanon. We hear of no great battle fought. The operations, however, continued during seven years. They did penetrate to the roots of the Cedars, for it was on the siege of Hadeth that their efforts were concen-

trated. Each winter they retired, returning in the spring. In the seventh year they took and rased it. The Mirdites had sent appeal upon appeal to Constantinople, offering unconditional submission, and promising to accept as Prince any officer of the Empire. But the Emperor was bent on conciliating, not disabling, his foe. After the fall of Hadeth, and the devastation of the country, the Mirdites were considered subdued, and the Caliph could fearlessly prosecute his plans against Constantinople. Whilst Moawiyah was only governor of Syria, he had prepared in the Port of Tripoli an expedition against Constantinople, which was frustrated by the conflagration in the harbour of the fleet, and with it of the arsenal.\* This feat was accomplished by two Mirdites, one of whom afterwards saved the Emperor Constantine IV. in a sea-fight, off the coast of Lycia. To another, named Callinicus, a carpenter of Baalbec, the Empire owed, about this time, the invention of the "Greek fire," to which its preservation for six centuries has been ascribed.

The siege of Constantinople, like that of Hadeth, was persevered in for seven years, when, without apparent cause, the Saracen army disbanded. This event was followed by a treaty still more extraordinary. The Saracens had suffered no defeat on land or sea; no fleets issuing from the Bos-

\* From this event Lord Byron took the main incident of the Giaour.

phorus had appeared on the coast of Syria, no armies had crossed the Taurus, taken Damascus, or invested Bagdad, yet the Caliph consented to pay tribute! The world was astonished; the barbarian hordes of the north, the distant princes of Italy hastened to make submission to an Emperor who seemed to have restored the greatness of the first Constantine, and to have bridled a power which had filled Asia and Africa with its arms—Europe with its name.

Before the Seven Hills could have been encircled with Arab tents, or the Golden Horn pressed by Saracenic keels the resources of the Empire must have been exhausted. The key to the enigma must be sought elsewhere. A Mussulman army had been cut to pieces near Gebail and four thousand Mussulmans had been made prisoners by the Moarni. Thus is explained the retreat of the Caliph, and the treaty of the Emperor. The Moarni had recovered from their defeats, although these had been followed by internal dissensions, in the course of which the Emir Simeon was excommunicated by the Patriarch for admitting Saracens and Greeks into the Lebanon. Having repelled three attacks simultaneously made on their chief places, they had followed up their victories by descending into the plain; and after annihilating the Saracen army the whole of Syria was again exposed to their incursions. The strong mountainous regions round Syria, and which intercept, on one hand its communications

with Asia Minor, and through the Hauran with Egypt and Arabia on the other, were then occupied by warlike Christian tribes (many of them of the same blood as the Moarni) and as yet the Arabic tongue had penetrated into none of these. It may be easily understood how such an event should suddenly change the scales between the two Empires, although the historian may have disregarded it as an event, or explained it as a fable. Could the Caliph have purchased the quiescence of the people of the Lebanon whom he could not restrain, the money would have been paid directly, instead of being transmitted to Constantinople in guise of tribute to purchase the good offices of the Emperor.

The peace thus obtained was for thirty years. The Moarni do not appear to have molested the Mussulmans during the short period that elapsed till the death of Constantine. He was succeeded by his son Justinian II., while Moawiyah also dying was succeeded by his son Yezid. The Caliphate was however torn by factions, and three competitors arose, Mochtar, Abdallah, and Saïd, who held out in Persia, Arabia, and Syria. John II. Emir of the Moarni, seized this occasion to commence a war of surprise and rapine, which now became the normal condition of Syria; carrying off flocks and people, beating considerable bodies of troops not only within the range of the mountain, but on the very borders of Egypt. Justinian thus encouraged broke the treaty made by his father; but as blind to the Le-

banon in its struggle with the Saracens, as Napoleon to the Black Sea, in his war with Russia, the Imperial Court would not strike where its enemy was most vulnerable. The Byzantine troops were sent through Asia Minor to the far East not to make war, but to commit excesses, and while they were toiling around and beyond the Caspian, Abdul Malek, the then Caliph, recovered the cities he had lost, and restored his power in Syria. The Greek Emperor was delighted to exchange a doubtful contest for a beneficial peace, purchased at the cheap rate of an act of treachery, and on the condition of relieving the Caliph from the incursions of the Marades, secured a *daily* tribute of 1000 pieces of gold, 1000 horses and 1000 slaves !\*

This compact was of course secret. The war continued in appearance. The patrician Leontias entered Syria with a detachment of his army and marched to the Lebanon, where his arrival filled with joy the Mirdites, who had so long implored for aid in vain. Leontias brought letters of congratulation, and rich presents for their Prince. The Prince and the people overjoyed at being at length recognized by the Empire, now indulged in the prospect of the speedy expulsion of the Mussulmans from Syria. The Prince assembled the chiefs at a banquet at Gebail, when the troops of Leontias

\* Writers have found it so difficult to credit a tribute regulated by the day, that they have fallen on the happy expedient of substituting "week"!—See Ockley, p. 446, Bohn's Edition.

at a given signal fell upon and massacred them. Leontias then succeeded in getting the affairs into his hands, named Simeon, nephew of the slaughtered Prince in his stead, and by money, intrigue, and violence carried into effect his master's wishes, exhibiting a zeal for the Caliphate, which might have shamed its own faithful servants. The Caliph, if no match for the Maronites, was quite equal to the Greek. He had fixed the periods of payment for his tribute at the shortest legal term, twenty-four hours; having thus adapted so closely remuneration to service, he had to apprehend no remissness, no delay, and no half measures. The most warlike of the nation were removed to Asia Minor and Roumelia. On the borders of the Lake of Scodra, on the Adriatic, I have visited a people still called Mirdites. They are several thousand strong. They indeed know not their origin, and could not explain their name. Though surrounded by Greeks, they belong to the Latin church, and they still wear the Maronite colours, blue and red.

An irremediable wound was inflicted on the Empire, by this betrayal and dispersion of the defenders of the frontier provinces on the side of Syria. The Mussulmans had become masters of all the cities from Mopsuesta in Cilicia, to the lesser Armenia: but exhausted by the excursions of the Marades had abandoned them, and these countries having become a desert served as the most effectual barriers of the empire. So soon as the Maronites were broken, the

Saracens re-established themselves throughout the whole of the northern district, and the heights of Amaus and the Taurus served them as a fortress, whence to assail Asia Minor and desolate the centre province of the empire.\*

The dispersion was followed by a famine in Syria, a fatal blow to a population surrounded by foes, and at no time able to produce more than a small portion of their own food. From this time till the Crusades the Mirdites are unheard of, and finally disappear to their very traces; as on their subsequent unexpected reappearance, it is under another name.

\* Le Beau, Hist. T. xii. p. 146.



## CHAPTER VI.

## THE INTRODUCTION OF THE DRUZE RELIGION.

PASSING over four centuries in silence, we arrive at a period in the history of the mountain, on which it is necessary for a moment to pause.

When, in the history of any country, we come to the point at which a new religion is introduced, the announcement can be succinctly made, because the religion being known, so are the circumstances which attended its introduction. Not so when the religion is itself unknown, and must consequently have been misrepresented; when the circumstances of the country are unknown, and must also, therefore, have been misrepresented.

If I have succeeded in showing that in the Lebanon existed one people, and that a Christian one, I shall have gone a great way to remove a false impression existing in reference to the Druzes, namely, that their faith is Mussulman; for had it been a schism of Islam, it must have been preached to Mussulmans, or it must have been introduced by conquerors.

I have mentioned the internal dissensions that arose on the occasion of the introduction of some Mussulmans and some Greeks, by the Emir Simeon

and his consequent excommunication. Every Prince, on his accession, was required to take an oath that none should be admitted ; and the Patriarch, in like manner, was bound by oath to excommunicate the Prince who should attempt it. The Marada were in their mountain as a besieged garrison, and to admit a stranger was treason ; for it was to admit an enemy.

Four centuries all but six years had indeed elapsed between the dispersion under Justinian, and the introduction of the Druze doctrines ; the one having happened in A.D. 694, and the other in A.D. 1088, the year of the battle of Hastings. It is incumbent upon me to show that the Marada had not been exterminated by the disasters which had overtaken them, and their place supplied, as foreign writers would make out, by strangers and refugees.

Of the four intervening centuries, two present external circumstances, identical with those which preceded them, balanced fortunes of Byzantium and the Caliphate. Then for a time the Caliphate prevailed. But in the tenth century it lost its ground, and the maritime border was overrun with the greatest facility by Constantine VII. ; conclusive evidence that the mountain was not at that time in possession of the Mussulmans. But if the Lebanon was not in their possession, then must it have been entirely closed against them.\* An old ecclesiastical

\* The Emperor Zimces in his letter to the King of Armenia says, that the inhabitants of the Lebanon had submitted to him.

writer of the Maronites says, that from the wars of Constantine VII. to the arrival of the Crusaders, "the Marada were tranquil in their mountains and governed by their Emirs."\* No Mussulman writer mentions the Lebanon either as subdued, colonized or converted. No ruin of a mosque exists save one in Kesroan, where a tribe of Mussulman refugees was introduced in the beginning of the fourteenth century. In the distribution of Syria among the Ayoubite princes on the death of Saladin, no less than fifteen principalities are enumerated, independently of Jerusalem and Damascus, but no mention is made of the Lebanon. And, finally, after the disastrous defeat incurred by the Saracens from the Duke of Saxony, on the banks of the Eleutherus, the broken Mussulmans could find no refuge nearer than Jerusalem and Damascus.

In the third century of Islam, the same intellectual movement appeared amongst the followers of the Koran, as in the eighth century after Christ amongst the Christians. Islam was particularly a religion of injunction—it forbade to inquire into abstruse matters, it enjoined precept, and by precept forbade disquisition. Mahomet places in his hell those who "wandered in wordy disputations with the fallacious reasoners." The mere mention of the names of the different sects, which finally have settled into the Shiite section of Islam, will

\* Syrian MS. in possession of Bishop Paul, Vicar-General, from which I have derived great assistance in this compilation.

suffice to show the extent and the character of this perversion.

*Teschby.* Resemblance of God and his creatures; having attributes of essence.

*Tatil.* God without attributes.

*Djahmis.* Not having attributes of action.

*Kudr.* Power, free-will, things created entire, or within themselves determining their events.

*Tawakkouf.* The predestination of the Imamship. Hence the

*Rafedhis.*

*Matazalis.* Power of man over his actions. God insensible.

*Tadjism.* God possessed of a body. Hence the *Keramis*, Karmates (H. H. 264), or Ismaëlis (seven Imams); named also Batenis or the "interior sense."\*

*Tawil*, or allegorical interpretation. Hence the Fatimites; out of which the Druzes.

These various sects all coincide in this, that they wove into their mystic system the Words, Images, Parables, Injunctions, Commandments, Prayers and Doctrines of the Pentateuch, the Gospel, and the Koran. The Ismaelians and the Druzes surpassed the rest. They organized a system of proselytism which has never been equalled. The Daïs or missionaries were to be all things to all men in the sense of deception: Shiah with the Shiite, Suni with the Suni,

From Batn, "belly," generally used as implying concealment.

Christian with the Christian, Jew with the Jew, Magian with the Magian, Fire-worshipper with the Fire-worshipper, Idolater with the Idolater, Sabeian with the Sabeian. They were, moreover, enjoined to be pious with the religious, and libertine with the dissolute. Dissimulation was taught as a science. In the interest of this conspiracy against the human race, the missionaries had to sacrifice passion and vice, as they had sacrificed conviction and virtue. They had to pass years in suffering, abstinence and poverty, in order to earn for the sect the merit of a good name. The subversion of human nature is to be attributed, not to reasonings, but to management: secrecy and initiation were the means by which a few flimsy subtleties and insane extravagances appear to work out results such as only the most exalted sentiment could inspire.

The process was first to raise doubts, then to enjoin piety. The neophyte was at one time broken down with prayers repeated fifty times a day; at another, he was oppressed by engagements: a few only were advanced to the mysteries, and at each step new obligations to secrecy were incurred.

Mahomet had gained proselytes from the different sects by adopting into his creed something which belonged to each: they worked by simulating such adoption. There was this difference between them and Islam, that they took ceremonies to desecrate them: their object was to destroy all religious faith, in order to obtain political slavery.

The history of Hassan Saba illustrates this wonderful phase of the human spirit, which, without such evidences, it would have been considered madness to assert as possible; and, as the evidences are far more interesting than any reasoning upon the subject can be, I subjoin a few passages from ancient writers, and some extracts from their Catechisms.

Instructions to the Dai, or missionary, from the Ismaëlian work quoted by Nowairi.

“With a Shiïte you will appear zealous in his doctrine. You will dwell on the injunction of the Mussulmans towards Ali and his sons, the death of Hosein and the captivity of his daughters. You will say that you will have nothing in common with Teïm\* and Adi, or the sons of Omanaya or Abbas. You will win the spirit of a Sabean by disputing on the number seven, and the things which contain it. With a Magian, begin with the fourth degree of initiation, as his opinions are conformable to yours; insist upon the excellence of fire and of the light of the sun; teach him what concerns the Pre-existing, &c. *Of all sects the Magians and Sabeans are those which come nearest to us.*

“If you have to do with a Jew, conciliate his attention by speaking of the Messiah; teach him that it is the Mehdi, the knowledge of whom dispenses from the Law. You will gain his heart by

\* Teïm was chief of the tribe Abou Beer. Teïm was son of Moosa, the son of Caab, the son of Lowai. Omar was descended from Adi, son of Caab.

speaking ill of the Christians and the Mussulmans in regard to what they say of Jesus. Say with boldness that Joseph was his father, and that he exercised over Mary all the rights which a husband has over his wife. In this manner you will easily make a proselyte of him. With Christians you will make your way by abusing without distinction Jew and Mussulman. You will profess your belief in the Creed of the Christians, and you will teach them its true allegorical meaning. Reproach them with not understanding the Paraclete, who is yet to come, and to whom you call them."

The writer then proceeds to show how Dualists and Philosophers are to be dealt with; distinguishing, according to character and opinions, the point to which each is to be brought, and how they are to be bewildered, seduced and bound. A very few only are to be admitted to the full initiation; others are to be left serving their gods, and at the same time care is to be taken to shake such convictions as these: that the dead shall rise from their graves; that there are spiritual beings, as angels or demons; that of a creation of man, or that Adam was the first man; that of the mission of the prophets, or the existence of God.

The Daï was to reveal the engagements he had taken "neither in life nor in death, neither by force nor freely, neither in the hope of good nor the fear of evil, neither in affliction nor in prosperity, neither to gain an end nor to avoid a loss, and you shall appear

before God (man-God?) carrying with you the secret, and faithfully guarding this deposit according to the conditions of the present engagement.”

The following are extracts from the Druze Catechism :—

*Q.* “ Who are the three Preachers ?

*A.* John, Mark and Matthew. (These names supposed to be symbolical of the three Preachers; the Soul, the Word and the Precedent.)

*Q.* In what consists the preaching ?

*A.* They announced the advent of the true Messiah.

*Q.* Who announced the Gospel ?

*A.* Matthew, Mark, Luke and John.

*Q.* How will each class be subdivided ? (at the Day of Judgment.)

*A.* Amongst the sects. The Christians are the Nosairies and the Moutawelis, &c.

*Q.* Why do we commend the Gospel ?

*A.* To glorify Alkaïm-biamr-allah, who is the the same as Hamza, for it is he who taught the Gospel. Also we must approve before men whatever religion they profess. Moreover the Gospel is founded on Divine Wisdom, and allegorically figures the Unitarian faith.

(Then a true Messiah, is represented as among the disciples of the false Messiah the son of Joseph. But he allowed the Christians to be deceived.)

*Q.* Why did he thus deceive the Infidels ?

*A.* *That the Uniturians (Druzes) might remain*



*concealed under the mask of the religion of the Messiah and that no one might know them.*

(On the return of Hakim, Mussulmans and Christians are to pay Charatch to Druzes.)

*Q.* How do we distinguish a brother on meeting him or when he comes as one of us ?

*A.* After compliments we say, "Do the labourers in your country sow the seed of Myrobolan?" If he answers "Yes, it is sown in the hearts of the believers;" then we question him on the knowledge of the Ministers, and if he can answer we know him for our brother.

The date of the Druze religion is A.H. 410—A.D. 1043; that of the Nosairi is A.H. 270—A.D. 899. The former is supposed to have taken their origin from Hakim the Third, whom they recognized as God. Yet the two sects are so intimately connected, that Mana, who is the first person in the Trinity of the Nosairi, is used amongst the Druzes to represent the "internal sense" of their dogmas. The Nosairi and the Karmates are the same; and the Prophet of the latter professes to be sent from the Messiah, who is Jesus, who is the Word. Niebuhr mentions a Nosairi Catechism, which he had heard of, but could not obtain. M. Katafago, of Beyrout, has recently obtained it; and from him I have had a translation. There is a close resemblance to that of the Druzes, but it draws nearer to Christianity. They have the Trinity; also a mass, in which they parody the Sacrament, omit-

ting the words of Christ, "My blood is shed for you," and make it the sign of the blood to be shed for the true religion. They keep the festival of the Nativity, and hold the immaculate conception of the Virgin.

The civil wars in the Lebanon have brought to light all the Druze writings: nothing has been added to the collection sent home by Niebuhr, and which have been used by De Sacy in his treatise. From the catalogue of Letters which he appends I extract a notice or two, which throw light upon the then condition of the country.

No. 50 is a letter addressed to several Daïs of the Tenhouk family.

Nos. 53, 54 and 55 are addressed as to Christians.

No. 35 addressed to the people of Syria some months after the death of Hakim, promising his re-appearance.

No. 57, bearing date of A.H. 425, a letter of Muktana to the inhabitants of Lebanon, Antioch, and part of Syria and Mesopotamia, complaining of false doctrines and impostures.

No. 84 (A.H. 427), letter of Muktana, denouncing the blasphemies of Mohala, who taught promiscuous intercourse, such as was practised amongst the Nosairi. Muktana repeatedly reproaches the Christians with falling off to Judaism and Mahomedanism. He addresses them as an assembly of saints. There are many coincidences with the Mormons.

The name of Druze is supposed to come from a certain Darazi, never mentioned in these writings, who, in Egypt, raised a religious commotion, attempted to set up El Hakim as God, and was soon after thrown into prison, and put to death. Elmacin, after repeating the adventures of Darazi, says, "Thus was formed the sect of the Darazi, which became celebrated among men: the places where they are most numerous are Wadi Hin (Waddy al Teim), Tyre, Sidon, the mountain of Beyruth, and the adjoining places of Syria."

If the name had been derived from the man, the ordinary rule of such formation would have been followed, it would have been Darazieh. But the proximity which here appears is only obtained by changing the word; the sect is not called Darazi, but Durzi. The name cannot, therefore, come from Darazi; nor is there any evidence that he ever was in Syria; but, on the contrary, there is evidence that he never was there. The statement of Aboul Mahasen, that Hakim sent him to Syria in the year 408, is that of a stranger, and on hearsay. The writings of the Durzi themselves furnish more trustworthy testimony. From them it nowhere appears that Darazi was in Syria, and it could not fail to be mentioned had he been there. His death occurred in 410, when, with many of his followers, he was beheaded in Cairo. He must have, then, visited Syria between 408 and 410; but in 408 he was at open war with Hamza. The contest continued until

he lost his life. It is not then likely that he should have been sent to Syria; or had he gone there, and been successful, was it likely that he should have returned to Egypt. But had it been possible for him in this interval, and under those circumstances, to have propagated his doctrine in Syria, and to have acquired such a mastery that the professors should be known by his name, how should it happen that Hamza, in writing to the Syrians, should never allude to it, or that it should not be alluded to in the numerous letters above referred to? When the visit of Fakreddeen to the court of the Medici first gave currency to the name of Druze, the resemblance of sound caused the absurd derivation from the Count de Dreux to be for a time accepted by the learned in Europe. There is no more foundation for the etymology which is to-day universally accepted by those who reject the other as puerile and fantastic. Whence, then, is the word derived?

To any one conversant with the learned in the East, a very simple derivation will at once suggest itself. Tersi and Ders are words familiarly spoken when abstruse conversation or instruction is implied. Muderris is the name for "teacher," and the Arabic root which is now translated "to initiate" offers the same letters. The characteristics D, R, S, are to be found in various literal and grammatical combinations representing "school," "instruction" and "initiation." This class of sectarians represented themselves as "the Professors," "the Instructed," and

“the Initiated.” Durzi and Darazi I therefore take to have been terms in general use which came to be appropriated to the followers of Hamza, in default of any specific name. Common expressions not unfrequently come to be so converted into a name, of which we have example in “Protestants.”

The religion of Durzi has an historic value, in the absence of other records, in this; that it was a change which occurred at one period only. Spread by the most active and systematic proselytism it comes suddenly into being, and then as suddenly stops short.

There are religions of place or race, and religions of doctrine; the first have no thought of proselytism, the second exist only by it. When each people had its belief, and each land its gods, creeds differed as languages, or were subdivided as districts, and no more were controversies awakened by their admixture than by the simultaneous use of different tongues and grammars. Religions of dogma assail every other faith, and their extension is of necessity attended with those animosities which have infused the bitterest part in the cup of human suffering. In the Lebanon two dogmatic religions have coexisted for eight centuries, without having been accompanied with the slightest taint of religious discord, and one of the religions was at that period introduced as a novel relief. No where else has such a state of things been seen, and it is difficult to conceive how it could exist.

When fresh in the country, and under the impressions prevailing in Europe as to the mutual animosities of the Druzes and Maronites, the following words were addressed to me by a Druze Sheik, Saïd Jumbellat: "I have been thinking what I could tell you that would interest you most, and it is this:—the Druzes love the Maronites, and the Maronites the Druzes, *because of religion*. He who has become in the beginning Druze has become Druze, but no more can become Druze. We do not want to take away from the Maronites. We do not like to see their daughters married to Mussulmans, or themselves becoming Mussulmans, from whom they must not make converts, and who make converts from them." This light I did not fail to use in the study of the past. I remained satisfied that Saïd Bey had put his finger on the point most interesting to a stranger, as being the chief error entertained and spread respecting the condition of the country. Not only have religious discords been wanting, but the difference between the two religions has been a bond between the two people; for each severally is as a religious body, the object of attack, suspicion, or contempt to every other religious body without the pale of the mountain. This would be incomprehensible if Druzism had entered under the cloak of Islam, whether as addressed to a pre-existing Mussulman population, or as a population of Druzes already converted.

Considering the case historically, it is to be in-

ferred that Druzism must have been preached to Christians, a conclusion which its intrinsic character sustains. The Druzes revile Mahomet,\* and have substituted for the Koran a book of their own, called "Destour;" this is not and never was a secret, however their dogmas may be. They are not circumcised, and practise in no respect the ceremonies of Islam. No Druze wears the green turban, a distinction which would not have been resigned had they been schismatics from Islam. They marry only one wife. Where dress is not subject to change by fashion at home or imitation from abroad, the form and colours of the clothing of a people become historical evidence equal to any that bronze or granite can supply. Druze and Maronite wear the same costume.

That most striking and peculiar ornament, the Tantour, which only belongs to this race, and has belonged to them from the very earliest stages of society, is common to both. It cannot for a moment be supposed that this distinction should have been imposed by the conquerors upon the conquered; still less that it should have been adopted from them.† Again, could it be that down to the middle of the last century, we should never so much as have heard of the distinction between Christian and

\* "Surrounded by the Mahomedans, in whom their doctrines of necessity excited horror." De Sacy, T. 11. p. 529.

† The Tantoura has recently been excommunicated by the Maronite Patriarch as a symbol of idolatry!

Druze, if the Druzes had intruded themselves upon the Maronite country.

But the strongest evidence of its Christian origin is to be found in the legal view taken by the Mussulman Courts, and I am astonished that this point should have been overlooked by those who have written upon the subject. The Druzes, supposing them to have been originally Mussulmans, were either renegades, and must have been pursued as guilty of a capital offence, which in no time has Islam suffered to go unpunished, or they remained Mussulmans; in which case they would continue to be so held to the present time. But the Courts of law have always treated them as not belonging to Islam; and a Fetvah was rendered at Beyrout, on the occasion of the conversion of a Druze to Christianity, to the effect that a Druze might freely become a Christian.

At first in Egypt it was a schism of Islam; it then proceeded to infidelity, and was cast out of Islam. In the latter form it reached Syria, and after it had been utterly extinguished elsewhere. Then it appeared as the enemy, alike of Islam and of Christianity; precisely on that account did it find favour; it had no other claim. Let us imagine Druze missionaries preaching disbelief in the two then contending creeds, and making converts on whom secrecy was enjoined; these divided into two classes, one being the initiated: and recollecting that the Christian faith was that of the Greek Em-



pire, at the time detested by the mountaineers scarcely less than the Saracenic—then the whole case becomes clear. The secession was concealed, the neophytes cautious, and the result of the conversion neutrality in religion as hitherto in politics. How otherwise explain the phenomenon of a religion spread by a missionary system, and, so soon as established, ceasing to proselytise.

Nothing is more simple than the operation itself. It is the perception of it that is difficult, because of our notions. We only see in religious conversions the influence of argument and the action of individuals, being removed from the period in our own country when conversion was effected in the mass. In such cases the result is determined by political circumstances acting upon the dispositions of men.

Many other mistakes, besides this one, arise out of the erroneous supposition that men think. Thought must imply success, not attempt; and requires qualifications and powers so extensive and high, that their coincidence and exercise must be the rarest of events in the history of the world. The operation is a solitary one—is an abstracted one. Movements of men belong to another order, and are determined by their own character; that is, frivolity and passion. I have myself been present on the eastern borders of the Black Sea, at the anniversary in a Mussulman tribe of its entire conversion in one day from Christianity a few years before. This was within the limits of the Ottoman Empire, the laxity

of whose political bonds prevents it from suffering from the obloquy of Government. The apostasy was here determined, on the one hand, by the desire to exclude Russian emissaries ; on the other, to conciliate the support of the Turkish Government. At the same time the character of Christianity was lowered by its being represented in their eyes by the Russian Government, and that of Islam raised as being represented to them by a Government—that of Constantinople—which neither schemed nor intrigued. Further to the north, similar cases have produced the same result on that other memorable mountain—the Caucasus, where Christianity has disappeared in proportion as the pressure of Russia has increased.

In like manner it can be understood how the Maronites of the Lebanon were ready to embrace a belief because it was neither that of the Empire by which it was assailed—the Mussulman—nor that of the Empire—the Christian—by which it was betrayed. We may also expect this proselytism instantly to cease when the causes are removed ; that is to say, when another actor appears on the stage and causes Byzantine and Saracen alike to be forgotten. Such an actor did appear, and Maronite and Druze reverted to their original harmony, notwithstanding that they did now profess two different creeds.

The above conclusions I further sought to test by the criticism of those Europeans settled in Syria who

interest themselves in such matters; that is, the Missionaries. With all the available knowledge and disposition, they were unable to controvert any of the foregoing statements or arguments; their opposition confined itself to some trifling objections. First, that there is a discrepancy between the language of the Druzes and Maronites; secondly, that the character of the two people is dissimilar; thirdly, that the Druzes preserve the Mussulman names. To these I reply; first, that there is no difference in the language except as flowing from the difference of the two religions; the Druzes adopting Arabic terms, the Maronites holding to the Syriac as their Church tongue, and indeed commonly speaking it until a century ago. Secondly, the difference of character was thus described to me by one of the Missionaries themselves; "the Druzes have some good points, the Maronites have none." The difference that does exist I explain in this way: the Maronites through their connection with Rome became at an earlier period than the Druzes corrupted by foreign influence. The Druzes isolated from the world had to rely on themselves. Thirdly, as to names; if the Druze is to be held a Mussulman because he bears the name of Achmet, how have we a Bishop Halil and an Emir Hyder, Christians? The peculiar and striking feature of this country, the absence of all distinction, as connected with religion, in dress, form of salutation and social station, is manifested no less in proper names.

Those fifty places which I have already adduced, as giving by their Syriac etymology the disproof of an Arab conquest, lie immediately around the present capital of the Druzes, Deir El Cammar. And as amongst these, some Arabic names have been introduced which are descriptive and applying to places of recent origin, so in regard to the names of men, a slight modification has in recent times taken place, such as this. A Christian will not give to his child the name of Mahomet or Achmet, from a peculiar aversion to that name, since religious animosities have sprung up; just as the neighbouring Mussulman, when he has given that name to his child, addresses him as *Sidi*, even though an infant.

The case we have been here examining is as a proposition of Euclid, which rests not on a narrative or a description, but on inevitable deduction. That which had to be demonstrated, in order that any event of the Lebanon past or present might be apprehended is—that Druze and Maronite is one people. That has been demonstrated.

## CHAPTER VII.

## NEUTRALITY DURING THE CRUSADES.

WE have now arrived at the period of the long convulsion of Syria from the Crusades. In the centre of this storm stood the Lebanon, and it is to be expected that above all other countries, it should have been thereby torn and shattered. But on the contrary we find it passing through this epoch, motionless within, undisturbed from without. Its inhabitants looked down on hosts marching through in the confidence of victory, or flying in the panic of defeat. To them it was only a spectacle. Seated on their endless amphitheatres they could watch the struggles of the East and the West, and note their very countenances. Time cannot afford a similar example of neutrality and spectatorship so close, unimpassioned, unexpected and entire.

This iron stream for more than two centuries poured over the Taurus, and issued from the sea. It surged and raged around without overpassing the abutments of the Lebanon. The Crusaders sought in every nook and cranny throughout Syria, Christians to enrol and Mussulmans to exterminate. Wherever there was a castle, when in strength, they assaulted it; and in discomfiture, wherever

there was a sheltering rock or pass, they claimed its protection. But in the Lebanon they found neither victim nor ally; neither fortress to assail, nor fastness to protect; and followed the highway, whether victorious or vanquished, without venturing into the fields, as a turnpike road is followed by a dray.

At this time the Mirdite population was not confined to the limits of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, the Hauran and the Ledja, but extended on the north to regions and positions, scarcely less important for the Crusaders, if they could have impinged upon them. These were the mountain ranges above Aleppo, which crossed the path of the Crusaders into Syria.

At the close of these two centuries, during which the world was filled with Syria, and we hear nothing of the Lebanon, an event occurred which throws a prospective light upon the circumstances of this happy obscurity. The Crusaders were finally driven out in 1302. Three or four years after, a trifling disembarkation took place of Christians at the mouth of the Damour, near Beyrouth, these were speedily repulsed by the people of the Lebanon. But the Sultan of Damascus, either misinformed or no longer constrained to respect the neutrality of the Lebanon, charged the Mirdites with having invited their co-religionaries, and sent his lieutenant, Accoush El Essem, to punish them. A great battle took place at Rabbellias, in the B'kkaa, in

which the troops of the Sultan were utterly defeated. A commotion was excited in consequence at Damascus, and to allay the storm a fetva was obtained by the Sultan from the Mufti, legalising the war on the false grounds that the Christians had been the aggressors. A fetva is a judicial decision rendered on a statement of the case impersonally made on the part of the executive; that is to say, the case is stated without names. In this instance the statement would have been as follows: "M. is at peace with the Sultan of Damascus. N. is the enemy of the Sultan of Damascus. M. invites N. to land on his coast. Is it lawful to draw the sword against M.?" The terms of the fetva would be, "The sword may be drawn against M." This fetva proves that up to that time, that is to say, during the Crusades, no war existed between the people of the Lebanon and the Saracens. The transaction itself further shows that it was not because the Lebanon was uninhabited that it was either unheard of or unoccupied.

The retreat of the Christians had left the successful party in undisturbed possession, but with a vast accumulative mass of warlike means; troops which had to be disbanded; and predatory hordes of Turcomans collected from far and near, filled with the lust of vengeance, and the love of plunder. The Lebanon presented a virgin soil, and had inflicted a disgrace on the Mussulman arms which had to be wiped out. The Mussulman historians narrate

that ample vengeance was taken; that its terraces were ravaged, its monasteries sacked, and its people dispersed. That this is an exaggeration is shown by the insignificance of the results, which amounted merely to the establishment of a small tribe of Turcomans, in Kesroan. Taking together the narrative and the event, we may conclude that the Saracens were desirous but not able to subdue the Lebanon. And if they failed in the hour of victory, and with the forces in hand with which they had expelled the Christians, we may infer that the strength of the Lebanon was not inferior in the fourteenth century to what it had been between the seventh and tenth, when it resisted almost single-handed the pristine vigour of the Caliphate.

The most instructive portion of this incident still remains to be told. When the Mirdites met the Mussulman troops of Damascus at Rabbellias, they were themselves commanded by two Mussulmans, the Emirs Fakreddeen, and Shemsheddeen.

If, during the Crusades, the Mirdites were not at war with the Mussulmans, it follows that they were not at war with the Christians. Though mentioned by the Christian writers, and especially by William of Tyre, as a powerful and warlike Christian nation, they are nowhere spoken of as allies of the Crusaders, nor are they spoken of as their enemies.† What

\* This Turcoman tribe was someway connected with the Beni Assaph, but my notes on the subject are indistinct and illegible.

† William of Tyre, writing in 1111, says that Tancred appealed in vain to "the Christians of the mountains."



is said of them is sufficiently erroneous to prove the absence of so much as intercourse, for they are called Monophysites, and their name of Maronite is explained as being derived from that heresy, which is exactly the reverse of the truth: they were not Monophysites, and the name of Maron was known only in opposition to that heresy. Upon this imaginary schism is based the fable of their apocryphal conversion to the Church of Rome. It is, however, not only possible, but even probable, that some portion of that population which had come to receive the name of Maronite had adopted the Monophysite heresy; and, being expelled, sought to connect themselves by a renunciation with the Franks, which would give colour to the story. Or the same thing may have happened with the Druzes, who at one time had a common name with the Monophysites—namely, Unitarians: a term originally designating, not a disbelief in two of the persons of the Trinity, but a belief in the one nature of Christ.

It now remains for us to discover why the Lebanon, at war with the Saracens from their first appearance in Syria down to the Crusades, should have put an end to that warfare, and assumed a position of inflexible neutrality, from the moment that a powerful enemy of their own creed appeared upon the scene. That cause is not difficult to find. It requires but to recall the circumstances—those circumstances which I have already narrated—at once to perceive it. It is *the introduction of the Druze religion*.

If my explanation of the otherwise inexplicable success of that monstrous and ridiculous infatuation be correct—namely, the loathing of the Mirdites for the Byzantine Empire, and their hatred against the Caliphate—it would follow that, upon the removal of these causes, the effect should cease. The causes were removed by the appearance of the Crusaders upon the stage. In the immediate danger, remoter fears and passions were forgotten. Conversion to Druzism immediately ceased; proselytism by Druzes was immediately suspended. The object now was to set at rest the schism of the garrison for the defence of the fortress.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## MUSSULMAN PRINCES INTRODUCED.

THE harmony of the garrison was not to be obtained by renunciation. The Moarni could not say to the Durzi, "renounce your new imposture;" nor the Durzi to the Moarni, "give up your old belief." It was enough that the Druze should be satisfied to remain as he was, and that the Maronite should be content to remain as he was; that neither should incommode the other on the score of doctrine, and abstain from indulging in the luxuries of proselytism. This neutrality, however, could neither be expected nor trusted in, whilst the administrative superiority remained with one of the sects. As to the differences in regard to belief, the Druzes had all the advantage, being engaged in a course of triumphant proselytism. But the Maronites still held in their hands the supreme administration; and to establish the balance, equal sacrifices were required, were possible, were made. It was necessary that the Druzes should cease to proselytize; it was possible for them to do so: they did so. It was necessary that the Christians should surrender the Princedom; and, unless they had done so, the Druzes would not have ceased to proselytize: they did do so. But if

the Maronites resigned the Princedom, it was not that the Druzes should usurp it. The condition and seal of the union of the garrison was, that now and henceforth neither Druze nor Maronite should rule in the Lebanon. They had to call in a stranger, and to constitute that stranger Prince; and they did so. They called in an Arab of the house of Tenhouk, and made him Ruler over them. Nevertheless, the ancient rule against the admission of strangers was held, with the exception of the Prince, as strictly as ever.

Thus fell the ancient, simple, and patriarchal constitution of a people dating back its line beyond all history and all tradition; and that not by a revolution, but by a logical argument, in the view of averting prospective danger. It was effected in the midst of internal schism and external convulsions, calculated to perplex the judgment of the wisest men, and to overthrow the prosperity of the most formidable state. The success it merited crowned the performance; and at this interval of time, without a document, annotation, or trace of any description, not inferential, we can embody in thought, and place before us in imagination, the Council of Elders, examining their position, weighing the arguments on either side, settling the plans for the future, imposing self-sacrifices on the passions of the sectaries and the ambition of the Princes, and listening to the patriotic outpourings of zelots surrendering their fervour, and Emirs deposing on the altar of

their country, their station and their power. That such scenes have not unfrequently occurred in the history of the human race, the written records of that history cannot always efface, and very often imply. But such occurrences belong not to the period during which history has become precise; when within that period such things happen, history trembles to record them, lest itself should not be believed.

If the circumstances, as I assume them to be, of the first election are questioned, at least no doubt can exist in reference to the introduction of the two princely houses which followed the Tenhouk. On both which occasions, the people supplied the lost line by the elevation, neither of a Druze nor a Maronite, but by the election of a foreigner and a Mussulman. The last of these occurred at an interval of seven centuries; and during the whole course of this time, the purpose of the selection was secured. No religious dissension arose; no spirit of proselytism re-awakened. The names of Druze and Maronite are utterly ignored; the people are always designated by their districts, the Princes by their names. When factions appear, in the early stage they bear names which descend from Pagan times, and which were common throughout Syria (Yeminé and Caïsié). In times nearer to our own, they are replaced by Jumbellati and Yezbecki, derived from a local feud, in which Druzes and Maronites are indiscriminately arrayed on both sides.

That to appertain to neither Druze nor Maronite, nor to the mountain itself, must have been the condition of the possession of the supreme power at all times, I know from my own experience; for, even in private communication, sincerity and confidence are out of the question, except with a stranger. And if the stranger be himself not competent to hold intercourse with them directly, his interpreter must be neither Druze nor Maronite; he must of necessity be a stranger and of strangers—if possible, a Mussulman.

By placing the chief authority in the hands of a Mussulman, they, during the Crusades, secured themselves both against the attacks of the Saracens and the solicitations of the Crusaders. Christian and Druze obeyed alike a Mussulman leader; avoided taking part in a Mussulman combination; and opposed in common an invading Christian host.

#### THE LINE OF TENHOUK.

Abul Feda mentions the Tenhouk as a Christian branch of the tribe Elnaman Ben Menzir, who “first inhabited the Christian principality of Hiré, and built large churches in the country occupied by his tribe.” Hiré, now Meschid Ali, was the celebrated Christian kingdom of Chaldea, which the exploits of Antar have rendered classic ground. After the slaughter of Nocuan, king of Hiré, by Parviz, son of Calzias, his brother or nephew fled first to Moarré,

and thence to the Lebanon: the family soon afterwards appear as hereditary princes, settled at Abaye, overlooking the plain of Beyrouth, which was one of the successive capitals of the Lebanon.

It was upon this prince, who combined a royal descent with personal destitution, that doubtless the election of the mountaineers had fallen. The family settled at Abaye were Mussulmans, but being originally Christians, it is to be inferred that, like Henry IV., they renounced their faith for a sceptre. This is further confirmed by two incidents. Amongst the Druze writings there are letters addressed to the Tenhouk as Christians. And when the Mussulman branch of the Tenhouk was shortly afterwards cut off, and a new election made, it was not a Tenhouk that was raised to the principedom, but a stranger; the Tenhouk remaining in the country, and standing pre-eminent as a Druze family.

The princely branch of the Tenhouk came to their end, not by natural extinction or by internal convulsion. At the close of the eleventh century, Daher, of the Metuali family still established at Baalbec, was in possession of Beyrouth. He lost it to the Crusaders; who, seeking to extend their conquests, and doubtless attributing the resistance they met with in the Lebanon to the presence of a Mussulman chief, conceived the plan of effecting by treachery what they could not by force. The Prince and his family were invited from the neighbouring Abaye to a grand feast at Beyrouth. They accepted

the invitation, and the whole, while seated at the Christian table, were massacred. A child named Dgemaledeen is mentioned as the sole survivor; which must mean the sole Mussulman survivor, as distinguished from the Tenhouk who had remained Christian and had become Druze. This act of treachery did not bear the fruits which the Christians expected from it. Their designs against the mountain were in no ways advanced, and the mountaineers were only put to the trouble of a new election,—a child being unequal to the cares and toils of government at such a moment.

#### THE MAAN.

The next election fell upon a race no less distinguished and no less unfortunate, equally combining royal descent and personal destitution. The Emir Younis was first or second cousin, through a marriage of his father, to the slaughtered Tenhouk Prince. He traced through Ayoub, the founder of the Ayoubites, back to the Beni Rebbia. Saladin was a collateral of the same line. In consequence of a Desert feud, the Beni Rebbia had originally migrated into Mesopotamia, and had thence wandered under the Emir Rabin to the neighbourhood of Aleppo. His son, the Emir Maan, from whom the patronymic is derived, engaged in warfare with the Frank possessors of Antioch. He was celebrated as a warrior; but fortune proving adverse, he had to fly, and retired



to the B'kkaa, whence, contracting a marriage with the Tenhouk, an asylum was offered to him at Baklin in the Shouf. His son Younis was therefore a most eligible candidate ready to their hands, being allied to the extinct family, and being moreover a Mussulman by descent. His successors ruled the Lebanon uninterruptedly down to the year 1694; that is for above six centuries; continuing in fact in that country the royal line of the Ayoubites, which had already disappeared from the rest of Syria and Egypt. It was two of his descendants who commanded the Mirdites in the battle of Rabbelias against the troops of the Sultan of Damascus in 1306.

A member of the house of Shaab, named Emir Hyder, has in the beginning of this century compiled a history of his country from native sources. His account of the introduction of the Maan, differing in every point from that which I have given, will, however, be found on critical examination entirely to confirm it. At all events it is incumbent on me to reproduce the passage, adding thereto the comments which it suggests.

After mentioning the wandering of the Maan and bringing them to the neighbourhood of Baalbec in the Bkkaa, he proceeds. "Whilst there this tribe received orders from Nouredin to establish itself on the summit of the mountains which divided that valley from the sea coast, in the towns of which the Christians had established themselves;

and having so fortified itself, to harass them by continual incursions. The Emir Maan obeyed, abandoned the fertile Bkkaa, crossed into the Lebanon, established himself in Shouf, then a desert country. Nearer the shore there was the Mussulman tribe of Tenhouk charged by Nouredin with the defence of the mouths of the Damour ; its chiefs lived at Abaye, and rejoicing at the arrival of these new allies, sent them masons to build houses for them. The Emir Maan perceiving the inconvenience of tents in these lofty mountains, often covered with snow, accepted these offers, and caused his whole tribe to abandon the use of tents. This practice became general, and the fugitives from the neighbourhood of Antioch, and of the other countries occupied by the Franks, assembled in Shouf and covered it with villages."

That a weak tribe already expelled by the Franks, was to new settle an important district as a barrier to them, is not more conceivable than that that district should be deserted. Nor is it more unlikely that the Sultan of Damascus should have confided to them this charge, than that they, on his mere order, should have abandoned the fertile plains of the Bkkaa, had they been established there as a tribe, to commence a new manner of life, without grain, and by sacrificing their sole subsistence and wealth—cattle. The conversion of the Arab from the nomade to the settled life does occur, but not in this fashion ; and there is no similar case in all their

history. Besides if this Mussulman population was then introduced, it is very strange that no remnant of it should be left, and with these stone-masons, that no mosque has been erected, for at least its ruins would have stood as a record. Independently of all this, where were the hundred thousand warriors mentioned by William of Tyre; namely, the forty thousand Maronites, and the sixty thousand Ismaëlians, if the Lebanon were uninhabited? Geography, however, furnishes the most complete and simple refutation of this supposititious Mussulman colonization. The assumed colonists were Arabs; their settlements must therefore have borne Arabic names; the Arabic is now the common tongue, having been gradually introduced during the last eight centuries. The Shouf contains fifty places; of these thirty are pure Syriac, three uncertain, and seven only are Arabic. As the whole scheme of Government rests on the absence of conquest and colonization, and as this argument is conclusive, I subjoin in a note the names of the towns and villages of Shouf, classifying them.\*

\* SYRIAC.

† Baklin	† Abaye	Amanoub
Ambal	Shimlan	Aineb
Amatour	Alich	Ainelsebeh
Aincana	Araya	Tfoun
Niha	Gaiboun	Selfaia
Aramoun	Bcouara	Rumbana

†† The two successive capitals.

The Emir Hyder wrote at a period when notions had penetrated from the West incompatible with the social condition which he had to record. He belonged to a family which by conversion to one of the two sects had falsified its own claim to the Princedom, and by the subsequent retention of power had upset the constitution of the country. He has therefore falsified events, partly by inability to understand them, partly by the necessity belonging to the condition of religious imposture which was that of his family. Election by a united people of Druze and Maronite it was impossible for him to conceive, and the forfeiture of his house by its apostacy it was his business to conceal. Nor did it require such inducements for a weak man holding the pen, to fall upon that easy expedient in all causes of difficult judgment—conquest by the sword.

The next family came in only at the end of the seventeenth century, yet as their establishment

Chertoun	Barouk	ARABIC.
Aintrez	Bmochrai	El Maasin
Rishmaia	Gibca	Muchtara
Uptetir	Butne	Jedeidé (new vil-
Pamdoun	Amouzei	lage.)
Medgelbana	Bakaoun	Misherfi (command-
Bidghan	Jezzin	ing.)
Sharoun		Runlieh (sandy)
Yazmid	UNCERTAIN.	Waddy Sit (Valley
Andara		of the Lady.)
Midgilmous	Aïtat	Chraïbe, (Ruin)
Briah	Angalté	Magraa (village)
Betloun	Urchanié	Garifé

within the precincts of the Lebanon as subordinate feudatories took place at a short interval, I may here, in anticipation of their future elevation, introduce them.

#### THE SHAAB.

The Shaab descend from the great family of the Koreish. They formed part of the first expedition against Damascus, A. H. 23, where they appeared as the Beni Makzoum of the Hedjaz under the Emir Marith and his son Malek, followers of Abu Obeidah. After the capture of Damascus the Caliph Omar confided to the Emir Malek the command of the Hauran, through which the communications had to be kept open with the Hedjaz. From Saba in that district the patronymic of Shaab was derived: there they pastured their flocks during five centuries and a half. On the rupture between Saladin and Nouredin Sultan of Aleppo, they were obliged to fly, and in 1205 (A. H. 568) they found refuge in the Waddy el Teim, their family having in the previous century formed an alliance with the family of Maan of Abaye.

The annalist Emir Hyder, in narrating the first appearance of his own family in the Lebanon, may be expected to indulge in even greater exaggeration than in speaking of the Maan. His account is as follows.

“The removal of the Beni Shaab to the neigh-

bourhood of the Lebanon was occasioned by their known partizanship with Saladin. The Emir held a council of the wise men of the tribe, and its unanimous decision was to remain neuter in the war between Nouredin and Saladin. This they could not do in the Hauran, and they determined to remove to the valley which separates the Lebanon from the Anti-Lebanon.

“Sultan Nouredin sent to offer them a refuge in the city of Damascus. They answered that they would remain neutral between the Mussulmans, but would be always ready to join them against the Christians; that they could not accept his offer to dwell in the city of Damascus, for their manner of life was under the tent.

“The Franks (Crusaders) held Hashbaya, and had filled it with troops and implements of war. Alarmed at the appearance of this new enemy, and sending for aid to the garrison of Iskif, they marched against them, and rushed upon them from the mountains like clouds of locusts. The Shaab met their foes with equal valour and impetuosity, and their chief, the Emir Murked, being of a poetic turn encouraged his adherents by a distich.

“The battle field is the only repose for my hate.

“The sword is drawn for the brightness of the congregation of Islam.”

“After the loss of five thousand men, the Franks withdrew into Hashbaya, which the Shaab besieged; and notwithstanding the masses of rock, and the

showers of arrows which the engines of the besieged cast upon them, after a few days stormed the place. Five hundred Crusaders were put to the sword; the remainder of the population was reduced to slavery; each Emir had for his share ten men and five women. The heads of the garrison were sent to Damascus, and Sultan Nouredin conferred on the Emir the government of the country which he had conquered."

Had he spoken of the Bkkaa generally, and not specially of Waddy el Teim, we could not have critically denied the accuracy of the statement; but the Waddy Teim is limited alike in length and breadth. On the east rises the Gebel El Sheik, and on the west a long sharp ridge: the furthest extent to which this narrow slip can be drawn out is fifteen miles. Of these fifty or sixty square miles, a small portion only is fit for pasturage, and the mountains rise abruptly on all sides. Fortunately an Arab tribe requires for its cattle an amount of provender which makes the movements of large bodies a most difficult affair. The body of nomades assumed to have followed the standard of Emir Munked would have required the plain of Tiberias to the south, or that of the Bkkaa to the north for pasturage. This is to suppose that these regions had been overran and conquered; if so that act would have been stated, and the historian would not have narrowed down to the paltry though beautiful valley of the Teim, the greatness and the prowess of his house. Hashbaya, as its remains attest, had been

at some time in possession of the Crusaders. How they lost it, does not appear; it is not so much as mentioned in the works on the Crusades which I have had the opportunity of consulting. Emir Hyder states that at the same time Rashaya fell into the hands of the Shaab, which is confirmed by the existence to this day of the same family as ruling it—not as a tribe inhabiting it. It is remarkable that during 680 years this branch of the Shaab should have uninterruptedly governed the valley of Teim, amid all the ordinary mutations of life and fortune and the peculiar perils incidental to this land. With this permanency of the family is it not to be expected that the tribe itself, if there had ever been one, would have endured? If we put aside the story of the tribe, then the elevation of the Shaab family in the Anti-Lebanon is explained by the same state of things which raised the family of Maan in the Lebanon; namely, a mixed Maronite and Druze population. The Emir Younis is represented as rejoicing greatly at the arrival and triumph of the Beni Shaab, and as going to Hashbaya to congratulate them; the Emir Munked in turn visits Baklin, already become the seat of the Maan, and spends a month there; and the two families are allied by marriage.

These Mussulman Princes remain equally neuter in all subsequent feuds of the Mussulmans; they resist a subsequent attempt of Christians to retake Hashbaya. Neither Maan nor Shaab appear how-



ever at the great gathering of Saladin on the lake of Tiberias, so soon followed by the catastrophe of Hattin. The house of Shaab held patriarchal sway in the Hedjaz for three centuries before it entered Syria. It maintained a princely independence in the Hauran for five hundred and sixty years, before they were called by the failure of the Maan to the government of the Lebanon in 1694. They ruled it down to 1841, or one hundred and forty-seven years. The family now numbers eighty-two individuals; it traces its ancestry back fifteen centuries.

## CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE CRUSADES TO THE RISE OF THE  
OTTOMAN POWER.

BETWEEN the close of the Crusades, and the establishment of the Ottoman dominion there is an interval of 279 years, during which the Mirdites disappear from the history of the world, as if they had never been, or as if they had ceased to exist. Mention of them is made obscurely by Mussulman writers only at one period, 1388, when they are noticed in the same strain as on former occasions by Byzantine, Armenian, and Saracenic writers ; that is, merely to state that they had ceased to exist. The occasion of this notice is an incursion of the Turcomans in that year, when the exposed and already detached district of Kesroan was again desolated. The only notice of the invasion of the Moguls under Timour Bey is occasioned by the Emirs of Hashbaya taking refuge in Shouf, to return only after those hordes had retired. Into the Lebanon itself they never penetrated. During these eight generations they continued to be ruled by the house of Maan, the Shaab equally ruling in the Anti-Lebanon. Native annalists record events connected with these families and some convulsions ; none of which, however, affect the well being of the people, the order

of government, or the state of possession of the different principedoms. Various disembarkations of the Franks are noticed ; but they neither obtain support from the people nor become occasions of distrust or quarrel with the Mussulmans. The Princes and the People alike abstain from all connection with external events ; and it would not be known that there was any but one religion, nor even what that religion was, but for the contemporary ecclesiastical writers.

In approaching the period of the Ottoman supremacy, we come to the first conquest of this people : that is, it is not until the end of the seventeenth century that that fatal word can be here spoken of. So striking a circumstance in the history of man may well induce us to pause for a moment to contrast their circumstances with that of the remainder of the inhabitants of the earth.

Egypt has been conquered by Hyksos, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Saracens and Turks.

Greece, by Macedonians, Romans, Crusaders and Turks ; and has been overrun by Slaaves, Goths, and Albanians.

Spain, by Iberians, Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Moors.

France, by Romans, Franks, and a modern coalition.

England, by Romans, Saxons, and Normans.

Italy, by Etruscans, Gauls, Romans, Goths, Huns, Lombards, French, and Austrians.

Asia Minor, by Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Turcomans, Crusaders, and Turks.

Syria is the trodden down of nations. She has been conquered by Anakim, Canaanites, Hebrews, Assyrians, Egyptians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, Romans, by Persians a second time, Saracens, Seljuks, Turcomans, and Ottomans.

The other countries we have mentioned have been themselves conquerors in turn, and brought upon other nations the sufferings they had themselves endured. But Syria figures in history only as a victim.

In recounting the incursions under which Syria has fallen, we, at the same time, recount the assaults which the Lebanon has resisted. This Lebanon is not a Caucasus, permanent because inaccessible; nor a Himalaya, whose atmosphere girds it round with a wall, and whose structure makes it the fountain of human events. These fourteen invasions were not the struggle of campaigns, but the turmoil of centuries. The Lebanon we see to-day is peopled by the weakest, the silliest population of the globe. It could, therefore, only have held its own by a constitution of mind which profited by its physical configuration. It is the excellence of a civil society which excluded feuds, and not the impregnability of a mountain fastness which arrested armies, that enabled this one province to defy alike Timour and Pompey, Saladin and Alexander, Tancred and Solomon, the Cæsars and the Caliphs.

We test the relative adhesiveness of granite, not to ascertain which specimen contains the hardest molecules, but to find in which the process of disintegration is least advanced. In testing the permanency of societies, we have in like manner to look for causes, not of permanency, but of decay. The dissolving force is doubt, which works by division.

The first call that is made by the manifestation of ambiguity on the reparatory faculties of man is to discover a standard. The standard being found and maintained, the society will continue uninfluenced by time and a stranger to events. This standard is Law. Its fluctuation is Government. Its subversion is decay.

How the Lebanon remained to be conquered in the seventeenth century is stated by implication, when there is no statement made of division. There was no contest of succession, no conflict of classes, or of general and local administration; no difference had arisen in reference to the methods of taxation or the control of expenditure; no interference had taken place with free exchange. The words "pauperism" and "monetary system" had never been heard; no schemes of wrong abroad had undermined liberties at home; no secrecy had, in the garb of diplomacy, destroyed integrity and independence. The dissolving forces, which constitute our present Governments of the West, being wanting, not only could that society live on—it could not die.

Primitive races, if free from the evils contingent upon the concentration of power and the accumulation of wealth, have always suffered from "blood feuds." To the desire of escaping from this scourge must be attributed that wonderful phenomenon which the human race presents to the dispassionate observer—the facility of its submission to despotic power. The Lebanon has remained free also from this infliction, as is attested by the record of its introduction in the middle of the eighteenth century.

## CHAPTER X.

THE LEBANON INCORPORATED INTO THE OTTOMAN  
EMPIRE.

SYRIA was conquered by Selim I. in 1517. The inhabitants of the Lebanon, according to their historian, resisted the Ottoman arms. The resistance of course amounted to no more than we have seen on previous occasions. Nevertheless, the then Emir, Fakreddeen, visited the Sultan in his camp, " charmed him by his eloquence, and was commissioned by him to regulate the affairs of the other Emirs of Syria, over whom he obtained precedence." He returned home in peace; no change whatever was effected in the condition of the country. Emir Fakreddeen does not seem to have troubled the other Emirs by his interference, or to have enjoyed the honour of precedence over them. He was gathered to his fathers after a long reign, and his son Kerkmass reigned in his stead. Under this prince a novel feature is revealed in the character of the people, and one which determined their subsequent fate; this was the pillage of a caravan in the neighbourhood of Acre.

The Ottoman dominion had now been established for more than half a century, and during that period

Syria had known the strange vicissitude of repose. Up to this time the turbulence of the Mameluke Sultans of Egypt and of the semi-independent principalities in the neighbourhood, had kept the vigilance of the mountaineers on the alert, and so sustained the internal adhesion and external watchfulness, which, for so many centuries, had never been suffered to slumber for an hour in the Lebanon. It must be observed, that there was no soldier class, and but a laxly constituted Government; so that their means of defence consisted in constant preparedness of mind. Each man was armed, and each household, with its terraced fields and orchards, was a fortress which the inmates were ready to defend at a moment's notice; ready for that purpose to muster, and for that purpose alone; and on such occasions turning out from the child of ten years old to the man of ninety. They lived in a state, of which the variations consisted in the change from active siege to permanent blockade. And this existence had been for them continuous for nearly three thousand years, by means of which they had remained at once the most warlike and the most peaceable of men; who never touched what did not belong to them, but whom no one could touch with impunity.

The strain out of which this character sprung could not be relieved without corresponding effects; it is quite to be supposed that these military habits no longer needful for defence at home should degenerate into lawlessness abroad. It is equally clear



that the development of such a spirit in the Lebanon imposed upon any constituted Government the necessity of arresting it. To coerce such a people might be difficult, to endure their excesses impossible. The Porte seems not to have considered the forces at the disposal of the neighbouring Pashas sufficient and had recourse to Egypt. The thread of Egyptian history, so long interwoven with that of Syria, was now for the first time intertwined with that of the Lebanon. There was then too an Ibrahim Pasha in Egypt; he marched from the banks of the Nile and joined the chiefs of Kesroan, finding partizans in the mountain, principally the family of Tenhouk. Emir Kerkmass found himself unable to resist, and fled without striking a blow. The supposed ringleaders were sent to Constantinople, a fine was imposed, and the Lebanon from that time was subjected to an annual tribute; the Emir henceforward to be responsible for its payment, and to receive annually his investiture from the neighbouring Pasha. The chiefs sent to Constantinople were then liberated, the Prince was restored. With the changes above mentioned the affairs of the mountain resumed their ordinary course; it entered not into the idea of the Porte to legislate or to organize, and therefore the speculations of European writers upon the conquest then effected are equally silly and superfluous. Nevertheless from that period commences a new and unfortunate order of things.

In 1604, the Emir Fakreddeen, the last of the

Maan, succeeded to his father. This is the man who, by his violences and his folly, having brought to the ground, not only his own ancient house, but the constitution of his country in Europe, has been held to be a hero and a martyr. Having ruminated schemes of ambition, he entered into plots and alliances far and near. These being betrayed to the Porte, the Pasha of Damascus was ordered to put him down. This was now an easy matter, and Fakreddeen fled before the aspect of the danger he had evoked. He retired to Italy, where his oriental splendour, his courteous demeanour, and the mystery which overhung the Prince of an unknown people and of unheard-of faith, gave celebrity to the Druzes, and political importance to the Lebanon.

Meanwhile, the family of Maan was not disturbed in possession. The Emirship passed to Youness, brother of Fakreddeen. Here commences the perverse order which endured down to the time of the usurpation of Mehemet Ali of Egypt. Youness had been engaged in the plots of his brother. The Pasha of Acre, to whom had now been conceded the right of investiture, bethought himself of the profitable investments secured to him in the delinquencies of the Emirs; to be effected by obtaining the pardon, or, rather, in blinding the judgment of the Porte, and exacting a compensation from the delinquent. The investiture of Youness thus realized for him 300,000 piastres,—a sum which, taking the then value of the piastre, could not have fallen short of £70,000.

The tribute paid by the Lebanon to the Porte was 160 purses, or less than £20,000. Thus, by the mere screening of an offender, the Pasha of Acre realized a sum exceeding threefold the revenue derived by the Porte from the whole province. It may easily be imagined what results were to flow from the invention of this new source of corruption.

The profits of the Pasha of Acre on this transaction did not end here. The Emir of the Waddy el Teim had been, no less than Youness, compromised in the intrigues of Fakreddeen. He too had to be condoned, reinvested and ransomed; and a further sum of £30,000 entered the treasury of the Pasha. Who was ultimately to discharge these fines? Not certainly the two Emirs. The people had previously regulated their own modest finances with a sparing hand, and scrutinized each item of expenditure with a curious eye. They were all proprietors, all soldiers, all public functionaries: they did their own work. They did it well for they did it cheaply: and discharged it less by money or produce paid, than by labour contributed. Voluntary contributions to the Prince made up his revenues. This simple rule, which is no other than the condition of freedom, had now to disappear and that of exaction and oppression to take its place. Vice is an expensive luxury—and when a people lets loose its passions it must pay the equivalent, not in taxes only but in liberty also.

The two Emirs had tasted the forbidden fruit and

liked it. They recommenced plotting. There were Pashas in other places besides Acre, and they thought that what the Pasha of Acre had found so profitable it was desirable to share. Damascus besides was nearer to the Waddy Teim than Acre, and its Pasha in turn took the Lebanon in hand. In 1614 he visited Hasbaya with so large a retinue that the Emir did not think it advisable to await to receive him, and thence took his way to Deir el Cammar (circle of the Moon), to which place the Emirs had now transferred their seat from Baklim. The place was sacked, and the palace of the Maan destroyed.

Independently of these contentions with the authorities of the Porte and strifes between the various families of chiefs, the Lebanon was then a prey to those ancient factions, Caisié and Yemene, which have periodically ravaged Syria for a space of not less than two thousand years, and which to-day, extinct elsewhere, retain a traditional hold over the people of the Lebanon.

To Fakreddeen the door of return was opened by these troubles. He reappeared in the Lebanon after an absence of five years, and was met and welcomed by the chiefs of the whole country, extending as far as Baalbec, and so resumed without contest his former authority.

A dissension had manifested itself among the family of Shaab, Fakreddeen succeeded in adjusting it by dividing the Waddy Teim into two parts, giving

Hasbaya to Ali Shaab, and the superior part, with Rashaya, to his younger brother. This division has lasted to this day. The two brothers from that time attached themselves to Fakreddeen.

The next event in the life of Fakreddeen is the defeat and capture of the Pasha of Damascus, to whom he excused himself on his success, and set him at liberty. The result was his pardon and confirmation in his now extensive acquisitions. The Metuali of Baalbec had been the cause of the quarrel, and they became the sacrifice of the reconciliation. This tribe, encircling the Lebanon, had been the principal obstacle to the progress of the Emir of the Druzes, but they were nevertheless, because of their faith and turbulent habits, no acceptable auxiliaries to the Porte.

Fakreddeen, in close alliance with the Shaab of Waddy Teim, had now extended his power almost to the ancient limits of the Princes of Gebail; that is to say, from the mountains above Tripoli to Safed and all the ports along the coast. The harbours he had filled up to prevent the entrance of the Turkish galleys: otherwise he protected commerce. He thus held a considerable portion of Syria, and hemmed in the Pashalic of Damascus on the west.

But the same fate awaited Fakreddeen that has always, sooner or later, overtaken the revolted Satraps of the Porte. That Government, patient to expect and dexterous to seize the moment when prosperity has lulled watchfulness and developed

license, at last fixed the mode and moment when he should be enveloped in the toils. Simultaneously troops were dispatched from Constantinople, and a contingent mustered from the neighbouring Pashas and tribes. Fakreddeen at once withdrew from the sea ports and cities, and shut himself up in the fortress of Iskiff. Youness, his brother, remained at Deir el Cammar, but being summoned to Saïda by the Pasha of Damascus, who had occupied that place, he did not think it prudent to disobey, and was decapitated. The fort in which the son of Fakreddeen had shut himself up was taken. The Pasha of Damascus marched to Deir el Cammar and conferred the government on Alemeddeen, who was connected by marriage with the ancient family of Tenhouk, which had preceded that of Maan in the emirship, and who had been despoiled by Fakreddeen of the provinces of Meten, Jurd and Garb. He then marched to invest Iskiff, whence by cutting off the supply of water he dislodged Fakreddeen, who took refuge in the rock fortress near Lezzin. On the place being mined he surrendered. He was sent with his three sons to Constantinople, and soon after pardoned.

In the mean time his nephew, Emir Melkem, who alone of all the family had escaped, succeeded in bringing about a revolution at Deir el Cammar, and in expelling the Governor set up by the Pasha of Damascus. The Porte on this put Fakreddeen and his sons to death. The troops of Damascus again

took the route of the Lebanon. The Shaab of Waddy Teim were expelled, and the country given to the sons of Alemeddeen (Tenhok). A simple sheik was made Governor of Shouf; Kesroan was separated from it and placed under a chief of its own; the Shaab escaped to the neighbourhood of Aleppo. Soon after, however, Achmet, son of Emir Melkem and grand-nephew of Fakreddeen, regained the government of Shouf, and the Shaab returned to Waddy el Teim. Achmet, a second time displaced by Alemeddeen, was a third time restored in 1698. He died at Deir el Cammar without leaving male issue. The Tenhok had already disappeared, Achmet having cut off every remaining member of that family. There still remained one single representative of the Maan, Emir Hassan, son of Fakreddeen. But the Porte had now resolved on the final exclusion of that family. Such were the results, first of the lust of pillage and then of the desire of conquest.

## CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE SHAAB TO  
EMIR BESHIR.

THUS, after five centuries of peaceful and one century of agitated sway, the Maan at once descended from their state and disappeared from amongst men ; the clouds of disgrace as well as of disaster closing over their tomb. The Emirs, the Sheiks, and the people of Lebanon had proved alike their inability to defend and to govern themselves. Their wealth and weakness invited, whilst their lawlessness seemed to require, the extension over them of the general administration of the empire and the substitution of the authority of a Valy (Pasha) for their local usages. The Porte nevertheless adhered to its secular maxims and its public faith ; for, although we have no record of the transaction, on the imposition of tribute their ancient rights, liberties, and constitution had been guaranteed to them. It therefore left to them to fill up the void occasioned by the disappearance of the princely house, and accepted their choice, repugnant as that choice must have been.

It has been already narrated how the Shaab had been established as subordinate Princes in the



Waddy Teim, in the year 1205, from which time they had uninterruptedly and by succession held that post. They had, however, during the course of the unhappy century now at its close, undergone the same change as the supreme rulers of the Lebanon; they had been engaged in the plots, usurpations and treasons of Fakreddeen, as in those which had followed his deposition. It was upon a member of this family that the election of the people now fell, and its acceptance by the Porte is a striking instance of that magnanimity which it has always, under similar circumstances, displayed.\* I have given the account of the first introduction of the Shaab from the pen of their descendant; I will now have recourse to him for that of their elevation.

“ A council was convened of the Sheiks and notables, that they might choose one to govern them, and their choice fell on Emir Beshir Shaab, of Hashbaya, who immediately came to Deir el Cammar, and entered it together with the Mufti, the Cadi, and the chief of the notables of Saïda, whom the Pasha had sent to enregister and estimate the property of the last of the Maan, which amounted to 150,000 piastres. The notables of Shouf wrote to Mustafa Pasha, praying him to grant the investiture to Emir Beshir, and to *surrender to him the*

\* A recent instance presents itself in the case of Servia, when rather than interfere with a popular election, it prepared for war with Russia and Austria.

*inheritance of his predecessors*, engaging to become responsible for his regular payment of the tribute and the arrears. The Pasha did as was requested, and communicated these events to the Porte."

The words of history have a negative as well as a positive value. The flow of speech introduces the eloquence of silence. In this case the writer describes by this process the internal constitution of the country more explicitly than he could have done by any form of words. Whoever reads this passage with the eye of the mind will learn by its silence on the method of election, that up to this time the Lebanon remained in full possession of the elective faculties.

It is remarkable that, while up to this period neither the words Druze nor Christian are used, in the contests, which from this period become incessant, it is Druze chiefs who always appear dethroning and setting up princes—princes not of their race or people—and no mention is made of the Christians.

Emir Beshir, in taking possession of the inheritance of the Maan, had to surrender his paternal possessions. From this time the administration of the Waddy el Teïm, in the hands of another branch of the family, has remained distinct, except on one occasion, from that of the Lebanon. The authority of the new Emir extended over no more than the portion now included in the "Druze Caimacanship" and the Kesroan.

Two years, however, had scarcely elapsed when an occasion was offered to Emir Beshir for extending the power of the Prince of the Druzes over the original seat of the Princes of the Mirdites. Syria, after its conquest by Selim, had been divided into four Pashalics, Saïda, Tripoli, Damascus and Aleppo. The Shouf was under Saïda, and the limit between it and Tripoli fell on the coast north of Beyrout, at the river Adonis or Ibrahim. Gebail, Patroun, the Katan, and the other Maronite districts which extend as far as the Akkar on the north, thus belonged to Tripoli.

This division did not for the moment affect the administration of the Lebanon, reduced as its limits then were, and seemed to present an insuperable barrier to their re-extension ; especially as a stranger population appeared to occupy that portion of the Lebanon now included in the Pashalic of Tripoli. It is of this population that we have now particularly to speak.

It has already been mentioned that the principal obstacle to the projects of Fakreddeen was the strength and hostility of the Metuali race, which lay both north and south of the Lebanon. Also that the Porte looked with little favour on the auxiliaries which it had found in this population. Whence it came, how it came, what its race, what its characters, and whence its name, have been matters of as much doubt and mystery as the Druzes themselves. To all inquiries respecting them, even on their imme-

diate borders, the only answers to be obtained were fables, revealing utter ignorance mixed with fear and hatred. This is certain, that they do not belong to the original people of the Lebanon, and that their introduction dates but from a recent period ; certainly not before the fourteenth century, and more probably, or at all events principally, in the middle of the seventeenth. In their character, which combines dignity of manners, and pride of descent with ferocity and lawlessness of disposition, may be traced a derivation from a noble stock, and a succession of many generations of struggle, misery, and persecution. Historical circumstances justify by probabilities the inference, and suggest the process. In religion they are Shiïtes, in race Arabs. To this anomaly, which alone would render them unclassible, must be added another ; that they have ceased to be nomades, without passing either into the condition of citizens or of mere cultivators, but hold the districts they inhabit as a feudally dominant class. They have lost the tribe character of a people ; they have been prevented by their religious schism from being included in the administrative order of the Empire. Their position in the Lebanon was neither that of Princes called in to govern, as had been that of the Tenhouk, the Maan and the Shaabs, nor as that of a tribe which had displaced the original population and occupied the soil. The following explanation is, therefore, the only one which I find for that peculiar nature which they

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exhibit, and the peculiar station which they hold. They are remnants of the Alides, driven from districts bordering on Persia; hated by the Persians as Arabs, and by the Turks and Arabs as Shiïtes, reaching successively the Lebanon as receiving shelter rather than as making conquests, because of the community in which they stood with both Druze and Maronite, in regard to the dominant races of the cities of the plains. Bearing their share in the contest of the times, the chiefs being warlike and their people united, they would naturally come to acquire that ascendancy in the districts they inhabited which would put them in a parallel position to that which the Druze Sheiks had acquired in the southern portion, over a population which was Maronite. The Metuali, at the present moment in Beled Bsharré, and exclusive of those of Baalbec and the Bkkaa, do not exceed 60,000. A township of 60,000 souls would have indeed little weight in England; but not so amongst such a population as I have been describing. At that time their numbers were larger.

Then, also, the tract of country occupied in fief by the Metuali far exceeded the possessions of the Emir Beshir; namely, the portion of the ancient Lebanon north of the river Ibrahim, amounting to one half of the whole; the Beled Bsharré, lying south of the Lebanon; whilst their principal seat, where they had been established from an early date, was

Baalbec ; which exposed position, between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon, they had been strong enough to maintain under all vicissitudes. Having of their own impulse opposed the ambition of the Druze leaders, having so essentially contributed by their sacrifices and efforts to the discomfiture of those Princes, having given to the Porte its triumph, and having occasioned the extinction of the House of Maan, the results which followed, namely, the liberty given to the people of the Lebanon to re-constitute themselves according to their own liking, could not fail to exasperate them. They had, moreover, to encourage them, the consciousness of their own strength and the evidence of the impunity that attended rebellion in the events of Deir El Cammar.

The consequence was, that the Metuali chiefs, subject to Tripoli, refused to pay their tribute, and, in like manner, tribute was refused by the Metuali chiefs subject to Saïda.

It was in the Tripoli Pashalic that the insurrection first broke out ; each party soon feeling that he could more injure his rival than benefit himself, by common consent the Druze Emir was called in to adjust the difference. This was effected by the grant by the Pasha of the investitures to him, and the re-grant by him of the investitures to the Metuali chiefs. Considering that the mass of inhabitants were not Metuali, but Maronites or Druzes, this was the re-incorporation into the Lebanon of the district which had been included in the Pa-

shalic of Tripoli: for the Emir was now placed, in reference to those districts, in exactly the same position in which he already was, in reference to the Lebanon proper under the Pashalic of Saïda, where he re-invested the Druze Sheiks over a population nearly equally composed of Druzes and Maronites.

In the Beled Bsharré, similar circumstances were followed by the repetition of the same expedient, only that here investitures were not granted; but the Emir Beshir engaging for the payment of the tribute, became virtually the governor of the country; so throughout its whole extent, from Tripoli to Safed, the Lebanon became subject to his jurisdiction, in 1702.

After a comparatively tranquil reign of nine years, Emir Beshir was poisoned by Emir Hydar, who succeeded him; but he was stripped of the accessions of Metuali territory on the north and south. It was on this occasion that the government of Safed was conferred on Daher, the hero of Volney.

Soon after the Pasha of Saïda had reason to have again recourse to the Emir of the Druzes. The Metuali again refusing their tribute, they were again subjected to the government of Shouf, and Emir Hydar received the investiture of Beled Bsharré on the condition of acquiring it. He was successful in setting up as his delegate a Mussulman, named Mohamed Abou Kormanche. Proving not more punctual, the Emir attempted to remove him; but so well had he taken his measures with the Pasha

of Saïda, that instead of regaining the Beled Bsharré he lost the Lebanon. Abou Kormanche, with a firman of investiture from the Porte for the Beled Bsharré, supported by the Metuali, nothing loath to settle old scores with the Druzes, and aided by the troops of Saïda, and by partizans among the discontented Druzes, succeeded in overthrowing Emir Hydar: and established himself at Deir el Cammar, as Mahmoud *Pasha*. The Emir fled to Kesroan, but finding no support, concealed himself in grottoes and among rocks for a year, when he was able to reappear again at Deir el Cammar. Mahmoud Pasha was upset; and it being against the custom to put the Sheiks of Shouf\* to death, he had his tongue cut out. The Pasha of Saïda confirmed the change, and re-invested Emir Hydar, doubling, on the fall of Mahmoud Pasha, the sum he had realized on his elevation.

Emir Hydar, to recompense the adherents by whose aid he had succeeded in expelling his dangerous rival, and to strengthen and combine the Sheik interest, in opposition to an innovation so alarming to all the classes holding station or power as the introduction of a Pasha, distributed among the Druze chiefs the district of which the Shaab had become possessed by the extinction of the two ancient and powerful families of Tenhouk and Alemeddeen. These concessions extended to nearly a

\* How he had acquired the rights of Sheik of Shouf, being a Mussulman, does not appear.



third of the whole Druze country. The wisdom of the scheme under the circumstances cannot be denied, and receives a striking illustration in the consequences which attended the contrary operation, when put in practice with such apparent success by his great grand-nephew the late Emir Beshir. But had the people preserved their ancient character, the Shaab Prince might have assured the foundation of his family on materials little resembling that oligarchy, destitute of character and faith, tainted with meanness, soiled by crimes, and distinguished only by recklessness and cunning—which constitutes the class of Lebanon Sheiks from the middle of the seventeenth century.

The districts acquired and now renounced by the Shaab were the Jurd, Jezzin and Menassif, in which was situated the capital. The higher Garb was conferred on the Talhouk to balance the lower Garb, in possession of the Rosselan,\* which was the only house of Sheiks in possession who had favoured the introduction of a Pasha.

Emir Hydar by these concessions aroused against himself the hatred of his own family. From one dangerous rival, in the person of his brother's son, he relieved himself by poison: another escaped the same fate by flight; and finally he had to resign the power he had regained in favour of his son Malkem. These circumstances had rendered it impossible for

\* The present Caimacan of the Druzes is the representative of this house.

him to acquit his obligations to the Pasha of Saïda, and at his death one of his sons and several sons of the Sheiks were at Saïda, pledges for the payment of arrears.

Emir Malkem received in 1730 the investiture of Shouf: two years after that of the Beled Bsharré, and subjected to tribute, as his predecessors had twice already done, that turbulent people. Some excesses of the Druzes in the Bkkaa led to a rupture with the Pasha of Damascus, who sent an expedition against him. The Emir redeemed himself with 50,000 piastres.

The Pasha of Damascus, to detach so valuable a dependant from the Pasha of Saïda, conferred on him the government of Baalbec, the patrimony of the Metuali Sheiks. This operation was easier to plan than to execute, and the result was an open rupture between the Emir and his would-be patron. A defeat incurred by the troops of Damascus startled the indifference of the Porte, and stringent orders were dispatched to both Pashas to unite their forces against him. He was however saved by the opportune occurrence of a revolt at Damascus.

In 1750 he acquired possession of Beyrout by an arrangement with the Pasha of Saïda, which place remained 25 years under the Emirs. In 1752 he had another quarrel with the Pasha of Damascus, but was sustained by the Pasha of Saïda, on payment of 75,000 piastres. In 1754 the Sheiks set up against him his two brothers; he fled to

Beyrout. Thence he dispatched his nephew Cassem to the former Pasha of Saïda, who had now become Grand Vizir, to solicit his own restoration and the investiture of Gebail for Cassem ; further requesting that their provinces should be given to them and to their heirs in perpetuity. The Grand Vizir listened favourably to these proposals, but was too soon removed to take any step in consequence. Emir Malkem died at Beyrout in 1760. Emir Hydar sums up his sanguinary life in these words, " he killed a great many of the inhabitants of his province and of the neighbouring ones, and many villages were destroyed by the wars he carried on."

Mansour and Achmet, the brothers of Malkem, conceived themselves by his death relieved from the precariousness of their tenure. But the Grand Vizir, the friend of Malkem, had returned to power ; and remembering Cassem, expedited a firman for his installation in the government of Shouf. The Pasha of Saïda prepared to support his pretensions, and had already furnished him with troops, when the two uncles addressed themselves to the Pasha, and by the payment of 50,000 piastres induced him to abandon the cause of Cassem, who thereupon proposed an accommodation ; resigning his pretensions to the Shouf, he was made Governor of Gazir and received in marriage a daughter of Achmet ; the fruit of this marriage was the celebrated Emir Beshir.

The brothers no sooner got rid of their nephew

than they armed against each other; Achmet was established at Deir el Cammar, Mansour at Beyrout. Their respective quarrels were espoused by the two factions into which the Druze Sheiks were then divided, in consequence of a blood feud between two families, and which were known by their names, the Yezbecki and the Jumbellati. The latter favoured Mansour, as also the Pasha of Saïda, and by his aid he was able to march to Deir el Cammar, from which Achmet, abandoned by his partizans, hastened to escape.

No sooner was he freed from this rival, than another appeared, by whom he was finally to be overthrown, though only after a prolonged struggle not of arms but artifice.

Emir Malkem had left a son named Jusuff, who had been received by the Pasha of Damascus, from whom he had requested the investiture of Gabail; as this province was under the Pasha of Tripoli, who was son to the Pasha of Damascus, the request was readily granted; and Jusuff was put in possession by troops from Tripoli, aided by the Christian population who rose upon the Metuali Sheiks. From that time the Emir Jusuff had his partizans, and openly aspired to the Princedom, whilst Emir Achmet, daily surrounded with intrigues and insurrections, found himself at last unable to carry on the government and surrendered his office to Jusuff in 1771. He had entertained a moment of hope from the march of Ali Bey and his Mamelukes into Syria, and had

hastened to invite them to the Lebanon; the failure of this expedition left him without any chance of escape or means of defence.

Emir Jusuff now added the government of Gebail to that of Shouf and of Beyrout; if his power was thus increased, so also was that of the enemy against whom it was soon to be employed. Already three pivots of quasi independent action were placed around the Lebanon, in the Pashalics of Saïda, Damascus and Tripoli. A new one was to be added in the rise of the power of Sheik Daher, aided by the Metuali; and a Pasha of a different temper was about to appear upon the scene, calling in the authority of the Porte in a manner not hitherto exerted in Syria. The affairs and personages of the Lebanon now emerged from the insignificance in which they had hitherto been shrouded, thanks to the pen of Volney and the fleets of Catherine.

The Sheik Daher had his seat at Safed, formerly a possession of the Druzes; his power could extend northwards only at their expense; the Metuali were their enemies and on that account his friends: between him and Jusuff there could only be war or truce, and he had already taken the aggressive, when the Emir received orders from the Porte to act in concert with the neighbouring Pasha against the rebellious Sheik. The Emir led an army against him and laid siege to Safed. Sheik Daher had appealed to the Empress Catherine, and she, eagerly seizing upon the favourable occasion of this

diversion, placed the Russian fleet at his disposal. Emir Jusuff was vulnerable by such an arm only in his port of Beyrout, which was consequently taken by the Russian Admiral; but after a few days restored, on the payment of a sum of money, and placed in the hands of Achmet Bey. This Achmet Bey was afterwards Jezzar Pasha (i. e. Butcher Pasha). The Emir, who had been called to Gebail by an attack or insurrection of the Metuali, on his return found the gates of Beyrout shut against him. Such was the first act in the long tragedy of the life of the future Pasha of Acre.

In the mean time, the wheel had gone round, the Sheik had found favour at the Porte, or from his Russian connection inspired alarms; and Jusuff obtained his aid in expelling his own servant from the city which he had lost in opposing him. The Sheik Daher now became Pasha of Saïda, and Jusuff was his dependant. Three years of repose were left to him, and then the Porte resumed its plans of vengeance, to accomplish which, as formerly in the case of the Lebanon, the forces of Egypt were called to her aid.

This interval was, as regards the Emir, filled up with a quarrel with the Pasha of Damascus, arising out of encroachments on the Bkkaa, during which Jusuff obtained the government of it for a few months. He afterward was involved in the schemes of Daher, and only by paying a large sum of

money, succeeded in comprising matters with the admiral Hassan Pasha.

The successor of Daher as Pasha of Saïda was no other than Achmet, the faithless lieutenant of the Emir Jusuff, who, thrown into consternation at the news of this appointment, obtained from Hassan Pasha the emancipation of Shouf from all dependence on the Pasha of Saïda, except for the payment of the tribute. He also confirmed the Emir in the possession of Shouf, Gebail, the Bkkaa, and Beyrout. No sooner had Hassan Pasha and his fleet disappeared from the coast than Achmet Pasha (Jezzar) took possession of Beyrout, and demanded from the Emir three years of arrears, which had already been accounted for and settled with Hassan Pasha. The Emir despatched messengers in pursuit of the Admiral. They found him in Cyprus. He returned, reinstated the Emir in possession of Beyrout, and sailed forthwith: immediately Jezzar re-occupied Beyrout, which returned no more under the dominion of the chiefs of the mountain.

The next event—and these follow each other with such rapidity, and are so complicated in their threads and tortuous in their course, that it requires no slight strain upon the attention to follow them—is at an interval of eighteen months. Two pretenders are set up in the persons of two brothers of Jusuff. His own party, not strong enough to maintain him in Shouf, support him in Kesroan, whither he flies;

and a party, independent of all these, fatigued and exasperated, apply to Jezzar, and offer to put him in possession of the Lebanon. Jusuff gets possession of Gebail and the Bkkaa; his rivals drive him from the Bkkaa, and besiege him in Gebail; he makes his escape back into Shouf. There he enters into a composition with Jezzar for 100,000 piastres; his brothers, obtaining intelligence of the transaction, submit. This struggle is followed by numerous confiscations in the Bkkaa, Gebail, and Shouf. Two years after, the brothers, supported by the party Jumbellat, again revolted. Jusuff, having got possession of one of them, Emir Effendi, stabbed him with his own hand, and a new revolt bursting out, he put it down by the aid of the troops of Jezzar. This success cost him 300,000 piastres, which he managed to pay by confiscations and extortions.

In 1784, Jezzar ordered Emir Jusuff to take possession of the Merj Ajoun, which Emir Ismael of Hashbaya held in fief. Ismael repaired to Deir el Cammar to implore Emir Jusuff to intercede for him with the Pasha, and on his refusal he went himself to Jezzar, who not only granted his request, but conferred on him the government of Shouf, on his paying 300,000 piastres. Ismael immediately called to his aid Emir Achmet, brother of Jusuff, and who had already revolted and made his escape, when Emir Effendi fell by his brother's hand. Aided by the troops of the Pasha, they reached Deir el Cammar, and Jusuff took to flight. The



new princes, however, being powerless to raise the taxes, the Pasha made overtures to Emir Jusuff, who hastened to meet him at Beyrout; but instead of sending him to the mountain, he took him with him to Acre, on which the two Emirs regained heart, and sent to offer Jezzar 500,000 piastres for his head. He bid 1,000,000 for theirs. Jezzar immediately closed with him; and Jusuff sallied forth with the troops of Acre, and drove Ismael, not only from Shouf, but also from the Merj Ajoun and the Waddy Teïm. The ordinary confiscations and executions follow; heads fall, tongues are cut out, and eyes seared. Ismael, some time afterwards being taken, was poisoned, and Emir Achmet, treacherously delivered into his hands, had his eyes put out. Some years after (1788), Emir Jusuff inveigled the brother of Emir Ismael from Waddy el Teïm to Deir el Cammar, by a promise of pardon, and had him strangled.

The confiscations of his enemies' property, and the exactions to which he had recourse against the people, did not enable Emir Jusuff to discharge his debt to the Pasha within three years. There remained, in 1789, 150,000 piastres still due, and Jezzar, dissatisfied at such remissness, withdrew from him the Merj Ajoun and Waddy el Teïm. Jezzar had been three years before invested with the Pashalics of Damascus and Tripoli, in which he had placed two Mamelukes as his Lieutenants. These having entered into a conspiracy against him, the

Emir Jusuff joined them. Jezzar, having triumphed, turned his fury against the treacherous Jusuff; concentrating his forces round the mountains, the latter was abandoned by his adherents, and the Yezbecki faction, who had hitherto supported him, and rancorously pursued by the Jumbellati. He consequently effected his escape, leaving the field open to his nephew, Emir Beshir, who was in the ranks of Jezzar, and is supposed to have had no inconsiderable share in the fall of his uncle; lulling him into false security, and pretending to betray into his hands the troops he had obtained to secure him. Emir Beshir returned in triumph to St. Jean d'Acre to receive the investiture, surrounded by the Jumbellati, the Abou Niket, and all the Sheiks of both factions; who seemed to have forgotten their dissensions, and laid aside their rancour \*to raise to power a young prince of so great promise.

Emir Jusuff first fled to Meten; driven thence, he wandered for some time in the secluded rocks of Gebail; thence he got away to the Hauran. Then again finding no rest, he made his way to Acre, and threw himself on the mercy of the capricious Jezzar, who had so often lifted him up, and so often cast him down, and who might find him still a convenient instrument against his nephew. Emir Beshir, on hearing of his arrival, instantly repaired to Acre, and managed so well that he was put in irons, and soon after strangled, Jezzar pocketing  
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the value of about £30,000. His Government had endured twenty-six years, and he left behind him two sons.

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NOTE.—“The fleets of Catherine,” p. 104. It was the diversion occasioned by this fleet in the south which determined the unfavourable issue of the contest on the Danube. The appearance of a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean excited the alarms of the various Governments, and the apprehensions of the populations of Italy, who dreaded the entry of these vessels into their ports. (See Annual Register for 1799.) That fleet would never have reached the Mediterranean without the aid of England, and would, when there, have been sunk by the French, but for the protection of England.—See De Broglie, *Politique des Cabinets de l'Europe*, t. 11, p. 43, ed. 1794, Hamburg.

## CHAPTER XII.

ADMINISTRATION OF EMIR BESHIR TO THE DEATH  
OF JEZZAR PASHA.

WE have now arrived at the accession of a Prince who has played a great part, not merely in the affairs of his country but in those of the world. But the extent to which he has influenced those affairs is not known nor even suspected. By the process which he adopted for recasting the internal government, he has appeared to be the renovater of his native land ; in consequence of which, it seemed to have acquired a commanding influence, whilst he himself ascended to a station of consideration and power altogether disproportioned to the numbers of his people and the extent of his territory. But, in reality the influence which he exercised was a desolating one for the Lebanon. He ended by extinguishing the family of the Shaab, and at the same time extinguishing the Lebanon.

Through the very process by which these disastrous results were brought about at home, he converted his principality into the fulcrum on which was placed the lever, to be used for the disruption of the Empire to which it belonged : and thereby

prepared it to become at once the apple of discord cast to the nations of the West, and the field on which they were to be convoked to a new crusade, not against any common enemy ; but to become the prey, the one of the other.

Without the domestic schemes of Emir Beshir the siege of Acre by Mehemet Ali Pasha would never have taken place. Without the apostasy of Emir Beshir the occupation of Syria by Mehemet Ali never would have taken place. Without these three antecedent occurrences the Syrian intervention of 1840 would not have taken place. Without these four events the closing the Dardanelles by treaty in 1841 never would have taken place. Without these five events the imposition of prohibitory duties upon its own exports by the Turkish Government, in a Treaty forced upon her by England, never would have taken place. Without these six events religious wars of extermination could not have been introduced into the Lebanon, nor England and France rendered the partizans severally of the so excited factions. And so under a bitterer feeling, with weaker minds and more dangerous circumstances, the Lebanon would not have been made for England and France what Sicily in a former age became for Carthage and Rome.

When the end will have come and be known, when the historian will be applying himself to discover by what means, incidents and devious courses it has been accomplished, then may be appre-

hended,—not until then, will be suspected—the part which this weak intriguer has played in the affairs of the world.

The narrative of events during that melancholy period which commenced with the accession of Emir Kerkmass, and which has gone on deepening in gloom and atrocity down to the close of the career of Emir Jusuff, present the Lebanon on the accession of Emir Beshir as a sink of unheard-of villany, a spectacle of unparalleled misery, a blot upon the page of history, and a libel on the very nature of man.

It may well be matter of surprise how the country, exposed to such vicissitudes and inhabited by a people so faithless and bloodthirsty, should not have been entirely depopulated, and how it should, on the contrary, present the dense population and the industrious culture which continue to distinguish and embellish its rocky face even to this day. But in truth the people remained comparatively a stranger to these changes. The Princes generally fled without a struggle, and hostile bodies when in presence watched each other, manoeuvred from terrace to terrace, till the one having got a position of advantage or received a reinforcement, the other gave way. The blood that then flowed and the confiscations that ensued fell upon the partizans of the defeated party; the people noted the change only by the exactions to which they were subjected. These were indeed severe, but their effects were

easily reparable. The Lebanon as yet suffered only from the transitory violences of men, not from the undying perversion of legislators. Produce might be destrained when in the store, wealth extracted from the chest, but debt did not overlies future industry, nor fiscal regulations compress the energies of man. It was robbery only they were exposed to; they did not as yet know a tariff.

The position of the Christians was greatly improved during the administration of Jusuff. The aristocracy, the instruments and victims of these unceasing troubles, have hitherto been entirely Druze. The Christians were comparatively unconcerned. Employed as agents and farmers they increased in wealth and consideration; and in the misfortunes and confiscations of their masters, ended by possessing the lands they had cultivated for them.

In the Kesroan, Christians gradually assumed the station of Sheiks. Proselytism not being admitted by the Druzes, every religious change was in favour of the Christians, and the family of Emir Hydar had openly adopted the Christian faith.

Another change was the expulsion of the Metuali, who held the Christians of the north in subjection; they, having aided in establishing in that region the authority of the Emir, became associated with his power, and consequently the objects of his protection. Besides, during the greater portion of the rule of Jusuff, his affairs had been managed by a Maronite priest of great dexterity; who, with op-

portunities of no ordinary kind for promoting his designs, incessantly laboured for the advancement of his co-religionaries.

The promise which the character of the young prince held out, the union manifested among the factions, were of equally short duration. No sooner did the new Emir commence taking measures for discharging to Jezzar the price of his uncle's head, than all was confusion; the Mountain rose against him; his partizans, excepting the Jumbellat, abandoned him. He was unable to make so much as a stand, and fled to Saïda. Jezzar sent him back to push his fortune at the head of 1200 men; the chiefs of the insurrection, the brother and nephew of Emir Jusuff, were about to embark at Beyrout, when a success obtained by Sheik Beshir, who, though son of the Jumbellat chief, had joined the other party, reanimated the Druze chiefs and united the Jumbellat districts, which alone had hitherto favoured Emir Beshir, with the rest of the Mountain. The Pasha of Acre, disconcerted by this resistance, recalled his troops and sent Emir Beshir with a modest pension to await at Saïda the turn of events.

(1793.) After some months of anarchy, the Sheiks proposed to Jezzar to confer the investiture on the two leaders of the revolt, the brother and nephew of Sheik Jusuff, Emirs Hydar and Cassim, offering to pay him thereupon 2,000,000 piastres (£110,000). The two chiefs were, however, unable to manage



their people or to raise the money ; and such were the disorders within and the ravages committed by them around, that Jezzar bethought himself of a new expedient. The Lebanon, not producing more than three months of its consumption of grain, he proposed to starve them into submission by blockade. Another event came to shake the power of the Emirs ; the defection of Sheik Beshir, who was afterwards to play so important a part. Conceiving that his claims and important services were overlooked, and disappointed in the results of the change he had himself brought about by abandoning the party to which his family was attached, he turned his eyes again to Emir Beshir, and concerted measures with him for his restoration. Things were not, however, ripe for such a revolution ; too many feared his vengeance, and a middle course was adopted by the Emirs themselves., who sent secretly to Jezzar to negotiate for their own supercession by the sons of Emir Jusuff, and succeeded, on the payment of 100,000 piastres.

The sons of Jusuff were joined by the late Emirs, and their party had taken possession of their new offices to the apparent contentment of the people, when unexpectedly Sheik Beshir, who had collected his adherents, fell upon them, killed several of their relations and burnt and ruined their houses. The indignation aroused by this treachery forced Sheik Beshir to fly to the Hauran, and his serai of Muchtara and the houses and properties of his

relatives were in turn delivered to pillage and the flames. Emir Beshir, as the source of these troubles, was removed by Jezzar from the neighbourhood of the Mountain and sent from Saïda to Nazareth. He had however already profited by his time and occasions, and had regained many of the chiefs opposed to him; notably the Bellarmy and the Amad. Thus fortified, he went from Nazareth to meet Jezzar on his return from the Hadj (pilgrimage), and it was settled between them that Sheik Beshir should be pardoned and Emir Beshir re-invested; which consequently took place in 1794. The family of Jusuff fled before him; Abou Niket, the only chief who espoused their cause, was made Mucataji of Meten, the only district which had afforded them a refuge. The transaction closed as usual with an adjustment of accounts; 50,000 piastres purchased the pardon of the chiefs and Meten paid the expenses of the war.

The Mountain seemed now to have escaped from its trials, and it might have been expected that Prince and people, instructed by past experience, would have desisted from strifes in which all possessed the power of inflicting injury while none could expect to reap benefit. I say, it might have been expected, but not in the Lebanon, where that alone is counted gain which wounds a foe.

A few weeks had scarcely elapsed from the fall of the sons of Jusuff and the elevation of Emir Beshir, when the sons of Jusuff were again in

power, and Emir Beshir and Sheik Beshir in irons in the dungeon of Jezzar. Then fly to the Hauran the Amad and the Jumbellat. Again Muchtara is in flames and the Shouf is made to endure the same devastation as that which just before had overtaken Meten.

In a year the land was ripe again with a harvest of disorder. Emir Beshir and his brother are let loose from their prison, they receive conjointly the pelisses of investiture; their children are retained as hostages, and they are sent to the mountain again to make their way; which was not on this occasion so easy, or had not been so well prepared. The Bellarmy, part of the Jumbellat, and the Abou Niket adhere to the party of the sons of Jusuff, who, unable to stand in Shouf, make good their ground in Gebail, where they had property and partizans. The cause of their unexpected resistance is to be found in the jealousy of the Pasha of Tripoli, whose troops advanced to their support. This support however did not avail them long; a dispersion ensued, and the Abou Niket repaired to Deir el Cammar and threw themselves on the mercy of the conqueror.

The re-accession of Emir Beshir was followed and marked by an event which might arrest attention by its atrocity in the history of any other people. This event was the massacre of the Abou Niket (1797). Emir Beshir had them informed, that his brother Emir Hassan was kindly disposed towards them,

had interceded for them with him, and that he was disposed to admit them to favour on conditions, which he invited them to Ibtedeem\* to settle. They came without suspicion and were received by Emir Hassan, with whom the terms of their reconciliation were settled. In the mean time the doors of the palace were closed, the avenues secured and Emir Hassan withdrew. Sheik Beshir and the Sheiks of the Amad entered the apartment, and causing the Abou Niket to go out one by one, stabbed them. Emir Beshir sent instantly to Abaye to take possession of their property and secure their children. Four of these were brought to Ibtedeem and imprisoned. Some time afterwards the Amad entered their prison and put them to death. Two boys however were carried to Damascus and alone survive of these Abencerages of the mountain; the one, Hamoud, is actually banished for the murder of a Catholic priest at Abaye; the other, Nasif, is at present one of the chiefs of most importance as balancing the power of the Jumbellat, and as being the only man of capacity amongst the Druzes. The villages, lands, houses, and moveables of the Abou Niket became the recompense of the Jumbellat and the Amad.

These measures struck with terror the chiefs and people, and the authority of Emir Beshir seemed after these incessant oscillations to be firmly estab-

\* The palace of the Emir which stands on a hill overlooking Deir el Cammar.

lished; when the Lebanon, in common with the whole of Syria, was thrown into convulsion by the startling intelligence of the disembarkation of a powerful French army at Alexandria, which, after brilliant and rapid victories over the Mamelukes, entered Syria and laid siege to Jezzar at Acre.

Throughout Europe the displacement of the social basis in each country has to be traced back to a movement of France; to the presence of her armies, not simply as armies conquering, but as having been the occasion of promulgating metaphorical expressions, which were taken by the various people as grounds for subverting their institutions and their habits, and casting themselves upon a sea of idle speculation. In Europe, this point of departure, by those who cannot look into the diplomatically originating causes, may be taken as accident. France was at war; France conquered; France revolutionized herself; France revolutionized others. Not so in Egypt and in Syria. The disturbance of these countries sprung directly from England. Had India been under the rule of native chiefs; or had the dominion of the western masters of India been held to be firm, no French guns would ever have been pointed against Acre. As the despoiling England of her Indian dominions must remain a primary object for any individual ambition developed on a large scale in Europe, as well as for any pre-eminent system of ambition which may be, or is, instituted here, the whole of the countries which intervene

between the Indus and the Mediterranean or Black Seas, are exposed alike to convulsion by violence and subversion by intrigue. Nor is, indeed, the limit of this influence restricted to these bounds. When Napoleon pointed to the then not accomplished subjugation and incorporation of Poland, as the first step of Russia towards the dominion of India, he indicated this process as acting upon the Poles. The self-same consideration bears on every other people; on the Hungarians and on the Afghans; on the Italians and on Circassia; on the people of Spain as well as on the people of Germany; and on the United States as well as upon England and France. There can be no security, no repose for Europe, save in as far as England's hold upon India is so firm that the project of shaking it cannot be entertained. And England's hold upon India cannot be secure until she takes the measures in Europe as well as in India, necessary for the counteracting of those undertaken to dispossess her. In regard to the Lebanon her task would have been accomplished, had the purposes of the then Government been respected by her subordinate commanders. What she had to do in every case was the same. Not to meddle; and not to endure intermeddling. She did arrest in Egypt the designs of Napoleon on India; and she did restore the Egypt she had conquered to the Porte, without being then insane enough to meddle in its internal concerns. We will see how her servants acted in the Lebanon.

The Metuali, who had suffered severely from the Pasha, looked on the French as deliverers, and hastened to join their standard. But Emir Beshir, who depended entirely upon him, looked of course with terror on the French, and returned no answer to the invitations and appeals addressed to him in the name of Christianity and independence. At this time the Emir had become a Christian, although he continued ostensibly the profession of Islam.

But if the Emir turned a deaf ear to the solicitations of Buonaparte, he was equally insensible to those of Jezzar; to the latter he alleged the disturbed state of the mountain as putting it out of his power to render him any aid. While the issue was uncertain, he sought to avoid compromising himself with either; which was being guilty of treachery to his legitimate superior, to whose vengeance he became exposed on the retreat of the French army.

From this danger he was rescued by the timely presence of Sir Sidney Smith, who, paying a visit to Deir el Cammar, was easily worked upon, and made himself the advocate of the Emir with Jezzar. Some time afterwards, the Emir, not satisfied with the state of the negotiations, requested a meeting with the English "Admiral," whose squadron was anchored off Beyrout. The interview took place near Abaye, and the Emir succeeded so well in captivating the English Commodore, that he gave

him a pledge that he would never suffer the government of the Lebanon to be withdrawn from him.

From the conduct observed by the English Government in reference to Egypt, it is evident that Sir Sidney Smith could have acted upon no instructions, but must have acted contrary to his instructions, when he presumed to dictate in the affairs of Syria, and when he selected for the object of his patronage, a rebel tainted with every crime.

Sir Sidney Smith was as good as his word, and warmly urged on Jezzar the cause of the Emir. Jezzar would listen to no terms, and would show no mercy. Sir Sidney Smith left Acre furious, and declaring that the displacement of the Emir would be a *casus belli* with Great Britain.

No sooner had the English fleet left, than Jezzar announced his intention of setting up again the sons of Jusuff. But the Grand Vizir, in command of the army engaged against the French, had entered Syria. To him the Emir addressed himself; his remonstrances were backed by a present of 100,000 piastres, and a large supply of provisions for his troops. By these means, and the influence of Sir Sidney Smith, he was received into favour, and had conferred upon him by the Sadrazem the government of the Lebanon, Baalbec, the Bkkaa, Waddy el Teim, and the Beled Bsharré; with the assurance that his authority should be placed on the footing of that formerly exerted by Fakreddeen.

Jezzar answered the firman of the Vizir by the



investiture of the sons of Jusuff, in favour of whom the whole of the Sheiks declared, with the exception of the Jumbellat. The Emir was about to fly to the Hauran, when his hopes and courage were renewed by the following letter :—

“ My Brother and well loved Friend,

“ I have learnt all that Achmet Pasha el Jezzar has done against thee. I have learnt that he has driven thee from the Government conferred on thee by the Ottoman Porte, and that he has put in thy place the sons of Emir Jusuff. I immediately prepared to go to Gaza to see our brother, the Grand Vizir. I hope that thou wilt soon receive from me letters that will fill thee with joy. Do not believe, my brother and friend, that my letters have failed by any other cause save the numerous battles and great fatigues which I have had to undergo at Aboukir and Alexandria; and all that on account of the failure of Jezzar to send me the ammunition and provisions he had engaged to furnish: he has become my enemy, and the enemy of the Porte; for by the treaties that unite us, the enemy and friend of the one becomes the enemy and friend of the other. My brother, be not troubled; if God all powerful permits it, soon you will enjoy all you desire. I have left thee one of my vessels at Beyrout, which will aid thee in all thou mayest require. I know well that some of the evil disposed who are about thee will furnish to Jezzar a copy of this letter—but by the time he will see it—chastisement will have fallen on his head.

“ I salute thee,

“ SIDNEY SMITH.”

“ The Damour, the 5th of Ranoun el Evel.” (5th Dec. 1802.)

Sir Sidney Smith certainly lived before his time: it was for this age he was fitted, and into it he ought to have been born.

Shortly afterwards, the Emir, conducted by the

English consul of Tripoli, embarked on board an English vessel of war, joined the Commodore, and was by him taken to the camp of the Grand Vizir, at El Arish. Tents were prepared for the Emir and the Commodore, and the latter introduced the former to the Grand Vizir in these terms :

“ Whilst I was at the siege of Acre, I observed in this Emir great courage; it is he who saved Syria from the French, and has preserved it to his Highness Sultan Selim; his reputation has reached the ears of the King of Great Britain.”

The Grand Vizir answered: “ Our friend has said what is true; this Emir is one of the first servants of the Porte, and I shall take means for his restoration, so soon as the French are driven out of Egypt.”

Whilst the Emir was at El Arish, and cruising with the English squadron, Sheik Beshir was at work in the Lebanon. A revolt had broken out in Meten. The Emir was landed from an English vessel near Tripoli, and soon found adherents in the Kesroan. Among the first to join him were the two surviving scions of the house of Abou Niket! The sons of Jusuff, terrified at these events, had recourse to Jezzar, who sent them troops. The struggle that ensued was sanguinary beyond comparison, but futile in results. The Emirs in possession could not dislodge their rival; nor he advance into their districts. So they were reduced to a compromise, which left the country without a government. The

sons of Jusuff retired to Gebail; Emir Beshir settled in the Meten.

This interregnum saw several pretenders arise. Three Shaabs received the investiture from Jezzar, without being able to exercise any authority. A series of movements of chiefs and sheiks from one side to the other ensued; the enemy of to-day becoming the friend of to-morrow. The partisans of the sons of Jusuff presently appear as those of Emir Beshir, and those of the latter become the allies of the former. At length a memorial, signed by the great majority, was addressed to Jezzar, praying for the restoration of Emir Beshir. The Pasha of Acre, feigning or feeling sufficient respect for this document to forego his animosity, invested, for the fourth time, Emir Beshir with the government of Lebanon, and soon after died.

## CHAPTER XIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF EMIR BESHIR TO THE DEATH  
OF SULEYMAN PASHA.

THE death of the fortunate and dexterous "butcher" threw Syria into disorder, and gave scope for a game of intrigue, in which Emir Beshir, without apparently playing a prominent part, succeeded as heretofore in securing the chief advantages. Jezzar had had the Pashalics of Tripoli and Damascus united in his person with that of Acre. The two former posts he had filled with slaves of his own, who, as we have seen, conspired against him, and besieged him in Acre. Emir Beshir had entered into their views, and had since maintained a secret intelligence with Suleyman, Pasha of Damascus, who had managed to maintain himself to the time of the death of Jezzar. On that event one of his dependents, named Ismaël, conceived the project of possessing himself of his inheritance; and resolved to keep Acre for himself. The Porte, in anticipation of such an event, had, previously to the death of Jezzar, expedited a firman to Ibrahim Pasha, of Aleppo, putting him in possession of all the governments held by Jezzar, to be used at his death. Suleyman Pasha had already declared against

Ismaël, and sought to secure himself at the Porte by enforcing its authority against his former colleague. Emir Beshir declared in his favour; and Ismaël, consequently, called to Acre from the Hauran, where they had taken refuge, two Shaab Emirs, who in the recent interregnum had been set up for a moment in the Shouf.

The Pashas of Aleppo and Damascus now advanced against Ismaël, and shut him up in Acre, before which place they sat down. They summoned Emir Beshir with his contingent of troops; but he, according to his custom, would not compromise himself against Ismaël, who might in the end be successful; and though he repaired with some troops to Acre, he kept at a cautious distance; and excused himself from paying his respects to the Vizir of Aleppo, by declaring that he had made a vow, after having been put in irons by Jezzar, never again to visit a Pasha of the Porte. The Pasha was pleased to accept the excuse, and ordered him to Djouni,\* probably expecting thereby to keep him out of the way of mischief. The Porte, in the mean time, had despatched a commissioner, Ragheb Effendi, to watch the operations in Syria. Dissatisfied with Ibrahim Pasha he entered into relations with Emir Beshir, who, it is supposed, found thus the means of getting Suleyman Pasha, his old friend, substituted for Ibrahim Pasha as the new Governor of Acre.

\* The subsequent residence of Lady Hester Stanhope.

Ragheb Effendi, after these interviews, left for Constantinople, and soon returned with the firman of investiture for the Pasha and a Vizerial letter for Emir Beshir, recalling the promises made to him at El Arish, assuring him that they would be kept so soon as circumstances permitted.

On the fall of St. Jean d'Acre, Suleyman Pasha signalized his gratitude by restoring to Emir Beshir the bonds of the Emirs of the Shaab family, given to Jezzar,\* either to purchase out rivals or to buy in themselves; and which amounted to the enormous sum of 18,000,000 piastres. The investiture was accorded to him for the first time as "*Emir of the country of the Druzes.*" The Emir signalized this name by reducing to a condition which released him from future inquietude, the Christian district of Meten, which, during the last few years, had commenced to take part in the feuds of the Sheiks; and where two Christian families had sprung up to a sort of equality with the Druze aristocracy. These were named Hatoun and Hantar. He cut down their plantations, levelled their dwellings, put to death the persons most obnoxious, and raised a contribution of 15,000 piastres on the district, which he transmitted to Suleyman Pasha; and so fortified was he now by the protection of the Pasha who owed to him his rise, that the Amad family,

\* He was in the habit of retaining the bonds though the debt was discharged.

recollecting the fate of the Abou Niket, after they had lent their hands to his purposes, despairing of safety, fled the country and took refuge in Egypt. Such were the benefits which the Christians owed to the first Christian prince set over them.

His principal source of alarm was now the sons of his uncle, who had so often already driven him from power ; and he determined to deal with them as with Abou Niket. It was true they were not within the limits of his government, and held Gebail under either the Pasha of Tripoli or of Damascus. The Emirs were not distinguished by any capacity, and the strength of their party resided in a Christian, George Baz, devoted to their interests, a man of remarkable daring, dexterity, and cunning. He had secured to himself partizans not only in Shouf but in Damascus and Acre, and resided, not with his pupils, but at Deir el Cammar, whence he could more securely plot the overthrow of the Emir. He had a brother, a man scarcely less able than himself, who remained with the Emirs at Gebail. The enterprise was therefore one which presented no ordinary difficulty, as it was requisite to secure Baz and his brother as well as the sons of Jusuff. At that time the Talhouk and the Abdelmalek were in disgrace and expelled from their districts. The Emir sent for them and proposed to them, as the condition of their restoration, that they should repair to Gazir to his brother Hassan, and engage to execute whatever orders they should receive from

him. They, fully understanding the nature of the service required, closed with these terms and proceeded to Gazir. Emir Hassan accompanied them to Gebail, where, entering as travellers, they suddenly surrounded the house of the brother of Baz. He attempted to escape from a window, but fell and broke his leg, and was instantly dispatched by the conspirators. Meantime Emir Hassan secured the two sons of Jusuff, with a younger brother, and, without meeting any resistance, carried them off.

The same day, at Deir el Cammar, Emir Beshir sent for George Baz; received him with extraordinary kindness, passed him over to Sheik Beshir, who, at the very hour that the Abdemalek and the Talhouk were dispatching his brother at Gebail, strangled him and threw out his body into the streets for the dogs to feed on. On this the Emir, becoming alarmed lest the plot at Gebail should have failed, took horse and proceeded thither. On the way he met the messenger bringing him the joyful intelligence of its entire success; he therefore returned in peace, sending back by the messenger an order to put out the eyes of his cousins. They were placed under ward and forbidden to marry; their property was confiscated, and the investiture of Gebail was obtained, through the influence of Suleyman Pasha, for his son Cassim.

In other countries tyrants have succeeded in eradicating families possessed of influence; but no where else has been seen an aristocracy lending its



own hand for the extirpation of its several members. Princes who have succeeded in such a policy have commenced by raising mercenary troops; they have enrolled felons and emptied jails; or they have used the animosities of other classes; or called in strangers destitute of all connection with their victims. On the rare occasions when such tragedies have disgraced human nature, the field has been wide, the affairs complicated; distance, doubt, suspense, have suffered dexterous guilt to walk securely, and attain its ends before its purpose was known or its approach apprehended. Here no mercenaries are required. The Mograbins of Jezzar are not called in; no secret assassin engaged; no poison mixed; no mask held up. The case is common for all: yet all the parties involved might be gathered round one dinner table; every individual is known to every other individual; the scene on which are condensed all the crimes of the Eastern Empire under the Comneni and the Palæologi, is a morning's ride.

The Emir has to deal neither with factions nor classes, but with a party of gamblers. They stretch out their hands to him for the dice and the cards, and his business is to cog the one, and to prick the other. The stakes for which they throw are the vines of a neighbour, not to enjoy, but to dig up; his mulberries, to hack; his terraces, to level; his canals, to break down; his house, to set fire to; his eyes to put out, and his throat to strangle. If the work ceases for a time, suddenly it recurs without

apparent cause, as if springing from a periodical necessity, giving to the annals of their country a harmonious march of atrocity: no season lacking its expelled Prince, its stabbed rival, its ravaged district. Never does the drama derogate from its claims of style—passion and necessity—by the interference of mean and private ends, such as the setting up of one of themselves. The Emir must be a Shaab; the Emir is to be cast down; the Pretender is a Shaab. To that station, the weakest child bearing the name, is carried by the revulsion of faction or the caprice of passion; and he puts to flight the Prince bearing the same name, who may have twenty times triumphed with or over them. It was neither an effort of genius nor a stretch of imagination for Emir Beshir to say to himself, “I will get rid of them all.”

(1808.) The blows which had been struck at the different families of Sheiks had each returned to the Emir a double profit; the succession of him on whom it fell, the obloquy of him who levelled it. The continuance of the process and the envelopment therein of every single family of notables, had placed the Sheiks in this position, that, through their mutual wrongs and suspicions, they were incapable of concert as a class for their own protection. They were destitute of support on the part of the people, to whom they were objects of abhorrence from their character, and of hatred from their acts. Thus it was that the Emir in the

accomplishment of his great design made no appeal for foreign aid, and had no recourse to secret means. The work had indeed, though partially, accomplished itself before the general design had to be considered. The Abou Niket were rooted out; the Amad had fled; and with the extinction of the house of Jusuff these two confiscations might be considered as ensured. The plan of exterminating the Sheiks could not be devised as such until the Shaab family ceased to afford ready rivals, by the extinction of the elder branch (that of Jusuff) and by the disqualification of his own, the junior branch, through a cause which indeed was common to himself, but which he so managed as to render repressive against them; namely, by their apostacy from the faith (that of Islam), to the profession of which, the family owed its elevation to the Emirship.

The most remarkable feature in this operation is Sheik Beshir. He was a Druze Sheik, the head of the Jumbellat; and at once incomparably the ablest and the wealthiest man in the country. It was his adherence to Emir Beshir that alone sustained the latter in the country; and sustaining him he managed him and used him for his own ends. He stood at the head of the Sheiks, and the destruction and extinction of the Sheiks was the aim and end of the administration of Emir Beshir. But Sheik Beshir was engaged in the operation by circumstances, and before the plan was conceived, he

had dipped his hand successively in the blood of each victim. When the moment came for him to decide whether he should go on or draw back, it was too late to deliberate; or he may have seen the future means of turning to his own profit the contemplated operation. As a Sheik and as a Druze he could not aspire to the Emirship. But from the moment that the Emir himself had become Christian, that Emir continued to rule only on a false pretence. Sheik Beshir was in the confidence of the secret, and was careful to preserve it. The day might come when Emir Beshir, by the destruction of the Sheiks having become sole master at home, would alarm the Porte by intrigues and enterprises abroad; and what would then prevent Sheik Jumbellat, after denouncing the apostacy of his master, from professing Islam, and finding himself Mussulman Emir of the Mountain? At all events, it is impossible that Sheik Beshir should, after the extinction of the line of Jusuff, have engaged in the scheme of extinguishing the Sheiks, if he had looked to no more than the accumulation of the profits in the hand of Emir Beshir.

From this period for fifteen years domestic repose prevailed. This truce from family plots was owing, in a great measure, to the accession of his creature Suleyman Pasha to the Pashalic of Acre. The interval was used with remarkable caution; the people were rendered familiar with his sons as Mucatajis in the room of those families that had

been displaced. The intermediary organization was insensibly superseded by his own direct intervention in all affairs; while he amassed treasure, he loyally distributed justice. The Sheiks still undeposed were restrained within limits by his authority, and the cessation of the previous incessant feuds relieved them from the accompanying charges, exactions and alarms; so that the country enjoyed prosperity, and magnified the Emir.

(1810.) Suleyman as Pasha of Acre would have been unable, whatever his intentions or obligations, to have afforded tranquillity to the Lebanon, since the Pasha of Damascus had equally a power of disturbing it. But, two years after his nomination to Acre, he was aggrandised by having the Pashalic of Damascus also conferred upon him. An incursion of the Arabs, which the former Pasha of Damascus had been unable to check, had alarmed the *Porte* for the eastern portions of the Empire, while it was without forces to dispatch for its defence; being at once at war with England and with Russia. The whole power of the latter was lying on her northern frontier, and she was exposed to attack from the former on every portion of her coast, from Dalmatia to Alexandria, where a landing could be effected by troops.

In this extremity the *Porte* turned its eyes on the Pasha of Acre as a fit person to secure Syria, and invested him with the Pashalic of Damascus, leaving it however to himself to supply the means

of putting its decree into execution. The war now declared between the Pashas of Acre and Damascus opened an immense field to Emir Beshir. To his sagacity no less than to his contingent of men and contributions in stores, was Suleyman indebted for success. They entered Damascus in triumph together. The Emir had for his share of the spoils the investiture of the Bkkaa (for his second son Halil) and the confirmation of the Lebanon *for life*. The condition however was appended, of a yearly investiture, and the faithful execution of his engagements. In the eyes of the people, as in those of the Porte, he rose to a position of new and vast importance, and having so achieved power at home and fame abroad, he undertook useful works, built bridges over rivers, and reared in the palace of Ibtedeen a rival to the Alhambra. Warring chiefs from afar sought his arbitration, and “never before had there been in the Mountain a prince so glorious and powerful.”

## CHAPTER XIV.

THE CONNECTION OF EMIR BESHIR WITH  
MEHEMET ALI.

(1819.) ON the death of Suleyman Pasha, Abdallah became Pasha of Acre and Tripoli. Then it appeared that the blood he had shed, the influence he had acquired, the repose he had enjoyed, served nothing to the Emir, as soon as this prop was removed. The catastrophes of the time of Jezzar reappear; he is again and again driven forth with as much ease as ever, to return with the same facility.

(1821.) A year from the death of Suleyman Pasha had not elapsed when a conspiracy was formed by the two remaining members of the house of Niket and the Amad who had massacred the rest of them. They were joined by the Abdemalek and the Telhouk, who had embued their hands in the blood of the brothers Baz, and had blinded the sons of Jusuff. The Prince against whom they conspire was the accomplice of each in these crimes. The Amad were not in the Lebanon; but having returned from Egypt had settled themselves at Damascus, whence this plot was conducted; it was nowever discovered in time and disconcerted. The

conspirators had to fly ; but pursued by the rancour of the Emir from place to place, they only found a refuge in the wastes of the Hauran. Their families were formally deposed from the government of the districts which were held to belong to them, and in their persons the whole faction of the Yezbecki were smitten with confiscation.

Abdallah Pasha had taken no ostensible part in this transaction, but required on its conclusion, as the price of his neutrality, 1,000,000 piastres. The Emir resisted the demand. The Pasha blockaded the Mountain. The Emir, reduced to new straits, submitted ; and attempted to make Meten the sacrifice, by imposing on it the required contribution. But Meten demanded that the Druzes should pay their proportion. The Emir made concessions which did not satisfy, and therefore encouraged them. The priests took part in the quarrel and the people flew to arms. For the first time a Christian, Ayan, appeared at the head of a movement of the Sheiks of the Mountain. The expelled Sheiks quitted their retreat in the Hauran, and appeared at Acre ; the movement of the Christians was combined with the Druze Sheiks and supported by Abdallah Pasha. Emir Beshir, losing heart, wrote to the Pasha that he would abandon the Mountain ; and, after in vain attempting to find a refuge among his relations, in the Waddy el Teim, followed the traces of the Abdelmalek and the Talhouk to the Hauran, and with his family, Sheik Beshir, and



those attached to his fortunes, returned to the wandering life which his fathers had led in the same region eight hundred years before. The two pretenders, Emirs Hassan and Selman, who first appeared during the interregnum, were conjointly appointed, and the Yezbecki returned to power.

The Greek revolution withdrew the Emir from the desert, and restored him again to power. Instructions had been sent to Abdallah Pasha to watch the Christians closely, and to fortify the cities of the coast. There being no other chief of capacity or authority sufficient to control under such circumstances the Mountain, he turned his eyes again on the Emir, and invited him to the neighbourhood of Acre. The Emirs in possession, however, obtained their re-investiture on engaging to pay 1,750,000 piastres; but Emir Beshir was suffered to go with his partizans and settle in Jezzin, at that time separated from the government of the Mountain. With such neighbours the government of the Emirs Hassan and Selman became impossible. In daily fear of an invasion and in nightly dread of an insurrection, to raise the contribution required by the Pasha was out of the question. The Yezbecki hastened to make their peace with the Emir, and the Pasha did not long delay the pelisse of investiture. In the space of one year he had dispersed a conspiracy, fallen before an insurrection, seen himself replaced by two rivals, had raised an insurrection against his successors, and found himself again seated in the

corner of the Selamluk at Ibtedeen where I write these words.

No sooner was he reinstated than the country was again in convulsion. The agents sent to collect the taxes were resisted by the Christians of Gebail and Kesroan. The Metuali joined the Christians; the Emir hastened to the insurgent districts, accompanied only by a few troops, expecting by his presence to restore order. He found 2000 men in arms to oppose him, who, from behind their walls, during several hours, allowed their bullets to drop all around the spot where he was encamped. Neither condescending to reply nor to retreat, he remained so exposed, and secured an additional reputation, that of cool resolution, which is perhaps the only pleasing remembrance which has survived his fall. He maintained his ground until the arrival of the Sheiks of Shouf. Hassan and Selman, who, like corks in the water, are always ready to re-appear, attempted to intercept this succour, but were defeated. On this the insurgents submitted, and the contributions were raised to 600,000 piastres.

Hostilities followed between the Pashas of Acre and Damascus. The Emir, liable to the attacks of both, received orders from each. He sided with Abdallah, against whom the Porte at last declared itself, ordering the Pasha of Aleppo to unite with the Pasha of Damascus to put him down. The refugees of the Mountain, especially the old Amad, met the Pasha of Aleppo on his way, and promised

him the support of the Yezbecki if he granted the investiture to the Emirs Hassan and Selman, to which he assented. Afterwards, better informed as to the resources of that faction, he appointed another Shaab, Emir Abbas. Emir Beshir sought refuge at Beyrout; but the inhabitants, who had risen against Abdallah, refused to receive him. He then tried Saïda, but it was occupied by the troops of the Pasha of Damascus. In this extremity he was relieved by the Pasha of Egypt, who offered him an asylum; and, finding a vessel on the coast, he embarked for Alexandria with his family, was cordially received by the Pasha, with whom he spent eight months, and to whom he was afterwards indebted for his sixth elevation. This is the critical period in the history of the Lebanon, Syria, and Egypt. It was then that Mehemet Ali gained over Emir Beshir the ascendancy he never afterwards lost: his future schemes were now revealed in the measures he took to place not only the Prince of the Druzes, but the Pasha of Acre in his interests; which were no other than to obtain from Constantinople the pardon of Abdallah Pasha, and then from him the restoration of Emir Beshir. All this was accomplished. The Emir engaging to furnish his contingent of the 12,500,000 piastres, the sum at which the Porte estimated the pardon granted to Abdallah.

The Emir, restored by Mehemet Ali, was now utterly dependent on him, for a change had in the

mean time occurred. Emir Abbas who had been substituted by the Pasha of Aleppo, for the Emirs Hassan and Selman, the bitter foes of Emir Beshir, had been designated indeed by the latter himself, who finding his position untenable, wished to have for his successor a prince favourably disposed. Under these circumstances Sheik Beshir had remained in the Lebanon. The minister of Abbas was a Christian Sheik, named Meraï Dadah. This man having established an intimacy with Sheik Beshir, the latter, who was the right arm of Emir Beshir, declined to afford his usual aid; nor were matters adjusted till 950,000 piastres had changed hands in purchase of forgetfulness of the past, of which four-fifths ultimately found their way into the coffers of Abdallah.

Shortly after this apparent reconciliation, Sheik Beshir, whether seized by a panic, or acting on information, fled to the Waddy el Teïm, thence he communicated with Emir Abbas, offering to obtain for him the government of Gebail from the Pasha of Damascus. The Emir yielded to his representations; and the Pasha of Damascus was only prevented from granting the investiture by the objections of Abdallah Pasha, who, however, engaged for their personal safety if they went back, and dispatched orders accordingly to Emir Beshir.

The stage-like shiftings which ensue may be accounted for by the waverings of Abdallah Pasha, between his favour for Sheik Beshir, and his fears

of Mehemet Ali. The latter ultimately prevailed. Sheik Beshir resolved to produce an effect upon the mind of the Emir by imposing numbers. He therefore convoked followers, adherents, favourers and friends from far and near. The gathering took place at Deir el Cammar, and thence he proceeded to Ibtdeen attended by 8000 persons.

Were it not that the strings were pulled from behind and afar, the result might have led to the inference that the Emir was cleverer than the Sheik. The display was a failure ; the Sheik was kept waiting and not admitted to kiss hands. The gathering instantly dispersed, and Jumbellat, too happy to be suffered to skulk away, accompanied by the Rosslan, turned his horse's head for the Hauran ; to reappear after some months on the sides of the Lebanon.

The contest of the ichneumon and the rattlesnake, if not fabulous, is the most wonderful of feuds. How the small, soft, delicate animal can avoid the coil and survive the venom of the asp is equally incomprehensible. When bitten, he runs to a hedge and is supposed to eat some herb, and then returns with renewed vigour to the contest. These flights to the Hauran remind one of the ichneumon. The bitten Sheik just so rushes off ; just so returns. There is no field of political agitation, which has like the Lebanon such a place of refuge at hand. In the Hauran, there is neither possibility of pursuit, danger of surprise, or fear of treachery. It is a Druze country,

but interspersed with Bedouin tribes; so that it offered at once ties of blood, sanctity of hospitality, remoteness from antagonists and independence of the rule of Pashas. A small body in pursuit could effect nothing. A large one could not be supported; and if pursued, then in its rear rose the Ledja, which could be reached from every point. This Ledja is a mass of trachytic lava abrupt on all sides, elevated some hundred feet and extending fifty miles by thirty. It is broken and intersected by fissures and crevices, so as to form a labyrinth of rocks, cliffs and caverns, where the fugitive would be as formidable to meet, as difficult to find. The knowledge of the existence of this retreat, for all parties had recourse to it in turn, prevented the idea of pursuit ever being entertained in reference to the Hauran itself; whilst to the facilities of flight and refuge thus furnished has to be attributed their readiness at any moment to engage in desperate enterprises.

The services of the Hauran are not limited to the affording of protection: it furnishes also a means of assault. Once in safety there, the Emir, Sheik or partizan can communicate with every part and tribe of the Lebanon; he can wait his time; he can take his measures; concert plans with friends, conceal them from foes, and then suddenly appear to exchange places with his rival. But in truth this is superfluous trouble; the mere knowledge that he is in the Hauran, keeps his antagonist in an agony of suspense, suspicious of every adherent, watching

every motion. Besides he can always trust, like a Parliamentary opposition, to those in office for preparing his return.\*

From the Hauran Sheik Beshir emerged in the Metuali country to the north, there he was joined by the chiefs of Jumbellat, by the Amad his accomplice in the murder of the Abou Niket, by the Emirs Hassan and Selman, whose accession gave to the party all that was requisite for success, except the investiture of the Pasha of Damascus. In this extremity the Emir was saved by the letters which Mehemet Ali addressed to Abdallah Pasha; and so fearful was he for the fall of his protégé, or so anxious for a pretext for entering on the Syrian soil, that an expedition of 10,000 men was ordered for the Lebanon.† Nor was this enough: a messenger

\* When the English garrison was quitting Calais, a Frenchman called to them, "When will you come back?" An English soldier is reported to have replied, "When your misdeeds shall have exceeded ours."

† Emir Emin to his Father Emir Beshir.

"So soon as his Highness Mehemet Ali Pasha, the haughty lion, the destroyer of giants, learnt the revolt of Sheik Beshir, he was seized with a violent rage and swore that if need be he would send all his troops from Candia to the Lebanon, and that he would cover earth and sea with soldiers. Upon this we arose and kissed the hem of his robe, and we said that this matter was not deserving of his passion; that a look from him sufficed, that you were sufficiently powerful to chastise the rebels, especially with the aid of Abdallah Pasha. Nevertheless his Highness ordered 10,000 men to march with Toussun Pasha and us, but we prayed him to delay their departure until we had written to you."

sent with such haste that he reached Saïda in six days, was directed to ascertain if a further reinforcement of troops would not be requisite ; but he returned the bearer of news which put an end to the expedition ; Abdallah Pasha had his reasons for anticipating the arrival of Egyptian troops : he at once dispatched eight hundred men who drove before them the insurgents ; the minor Sheiks laid down their arms, and Sheik Beshir and his principal adherents were again off to the Hauran.

Trusting however to his former understanding with the Pasha of Damascus, he ventured into the neighbourhood of that city, and was captured with the Amad and the Rosslan, and sent to Abdallah Pasha. The question then arose, whether Sheik Beshir or Emir Beshir would bid the highest for the other's head. The influence of Mehemet Ali turned the scale, and Sheik Beshir with one of the Amad were strangled and their bodies cast into the streets : Emir Beshir paid 1,500,000 piastres. The old Amad Ali had already lost his head by order of the Pasha of Damascus : the Rosslan succeeded in escaping and fled, not this time to the Hauran, but to Anatolia.

The three pretenders, Hassan, Selman, and Abbas, had been secured by the troops of the Emir, and were brought to Deir el Cammar : several years before they had signed a paper to the effect that if they again revolted, they consented to have their eyes put out and their tongues cut off. The document



was now presented to them; having read it they declared it to be authentic: they had used their eyes and tongues for the last time.\*

The minister of Abbas, Sheik Meraï Dadah, to save his thumbs, which the Emir had sworn to cut off, fled to France and is now a merchant at Marseilles. The Christian Sheiks of the Kesroan and the family of Kazen were subjected to contributions. The government of Kesroan was given to a nephew of the Emir, and heavy contributions struck on the districts chiefly compromised.

Now comes in ordinary course the punishing of foes, and the recompensing of friends. His partizans were so few, however, that as it was not to them that he owed his success, so was he not bound to consider them in the division of the spoils; secure of Egypt, he could now, in the extirpation of the Sheiks, follow the example of his patron in his extirpation of the Mamelukes.

The Sheiks of the Mountain combined a double character, and possessed rights of a two-fold nature; the one proprietary, the other administrative. Although their possessions and their feudal rights generally coincided as to place, it was not always so.

We here touch on the feudal administration, but must divest ourselves of the false conclusions respecting that system, which we have derived from

\* One of them, Selman, one of whose eyes had been spared in the operation, the lids being only joined, obtained five years afterwards permission to have it re-opened, and the public belief is that the tongues of the others grew again.

observing it through its perversion and decay amongst ourselves. We understand it as possession of the land ; we have to understand it as possession of the tithes for the purposes of administration. The system was upset when the land was usurped, and it is that usurpation which has brought the taxes of modern Europe. What the feudal system was in the Gothic States, when in their vigour, has been the feudalism of the Lebanon, up to the time of which we write. It is this difference which constitutes that general elasticity of Eastern administrations, which enables the people to endure oppressions which would destroy any European one, and to recover from disasters which would extinguish any European Government. This has therefore to be taken into account in explaining how the people of the Lebanon were able to endure the frightful anarchy of their chiefs detailed in these pages.

In Europe, the feudal chiefs passed by slow and gradual progression from administrators into proprietors, the administrative power passing itself into possession. In the case of the Sheiks, that did not happen ; it has happened nowhere in Turkey.\* The districts were administratively termed Mucatas ;

\* The magnificent Turkish Army, and the restored finances have been furnished solely on this basis. What is absorbed as rent in Europe, here becomes the resource of the State, and the defence of the country.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Note appended to note, 1860.* The Loan forced upon Turkey during the pseudo Anglo-Russian War, of 1854, had not occurred at the time the above was written.

the administrators, Mucataji. These holders originally, as with ourselves, were yearly invested; they then became hereditary without following the law of primogeniture. A certain Mucata belonged to a certain Beit or house; it was left to arrangement among themselves, who was to possess it, and how it was to be possessed. These chiefs collected the taxes, decided on differences, levied troops, directed councils; and were in all cases the channels and intermediaries between the supreme government and the people. They received a percentage on the taxes and contributions from the people in kind; levied fines for offences, and of course had the means, when the evil times began, of profiting by the authority so possessed to get hold of land. They wormed themselves into possession, encroaching on villages, by displacing proprietors, and even by obtaining fractions of possessions, and shares of single fields; thus securing by their property increased power, while using their power to augment their properties: but it was always as so many individual acts; just as if they had stripped a traveller, or plundered a caravan. The chief who had displayed the greatest capacity in this kind of industry, was Sheik Beshir, whose possessions, moderate when he succeeded to his father, had increased at the time of which we are treating, to such an extent, that they included one-eighth of the Lebanon. It was only three generations before, that the people still remained the proprietary body, and that Mu-

cataji and Emir did not hold, and were incapacitated from holding, property. The first Shaab, on his election, had to renounce his private property.

The confiscation of a fallen faction bore equally on office and property. Hitherto in the changes the feudal system had been respected, and the districts, though under other chiefs, still remained subject to individuals of the families of the Sheiks, not to the direct authority of the head Emir.

The private property of Sheik Beshir and his adherents was of course confiscated. Mehemet Ali took charge of his three infant sons, securing them as hostages for the fidelity of Emir Beshir. The fallen party was the great majority: their fiefs, instead of being distributed to other members of the same families, or to members of other families, were resumed by the Emir; not at once as districts administered by him, but as fiefs of his sons or other branches of his family, all of whom had been reduced to the most abject dependence. The Kesroan had already been given to one of his nephews. The Arkouk was taken from the Amad, and given to his son Cassim. Jezzin, Gebel Rehan, and Tef-fah were given to his second son Halil. The two Shoufs, and Lower Garb appear to be continued in the hands of the Sheiks, because administered by the Abou Niket and the Telhouk: but they were added to the districts, which these houses, his only partizans (except the Abdelmalek), possessed, so that in reality the order was here equally disturbed;

and one of these houses, the Abou Niket, had soon to resign their hereditary with their newly acquired possessions. Even in one of these districts, the Lower Garb, the country of the Rosslan, he had given the principal village to his nephew Emir Beshir Cassim ; and so the Sheiks disappeared.

Revolutions, such as the one which we have here seen effected upon a small scale, when they have taken place in large communities have always been brought about by causes not here in operation. Under Louis XI. in France, and Henry VII. in England, the success of the monarch in extinguishing the feudal power of the barons was to be attributed to a combination between the King and the people for their mutual emancipation. The parallel revolution in European countries was also followed by consequences with which that of the Lebanon has not been attended. Whilst the nobles were put down as administrators, by acquiring possessions in lieu thereof, they retained not merely a station, but a balancing power in the State.

In the Lebanon, the revolution sprung from no alliance between the people and the prince. It was upon one another that the Sheiks were hard. Where they had pressed most heavily on the people, in the invasion of their property, the last gained nothing by the change: the Emir took all that the Sheiks had robbed, and himself was active in the same line. It repeatedly happened that applicants for redress against the exactions of his officers came and threw

their title deeds at his feet refusing to retake them. The revolution was in favour of pure despotism, but a despotism which was confined in too puny limits to fence or guard itself. After the whole power of the Lebanon had been concentrated in his single hand, a mountain fortress that had braved and stood every storm, and repelled every invasion that for twenty-five centuries had desolated Syria, became as weak as the unwallled village of the plain.

This weakness, painfully present to the Emir, was not revealed to strangers; nor was the true nature of the change penetrated by observers. The means he devised to remedy it in some degree, was no other than to arouse religious dissensions, to which, as we have seen, the people, by electing Mussulmans for princes, had remained strangers for eight hundred years,—an equal balance having been held between the two creeds. What then must have been the effect of the conversion of the ruling prince to either of these faiths? That the conversion of the Emir was a matter of conscience no one will suppose; he is defended on the score of having been brought up as a Christian, which is only an additional charge, for he ostensibly professed Islam until the entrance of the Egyptians. Nor would his whole family have changed with him and been obedient to his orders, at one time to profess and at another to deny, unless the matter of religion had been treated as a common affair of profit and of policy; in which the orders of the chief were to be

obeyed, as in any detail of the government of a district or the management of a mission.

As the Druze religion did not admit proselytes, that door was shut to him. Not having the spirit of proselytism it was not the instrument which he now required. The Sheiks whom he had to put down were Druzes; it was against their enmity he had to secure himself. The Christians had now also Sheiks and they had a common interest as such with the Druzes. By professing Christianity he could carry others along with him to counteract that effect; the clergy became his active partizans; his persecution of the Sheiks would be explained as religious; he would gain the Christian population in spite of their chiefs. The Druzes not admitting and the Christians seeking for converts, it became easy to arouse religious dissensions, and thereby at once to obtain a cloak for his acts and to secure a majority for his partizans. The course he adopted was exactly suited to such reasoning. While continuing the outward forms of Islam, he observed the ceremonies of the Maronite Church in a manner which was at once concealed and ostentatious. Shrouded by the sanctity which Mussulman usage confers on the Harem, a chapel arose; the penal consequences of apostacy were artfully used to impose secrecy on the Christians and to spread amongst them the knowledge of the change. On the other hand the Druzes, wholly indifferent in as far as religious biasses were concerned, took no heed of

these proceedings, and were unable to apprehend the consequences until involved in them. The Mussulmans from a distance considering both parties as non-believers, had forgotten that the Prince of the Druzes was other than a Druze, and if a Druze he might be a Christian. If this matter was noticed at all it was as one of curiosity, and it was noticed only to be allowed to slumber again because felt to be atrocious.

Abdallah Pasha was directed on one occasion to ask Emir Beshir of what faith he was, and answered by a question, "Is he to be put to death, and how, if the answer be, '*I am a Christian*'?" The matter was pressed no further."\* One of the Shaab on the assassination of his father, denounced Emir Beshir and all the Shaab as apostates. On this the Emir issued a general order to his house, strictly to conform to the public ceremonies and stoutly to deny to the Mussulmans their Christian profession.

The case had now arisen for the displacement of the present family and the election of a new one. This could be effected only by the union of the people; but the very case consisted of their disunion. Unable to remove the Prince who had apostatised they had to bear the consequences, which was a house divided against itself.

\* On one of the occasions on which the Emirs Hassan and Selman were installed at Deir el Cammar, Abdallah Pasha sent thither a Mollah, to see that the ceremonies of Islam were duly respected by them and the public prayers observed.



As regards the Porte the matter was equally simple. The Shâab family had violated the fundamental law of the Empire, and thus had constituted themselves in open revolt. The case had to be dealt with, or the consequences accepted. The Porte had not courage to deal with it; and it followed from that moment that the Lebanon became the vulnerable and dangerous point of the Empire, alike as regards religious supremacy, administrative cohesion and foreign intervention. The results may indeed be lamentable, as regards human nature. They are but just penalties as regards the parties concerned. No sane man can expect, and no just one can desire, that a people guilty of such baseness, and a Government of such dereliction should prosper or endure. There was, indeed, a time subsequent to 1840, as detailed in the Syrian Blue Book, and the revival of which, at the present hour, will be found in the Diary, when the people again reverted to this door of escape, and proposed to petition the Porte for a Mussulman Governor. (As regards Deir el Cammar they did carry their purpose into execution and with success.) But by this time the English Government had got such a hold of the local factions and of the Turkish functionaries, as to be able to frustrate the project, and so keep the Lebanon open for future convulsions; representing the measure as a violation of the faith of the Porte towards England, and an oppression of the people of the Lebanon. The French Government, not

then so completely abandoned, did not share in these proceedings, and even, though timorously and secretly, assisted the project, in the hope of escaping from the embarrassments it apprehended, and the dangers it incurred of being forced by French fanaticism to an active interference, by reason of the wars of religious extermination which otherwise were certain to ensue.

Each district was now placed under a Christian chief, on the grounds that he was a Christian; the Christians being, with very few exceptions, the minority in each several division, and this in a society where all interests were dealt with by means of private intrigue.

The agent of the Emir in these proceedings had been given him by Mehemet Ali; he was a Greek Catholic, named Boutros Caramby. Emir Beshir can in truth be considered but as a blind, or at least passive instrument in the hands of Mehemet Ali, from whose brain emanated the plan, to whose agents its execution was confided, by whose power its success was ensured, and for whose ulterior purposes it had been devised and was executed.

That purpose was presently revealed, in the entrance of the Egyptians into Syria. The connexion instantaneously received a two-fold proof in the events which immediately followed. The first, the open profession of Christianity by Emir Beshir; the second, the declaration of the Druzes against Mehemet Ali.

The open profession of Christianity was not, however, a matter of easy accomplishment, even at that moment. The mere sanction of the step by Ibrahim Pasha did not suffice. It is whispered that menaces had to be employed. The sons of the Emir passed from the ceremony of baptism into the Mussulman ranks of the Egyptians, and were then sent to serve against the Druzes of the Hauran; to return with all the rancour aroused by such warfare against their fellow mountaineers, and the insolent sufficiency developed by intercourse with that bastard association of cynicism and pretence, that formed the Egyptian system.

Mehemet Ali, by obtaining the apostacy of the House of Shaab, opened Syria to himself; for the Lebanon was the key to Syria. The same measure presented him to Europe as a favourer of Christianity; and enlisted upon his side those active sympathies on the part of the people of Europe, which were the best calculated to mask the meddling dispositions of their Government; and also, as in the case of France, to constrain those Governments to come into his views when they were themselves averse to engaging in them.

But the severest infliction was yet to come. Although the Druzes pretended to be Mussulmans, it had never entered into the despotism of the Turkish Government to take them at their word, and require their military service. *They* were now to be held as Mussulmans, and called upon to enter those ranks

from which to escape the fellahs of Egypt blew off their hands, and cut out their tongues. The Christians of course were spared. What could be the effect of this distinction between two fractions of a population who had hitherto lived, as far as public burdens were concerned, on equal terms? The Druze population *en masse* was subjected not to the conscription merely, but to persecution. Hunted, caught, manacled, they lost the flower of their arm-bearing population; and in three levies made during eight years, it was calculated that every Druze family had lost one member. Besides those who entered the ranks where the service was for life, how many were there who fled their homes to escape that fate? Meanwhile, the Christians, who, from the causes already enumerated, were growing in numbers and wealth, free from all such fears, became possessors of the property of the expatriated Druzes: for every recruit that was taken left a family helpless. By purchase or mortgage, its lands passed to a Christian; or he became proprietor where he had been farmer; or added to his own the deserted fields and plantations of his neighbour, wandering in the Hauran, or lost in the Egyptian ranks. What need to accumulate details: the results are there to speak for themselves. The rancour instilled into the Druzes has exhibited itself in three ferocious *religious* wars; and the gratitude of the Christians to their perfidious Prince, and his more perfidious patron, signalized in their rising against Ibrahim

Pasha and their instantaneous abandonment of Emir Beshir. These results did not indeed appear till fifteen years after, that is in 1840. I must now return to resume the narrative from the close of the career of Sheik Beshir.

The recasting of the parts was completed in 1825. From that period until the rupture between Mehemet Ali and the Porte, no troubles arising either from internal or external sources, disturbed the repose of the Mountain or the measures of the Emir. He was allowed according to his pleasure to change or modify the traditional powers of his office. His sons and relatives gave him no trouble : they shone by a reflected light. A "strong Government" was established : perfect personal security reigned. The Sheiks were swept away, as had been the Mamelukes or the Dérèbeys. The elements of religious war as yet slumbered only, and were unsuspected up to this point ; the Christians had been no more than favoured ; the Druzes only oppressed.

The siege of St. Jean d'Acre by Mehemet Ali, on the pretext of the refusal of Abdallah Pasha to surrender fugitives from Egyptian oppression, was in reality undertaken with a view to the conquest of Syria. The basis of the operation was the Lebanon. Emir Beshir remaining true to his sovereign, it would have been as easy for Mehemet Ali to have invaded the moon as to have entered Syria.

When the critical moment came, the Emir did

indeed waver ; he first sought to be excused, then entreated delay, at least till the fortress of Acre should fall. Mehemet Ali could not afford to be placable. He had already, through Boutros Caramby, got the complete mastery of the Emir, knew every transaction, every fraud, crime and weakness. The Emir might storm, writhe, devise, vacillate, but could not escape. In the Selamlik of his serai at Ibtedeem, he was chained as if in the Castle of Cairo. He repaired to the camp before Acre, and Ibrahim Pasha paraded him first there, and thence to Jerusalem, Homs and Adana.

The Druzes on the other hand, in as far as they were able, mustered in the camp of the Grand Vizir, and the last family left in possession, the Abou Niket, fled to the Turks, and appeared in their ranks at Homs and afterwards at Baylen. The Egyptian intruder now completed the religious schism, pursuing everywhere the Druze as such, with unrelenting hate, and in every possible manner favouring the Christians. The Maronites thus got accustomed to warlike expeditions, whilst of the Druzes, 5000 perished ; and to the quarrels of the Sheiks, succeeded the hatred of the people.

I have already explained the facility of insurrection, and the frequency of revolution, by the proximity of the Hauran. It was necessary to the objects of Mehemet Ali to close this sanctuary. The Hauran, however, could not cease to serve as

a shelter so long as the Ledja behind it remained unsubdued. We must therefore again revert to that volcanic island. In reviewing its strength we will obtain an insight into the counsels of Cairo.

The extent of the Ledja has been already stated at fifty miles by thirty. It is three days journey south from Damascus; the highest points are five hundred feet; the escarpment which it presents to the plain around, from fifty to one hundred. Throughout its whole extent it is destitute of water. Only in crevices and hollows is there any portion of earth, and such scanty soil bears brushwood. It, therefore, does supply fuel to a limited extent. The rock is hard and porous, and works into such sharp points and edges that the strongest shoes are cut to pieces in a few hours. The whole mass is creviced like a glacier. To the larger chasms succeeds a supplementary system of cracks; constituting the whole into a network of ditches, parapets, passes, covered ways and pits. There are sharp angles where a single man may arrest a host; there are caverns where an army may lie concealed. Nor is this fortress one of unassisted nature. Man's labour has, through thousands of years, and an endless succession of untold feuds and unnarrated battles, completed her work. Wherever there is a level spot, it is traversed by dry stone walls; where an insufficiently rugged ascent, there has been raised a succession of parapets; every improvable

pass is shouldered by masonry and zigzags. In some tragedy, on a grander scale, of which the Ledja has been the theatre, a general strategic system has been connected with these defences in detail; and watch towers of a couple of stories ascended by a spiral staircase are concentrically placed, so that intelligence should be telegraphed from point to point, and from the circumference to the centre. Defensive works are not the only vestiges which it contains, there are ruins of churches which are early Byzantine: doubtless from the religious persecutions which drove so many of the Christians to the wilderness, or forced them to take refuge either under Mussulman Governments, or in the profession of Islam.

It was in 1837 that Ibrahim Pasha, in the course of his persecution of the Druzes, found it necessary to sweep the Ledja. The first expedition composed of two regiments found it impossible to effect anything and returned. A second and a stronger expedition was sent, but with no better success. The Druzes who had sought asylum did not amount in numbers to 2000 men, and yet the third expedition sent against them was raised to 18,000. The Egyptians reached the confines of the Ledja and encamped: all seemed deserted around. Breaking up next morning, they spread themselves over a large tract of the rocks and advanced inwards, as a body of explorers might do, confident of turning and crushing their victims by



the extent of ground they occupied in their advance and by their numbers. Soon, Druzes began to shew themselves at every point, jeering and beckoning them on, but stopping neither to defend a pass, nor to fire a shot. They went on skipping over the ledges, dancing on the tops of the towers, waving their scarfs, and so the day passed from sunrise to sunset, when the Egyptians encamped, having gained but a few miles, and were allowed unmolested to take their night's repose. Next morning, the Egyptians recommenced their toil, and presently were brought up by one of those long continuous crevices, of which I have spoken. Here it was that the Druzes had resolved to make their stand. The Egyptians, overjoyed at the sight of an enemy awaiting them, rushed to the attack, and were repulsed with frightful slaughter. They were three successive times brought again to the charge, to be again thrice broken; when, in the midst of the panic that had seized them, they were rallied by the appearance of a reinforcement coming up. The supposed friends were upon them only to deliver a fatal fire, and the Egyptians, now no longer able to distinguish friend from foe, scattered in all directions, leaving two-thirds of their number on the spot; nor would a man have escaped to tell the story but for the scanty numbers of the Druzes. The small body which had taken them in the rear were disguised in the accoutrements of the Egyptians who had fallen in the two former expe-

ditions. The Egyptians had not made a single prisoner; they were only able to secure some old men who had sunk from exhaustion.

This defeat and disaster did not discourage Ibrahim Pasha: the necessity of success was only rendered the more imperative. Suleyman Pasha was sent to take the command with new troops; as the survivors of the last expedition were so completely demoralized that they trembled at the name or sight of a Druze. The new commander saw at once the impossibility of reducing the Ledja by force, and also the means of doing so through its destitution of water. Numerous tanks and reservoirs had been dug and built in former times to preserve the winter rains for summer use. There were fountains and wells around within reach of the besieged. At these he established fortified camps, or caused them to be filled up; and the whole was blockaded, not by forces sitting down, for that was impossible, but by bodies of troops marching round to intercept communications.

Gradually reduced to extremity, they sent away the women and children in small parties, and then made a sally with the intention of reaching their brethren in the Lebanon. They were, however, unable to cross the Bkkaa, and took refuge in the Gebel Sheik of the Anti-Lebanon. Suleyman Pasha pursued them, and enclosed them there; again they broke away, and returned to the Ledja. Again he followed them, and again they regained the

Gebel Sheik, where at last they were all put to the sword; but not without the aid of treachery. A noted brigand, Chebly L'Ariane, had joined them, and been admitted to authority amongst them. He had been from the beginning in intelligence with Ibrahim and Suleyman Pasha, and betrayed them into their hands.\*

\* Chebly L'Ariane, insignificant as he was, is still the kind of person fitted, like Abdel Kader, to become a European hero. Poujolat makes him chief of the Druzes, under the name of Chebil; says that Ibrahim Pasha offered 10,000 purses for his capture, which would be equal not, as he states it, to 125,000 francs, but to £60,000; and describes him as delivering himself up to save his country from ruin. Ibrahim Pasha is made to address him thus:—"Wear the sword which you have used so well. Arms are for the brave. If I had two such men as you by my side there is no enemy in the world that I would fear." After which, the "Druze leader returns to the hills to put out the last spark of this memorable insurrection, which had cost the Egyptians 10,000 regular troops, besides other sacrifices." (*Voyage en l'Asie Mineure*, par M. B. Poujolat, Vol. ii. p. 567.) This work is a specimen of the unbounded facility of misrepresentation by means of the complete ignorance of Europe on every point, and the passions which affect every man. It further shews how misrepresentation propagates itself, for the foregoing statement is embodied in a valuable work, first anonymously published, but since acknowledged, by Prince Frederick of Schleswick Holstein. It must be said, however, that M. Poujolat is the only French writer who has told the truth, or rather who has not perverted the truth, in reference to Mehemet Ali.

## CHAPTER XV.

## THE CONSTITUTION OF THE LEBANON EXTINGUISHED BY THE EUROPEAN POWERS.

THE reduction of the Ledja, completing the possession of Syria for Mehemet Ali, was followed in course by a new attack upon the Sultan. With the resources of Syria in money, provisions and men, and the latter disciplined, the victory of Nezib was easily gained; and had the combatants not been interfered with, the consequences must speedily have been the restoration of the authority of the Porte throughout Syria, if not in Egypt. To Europeans such a statement may appear a paradox or an impossibility. But that it was the conclusion of those who rule, is shewn by the steps immediately taken at Constantinople by the European Powers to keep down the Turkish Government. They addressed to the Porte, within thirty-three days of the battle of Nezib, a *collective note*.

It is physically impossible that the intelligence of the event could have reached the remoter Governments, and the decision based thereon have been returned to Constantinople in the time. But the battle, and its issue, were perfectly well known beforehand,

as all such events are now a-days, from the perfection to which diplomacy is brought; just as the result of a race is known beforehand, when certain horses have been made safe. Thus the battle and defeat of Novara was publicly mentioned in London a week before it occurred; so that of Isted at Berlin, and so that of every diplomatic transaction, in which revolutions or armies are employed as the instruments.

This "Collective Note" conveyed the menace of war on the part of entire Europe, in case an independent Sovereign refused to submit to the dictation of a rebel. Such a course could only have been adopted under a conviction similar to that which I have above stated. Namely, that the victory gained at Nezib by Mehemet Ali, would lead to the downfall of the Egyptian power, and the restoration of the authority of the Sultan. But, independently of reasons—what I here speak, I know.

The "Collective Note" was not the only means employed. The defection of the fleet, and sudden death of the Sultan ensued, which had also been arranged, as had indeed been the movement itself of Ibrahim Pasha. The pretext for this collective interference of the Governments of Europe put forth to their own subjects at the time, was, as it has always been, the protection of the Ottoman Empire.

The insurrection of the Viceroy of Egypt had, however, been prompted at Alexandria, and sus-

tained at Constantinople, not with a view to its success, but as leading the way to an ulterior operation; which consisted of the confiscation at once of the Sovereign authority in Turkey, and the convulsion of Europe by a general war. In the prosecution of this design, certain of the Powers who had signed the "Collective Note" of 1839, turned round upon France, and signed the Treaty of 1840, on the pretext still of saving the Ottoman Empire, but from France, not from Mehemet Ali. The expected result of this operation was to drive France into siding with Mehemet Ali, and conjointly attacking Constantinople; when the pretext would have been again obtained for a Russian descent on the Bosphorus, especially stipulated for in the Treaty, and for a collision between the naval forces of England and France, on the coast of Syria.\* It was

\* Force of the respective Squadrons at the beginning of August, 1840.

BRITISH.		FRENCH.	
No. of Vessels.	Guns.	No. of Vessels.	Guns.
1 . . . .	104	2 . . . .	120
4 . . . .	84	1 . . . .	100
1 . . . .	80	2 . . . .	90
5 . . . .	74	9 . . . .	86
—		1 . . . .	80
11		—	
		15	

Shewing a preponderance in favour of France, of 405 guns; the English vessels mounting 889, the French 1294. The French had besides, three more sail of the line, under orders,

not the discrimination but the cowardice of France, that prevented the first. It was a conversation, which I had myself with M. Theiers, followed by a telegraphic despatch to recall the French squadron to the Piræus, which prevented the second. The English squadron had been left with such an inferiority of ships, guns and men, as to have at once encouraged the French Commander to attack, and exasperated the British nation into a "hot war," by the disasters that would have ensued.

The Treaty of 1840 was signed in London, and England appeared to the world as the soul of the enterprise. But no appearance put on and no explanation offered or accepted, can alter either the source of the Treaty or its results. The Treaty came ready drawn from St. Petersburg. The result, leaving Turkey aside, was the rupture of the French Alliance; and no one could be found then or now, to believe that Russia's object was the good of the Ottoman Empire. From this period we may assume all diplomatic action to proceed from a Russian source; and the end of all such action to be the extinction of the Ottoman Power. Within diplomatic

and twelve frigates; besides twenty-two powerful steamers, carrying, or ready to receive, from six to ten 80-pounders. The Treaty, by preventing the restoration by Mehemet Ali of the Turkish fleet, gave further a Turco-Egyptian force of eighteen line-of-battle ships, which might have been joined to the French squadron, so that by the end of August the fleet under the command of the French Admiral would have amounted to thirty-six line-of-battle ships.

action we have also to range the movements of troops and armies, and we have to apply the same interpretation to proceedings of this order in their special application to Syria and the Lebanon.

In 1839 the same elements of insurrection in Syria against Mehemet Ali existed as in 1840. They had not shewn themselves previous to the battle of Nezib because of the total inaction of the Turkish Government. After the battle of Nezib, these elements were compressed by the 'collective note;' or rather by the imbecility of the Turkish Government in submitting to it. In 1840 these elements were evoked, but it was to be done not by the Porte but by an English squadron on the coast, the distribution of arms and proclamations. A course which again shews that the 'collective note' was based upon a due estimate of the circumstances. The appeal was instantly responded to; the French association with the Maronites was utterly disregarded, and Ibrahim found no Syrian true to his colours save a few poor Druzes, the last remnants of his persecutions who had been forced into service in his ranks. In defence of Emir Beshir no hand was raised; nor was hand required to pull him down. English *Commissioners* summoned him from Beyrout to their presence. On his scorning obedience he was declared fallen. In three days he had to appear as a suppliant. He wanted to go either to his Sovereign or to his old patron the rebellious Pasha. Both requests were refused and he was



told to select some other place of refuge; to which he answered in the language of his country, "then send me to hell." But the word which in his country's language represented hell was Malta, whither he was conveyed, and where to his equal surprise and disgust he was landed, and told that it was done at his own request. So ends the history of the house of Shaab; so ends the story of the Lebanon.

From the period of the connection of this country with Egypt, we have ceased to be engaged in tracking our way through its events. We have been seated as spectators watching the progress of a drama written before hand; where the personages declaim passages, concerted for the catastrophe.

Von Hammer stops short in his history of the Ottoman Empire at the treaty of Kainardji in 1774, because from that period it was impossible to write it. Henceforth, he says, the different States of Europe are moved by springs, the secret of which is known only at St. Petersburg. The history of the Lebanon, certainly since 1840, has been managed by three of those Governments (Turkey, England and France) who have ceased to have a history of their own.

At best, the Lebanon from that period affords a small chapter in the history of Russia, as adding one to the many fields of political and religious rivalry, for the Powers of Europe.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## HISTORICAL CONFIRMATION.

THE foregoing outlines of the history of Gebel Souria, were written on the spot for the purpose of being enlarged after I had the opportunity of reference to authorities. The present volumes being called for by passing circumstances, the manuscript has been placed in the printer's hand, without even the leisure for a previous perusal. There might have been a countervailing advantage in this; as compiled exclusively from native sources it presented their own ideas unmixed, and unoppressed with controversial matter. It was only when the preceding sheet was passing through the press, that I looked at Gibbon, and have in consequence added this intercalary chapter for the following reasons.

The native authorities might be supposed to overrate the importance of their people. The statement in the foregoing narrative most likely to awaken surprise, and provoke contradiction, is the weight which I have attributed to the Lebanon in determining the relative positions of the Caliphate, and the Greek Empire. A common perusal of Gibbon or any of those general histories, which are undertaken

merely as compilations having reference to the name of some people, or of certain ages of the world, would lead the reader to infer that my statement was apocryphal. I therefore quote on this point a passage from Gibbon, which is in itself a full confirmation, whilst the phrases which accompany it, would produce exactly the contrary effect upon the reader. For at one and the same moment, he designates the Mirdites as being one of the firmest barriers of the empire ; and, as being disarmed and transplanted by the suspicious policy of the Greeks. I subjoin in a note the entire passage.\*

\* “The event of the siege (of Constantinople) revived both in the East and West the reputation of the Roman arms, and cast a momentary shade over the glories of the Saracens. The Greek Ambassador was favourably received at Damascus, in a general council of the Emirs, or Koreish : a peace, or truce of thirty years was ratified between the two empires ; and the stipulation of an annual tribute, fifty horses of a noble breed, fifty slaves, and three thousand pieces of gold, degraded the majesty of the Commander of the faithful. The aged Caliph was desirous of possessing his dominions, and ending his days in tranquillity and repose : while the Moors and Indians trembled at his name, his palace and city of Damascus was insulted by the Mardaites, or Maronites, of Mount Libanus, the firmest barrier of the Empire, till they were disarmed and transplanted by the suspicious policy of the Greeks. After the revolt of Arabia and Persia, the house of Ommiyah was reduced to the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt ; their distress and fear enforced their compliance with the pressing demands of the Christians ; and the tribute was increased to a slave, a horse, and a thousand pieces of gold, for each of the three hundred and sixty-five days of the solar year.”—Gibbon’s History, Vol. vii. page 5.

The next point is that connected with faith. William of Tyre, to put forward a successful proselytism, represented the Maronites as Monothelites. Consulting now European writers, I am amazed to find that this ridiculous perversion is spread through all authors, and all ages. Gibbon, with the happy facility of sounding phrases which seem to have been composed by themselves, and then drawn at hap-hazard from a box, to be appended to proper names equally drawn at hazard, mixes up the truth and the falsehood, so as to lead the reader into a maze, and then to send him forth filled only with the sense of the writer's universality of knowledge, and conclusiveness of judgment.

“ In the style of the Oriental Christians, the Monothelites of every age are described under the appellation of Maronites, a name which has been insensibly transferred from a hermit to a monastery, from a monastery to a nation. Maron, a saint or savage of the fifth century, displayed his religious madness in Syria; the rival cities of Apamea and Emesa disputed his relics, a stately church was erected on his tomb, and six hundred of his disciples united their solitary cells on the banks of the Orontes. In the controversies of the Incarnation, they nicely threaded the orthodox line between the sects of Nestorius and Eutyches; but the unfortunate question of *one will* or operation in the two natures of Christ, was generated by their curious leisure. Their proselyte, the Emperor Heraclius, was rejected as a

Maronite from the walls of Emesa; he found a refuge in the monastery of his brethren; and their theological lessons were repaid with the gift of a spacious and wealthy domain. The name and doctrine of the venerable school were propagated among the Greeks and Syrians, and their zeal is expressed by Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, who declared before the Synod of Constantinople, that sooner than subscribe the *two wills* of Christ, he would submit to be hewn piece-meal, and cast into the sea. A similar or a less cruel mode of persecution soon converted the unresisting subjects of the plain, while the glorious title of *Mardaites*, or rebels, was bravely maintained by the hardy natives of Mount Libanus. John Maron, one of the most learned and popular of the monks, assumed the character of Patriarch of Antioch; his nephew Abraham, at the head of the Maronites, defended their civil and religious freedom against the tyrants of the East. The son of the orthodox Constantine pursued, with pious hatred, a people of soldiers, who might have stood the bulwark of his empire against the common foes of Christ and of Rome. An army of Greeks invaded Syria; the monastery of St. Maron was destroyed with fire; the bravest chieftains were betrayed and murdered, and twelve thousand of their followers were transplanted to the distant frontiers of Armenia and Thrace. Yet the humble nation of the Maronites has survived the empire of Constantinople, and they still enjoy, under their Turkish

masters, a free religion and a mitigated servitude. Their domestic governors are chosen among the ancient nobility; the patriarch, in his monastery of Canobin, still fancies himself on the throne of Antioch; nine bishops compose his synod, and one hundred and fifty priests, who retain the liberty of marriage, are intrusted with the care of one hundred thousand souls. Their country extends from the ridge of Mount Libanus to the shores of Tripoli; and the gradual descent affords, in a narrow space, each variety of soil and climate, from the Holy Cedars, erect under the weight of snow, to the lime, the mulberry, and the olive trees of the fruitful valley. In the twelfth century, the Maronites, abjuring the Monothelite error, were reconciled to the Latin Churches of Antioch and Rome, and the same alliance has been frequently renewed by the ambition of the Popes and the distress of the Syrians. But it may reasonably be questioned, whether their union has ever been perfect or sincere; and the learned Maronites of the college of Rome have vainly laboured to absolve their ancestors from the guilt of heresy and schism.”\*

This accumulation of misstatements is further accompanied by foot-notes, which lead the reader to infer, not that the author is contradicting the authorities he quotes, but that he is copying them.

For instance; in support of the statement, if the word can be applied to such loose phraseology,

\* Gibbon, chap. xlvii.

that the Maronites "threaded the orthodox line between the sects of Nestorius and Eutyches," and "generated by their curious leisure" the unfortunate question of one will, he quotes La Roque. That author asserts the direct contrary. He says, "The disciples of St. Maron kept aloof from all the sects." "The Monastery of St. Maron rendered itself celebrated in the East, by the inviolable attachment of its religious, to the holy doctrines, which they defended alone against the heretics." (page 40.)

After mentioning that the Monophysites were called Jacobites from their founder, who maintained in Christ two substances and one sole nature, he says that Jacob was opposed by John the second Maro. (page 44.)

"This voyage to Rome and this patriarchate of John Maro are confirmed and described at greater extent in some Arab histories, which relate that he set out from Syria with a Legate of the Pope; that having arrived at Rome, his creed was examined, that he was afterwards created Patriarch of Antioch, whither he repaired, and where he extinguished heresy; at last, that he retired to Mount Lebanon with all the Jacobites whom he had brought back to the Church, and that he was received by the people with universal joy." (p. 48.)

Gibbon also quotes the Dictionary of Asseman, as proving the identity of Maronites and Monothelites. Asseman, as the following passages will shew, states exactly the contrary.

“ John Maro, (elected Patriarch of Antioch, A. D. 673,) having converted many to the orthodox faith, the Latins of Antioch moved thereby, presented him to the Cardinal Legate of the Roman See ; and by their suffrage John was created Bishop of Botrus, (Patroun), that he might preserve the Lebanites in the Roman faith.” (p. 499.)

“ Edenensis and Nairen contend that on the occasion of the war, the names of Melchites and Mardaites began to be heard in Syria, that the latter, following John Maro, were called Maronites, and that they preserved the orthodox religion in Syria ; that the former, because they followed the Emperor, were called Melchites, that is, Imperialists, and that these were Monothelites.” (p. 507.)

The Edenensis, here mentioned, means a Mirdite from the town of Eden ; this reference shews that that people was not destitute, at the time, of native writers. The Maronite priests, in translating to me their own ecclesiastical writers, gave me no grounds for inferring that the institution of their Patriarchate was in any way connected with foreign influence. The Roman writers would, of course, desire to establish such a connexion, for which a colour would be given by the voyage of John of Maro to Rome. One point is, however, most satisfactorily established ; that the term Maronite, at this period, had no reference whatever to any population ; and was simply the name of a religious sect, opposed to the Monophysites and Monothelites, in which they



agreed with the Greek Church ; these heresies having been successively condemned at the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, and the Council of Constantinople, A. D. 680, but opposed to the Greek Church on the matter of the procession of the Holy Ghost. They maintained in fact in the East, and alone maintained there, the essential doctrines of the Church of Rome. In their subsequent union with the Church of Rome, similar concessions were made to them, in regard to their liturgy, to Church discipline, language, and celibacy of the priesthood, as were made with the so-called United Greeks and Armenians, with whom their position was perfectly analogous.

The perusal of Gibbon leads to the conclusion, that the year 1860 was not the first in which the freest scope was opened for misrepresentation in respect to the Lebanon. The tone of that misrepresentation is, however, the opposite to the prevailing one at present. From him no one could gather that there was dissent or difference. The Druzes are not so much as mentioned. The same may be observed in the work of Cardinal Dandini, who went to the Lebanon in the middle of the last century as a Legate from the Pope, and who, in his account of the country, at least in the English edition, does not once use the word Druze.

In respect of the neutrality of the Lebanon during the Crusades, Gibbon bears ample testimony, by never once mentioning it or its people.

DIARY IN THE LEBANON

DURING THE

YEARS 1849 AND 1850.



# DIARY IN THE LEBANON.

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## CHAPTER I.

### VISIT TO SHEIK SAÏD JUMBELLAT.

*25th November, 1849.*—I LEFT the Palace of Ibtdeen this morning; we crossed the ridge which forms the valley of Deir el Cammar, and immediately came in sight of Muchtara, backed by a black hill or mountain of pines. The incessant terraces have disappeared, nature has revived, is stronger in mountains and more varied in frowning rock and beetling precipice. The rivulet has cut its way along the bottom of the valley, and its meandering course may be traced by the cliffs jutting from each side, and almost uniting. The Caimacan of the Druzes, Mir Emin, seemed to take pleasure as we rode along in repeating to me the traditions of the country. He has possessions in the neighbourhood of Beyrout, which are very extensive. His olive-trees gave him £15,000 a year. The sum appears incredible, but the figures were given me over and over again; and he is in debt! These men have not our expenses, they do not gamble. It

was an enigma how they could spend their money, and so I told him. He answered, "We spend it in injuring one another." Mir Emin is but in the third rank. The first is of course the house of Shaab; the second, Jumbellat, which we were going to visit. Mir Emin told me that he was quite a young man; that his father was the celebrated Sheik Beshir, who, rich, cunning and powerful as he was, never was permitted to sit in the presence of Emir Beshir. When he observed that the Emir was cutting off the chiefs of the Druzes, he knew that his turn would come; and when the Emir turned Christian he suddenly raised the country, and surrounded Beit ed Deen (Ibtedeem, as it is commonly called) with eight thousand men. Emir Beshir had recourse to the Pasha of Acre, Abdallah Pasha, who secured Sheik Beshir. He offered to the Pasha £100,000 for his release; Emir Beshir £200,000 for his head, and got it. He then attacked and destroyed the palace at Muchtara, which stood on the opposite hill before us, confiscated his goods; his sons and dependants were scattered and took service under the Pasha of Egypt. Saïd Bey, the young man we are presently to see, had been restored by the Porte, but he has done this and that, and is under a cloud: he has now become the favourite of the English.

. We were a gay and numerous party, well mounted and caparisoned, and active withal. Every spot not actually rock was turned up by the hoofs of

the horses. On a level part, before descending the ravine, Saïd Bey appeared at the head of a body of horsemen. He sprung to the ground, and came and kissed the hand of Emin Effendi. He then mounted and followed. The Mir Emin presented me as a "Friend." He stopped all remark by an instant change of manner. A moment after, on my expressing my admiration of the scenery, he turned his answer, which was made in the hearing of Emin Effendi, to meet the insinuation of Mir Emin: it was this. "Under the shadow of the Emperor our master, and God willing, we will embellish it." When he came up he seemed to be a lad, but afterwards years appeared on his face, his costume was graceful, his performance perfect: the attitudes of a slave were environed with the air of a Prince. He wore the Meintan and Potur, all black, and, where the turban or kerchief is almost universal, the simple cap. His under jacket was a rich stuff of mingled grey and black, his belt a piece of gold and green embroidery: a rich sabre was suspended from the shoulder, and a gorgeous embroidered case with gold tassels was slung round his neck.

After following for a short time, he suddenly spurred his horse, which was the signal for the whole troop, his and ours, to start off and mingle in a headlong gambol among the rocks; firing off blunderbusses, and playing at jereed with such reeds as were at hand, pipes, sticks, and even umbrellas. As we descended the pass, the exposed beds of shells re-

awakened the geological fervour of our expeditions from Deir el Cammar. Buckland's spirit would have rejoiced to behold the turbaned Turks, and unturbaned Curds, Circassians, Georgians, Armenians picking out with yatagan and masia,\* belemnite and trochus, and wrapping the specimens in their handkerchiefs. While so engaged, who should break through the trees upon us but Izzet Pasha, with his military figure and rich costume. He too was engaged in the same chase, and two orderlies followed him with handkerchiefs full of specimens. On this happy meeting, we all sat down at a fountain. It is singular how rapidly the table is here spread in the wilderness. A few capotes and horse covers, with the plane tree over head, and at once you have a furnished apartment. The fire as by magic was sending up its flame, the coffee, Takim, made its appearance, and pipes and snakes of nargillies crossed the floor. After the specimens had been considered and compared, and a little lecture delivered on the things at the bottom of the sea, the coffee drunk and pipes smoked, we mounted again, crossed the rivulet on a bridge, and at the pace of a hunt with the fox in view, ascended the steep of Muchtara. Our party might amount to 50 or 60 horsemen, as many more were running on foot; while before us the assembled chiefs and elders, to the number of 150, formed groups on the terraces of

\* A pincer for embers for the pipe. There is generally one within the iron ramrod of the pistol.

the palace or on the rocks. As we approached the precincts, Saïd Bey dismounted, and ran as a groom, holding his hand on the crupper of Emin Effendi's saddle, who rode a fine black animal, but invisible from his housing of gold and embroidery. The horsemen who had preceded us were wheeling on the esplanade, and throwing or feigning to throw the jereed. We reached the entrance hall at a gallop, but Saïd Bey was up and holding Emin Effendi's stirrup to dismount. Emin Effendi, Izzet Pasha, Mir Emin and I, were led into an open hall where water was brought for our feet, which we declined; a censer of burning incense was placed in the middle. Saïd Bey then went round with rose water, which he sprinkled on us and poured on our hands: then came sherbet and the coffee and pipes. Before the door, stood in a wide circle the 72 elders from the whole of the Lebanon, and the chiefs and collected people of this district, in all the majesty and variety of that costume, which on the shores of the Bosphorus is now but a tradition. There were a dozen rites and races amongst these, but no distinction of dress or rank (as far as religion was concerned) or tongue. From the window there was the magnificent prospect which I have endeavoured to describe; a fountain played before us; the murmur of water fell on us from above, ascended to us from below. The sun had mitigated his beams, but had not veiled his splendour, and this was the 25th November. Dishes of fresh plucked figs and grapes



stood before us : what could man desire more, what better invent. A reduplication of inward satisfaction arose from the contemplation of itself. Reverie, such occupation is called, and from such was I roused by the exclamation, "Now let us work." I was first disturbed and then puzzled ; but finally expressed myself as follows : "Of all the enjoyable things I have experienced to-day, this disturbance is the most so." On this the Bulucks were told off and started on their beats, and we in the meantime took a stroll through the little village, followed by a long train of attendants. Every stone was scrutinized, every herb and tree ; the mode of building criticized, new plans discussed ; a spinning wheel in one cottage set a going, and the description of our highland one, which is moved by the foot, leaving both hands free to spin, and winding up itself the thread, so as not to require to be turned back, was listened to with interest, and then turned into Arabic for the benefit of the natives. Two high functionaries of the Porte were exhibiting as scientific European travellers. On our return Saïd Bey was sent for, and Emin Effendi choosing to be interpreter, I expressed my regret at seeing such buildings ruined, and asked how the people of the Mountain had been seized with the mania of destroying each other. He answered that these things were before his time ; that his youth was spent in exile, and only now had he been by the bounty of the Sultan enabled to see his country. I answered : "Your good fortune has

given you a treasure, may your adversity prove a jewel."

Izzet Pasha, when he was gone, amused us by the account of his arrival and reception. The manner of dinner they observe here had overwhelmed him. The dishes endless, and the dimensions enormous; he declared that 200 persons might have dined from the meal presented to him. One of the dishes was a heap of pilaff, and on the top an enormous sheep entire, decorated with garlands. The sheep here are fed like the geese for Perigord pies; they are tied each under a mulberry tree, crammed with its leaves and washed daily four times; they have also large tails. But the strangest part of the hospitality was the demeanour of the host, which ended in a fit, after which he lay on a sofa unable to move for two hours. It was not till after much cogitating that it occurred to Izzet Pasha, that the fit he had been seized with was terror, and that he had been watching his movements, expecting a sign at some moment that should signify the close then and there of his youthful career. So this explained the enormous rations, by means of which the appetite of the Pasha would be so glutted, that Sheik Saïd would not at that time be required. However, the respite of two days had restored him to equanimity; and I never saw a young man who displayed a more thorough consciousness of longevity. One consequence was, that the dinner was disappointing. I complained very much that Izzet Pasha having had

a whole sheep to himself, we four should not have even half a one between us. On this I was asked to stay to-morrow, and that I should have a dozen to myself. Saïd Bey, on being sent for, came and sat down at table with us. The table was got up in the Frank style, indeed out-doing us; for instead of table cloth it had the cover of a boudoir table, but we ate with our fingers. He retired immediately after with Mir Emin. Emin Effendi, Izzet Pasha, and I were left to our pipes, our coffee, and ourselves. In the course of the evening, I bethought myself of going and paying a visit to our host. I found him in the midst of a crowded divan. My arrival occasioned great surprise, but evident satisfaction. The only chief of distinction there, was Hattar (or Hallar), who served as interpreter, as Saïd Bey speaks but little Turkish. Hattar is a man of little wealth but great influence. His air is that of a bandit.

Saïd Bey abounded in his expressions of gratitude and devotion to the English. He made anxious inquiries respecting Colonel Rose, whom he called his patron and protector. I asked him what he thought of the measure which had assembled so large a number of guests around him. He said, "It is the order of our master and must be good." I asked if it were good in itself, or because of him who ordered it: he remained silent, when Sheik Hallar with emphasis said, "It is good in itself, and it is only ordered by the Sultan because demanded by the people."

Said Bey said that he could not part with me to-morrow ; that he had expected a visit, and hearing that I was at Deir el Cammar, had sent expressly to request one. That his man finding me at the Palace, had not ventured to go there, but now his good fortune having brought me, he could not consider this a visit, since I had come when it was not he who was master of his house. This amiability did not efface, though it smoothed down, a sombre air and sinister countenance. They are an incomprehensible people. Seeing a body of them assembled, I have always the idea of a number of compressed storms ; a man's interest consists in how he stands with this one or that. I was speaking of our Poor Laws, and telling them that with us every large proprietor had to pay a considerable sum for the support of the poor. Said Bey imposingly replied, "We give to the poor one half of our revenues." The scene described by Izzet Pasha shews how they can be frightened. The Consuls, every fifteen days, send some piece of frightful intelligence, which they are ready to believe.

26th.—It has been determined that I am to remain here a couple of days. Emin Effendi's departure took place this morning with his train. Izzet Pasha remains to prosecute the numbering of the people. The numbers which they had returned for this place themselves was 30. He has found 140. He merely counts the houses, allows three souls to each, and then estimates the probable number between the

ages of 20 and 60 who are liable to the tax. He guesses the state of the Mountain (that is the two Caimacanships, extending from Tyre to Tripoli) at 70,000, and these are to pay, I find, 20 piastres each. On calculating the amount, I was infinitely surprised to find that nearly one half of the tribute will be made up from the poll-tax; so that the census, the object of all this commotion, is, after all, for the rating of the property for raising no more than £2100! The Porte expends twice that sum for its share in the work. The people offered to bear the entire charge, but the Porte would not allow them. It is absurd, therefore, to look on the opposition of the chiefs as occasioned by unwillingness to be taxed; it is the loss of revenue they apprehend, in a stop being put to arbitrary exactions.

I find considerable apprehensions respecting the drafting for the army, recollecting as they do the administration of Mehemet Ali. As yet nothing has been said respecting recruitment.

The Turkish military service is by no means so heavy a burthen as continental conscription. The lot falls only on those between the ages of 20 and 25. The term is but five years. Chiefs of families, only sons, and those engaged in study, are exempt. From those liable, the lot takes one in eight or one in ten. They are well fed and clothed; they have the bath gratis, or frequent it at less than 1*d.* They receive a relatively larger pay than the British sol-

dier, and twelve times as much as the Russian. Many not drawn offer themselves, and those whose term is expired frequently offer to re-engage.

The inhabitants of the country are either Christians of various sects, or Druzes, with some few Shiites, called here Metuali. Druzes, though openly conforming, are not held to be Mussulmans. As rayas they would not be subject to military service; but they do not pay the equivalent poll-tax or charatch. The present poll-tax has been proposed by themselves as a means of raising the tribute.

We have received intelligence that a Chamberlain of the Emperor has arrived at Beyrout, and that the Russian flag was flying at the fore of the Russian steamer in sign of its great gestation. The Prussian Consul has also been to the Pasha to say that he, too, had a traveller for the Mountain. This, as may be imagined, has produced a great sensation, and I was besieged with interrogatories. The first question always was—"Is Russia, too, going to meddle in the Mountain?" By the natives the question was not put without evident satisfaction, just as at an English election the news would be received of an additional candidate. It is natural that they should seek a third protector, for the protogées of each power suffer from the other. Saïd Bey is persecuted by the French Consul for a sum of money; against this his patron, the English Consul, cannot shield him, so a third protector is an

object to all. I replied to them, that I did not think Russia had any such intention. This answer was not at all to their minds. The Turks were surprised, and I explained that she would make use of the Mountain to provoke the rivalry of England and France, and for this purpose it was requisite that she should not appear on the field. Izzet Pasha said that gave him the key to something the Russian Consul had said to him, and which he could not comprehend. "His Government," according to M. Basili, "had sent him instructions to meddle, like France and England, but he, out of regard for them (the Turkish officials), and wishing to live in good harmony, did not obey his instructions, and never in any way interfered in those affairs. If he learnt anything of importance for the Turkish Government he never failed to communicate it to them for their guidance, and he took no part but so far as to be of service to them." What did this mean, said the Pasha — a Russian Consul who does not obey his instructions, and who tells us so? Now I understand that he wanted to make us feel the obligation we were under to them, and thus contrast their conduct with that of the others. However, the Russian Consul gains nothing by it, for it is perfectly well known that he works the others. Even the English dragoman remarked in the Pasha's saloon that whenever his Consul became busy or angry, the Russian had just paid him a visit. A word of Mir Emin, who I am sorry

to say had a fit of the ague last night, shewed me in a striking manner the demoralizing effect of these intriguers. He said that the Pasha of Beyrout sometimes sent him an order to arrest a man in consequence of a charge brought against him; the man would be arrested, and the affair put in order of adjudication. A few days afterwards a letter would come to this effect—"The English or French Consul objects to the proceedings, you must, therefore, liberate him." I have consequently written to beg the Pasha not to mention the Consul's name, but simply to send a pardon, which I may publicly read to the people.

Emin Effendi and the Caimacan being gone, Izzet Pasha busy with his census, and Saïd Bey with his guests, I betook myself to the bath.

I had not visited this part of the building before, and I did not look for the splendour of Ibtedeen, but I was surprised when led through an ante-room, that just held a wide sofa, into a small cupola of fourteen feet square, with two recesses similarly diminutive; one of them containing the Haous, the plunge bath, or piscinum, of the Romans. It was neat however; laid in slabs of carrara marble with slips between of their own beautiful stone, running through a gamut of shades, from white or pale stone colour to brick red, and of consistency, from the friable limestone to flint. The prevailing material is lithographic stone. It is cut easily and smoothed down or polished by rubbing the softer with the



harder, and cracks easily into rectangular masses. For building in every shape and for ornament it is impossible to imagine a material better adapted. All the buildings are with vaults in stone; the streets in the towns may be said to be vaults, and the inlaying or mosaic in stone or marble, is the ornament of the country. They have also an indurated shale, which is hard enough to take a polish and is jet black; it contains bituminous matter enough to burn when put in the fire. Of all species of apartments the bath is the one requiring and calculated for, the display of marbles and mosaic. That of Saïd Bay, humble as it was, was the only ornamented part of what remained to him as a house, and just the thing I have fixed upon for wishing to have, and hoping to live to see, attached to every cleanly gentleman's establishment of modest fortune in my own country. On inquiry I found this was not the bath belonging to the serai; it had been ruined with the rest, and this one had been built by Saïd Bey. The cost was about £350. In England it might be built for the same, or less, and with a better and larger ante-room might accommodate fifty persons a day. Saïd Bey now rose in my estimation. When making these observations I little expected that my pride was about to have a heavy fall, and on the most tender point. If there was one thing belonging to the bath that I imagined I understood it was the shampooing of the foot; if there was any part of the human body that I conceived I duly estimated, or the sensual

enjoyments derivable from which I fully possessed, it was the foot. I now discovered that I had lived in thick darkness in respect to everything connected with it: being asked if I should like to have a shampooer, a man whom I was told was perfect in that line was sent for. After considerable delay he made his appearance—a tall, gaunt figure, with wiry and hairy limbs—and at once seized upon my feet and treated them with an art and dexterity which the tractatrix of Martial might have envied. The rest of the body engaged little of his attention, and indeed so much time was consumed that twenty-four hours would scarcely have sufficed for the operation had it been extended to the, in his eyes, evidently inferior members. The attendants crowded round—I dont mean the attendants at the bath, but from without—in their heaving abbas and ample turbans, and watched with curious eyes the cracking of each toe and the mesmerizing of each spot.

The sun had already dipped behind the hills when I descended to the esplanade, of which there are two, one in front of the buildings and commanding a beautiful view of the valley; across it ran a stream of water which poured over the edge, and turned a mill below. It overlooks to the north-east the other esplanade, on which the game of jereed was exhibited on our arrival. These must be remnants of the Crusades, for the name given to them is "Phantasia."

Here I found the Pasha walking, and the crowd

assembled and standing at a respectful distance. He seemed embarrassed, and had evidently something unpleasant to communicate; at last he made up his mind, and said, after a deprecatory preface, "I think you ought not to stay in this house longer than you can help." I inquired what had happened; he answered, "I know nothing, but I suspect that Saïd Bey has received a letter from your consul." I asked him why he had not sent for me immediately, that I might have started, as now it was too late that night. He answered that it was only while walking there that he had guessed the cause of several things he had observed during the day, and which shewed that my presence was very embarrassing to our host, and which he could only attribute to the consul's writing to warn him. We found the dinner table laid for two only, but sent to invite Saïd Bey's presence at supper. He came, and I thought that I perceived the same embarrassment; he drew his chair away from me, never addressed me, and when addressed by me merely replied. Immediately on rising from table he disappeared. However, about an hour afterwards, and when we were discussing whether I should not pay him a visit, and try and comprehend myself if there was any foundation for our suspicions, he entered the apartment. He placed himself far away, and on the other side of the Pasha, contrary to his habit. I carefully abstained from taking part in the conversation, and on his

being called out, I requested the Pasha to avoid any topic connected with politics; for I had come here a guest, had been kindly received, and wished to avoid anything that could be disagreeable to my host. The Pasha smiled, and no sooner had Saïd Bey returned than he commenced questioning him about his property; how many mills he had, how many houses, how many mulberry trees, how many olives, where they were, what they returned; and at last I perceived Saïd Bey become rather uneasy. The Pasha now continued with a bland pertinacity and the most infantine simplicity, to inquire what brothers he had, how old they were. He was astonished to find one older than himself, appealed to me as to the extraordinary nature of the fact, asked me if in England such things happened. I was on thorns, and threw out signs of distress. The Pasha was blind; his questions continued. The young man explained that his father had left in his will that the cleverest of his sons should succeed. The Pasha was delighted, admired the usage, and hoped it would become general; then asked him who had decided in his favour, and put him in possession. He replied, the Turkish Government, who had ordered that the custom of the country should be observed. He then asked if that was the custom throughout the country. "No, it was only in their family." At each new embarrassment and contradiction, the Pasha was more and more delighted and complimentary. The young man became

more and more confused, his speech embarrassed ; he became first incomprehensible and at last mute. I then interposed, and asked him about his horses ; he turned to me as to one who had come to his rescue, and the Pasha turned round with a sly look, as if to say, "Did you not see what I was after?" However, the questioning he had undergone had evidently led him to make serious reflections on the precariousness of his own tenure, and the letter of the consul, if letter he had received, had lost its charm. Suddenly he addressed me in these words, "What do you think of the Mountain, and what will you say of us when you go away?" I answered, "I shall say that Saïd Bey received a stranger like a prince." "But what more will you say?" "That I know nothing." "But you have asked me nothing." "Do you wish me to ask you?" "Ask me what you like, I shall answer you by mouth or in writing." "I have already asked you, and you would not answer me. I asked you last night everything, when I said Are you satisfied with the Messaa?" "But Hattar Bey answered you." "Yes, *he* did." "But I told him in Arabic what answer to give. And now I will say more. I was before against the Messaa, I am for it now. The Sultan has not sought it ; the people sought it. I have been in Egypt, and, though young, can understand the difference of a Sultan and of a Pasha. What country was ever so treated as this is? what Sovereign was ever a

father as the Sultan is to us? You shall not go away from the house of a Jumbellat, and not know what the Sultan has done. The Mountain produces ship loads of oil and silk. There are 40,000 men fit to bear arms; and all the Sultan takes from us is £17,000; whoever heard of such a tax? Then he pays back to us for ourselves £13,500. Then the troops here, by which we have our present prosperity, cost (giving the details) £30,000. Then the commission we asked for, and which we offered to pay, but which he pays, comes to £2500 for the year, so that he lays out money for the Mountain. He has taken no one's property. Emir Beshir took £200,000 a year, oppressed the people and cut off the Sheiks. But this is not all; we are now saved from two things, that did us most evil. If a man committed a petty crime, the Emir took money from him, and his servants too, so every accusation was believed. If a great crime was committed there was no redress but by the musket, and therefore was the Mountain filled with hatred, and the interest (faida) of every man was not what he could gain, but how he could injure his enemy." Here he stopped, leaving the Pasha and myself in astonishment. On my expressing my surprise to hear from him such things, he asked why? I answered, in consequence of what I have heard at Beyrout and elsewhere. "What have you heard?" "That the Mountain was divided into two parts, and the one looked to France to aid them, the other to England,

and that could only be because they were oppressed by their Government."

He was embarrassed and did not answer. The Pasha then said, "My surprise has been not less great in consequence of what I have heard of you at Constantinople and at Beyrout among my people." "What was that?" "That you were our enemy; that you hated us and plotted with every foreign intriguer, whom you thought would help you. You know that from the time I first saw you at Ibtedeem, I have been your friend with the Pasha of Saïda, and you know that such and such a conversation took place respecting it:" the Bey assented. "I then looked on you as a young man whom kind treatment might recover. I now see that you are an intelligent one, and really and in heart our friend. I am proud of what I have said in your behalf. I will be your wakil henceforward,—when you come to Beyrout, you will be my guest, and whoever touches you touches me."

The Bey did not respond, and for some time he was a prey to anxiety, which I thought I could read. I believed every word he had spoken to be honest; it was the truth but not the whole truth; his position of dependant was fixed, his animosity against, and fears of, the French party were fixed. He was probably deeply compromised, and in the back ground there was the dread of the Porte, and the idea of protection against an extreme case by

means of his foreign connexion ; in fact he had neither light to see his way, nor resolution of character enough to walk of himself.

He again turned to me and said, "What do they say of me in your country?" I answered that in my country they are busy about their own affairs, and know nothing and care nothing about what passes elsewhere. "Ajaib!" he exclaimed, "but then what do they say of me at Beyrout?" "The last thing I heard of you was that you had had a meeting of your friends, as you fancied held with the utmost secrecy, and that you had sent for a relative, in whose village there is an American Missionary, and sent him down to the English consul at Beyrout, to consult him about getting up a sham quarrel to distract the Turkish authorities, and befool your friend here, the Pasha, and so get the Messaa put off for the winter, fatigue and disgust the Porte, and thus leave you the people to oppress as before."

As I proceeded, I observed his face work and his knees tremble, but I went on. I was resolved not to be the occasion of a sham reconciliation, and, since we had entered on the matter, to do what I could to make both make clean breasts of it. The Pasha, on his side, was equally embarrassed, and threw out such signals of distress as he had disregarded when made by me.

The Bey now commenced a long explanation, so mumbled that I could scarcely comprehend a word.



The Pasha deprecated, the Bey persisted, and when I had left them sufficient time to become hopelessly embroiled, I interfered, and said that I had cited the incident only because he wanted to know what was said of him. I did not ask whether it was true or false; but while such things were said, it was clear that they would be repeated. They would travel to Constantinople, they would be written to Paris and London, where the Turkish Ambassador would hear them, and write them again to Constantinople. The effect would be to raise suspicion there, and the day might come that an order thence would send him to prison, or dispose of him without it; and neither on one side his European friends, nor on the other his friend the Pasha be able to save him; or the French Government might be exasperated, and raise the Maronites, and his house be burnt again. The Pasha took up my words, and repeated them one by one, adding that I had expressed what was passing in his own mind. The Bey then asked me what he should do. I answered that if he could do what I should advise, I had told him already. "You have told me nothing." "Did I not say to you when I arrived, Let your past adversity be a jewel?" "What did that mean?" "Experience. Now I shall be more explicit. If I were in your place I should reason thus:—I have seen my father slain and his homestead ravaged, yet I, who am not his eldest son, have come into possession of all his lands: I am head of the first

house among an ancient race; I have authority placed in my hands; all this I owe to my sovereign, a sovereign who dealt kindly with my country. My father was but a servant in this country, I have become chief; if disturbances occur I will suffer first and most; let me then avoid the very appearance of what will give umbrage to that Sultan. Nothing can do so more than concerting with foreigners."

The Pasha again repeated my words, and dwelt upon them, and after a great deal more in the same sense, and it being now near three in the morning, he took his leave. I retired with him, not wishing to remain alone with the Pasha; but after I had gone to bed and everybody had retired, the Pasha opened the door, and sitting down on the bed said, "I could not rest till I had told you that, if he was in the wrong, we were so also; twice he has been thrown into prison, and though no doubt that would not have happened had he been prudent, yet we ought to have taken another course and made him find in us the protection he sought elsewhere." Then, after some civil speeches on the course I had taken, which I did not fail to reciprocate, he retired; and, satisfied with the results of the evening, and thinking I had brought both parties to look favourably on each other, I turned my face to the wall, and slept.

27th.—This morning I awoke with less confidence. Saïd Bey is in character suspicious, irresolute and weak, and the tempter is at hand.

The forenoon was spent in noting what went on in the room in which the Pasha was proceeding with his census. Saïd Bey was exceedingly active—sending man after man to detect concealed persons, and each new pressure bringing more and more men to light. It was like an oil press—another turn and another squirt. The chiefs helped the Government to detect the men, the people to detect the property. There was now no longer any objection to my remaining here this day as I intended originally, and Saïd Bey was anxious to keep me, so I allowed the Pasha to depart alone in the afternoon. Our host did not feel himself bound to the like demonstrations as on the departure of Emin Effendi, and did not accompany him. Coming immediately to me he said, “Now that I am my own master I welcome you.” I said, after the departure of your distinguished guests I am a small matter; he replied, half embracing me, “You suffice for me.” I begged him not to think of me, but to attend to the troop around him, and he went, saying, We will have at least the evening to ourselves. About supper time I received a message to know whether he and I should dine in the front hall by ourselves, or whether I should like to see an Arab dinner? Choosing the latter, the tray was brought into the room where I was sitting, and fifty or sixty persons crowded in after it. Now I understood the pile of pilaff of which the Pasha had spoken. The cloth was laid on the floor, then the stool, *scemni*, then

the brass tray, or *sofra*. So far it was Turkish, now slipped in the Arabic; a large tray was brought in and set down, and the whole contents transferred to the table (*sofra*). From the centre, from a deep round copper dish of the size of a wheelbarrow's wheel, rose a pile of pilaff; but twice as large must have been the tray that bore the whole sheep. Around this were placed the dishes, like the planets round the sun; the thin scones were rolled up and laid on the ground all round under the table. When the Bey and I were seated, he invited from the group one by one till we were ten; that is as many as could comfortably sit. I was waited for to begin, and pleading my ignorance he shewed me the way. They eat the pilaff, not at the end of the meal, but with every dish, pouring spoons full of the sauce of the dish they like best on the part of the pilaff they dig in. There was a dish before each; they were all different, and each skipped about to his neighbour's mess. I did not vary my attentions, chancing in that before me, if not on one better than I had ever tasted, at least on one better than which I had never tasted. It was a ragout of mutton, the meat soft as butter without losing its flavour. There was a green vegetable, wild herb, with an *agro dolce* sauce, the sweet and the acid of which were slightly touched, and its soupçon of richness embellished the simplicity of the pilaff when poured over it.

The meal is despatched rapidly; as each finishes,

he rises and retires back, the *lein-brick*\* is brought to him to wash, another takes his place at the table, and so on till the whole are served. Thus it is that the enormous piles of pilaff were explained. We sat down ten persons to a meal sufficient for sixty, and it was finished; for, reversing our order of courses, six times, not the dishes, but the guests were changed. Yesterday there had been five such tables, and Saïd Bey told me that he has at times fed 1000 persons, and that the tables went on for two hours; allowing ten minutes for each five tables, would just suffice for that number. This is indeed lordly and patriarchal hospitality, and covers a multitude of sins. I do not know that the chance of having the roof burnt down once in ten years, when so redeemed, may not outweigh the churlish tranquillity of our ensured residences. Those who sat are partizans. Thus it is that Sheik Saïd expends his substance on the poor.

The cookery here offers peculiarities and dishes unknown to the Turks. The seed of the fruit pine, scattered all over the country, is used, as in England in the time of Elizabeth, in every dish, sweet and savoury—to the savoury it gives mellowness, to the sweet, substance and flavour. Of the sweet dishes I remarked two, one in which it is stewed in the celebrated dried apricots of Damascus, the other small patties with a shortbread crust composed of this pine-seed and almonds crushed together, with a

\* Ewer and basin.

sprinkling of semolina and sugar. One dish reminded me of the many resemblances I found between the cookery of Barbary and the Highlands: it is shortbread. It is served as square cakes, the thickness of our shortbread. The resemblance first struck me, but when I tasted I thought it different, and inquired how it was made, and was told it was with equal parts of flour, sugar and butter. It then occurred to me, as the composition was exactly the same, that the difference of taste arose from the butter having a bad flavour, and semolina being used instead of flour, which made me suspect that it contained almonds. The Highlanders, not having semolina in the north, have substituted flour; I would recommend to our housewives to return to the original plan.

Semolina is not the word, but bourgoul. The grain is malted, dried and crushed. It makes an excellent pilaff, and for all culinary purposes is preferable to flour. It makes better soup than macaroni, and from it they make their delicious pastry. It acquires such tenacity that the thin leaves are formed by taking a lump and throwing it out so that it falls on a slab of wood; the pastrycook shifts his hold, turning it and throwing it, till it stretches out as thin as a sheet of paper.

The sprouting causes increase of bulk, and if the process is arrested at the proper moment a slight and agreeable acidulation is acquired, together with

the softness and remarkable tenacity of substance which I have described.

When I rose from the table the Bey rose too, but he told me he did so on my account, as the master of the house has to sit on till all the guests are served. We retired to the large hall, and thither one by one the guests followed us. In their portly abbas and white turbans, as they were seated around on the floor or the divan, they might have been grouped for a picture of Kaled and his companions reposing after the conquest of Syria. I had frequently remarked that common character of decay in the Arabs and Greeks—loquacity; but these Arabs, if Arabs they be, have retained what the Greeks have lost—ceremony and silentiousness. But this only holds in a social point of view; once any sort of business is begun their tongues are set loose and there is no stopping them.

My host seemed to set about thinking of the things that would interest me, and with the occasional assistance of a squinting Deli Bashi, succeeded in communicating to me many things I was glad to know. One person he pointed out to me of the blood of Emir Beshir, whose father had taken part in the persecution and death of his father. He told me that some months ago God had sent him a son, and during a month the house was crowded with people who came to wish him joy, for the people loved him much; some had come three days' journey. What could I say to them, said he, but

“God grant that your children may live;” and then I set meat before them, and I sat with them while they ate.

The Maronī love us (the Druzes) for two things: 1st, we do not want to make converts of them, and do not like to see them become Mussulmans; 2nd, we do not like to see their daughters married to Mussulmans.

A Druze may become a Christian, but no Christian can become a Druze; those that are Druzes were Druzes from ancient times, and no more can become so.

The peasantry on his lands pay him one-third of the grain, where the seed and oxen are their own. They give him half of the silk and oil.

When he had exhausted his budget, of which I give the above as samples, he began to question me; first as to the points of a horse, and then as to horse-racing. Then he proceeded to the House of Commons, and inquired what their business was. He could form—happy ignorance—no idea of any business of an assembly, besides the municipal affairs of their own Megilis. When I attempted to describe a law, he was driven to extremities like myself, and appealed to every one round the room if they had ever heard of such a thing. I endeavoured to explain it by “the plan of Chekib Effendi;” then they said, “That happens once for all.” I told them we made such plans every year, and when I mentioned that we made in one year as many as 200, there were



exclamations all round of *Vai! Vai!* and the business of a European assembly assumed in their eyes form and consistency.

28th.—I have described our host's dress on the day of our arrival. The next day he wore the uniform of Mehemet Ali, in whose army he had held the rank—a very low one—of *Yuz Bashi*. The officers wore it of any colour, and his taste was not manifested in the selection. It was grey with black embroidery; and with his sallow complexion, and heavy features the change was more remarkable than even in ladies who by chance have on one day a dress that suits their complexion and the next, one that suits their taste. To-day, the official personages being gone, and perhaps also in consequence of a discussion we had on dress, he appeared in the long oriental *anters* and *jubbé*; the latter was of canary-yellow cloth lined with *sable*, the other of rich yellow silk, and the *shalvars* of the same. I don't know if the colour was selected with a view to complexion, but he seemed to be parading the properties of a theatre before a rehearsal of *Bayazed* or *Othello*. I was to start this day, and as I remained later in my room writing, he came to me and said he was very busy; but that if I would not stay another day he must put off his work that we might have some time together, as he had much to say to me. He had sent for a young man who had been in England to serve as an interpreter, and had before offered him to me, to go with me. He was sent for, and the

first word he uttered in translating was, "What is the Prince's name in England?" I did not know what to answer, as I saw he wanted to get again on politics, and I merely said, "We don't change the names of strangers." He got angry and sent the interpreter away. He then commenced himself a long story about the English and Turkish Governments being one, and his being a great friend of General Rose (they do give brevet rank), and his anxiety to put things in order, and to put an end to feuds. We were interrupted by dinner or breakfast, and while the interpreter was presenting me with a napkin after washing, when we were done, he whispered, "What my master wanted to know, when he asked you what his name was in England, was, if the English were going to make him Emir of all the Mountain, like Emir Beshir." To avoid further discussion, as I saw how useless it was with such weakness and such passions, I hastened my departure, and went only to take leave of him. He would not, however, let me go, he sat down: the conversation he said was left unfinished, and went on, "and I have a question to ask you: the Arabs hold to the sacredness of bread and salt, you have seen much, you know our affairs; I have no one else to tell me what I am to do." I inquired if his question had reference to gaining something he had not got, or to keeping what he had. He seemed to guess my meaning, and earnestly disavowed any ambitious plans. He pressed again, and I said, a man cannot serve two

masters. Rescue the mountains from this disgraceful dependence, and you will make yourself indeed a chief among your people, or at least you will be an honest man. He again appealed to the bread and salt. I told him that all I had said was for his good.

This conversation vividly recalled the last one I had had with Milosh. He told me of Constantinople being made a "Free port"; and I answered him, that within the year he would be a fugitive at Odessa or a wanderer in America. But he went to Semlin, not Odessa, and started in fourteen months, not twelve.

The Bey was sumptuous in the leave-taking; honours and ceremonies in these countries are a possession which are neither trafficked with nor given away: to me they were prodigality itself. He kept standing on the terrace till I was out of sight, much to my annoyance; for my hired horse, with mean equipments, though a good roadster, was a stubborn brute at starting. He objected to quitting the meanest stables and the commonest fare; judge then the desperate effort he made to remain the guest of the Jumbellat.

## CHAPTER VI.

## A SHEIK'S HABITATION.

WE descended into and crossed the valley by the road by which we had arrived. I had not then, however, half seen its beauties; there are two waterfalls under Muchtara; our road lay up the valley, and after climbing nearly to the top, we had to pick our way along the ledge of a precipice, whence the view was alarmingly lonely. It is not here as elsewhere, mountains, hills, plains and valleys; other names must be invented. The valley is one of denudation, cutting through a stratum of limestone, at least a thousand feet thick. This stratum is composed of layers of rock varying from two or three to twenty and thirty feet in thickness, of different degrees of durability, the thicker being the hardest. These courses are repeated, so that there are formations; on one escarpment I counted about thirty. The effect may be imagined of these tiers of precipices or rosy rock, with entwining patches of rich soil, carefully treasured up and planted with trees of dark foliage.

The larger streams cut straight courses through this mass, but wherever water gathers, filters or

flows, the mass is cut-into ; the terraces follow the windings of the soil, braving it round headlands, nestling through coves ; here stretching in straight horizontal lines for miles, there piled up one above another in endless rows, in the hollow of steep and valley, as if they were the seats of an amphitheatre for nations to assemble. These terraces are generally not more than six feet wide, and you see the Druzes turning, scaling, and descending them, with a plough like a rude branch, and a pair of cattle approaching in dimensions to, and vying in shagginess with, goats.

On the summit of this mass the stone is so flat that threshing floors are made by sweeping the earth away. These look like patches of snow, over which sand has blown. The first time I saw one I could only make it out after close inspection. This is the rock which gave to the Mountain its name of "milk." But it is not the Mountain as seen to-day that suggested the epithet. On the morrow of the Deluge there were tracts white as milk ; and the scanty sprinkling of soil which now impairs its brightness, must have been far scantier still, when the Hebrews first beholding it, designated it with that monumental exactitude, which characterizes the nomenclature of the ancient world.

The valley of Muchtara into which I was now looking, combines as much of the peculiar culture of the country as is compatible with wildness, as much of the grandeur of its scenery as may be allied to

softness. The rectangular shape and fantastic colours, the theatric blocks, and masonic precipices under the tempered sky of opal or of amber, make it appear like a thing of paint seen through an atmosphere of glass. There is the distinctness of Cuyp or Berghem given to rocks, designed with the architectural hardihood of Martin, and here and there interspersed groups such as might have been supplied by Watteau, had he had Druzes for his models. I am citing Watteau and Cuyp and Martin for scenes which embellished the poetry of the Bible, and were trodden by the sandals of the Prophets.\* What can better render the diversity of its nature from our conceptions of grandeur, and its beauty from thoughts of grace which the masters of art have gathered in our climes?

The trees, besides the olive and the mulberry, are the fruit-bearing pine, the turpentine pine, the prickly-leaved oak; these are rare on the bare mountain side, they are however found in the villages or along the terraces, with the poplar and a tree like the oak called mace. The deciduous trees have now lost their foliage; the verdure is less than at other seasons. There are the mulberry and fig, and other fruit trees and vines, and their grey stems are nearly invisible; otherwise there is no sign of winter; the season is the most delightful that can be imagined. Though at the height of 2500 to 3000 feet, there is no sense of cold, and a blue cloudless

\* Ezekiel at least.

sky with a sun which seems to burn, but only lightens. The villages and houses have also their distinctness; and the flat roof and the grey sward wall, and the not unfrequent Saracenic or Gothic arch bear, as everything else, the impress of Palestine.

I am writing this a day after its date, and after travelling for a day between the first and second ridges of the Lebanon, and I may here add what this second day suggested. I never saw a region which so graphically presented the event, and so distinctly preserved the traces, of an upheaving of the strata. There is the mass which forms the first range and which presents its escarpment to the sea, lying flat; its substance and contents every where exposed by the gnawing of the water, so that it is like a cut-out piece of pastry. On the eastern side it is twisted up and broken off; it recurs in fragments, and then is laid up on end and forms the ridge of the Lebanon. No deposit of any kind has come to interrupt the complete view of the operation; you see as it were before you the whole mass heaving up, then bursting in the line of the present chain, the thrown up fragments sinking in, and leaving the one great streak on edge.

The various qualities of limestone, so useful in building, are thus found every where: interspersed with it is a small seam of clay, with shells imbedded, which serves them for pottery and for various domestic purposes. They make jars for their grain, &c. in wicker, and plaster them with this

clay : they make beautiful smooth floors with it, and singular fire places.

They work their doors, windows, and presses, all round in figures of it, and then paint them in colours. I frequently remarked the emblem of Morocco, the double triangle, while much in the raised acupointed figures bore also a close affinity to the Moorish. It is but the ruder houses that are so embellished, the clay not being capable of receiving the same finish as the gypsum : it is also used for their terraces. Lime, strange to say, is not used ; you see it at times employed in building, but very rarely ; either the stones are fitted together without any cement or more clay is used. The terraces of the houses are also of earth and clay, and in some places a caoline earth is pounded and added. They are consequently very heavy and have to be rolled after every rain ; the weight is thus enormous, yet every dwelling is liable to a forcible entrance of the storm. The palace of Ibtdeen is so constructed, and one night of storm while I was there everybody was on foot all night.

From this digression I must return to the terrace along the valley of Muchtara, I expected to travel all the way along it, but we rose to the edge, and as we passed over the level summit, a headland of the dissected stratum seemed to advance, like a cut out scene in a panorama, to shut out the view. We were not long in reaching Beth Loon the residence of Hattar Bey, a sorry village of 25 houses : that is,



25 might be repaired out of twice as many in ruins. It stood on the brink of the precipice ; and on a projecting ledge an oak fixed into the massive rocks afforded at once a point of view and a signal object. There a carpet and a cushion were spread, and there I was served with sherbet, coffee and nargilla.

The house inhabited for the present by the Bey is of the humblest order, and his son, the father being absent, and his few attendants, recalled the wilder districts of Albania. The room was curious ; in the middle a column supported the roof ; it was wood work all round and panelled on the two sides facing each other. There were small trap slides near the floor, about a dozen in number, and corresponding doors as if to lockers above ; these were stores of grain, rice, flour and bourgoul, which are poured in above, and as wanted, drawn from the trap slides below. Besides these, there were spaces left for pigeon holes one above the other, and narrow presses for hanging clothes. On the other two sides were alcoves surrounded with very nice carvings in wood, and curtains drawn across, they exactly resembled the standing bed places of the Highlanders. I thought they were for the same purpose ; but they were only for stowing the beds which at night are laid down on the floor ; the one custom explains the other, and they are evidently from the same source ; the mattress is called by them *mattrā*, the coverlid *haf* (*hap*). There were, among other Highland things, the wooden candlestick placed in the middle

of the floor, and the box with the two inside boxes across, the tops of which being raised keep up the lid ; then at supper we had scones and shortbread.

The scones are thus made. A fire is lit in a small round oven, like a chimney-pot set in the ground ; when sufficiently heated, the scones are thrown so as to stick on the side and are cooked immediately. They are laid down at meals like a mass of doubled newspapers ; they are called Marcoop. The supper was very tolerable, sweet dishes prevailing ; when we were done the table was removed near the door for the attendants ; and a poor old man, a passing stranger, walked in, and after saluting sat down ; when he had eaten he in like manner retired. The people here looked worse than I had seen them before, and on asking the Turk whom I found here, respecting their state, he said, “ they are very industrious, every house here has possessions of its own, some are very poor as you see, but none want a bellyfull. What can you expect after seven years of burning ? What serai or village of the Druzes that the Maronites have not destroyed, or if the Maronites, that the Druzes have spared. Then the people of the Hauran came ; then the Arnauts of Omar Pasha ; and the people were then stripped as well as the houses : even the Tantours were collected for the silver.” I asked who was to blame for all this. He said, Mehemet Ali in part, but chiefly themselves. He had a black servant who went out with me, when I took a stroll in the vivid moonlight ; he treated them

with less ceremony, said they were no better than animals; and, drawing himself up to his height and standing on a sort of pedestal formed by a ledge of rock, the moon shining on his black features and reflected from his jetty skin, he seemed to retaliate all the European scorn on these remnants of Europe's earliest models.

I had been so many nights without a flea, that I had forgotten their existence, and did not rig my preventive curtain. They marched up to their nightly feast over the mattrass on either side, with the steadiness of phalanx—I slaughtered till I was tired, and then had to make an outcry and get my curtain; but it was of little use as they had invaded the coverings I had to take with me; so I never closed an eye. What a strange existence for these agile little animals, to find a mountain of roost nightly laid out for them on which they scramble, and then

“Look around

“And choose their ground,

“And take their slice.”

The natives here take no heed of their depredations and were infinitely amused at my trouble. One of them said, “Our Bey could not sleep without a couple of hundred of them in his bosom,” indeed they seem to derive a pleasure from the titillation. I have heard of a girl who was so fond of wasp stings that she caught them and kept them for her private gratification, so it might be that the lesser venom of the flea may not be altogether disagreeable to skins

long used to them, and whose apprenticeship began in the cradle. Some purpose may also be intended, they may serve to vivify the skin and supply the place of cleanliness or to enforce it : they serve as a drain, and I should calculate that the people eat at supper a couple of mouthfuls for the supply of the fleas.

29th.—I started to-day for the south, hankering after Tyre and Sidon. I had nearly to retrace my steps, and crossing the valley and ascending the opposite cliffs, I returned for some time along its brow, and then ascended the higher part which runs under the lofty ridge of the mountain. I passed through five villages, viz. Baruk (25 houses), Maa-zin (25), El Chraïbe (70), Badaran (15), Gibea (15). At El Chraïbe I rode into a serai now in ruins ; which from the walls and its height might have been taken for a ruin of the Crusaders, yet it was ruined only three years ago ; it belongs to the Jumbellat family, but must have been erected by them from some ancient house, if I may judge by the ancient and handsome tombs still standing before it. The tombs of the Druzes have three ornaments ; two like heads of Thyrsi, and one in them in the middle like a fleur-de-lis. These are equally at the head and feet, but on these ancient ones they were only at the head, and the covering of the sarcophagus was of a peculiar form. As to the age of the buildings, there is no means of making it out ; the durability of the stone, the permanency of usages and

the dryness of the air which leaves no moss or verdure, deprive you of all means of distinguishing that which has just been raised from that which has endured a couple of thousand years. As I entered Niha, I came upon a house of which the walls might have been taken for those of an Hellenic city. At this place I was unwillingly detained, as it was but 9o'clock, according to the Turkish manner of reckoning; that is, it was yet three hours to sunset; we stopped at a good looking house.

I had got off before I found that the master was not at home, but a boy his son, and a girl, would not let me go, so I went up stairs. The women wore the Tantour; they cleared out a very nice room, and presently an old dragoman was brought to act as interpreter. He told me that the mistress of the house bade me welcome, and, as I had expressed my anxiety to get on that night, pressed me to stay; that the house was mine to-night, to-morrow, or as long as I chose to stay. Everything was here as different as possible from last night. If that reminded me of the wild Albanians, this did of the civic Greeks of Roumelia, before they had got the ill manners of Europe. The room had its floor in clay, which was covered with mats and rugs; the walls were in clay, figured and coloured round the windows and apertures. The mat was removed in one part where was the hollow place for the fire, of charcoal of course. When I was seated, the younger branches of the family came to make their salu-

tations, and on being told to be seated they sat. I find it impossible to describe these things, they are inconceivable to us, and yet they are the most interesting part of travelling in these countries. Relatives then came in and began to apologise for the absence of the master of the house, and to supply his place.

Fire was placed in the smooth cup-like hollow on the floor, and charcoal heaped on it; then an iron platter, with long ornamental iron handle and a spatula secured by a chain. I could not think what it was for, but soon saw it filled with coffee from a leather pock; it was the toaster; whilst my coffee was preparing, a collation appeared of milk, honey, sweetmeats and scones, which they eat together; they double up the scones like a little bonnet, with this they take a little dibs, then put it into the milk; dibs, milk and cake all go into the mouth together. It was quite charming to see the sedulous decorum of the whole family, the children striving as to which was to bring the napkin or pour the water; all the service of the house seemed to be performed by them. From the terrace I counted forty houses inhabited, and forty houses in ruins.

30th.—A heavy rain detained me this morning for three hours; it then cleared up, and I proceeded to the clambering up and down which in this country is travelling. A few slight changes deprived the scenery of its Lebanon peculiarities. Instead of the rectangular masses which made every water-

course a valley of denudation, I passed over slanting strata, presenting the escarpments chiefly to the west and allowing the water to run down their backs. Instead of the pale rock there is a mantle of colour and light. Gebel-Lezin rose in front, separated by a deep gully running from the south to meet the river of Sidon. The sombre day deepened on this mountain its murky hues. Presently the clouds dispersed, the sun shone out and called forth its strange colouring, deep red brown, to dark green and black. The dark pines looked light on its inky sides. Our track lay along the valley on the upper part of the talus, and under a chasm of precipices, in one of them, which stood boldly and fantastically forward, I was told that there was an extensive fort quarried in the rock, in which flocks of sheep might be stowed. This was the last refuge of the celebrated Fakreddeen. I could distinguish a couple of apertures worked by man: the entrance was too far off to visit. We came in about two hours in sight of the village of Lezin, at least of a large establishment, with terraces laid out square on the sloping back of the prolongation of Gebel Lezin. It was right before us, and I expected that a deep chasm must separate it from us. Presently I found this was the head of the valley, and the stream there leaps over a ledge of four or five hundred feet, and then reaches zig-zag down to the bottom of the chasm. I sent the horses on to the village, and went to the centre of the

point of view, looking right down the valley, and having a full view of the waterfall on my right. There I sat till a thick cloud, that had mustered in the bottom of the valley, had travelled up, and the rain began to fall abundantly. I should have been thoroughly wet before reaching the village, if an umbrella and cloak had not been pressed upon me by a lady at whose house I had stopped to ask for a cup of coffee.

Here, too, the master of the house was absent, but his wife, a remarkably handsome woman of about twenty-five, with an air of resolution fit for a grenadier, made me understand that I was welcome, and the house mine for this or any other sort of weather. The house was large and empty. She was alone, so to avoid giving trouble, I asked to have some pilaff, but nothing else. She sent to me for five piastres (1s.) for rice, as her husband had left her no money. I inquired to what creed she belonged, and was answered "*Christian.*" The value of rice was not more than 20 paras, 40 of which goes to the piastre.

The room I was shewn into resembled in every respect a barn, save that the walls and floors were plastered smooth with clay. Along one side a mat was spread, and higher up carpets, and still higher coverlids (shilteh). It was about 30 feet square, and with two stanchions to support the transverse trees which sustained the roof, and which were not long enough to reach from wall to wall. This was



one half of the house ; the partition wall was composed of clay bins. After I had contemplated sufficiently the beauties of this place I thought I might venture *but*, that is into the outer apartment. It was like the one I left, empty and bare, except that near the door there was the little fireplace, môcade, which might be taken for some curious desk set down there by accident. They seem to make it a rule never to place it regularly, that is, at an equal distance from any two points, or parallel to any line of the building. My hostess seemed surprised, but welcomed me. The cold that had accompanied the rain made the fire an object of considerable interest. She had been squatted on a small square coverlid at her cookery ; she brought me a similar quilt and cushion, and laid it on the floor on the other side. She then continued her work at my pilaff, driving away the fowls with a long reed, and, in the interval of both occupations, smoking a nargillé. It was the graush, or nut nargillé ; so called from having a cocoa-nut for the bowl. It has no snake, but a straight reed ; the stalk is held while you smoke. It is the same as the Caliou of the Persians. After a few whiffs, she handed me over the nargillé, which I, in like manner, returned. When the rain ceased, her sister came in, very like her, with less beauty and more liveliness, and of all the Arabs I have seen the one best qualified to teach Arabic. Her nargillé too was brought, and the two sisters, sitting toge-

ther, were a vignette for the Arabian Nights; they soon dropped their veils, which at first they had held across the face, and presented in a hovel the grace of a studio, and the manners of a court.

A wonderful charm is given to society by the use and recurrence of a form of salutation not performed by taking off a piece of dress. Eastern conversation and intercourse is interspersed with salutations, as writing is with various signs that mark pauses, inquiries, or admiration. The Arabs are even more sedulous than the Turks, and they add another motion. The Turkish Temenas consists in raising the hand to the lips and forehead. The Arabs carry it first to the heart, and the motion is singularly graceful in women.

In the course of the evening two brothers-in-law came in; like the sisters, they were handsome and well-dressed. The oldest, about thirty, was most prepossessing in manners and appearance, and I was more and more astounded at the demand of the five piastres for my supper. Elsewhere, my hosts, to whom it would have been a deadly affront to offer anything, were on the alert to prevent presents from being given to the servants. When, next morning, I was leaving this place two of those who had come in the evening, came to ask for money, and then ran to their mistress to shew it; in my presence she counted it over. This whole village was Christian.

The apartment I have described had on two

sides the bins of clay, and in one of them there being an opening, I asked leave to inspect it. I found within a small slip made the most of for other bins, and jars, one of which contained *Leben* or *Yourt*, prepared for winter by being drained, then rolled into balls and preserved in oil. I tasted one and it had little or no acidity. I give a plan of this house, as it is a fair specimen of their buildings. The two rooms do not enter into one another, they both open into the corridors, at each end of which there is a small separated room about eight feet square. There are no chimneys, but there are small square openings in the wall near the top on every side.

31st.—This was a beautiful morning. I could not leave this place without returning to have a view of the valley and the waterfall, the volume of which was now much increased. The water is cutting its way upwards over the ledge of rock, reminding me of Pella in Macedonia. There is a magnificent theatre of cliffs cut out in like manner; along my course southward the valley ascended, still cut out by the water and each harder layer formed a ledge for a little waterfall. We were now approaching the southern extremity of the Lebanon. From the day before we had lost the horizontal masses; here the stratum was inclined, and when we got out of the valley as it were on the surface of the mountain, the strangest appearance was presented. The grey rocks stood up or lay all around, you could move

in no direction without clambering over boulders or square fragments which sometimes looked like towers; or the rock was honeycombed and worked into holes and crevices. It was a wilderness of stones. This thorough contrast with the rectangular massive and smooth surfaces of rock, was produced by no difference of substance but solely by a slight change of position. This stratum was inclined, and consequently when the softer stone was worn away the hard stratum above broke off and tumbled or remained standing; whereas, whilst lying horizontally the upper one protected that which was beneath, and they were regularly eaten away together and only on the edges; that is, on the sides of the valleys.

We now descended through these heaps of stones, and, leaving a little village on our right, in about two hours reached Kefar Hané. Every house here has at least one side composed of a projecting fragment of rock; the terraces became now less frequent, and the mulberry was displaced by the vine. The vines are planted on the walls and propped up so that the land between is available for culture; a most excellent plan, as the vine takes very little from the soil and its foliage is here a protection for the fields.

About an hour from Kefar Hané as I was ascending the last ridge of the Lebanon to the south, from which I expected to gain a sight of Galilee, I was surprised by the appearance of a party of horse

and foot coming over the hill to the right, and racing through a field as if playing at jerreed. I stopped to observe their movements; one of them galloped towards me and I soon recognised a groom of Emin Effendi, who told me that his master was at a village close by, and that this was a party of the Messaa.

On reaching the summit I beheld the lake of Tiberias or of Galilee, which appeared like a thin cloud suspended over a valley not more than 15 miles distant: it is 30. To the left Gebel Sheik (Hermon) soared into the sky, the top covered with snow. Turning to the right we soon reached the indicated village and arrived just in time; for there was Emin Effendi under a tree just getting up from dinner, and the pilaff and yourt still standing on the carpet I sat down without delay. The remainder of the day we made a holiday in every sense; we strolled among the rocks, enjoying a beautiful heaven and an unrivalled prospect; we geologized and nightfall overtook us at a trickling fountain matted with myrtle, and at some distance from our village; but horses had been ordered to the spot, and we returned by moonlight to a merry supper in one of the most wretched hovels I ever entered—a supper not to be despised in any place.

These houses might be supposed not the work of men's hands but of otters' tails, but for the claim of authorship, a human hand, (the left one) plentifully stamped upon the work. The clay is fashioned into

all sorts of things, the purpose of some of which I could imagine, whilst that of others baffled my ingenuity, nor could I learn. In the one prepared for me, there was scarcely room under the raised estrade used for sleeping, for my horses. Above the horses roosted the cocks; both combined to make me pass what the French call a white, but what I should call a black, night. The people of the hut had no kind of vessel out of which I could get a drink of milk; their food is olives and cakes, the latter earthy as also the olives; ten olives is the rations for a full grown man, yet on this diet they live to an extraordinary age. They are in rags, except some of the Sheiks, and are all mendicants. They will come and stand round the cooking which goes on in the open air, and if one is asked to go and get some eggs, he will shrug his shoulders, and when told he will be paid for his trouble, he answers, "there is none." If another is asked to sell a sheep or a fowl, he answers, "it is not mine." The filth is revolting. It would seem as if they took a particular pride in exhibiting their rebellion against the law, originally proclaimed from Horeb and afterwards repeated from Mecca, both in regard to their persons and the cleanliness of their villages.

The people here are Metuali; that is followers of Ali or Shiites. The district belongs to Saïd Bey, by the title that his father possessed it; but what title his father had to it is not known. The other villages of the district are represented by the officers

who have surveyed them, to be as bad, if not worse than this. The Metuali extend from this point down over the Beled Bsharré to Acre, and as they may be reckoned one of the populations of the Lebanon I propose paying their chief Sheik a visit.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE MESSAA.

*December 3rd.*—I AM very well satisfied with having been detained yesterday. It made me acquainted with the weak point of their domestic architecture, the roofs. The whole village was in commotion about their roofs, as the crew of a leaky vessel about their pumps; the able bodied part of the population were aloft all day, rolling away. As regards the picturesque, the square form would be a great loss, and it would also be a great loss to the people who use the roofs in summer to sleep on, and for various domestic purposes; besides it is the only place belonging or adjoining to their habitations which is clean. They have lime in abundance and might have, not at a cost but at a great saving, admirable terraces.

For becoming acquainted with the state of the country, a year's experience would not equal that of one day during the progress of the Messaa. It lays bare at every turn character and circumstances, tenure of property, construction of laws, application of usages. Every hour the reports come in. We have a succession of pictures and maps of the people and country brought before us.



When, three months ago, I landed on the coast, I heard strange rumours amongst the Europeans of the Census that it was proposed to take, and which was spoken of with indignation and anger; the object being, as every one agreed in telling me, to reduce the mountains to the same condition as the plains, by imposing new taxes, and subjecting the Lebanon to conscription. When I arrived at Deir el Cammar, I naturally questioned my host, the principal man of the place, and he told me that it was impossible to hear at Beyrout anything but lies. That what the Porte was now about to do, and to do in spite of the Consuls, was at the request of the whole people assembled in council. They wanted to have a scale for the raising of the taxes, to prevent oppression and injustice on the part of the Mucatajis. On my expressing astonishment, and perhaps incredulity, he brought friends and neighbours to testify the same thing; and since then I have had reason to estimate the intelligence of the people of Deir el Cammar, as greatly above that of the rest of the country. A contradiction so direct in places so near to one another, and in regard to a passing event about which the whole country was excited, was very surprising, and at the time incomprehensible. A few days later I removed to the palace of Ibtdeen, where I found myself in the very centre of the operation; that is to say, I was there during the period that preceded the commencement, and was myself a witness to that commence-

ment. It began by an experimental essay. A certain number of terraces, and a certain amount of land was marked off, and Bulucks or juries were appointed to rate the produce, whether of silk, olives, or tilled land. This they reduced to Dirhems or Drachmas; the process was simple to them, but very complex and unintelligible to us. They told us that the method was introduced under Selim I., which means nothing more, than that it was employed when their first tribute was paid. But to find applied to land and to produce, the terms which belong to weights and measures, carries us back not only beyond the times of Selim, but beyond the times of Greece and Phœnicia, and places us in face of usages as existing to-day, more ancient than are to be found not only in Europe, but elsewhere in Asia. I saw with my own eyes the work done, not by the agents of the Porte, but by the people themselves, and that according to a method which the Turks did not understand; Emin Effendi, Sadic Pasha, and Sali Effendi, sat by as I did, looking on, endeavouring to comprehend, and getting only a glimmering of what they were about towards the close of the day. This occurred on the 21st of November. The experiment was repeated on the two subsequent days, and it was then that we all proceeded to Mughtara, to begin with Saïd Bey as I have narrated; which commencement suggested to me the keeping of this Diary, which was intended to be the Diary of the Messaa.

The experiment at Deir el Cammar bore on the ability to value; the work now consists in honesty in reporting. Emin Effendi, finding it impossible to make them work by themselves, or to trust to their reports, and being unable to attend himself everywhere, had bethought himself of sending a man of his own with each Buluck, and has employed four engineer officers, who were sent to him under a misapprehension of the word Messaa. He has found amongst persons who would least be suspected of qualifications for such a work, remarkable intelligence, and has animated them all with his own spirit. He lectures them on the difficulties and the greatness of the enterprise, the valuelessness and even the evil of their register when completed, if not correct, and its lasting service to the country if conducted with intelligence and capacity. Consequently we have coming in, now a groom, now a dervish, now an engineer officer, now a cook, now a Perote, with his report. The members of the Bulucks are arraigned, now for sitting in one place to eat, when they had to write in another; now for favouring this chief, now that, in their valuation. In the latter case new juries are empanelled, and sent to value afresh. A property of Saïd Bey, which one Buluck had returned at three dirhems, has been returned by a revising Buluck at eight.

Each Buluck is composed of six; two secretaries, two appraisers and two overseers, chosen by themselves. This constitution is faulty. Two secretaries,

who have merely to make the lists of the property are useless, and besides men fitted for the office are not to be found. Two appraisers do not suffice; for in case of difference there is no one to decide. Two overseers are useless, for Emin Effendi is the overseer, and he should appoint the Názir, who has only to see that the duty is done. Then the regulation that requires all these to belong to different religions, further embarrasses the operation and in reality affords no security, but the reverse; because the very jealousy which prompts it facilitates foul play. It would therefore be desirable to do away with the Názirs, leaving them to be appointed by the Commissioner of the Porte, and with one of the secretaries; and to increase the appraisers to three or five. An oath is administered to them in which the words Koran; etc. vary according to their faith, and they are subject to severe penalties in case of false returns. If the above alterations are adopted; if the power of the Commissioners be increased and Emin Effendi continued, or a man of the same character put in his place, the work may go on; otherwise its completion as well as its accuracy, appear to me very problematical.

The Messaa will be equivalent to a general register. In every case of contested property each claimant seeks to have himself placed on the record as in possession; so that a mistake in the entry of a name may not only decide a long pending suit, but suddenly a man's property which no one disputed may

pass to another. A remarkable case occurred to-day.

A peasant came to complain that he had learned that instead of his name that of Saïd Bey had been entered as proprietor of his land. He declared that he was in possession, that his right no one had ever contested, and that the only question with Saïd Bey was, his refusal to sell the land to him. The register on examination was found originally to have borne this peasant's name, which had been erased to make way for that of Saïd Bey. This last had been done by the Druze Kiatib who had no business to interfere, as the peasant was a Christian. On being summoned he produced an order from the agent of Saïd Bey, but written by himself, requiring him to substitute the Bey's name. The Christian Kiatib, sent for to explain how he had concurred in this false return, excused himself by saying that the Druze Kiatib had frightened him. The Vakil of Saïd Bey, who is in attendance on Emin Effendi, was then called, and offered in explanation that Saïd Bey had bought one half of a parcel of ground of which the land in question was the half, and that he had the right to displace the possessor of the other half by paying him the value. Emin Effendi determined to examine the case on the spot, and ordered the horses. The Vakil declared the distance to be five hours; twenty of those present had been there, and with one voice declared it to be distant but a hour and a half. After dispatching in other directions two

other Bulucks which had just come in, rating them soundly, and settling that henceforth they should be paid and fed according to the work done, Emin Effendi with Sali Effendi and some officers mounted and departed. This village has thus relapsed from bustle into its tranquil existence. I am seated under the shade of the moving leaves of the mulberry tree, which do not protect me from the heat of a December sun at 3000 feet above the sea.

Either the Commissioner of the Porte will become, through this incident, the instrument of Saïd Bey, or he will put it out of his power to cross him further; he will relieve the people from the fear under which they at present labour, and which makes them hold their tongue.

This subserviency is natural; they have no municipal Government to fall back on. The religious dissensions have broken all cohesion. It is an error to suppose that there are distinct people of Maronites, Druzes, &c. The six classes are everywhere located together, and however small the minority it serves to prevent local union; because in proportion to its weakness is its dependance upon the chief from whose vexations it suffers, in common with the majority.

It may be imagined that a plan maturely considered and formally proposed by their own assembled deputies, by which the sum of their respective imposts should be fixed, and by which collaterally the title of each man to his property should be estab-

lished (for no man borne on the register can be displaced save by a judicial decision) would now relieve them from their fears. But to them the future is clouded and the present indistinct. Ideas of organic change, which so utterly incapacitate a people for the management of their affairs, are floating in their minds;—Saïd Bey to be put up—Emir Beshir restored—England to occupy, or France to rule through a Maronite. Besides the people are so ignorant as not to be aware that the census has been requested by themselves. The night that I slept at Niha the chiefs of the village came to pay me a visit. After some general conversation they asked me what I thought of the Messaa. I answered that it was rather for me to ask them. They said they did not know, and therefore they had asked me. I was surprised, and answered, that it was their own plan, which they denied. I then recounted the circumstances of the assembly at Beyrout; they did not desist from their denial of it till I told them that I had myself read the report made to the Porte, and had with my own eyes seen the beginning of the operation in most strict conformity with rules laid down in that report. Had I been a Beyrout Consul or Dragoman, or their agent, I might have exasperated the whole population by a single word; and so of every other district.

But I was wrong in saying that the change in these people occurred on my bearing testimony to the abovementioned facts. It was after an answer

which I gave them. They had said, "The evaluation is only to put on new taxes, and the census to levy troops," to which I replied, "If the Sultan wanted to put on new taxes, what need has he of the Messaa; he has only to say to the Druzes pay so much, to the Maronites pay so much." The old man, who served as interpreter, was much tickled, and exclaimed, "That is it," and laughed and exclaimed again, till the rest of the party lost all patience in their anxiety to know what I had said. When he did translate the words there was a peal of concurrence. I then continued, "As to the Nizam, if you belonged to any European Government, the present opportunity of your divisions and weakness would be taken to draft away all the arm-bearing men, and possibly to colonize you, and fill your place with peaceable persons; could you for a moment resist such an order, and can you deny that you deserve it?" They were silent. "Truly," said an old man, after a pause, "our hard hands made these ruins. May the Sultan live!"

But for this ignorance and these animosities, the authority of the Porte would be, in this region, surrounded by a prestige which it wanted in regard to the destruction of the other corporations which defied its authority and fell beneath its power. In this case it has had neither to smite, to confiscate, to tax, or to impose conscription. In the other cases, no foreign hand appeared, and in this lies the difference of the results.



There is perhaps no country in the world which, by the rapidity of deterioration, has brought into such close proximity the extremes of the human condition. The Lebanon brings down to yesterday if not the heroic, at least the patriarchal ages, whilst it offers to view this day, an antithesis to these, such as has not even yet been attained to in the States of Europe.

The public business, two generations back, was conducted in open assemblies, to which no one had right of admittance by written law, but from which, by custom, the humblest peasant could not be excluded. His voice, when there, was equal to that of any Sheik ; no tax could be otherwise imposed than by general consent, no war levied, no alliance formed, and no innovation practicable, by the mere will of the Emir. Habit was law, until a decision established a new one. This was the guarantee of their independence, the source of their prosperity, the result and cause of that independent bearing and character, which amid the desolations of Syria, has preserved to this day in the Lebanon a nursery of men and soldiers. The traveller in those days was struck with the contrast of their political intelligence with that of the people of Europe. Volney dwells with surprise and delight, on the discourse of the children of ten years of age, who discussed the interests of Daher and Jezzar, knew the number of muskets in this or that camp, the motive of this or that quarrel, and decided on the value of this or that alliance. What a fall in eighty years ! A people without a

voice in their Government, or a thought regarding their state; with liberties forced upon them, which they neither love nor wish to use; and seeking not the privilege of governing themselves, but at best a census, that they may know what they have to pay. Using indeed arms, but only to gratify their civil rancour; when mutual wrongs and common suffering have cooled their frenzy, taking refuge in indifference, and glad to be deprived of weapons, having ceased to understand or care for rights.

As to the Sheiks, bad as they were at that time, what a contrast to what they are to-day. Volney says:—

“The large possessions of some families give them too great an influence in the affairs of the nation. Their interests weigh too heavily in the scale of public interests. All the domestic and foreign wars which have troubled the country, have been excited by the ambition and personal objects of the Yezbec-ki, the Jumbellat, &c. The Sheiks of these houses, who possess themselves alone *one-tenth* of the whole country, make to themselves partizans by their money, and have dragged the rest of the Druzes into their dissensions.” The Sheik Saïd now possesses *one-eighth*, or more than the whole body of Sheiks collectively, two generations ago.

In turning over the pages of this writer, which is one of the few books I have with me, I have fallen, to my great surprise, upon a passage which shews that the Messaa was no new invention, but on the contrary a familiar practice.

“The census is re-taken from time to time, to preserve equality in the impositions. The Sheiks and the Emirs have no privilege in this respect, and they may be said to contribute to the public burdens in proportion to their fortune. The collection is made almost without cost; it is at the option of the people to bring it to Deir el Cammar, or the collectors of the Prince travel the country, to receive it after the respective harvests.”

I had declined to accompany Emin Effendi, that I might use the interval of quiet in recording, not the immediate occurrences, but the epoch to which they belong. I feel as if about to leave by will a possession to the future historian.

From the close of the great European war, that quarter of the globe presents a series of convulsions, gradually increasing in frequency and in intensity; each movement of the masses grinding down institutions and breaking up the barriers of states. Each losing in the concentration and secrecy of government its cohesion and identity, until the distinction between war and peace has been effaced, and thereby the social bond dissolved.

During the same period, the Ottoman empire, which was in the last stage of decrepitude, has exhibited a change no less astounding, but wholly different. It has, by a violent effort, thrown off the organizations which, springing up by usurpation, had absorbed into themselves the vital powers, and in doing so has regained the force requisite for

external protection. The Janissaries and the Dérébeys being extinguished, were made to contribute from their elements a regular army, and the resources to support the new charge. The central Government then proceeded to a re-conquest of the Empire, subjecting successively the independent tribes from Albania to Kurdistan, and the rebellious Pashas from Scodra to Bagdad, to the new military organization; without interfering otherwise with habits, or giving rise to political differences. The result has been a magnificent army and a revenue, amounting this year to more than double what it was in 1833; with the faculty of being more than doubled again by a very simple process. This regeneration, for which there is no parallel in ancient or modern times, has been effected in a single generation, and in face of the most alarming external difficulties. The seal is put on this achievement by the events following the Hungarian war, when Austria and Russia combined, and in a secret understanding with England and France, threatened Turkey with war unless she surrendered the refugees; and being met by a refusal, submitted to withdraw their demands. In a fair contest of arms, the whole military force of Russia and Austria united, could now make no impression on the Ottoman Empire.

But the extirpation of Janissaries and Dérébeys, the creation of an army, the restoration of a navy, the replenishing of the treasury, will not realize even so much as the security of the Empire, unless

the Sheiks of the Lebanon be put down. This is the reason: the recurrence of a struggle between England and France on the soil of Turkey, would not now end as on the last occasion, and would be far more dangerous than would be a conjoint invasion by these two powers. This contingency is always possible, and ultimately certain, whilst the Lebanon presents its present elements of discord. These elements have, moreover, been artificially produced, and produced with a view to this result.

In 1798, the contest between England and France was a sincere one. Russia had indeed involved them in the quarrel, but the war was carried on by them both in perfect sincerity; England having prevailed, restored to the Porte her provinces. The constitutions of England and France have since then undergone a complete change; sincerity between either can no longer be looked for any more in war than in peace, in operations conducted by guns than in operations conducted by despatches. Out of the insincerity of the Governments, a sincere animosity will nevertheless spring up between the nations. It will begin religiously, and end politically; it will begin, reversing the events of 1798, with the Lebanon, and end with Egypt; it will begin, as the case may be, with protecting the Druzes against the Maronites and the French, or with a common protection of the Christians against the Mussulmans. It will end in

a contest for India on the soil of Egypt. That country has been the apple of discord prepared for both by Russia since 1780, and which she has now involved both countries in the desire of possessing. Did not Egypt begin the great war between England and France? Was not Syria used in 1840 for the breaking the great French and English alliance? Even history can here foreshadow her own future course. The thing will be done by their agents, whilst the nations know nothing about it. They will only hear of it when the measures have been taken, and their passions aroused. Besides, another condition has physically been worked out, both for England and France; viz. that both have been rendered perfectly defenceless against attack. At any moment, not only they, but the German Powers also, can be smitten with panic. This you have seen as regards France in 1840. Every Government, therefore, must live every day in the internal conviction that it exists on sufferance, and that Russia can smite it the hour she pleases with a coalition of foreign Powers.

These, then, are the grounds on which I hold the enterprise we are engaged in, trifling as it appears, to affect the future destiny of the whole human race.

If this census be successfully completed, the Lebanon is calmed down. This is something; but is important not on this account. *The Consuls are defeated.* Their defeat is a triumph to the Porte,

and will encourage it to go on. Its triumph will have been ensured by concert between its people and itself against the stranger. It will take courage to give an answer back to the Ambassador at Constantinople. The moment it can do so, it is in a state to retrieve itself entirely; for it can then say to the Russian Minister, "Your army must be withdrawn from Wallachia and Moldavia;" and to the people of the Lebanon, "Now elect a Prince for your ruler according to the precedent of 1694, and as has been done the other day by the people of Servia."\*

It may appear inconceivable or incredible that the case should revolve on the pivot which I here indicate. Nevertheless it is so. The Turkish Government has courage enough to defy not only one,

\* It was in consequence of the so-far successful progress of the Messaa, that instead of returning to England from Beyrout, I proceeded to Constantinople, with a view to the purposes indicated in the text. Although the Porte did for the moment entertain the idea of an election for the Lebanon, the plan ultimately failed, in consequence of what had been done in the meantime in the Lebanon. I succeeded, however, in respect to the withdrawal of the Russian army from the provinces of the Danube, and also in reference to the financial restoration; which, coming into general operation after an experimental essay in Europe and in Asia, increased the direct taxes 30 per cent. in the course of the year 1852. All this was of course broken down subsequently. The Russian troops came back into the principalities: in the simulated war, the Turkish finances were ruined, and a foreign debt imposed.—*Note appended in 1860.*

but all the powers of Europe when they menace it as a foe, but has not the courage to say, "That is my affair not yours," to a foreign agent who assumes to speak to it as a friend. It is breath that does it. The frame of a Hercules will wither under mephytic vapour. Turkish officials and administrators have been recently subjected to the same process, through the talk of European saloons.

But how shall I render my own sensations at finding myself here at the present moment? I had not the slightest suspicion of what was going on. A fit of ague seizing me on horseback on my road to Damascus, kept me at Beyrout; confining me to my bed, it imposed upon me a period of convalescence, brought me for recruitment to Shimlan, thence, taking a little exercise, to Ibtedeen; where, recognizing in a new garb the face of an old and a dear friend, I suddenly found myself in his embrace. This was the Commissioner of the Porte, and I was in the midst of the Messaa. Had I not arrived at that moment the operation would have fallen still-born. A chain of similar so-called accidents had already brought me, at the critical moment for each, in contact with the regenerating efforts of the Empire since 1834; and it was now by means of the incidents of those former transactions that I was successful in overcoming the sensations of hopelessness and despair, and inspiring courage and resolution into those, to whose charge the enterprise had been committed. I was further enabled to give that aid,



as on former occasions, which my position as a stranger put within my reach. For, if a stranger in Turkey can do, being hostilely disposed, so much more injury than in any other country; it is clear that one differently minded can effect much in the opposite sense.

The investigating party has returned in high spirits. The peasant was found, the land examined; he was in possession of documents in perfect order. On which Emin Effendi displaced the secretary, and told him that it was only in consideration of this being the first offence that had been committed, that he did not send him to the galleys. The other person compromised made his escape, to Saïd Bey! At the close of the investigation the village, which had assembled, burst out in cries of "Long live the Sultan."

There is not a village in which Saïd Bey has not some property, however worthless, and scarcely a peasant a portion of whose land he has not entered on. His is a remarkable system, aiming at complete domination as to authority, and possession as to property. It explains how the property of his father was acquired. They have a curious method of distributing the property in parts. The whole is considered one Dirhem, which is divided into 24 carats. Thus a man does not till an acre of land, but 5 or 6 carats, which may mean only a fraction of the one carat, held by a larger proprietor. In the same manner the whole Mountain is considered as a unit,

which is divided into 24 parts, which are the 24 mucatas.

In the course of the evening a certificate came from a neighbouring village, with the seals of the principal inhabitants, declaring that they had shewn field by field their possessions, and declared man by man their people from seventeen to sixty to the Buluck, that they had seen their evaluation, and that it was correct, that they bound themselves for its truth, and were ready to incur any penalty if proved false.

Soon afterwards a troop of Metuali came up, reclaiming the Messaa for their district. They all spoke together, crying at the top of their voices, but were very submissive when it was signified to them that this was not the manner in which business could be done, and withdrew well satisfied, when told that if they appointed one of their number to make known their prayer it would be attended to.

Emin Effendi took occasion of the atroupement which the incident had brought, to address a few words on the event of the morning to the Vakil of Saïd Bey, a portly and pompous personage held in great respect or fear by the villagers. He told him that it was very unfortunate that the name of Saïd Bey should have been brought up in respect to so trifling an affair; that if he had dealt with the matter as at first he intended, and sent it before the tribunal of the Pashalic, his master might have been greatly injured; but he was sure he had been imposed upon

by his agents, or that his agents had acted without his authority. But he begged him to take notice that it was the Bey who was really responsible for his agents, and if anything of the like occurred again he should not pass it over so lightly. A murmur of applause having followed these words, he turned round to the people and told them, that it was the misfortune of great men to be exposed to misrepresentations as well as to be deceived by servants; that for his part he looked neither to a man because he was rich or poor, and cared as little for the favour of the one as the frown of the other, and then narrated to them an incident which had occurred to himself at Beyrout. He had purchased with his own money a piece of ground for a school, which was in process of erection, when he learnt that he was accused of having robbed a man of his property, and of turning it to his own account. He immediately caused the building to be stopped, and required the person in question to prefer his claims before the council, from which being president he absented himself. So, he added, Saïd Bey may have been unjustly accused, and in like manner ready as soon as he learns the facts to clear himself. The Vakil came forward, and in token of gratitude kissed the hem of his garment. I cannot express sufficiently my admiration of the manner in which he has dealt with this affair, giving a lesson to the people on the one hand and to the chief on the other, and while dealing a blow to the latter, not driving to extremity a man who, even

under the penalty of the Porte's displeasure, is able to disturb in a great measure the work in progress.

Many of the Reports have now come in; the property of this miserable hamlet amounts to nearly £30,000!

## CHAPTER IV.

## A TURKISH OFFICER ON WAR.

*December 4th.*—I started this morning for Saïda, in company with an officer of Emin Pasha of Damascus. He was a burly personage, with a red full-moon face, speckled to match; a nose indistinct as to form, but notable as to colour, and small twinkling pig eyes. His body revealed its dimensions, at least, beneath the new military paletôt, which, but for its dye, would make the officer tribe appear as hayricks on castors. The off-hand style of the warrior amused our Constantinopolitan party, although they did not know, as I did, that they had before them the original of Major Dalgetty. This morning at sunrise he was sent for to come and take coffee with us before starting; he returned for answer that he had *breakfasted* an hour before, and was waiting. He presently appeared on his charger, attended by a pursuivant mounted on a strong animal, carrying in addition demensurate saddle-bags, evidences of his provident mind. Observing some geological specimens which I had thrown away, he gathered up a few, saying he would give them to Emin Pasha. Scarcely had we started when he began to expatiate on the oppressions of the peasantry and

the villany of the Sheiks ; knew everything about the Messaa ; was learned in dirhems and carats ; pointed out the defects of the plan, and how they were to be remedied. I had with my own ears heard him extract his whole rubbish in about two minutes from the administrative groom of Emin Effendi ; yet it was not bad rubbish in its way. He soon discovered that Newcastle was not his market for coals, and passed to military matters. I found myself riding beside one of the few who had escaped from the destruction of Mustafa Pasha's army on the shores of the gulf of Lepanto. He described the scene, which I knew well, having seen there the white bones of the Turks. He said the Greeks did not destroy Mustafa Pasha. Had his army been what any army ought to be, he would have marched through every corner of the Morea, except Maïna, in three months, and subjugated it without a contest : Maïna might have been left, as heretofore, to its Bey. The Turkish troops had then become dangerous only to themselves. He had served afterwards with Reschid Mehemet Pasha in Greece, Albania, Curdistan, and Syria, and he had a few characteristic words to say of each campaign.

Suddenly stopping, he asked me what news there was of the Major Madessi, meaning the Hungarian refugees. I answered that it was settled ; on which he reined up his charger, and, winking one eye, said, " I knew that." You learned it then at Damascus ? " Oh no, I knew from the commencement

that it was all bosh ;” but I said, did not the Austrian and Russian Governments demand the refugees, did not the Sultan refuse them? Could these Powers withdraw, or the Sultan yield? Did not the Ambassadors threaten to leave, &c.? “Oh yes, but it was all bosh.” How is that? “I will tell you—but here is a fountain which has been much commended to me; I am not thirsty, but may be, when no such water is to be found;” and so he leapt to the ground, received a large flat silver bowl which his servant carried in a leather case strung over his shoulder, and, after drinking a copious draught, brought me one, urging me to drink on his grounds, as if I had been a camel. Divested now of his outer mantle, and in his military surtout with cartouch-box on its breast, despatch satchel, and sabre strapped crossways over the shoulders, with Frank boots coming up to the knee, and an oriental richness mixing with the occidental forms, he brought to my mind the red-cross knights, many of whom had dismounted on the same spot and satisfied, or like him anticipated, their thirst at the same fountain.

We had taken a peasant for a guide through the pass, and were here to dismiss him. So my companion made a complex sign, which to me was intended to signify, “the gentleman calls you,” and to him, “my secretary will pay you.” The man came to me for his bakshish, and then returned to the knight to kiss hands. He covered the operation by

the aside—"Sad devils these Metuali; they are *our* Roman Catholics."

We had now to descend a steep gorge of piled fragments of rock matted with prickly oak. Our horses' bridles were thrown to the servants, and we leisurely commenced our descent on foot, an operation to which my companion seemed as little used as suited. His breath was not, however, affected, so he commenced his promised reply, and part of it was shouted at the distance of twenty yards, when we chanced to be separated so far. I shall try to give it as nearly as possible in his own words.

"War was what was meant when they talked of the *Majar Madessi*. War is not the business of the Kiatibs (diplomatists), but of soldiers. So then I knew more about it than all the Kiatibs of Constantinople and London. I knew it was all bosh, because the Muscovites are not fools; they reckon hundreds of thousands as we count tens, but they are very weak; and they are so because their soldiers are treated worse than dogs: if you did give wages to a dog would they only be two piastres (4*d.*) a-year?" Here I ventured an observation to the effect that the Russian troops had above 5*s.* a-year, and when across the frontier, 15*s.* He resumed, "Don't speak! I know what I know—I speak their language. How often when on picket service, have the Muscovites come over to ask us how much we had a month, and what we had to eat; and when they heard, they who never knew if wheaten



bread was sweet or bitter, would not believe us till we shewed them the money in our pockets and gave them our bread to taste; and then they would say, Oh, if we too had a Sultan! When they were taken prisoners, ah, we wanted no guards over them, the pilaff and the chorba were their guards! Now, I will tell you what the Muscovites have. Every three months they receive  $7\frac{1}{2}$  piastres, which makes 30 in the year; of this  $3\frac{1}{2}$  is retained for the hospital and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  for the priest, so that there remains exactly 20 paras (*1d*) per three months to spend, which comes to 2 piastres in the year. They get to eat (besides blows) black bread of rye, which would kill a Turk in a week; twice a week they have a handful of corn just as might be served out to an ass. Of course when these men heard that ours had 20 piastres a month, which makes 240 in the year instead of 2, with not a para kept back, and that we had soup and meat and pilaff every day, they wished they had been born elsewhere and not in Muscovy. I dont blame them. But that makes a great difference, when we come to speak of war; for how shall the Muscovite Czar make war with us till he pays and feeds his men better?"

Here I again ventured to interfere, and alluded to such events having occurred, and being followed by certain others. But I was silenced by shouts and violent gesticulations: he turned, being before, marched up to me, and squatted down. I feared a blood-vessel had burst, but soon perceived that his

health was unimpaired ; so sitting down opposite to him, I addressed myself to listen.

“ You send 12 tambours (regiments) against 150. Do you call that war? What war can 12 tambours make against 150? I was there (referring to 1828) and we were 12 tambours, and the Russians had 150; but we did not run away. We said, “ we are sold,” but we did not run away. And what were these 12 tambours? Were they like those we have now? And what were our officers? Were they like those we have now? Don’t call that a war! *Now* it would be a war. Let the Muscovites come with their 150 tambours, we should have 200; and then where would the war be? Ah! let them come. But they are not fools; they won’t come, and that is why I said it was all bosh, about the Majar Madessi.”

I then asked if that was the general opinion of the army. He answered, “ No, they all thought we were to have war, when those on leave of absence were recalled.” I asked if they agreed with him as to the chances of a struggle. He answered “ Kulli, kulli,” all, all; but then added—“if we were well commanded.” Then you do apprehend that the superior officers are not equal to the task. “ No, I do not say that, but as in a game of chess, the men must be properly played. We have no officers who have commanded armies in your regular warfare. What I know is, that our troops are better than the Russians, and the Russians would rather serve our Sultan than their Czar.”

I did not leave my companion, which I did as soon as we reached more level ground, without letting him know that my questions and objections had not been prompted by scepticism, but on the contrary to assure myself that he had real grounds for what he said. The very appearance of the man changed, and from coarse and bluff, became earnest and almost gentlemanlike, as I proceeded to tell him, that before Turkey had an army I had been as satisfied of her power of recovery as of my own existence; and then dilated on the peculiar soldier character of the Turks, from their sobriety, cleanliness, sense of self-respect, familiarity with the use of arms, absence of speculative notions, freedom from intolerance, observance of their religion, and capability of unrepining endurance. He was perfectly amazed when I told him that the Turkish soldier was better paid than the English soldier, and that the Turkish army was able to bring into the field a larger amount of men than Russia and Austria united could bring to bear on any point where a contest could take place between them. He pulled out his tablets to take down, that he might read them to his comrades, some expressions I used. One was, "The Turks now will beat the Russians whenever they meet them in fair fights, the latter not exceeding double the former."

Whilst I resided at Ibtdeen, I was in the habit of paying visits to the common soldiers. Whenever I entered a barrack-room they stood up, and

arranged themselves, so that the apartment assumed the air of the reception hall of a Vizir. I was placed in the corner, and they all stood in a row, whilst the service of coffee was gone through. The pipes and coffee cups were indeed homely, but the style and dignity were there. This done, I invited them to be seated, and the divans round were then occupied as if by grandees. The conversation was the same, just as were the forms. Well might Napoleon say, that with such men he could conquer the world. The danger in the new organization was that the empire would become too military. This has been obviated by rendering the different *Ordus* (hordes), or divisions—camps; not armies; fixing each to its province, preserving in the different corps the geographic order of the district from which it is recruited, so that each corporal's guard is supplied from its own village. Thus is the army like a tree planted in the ground; whilst by its shadow protecting the land, it holds in each fibre of its roots to its own soil. It is thus constituted an army for defence, not for oppression. The liberties of Europe have been shipwrecked on the non-solution of this equation.

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NOTE ON THE TURKISH ARMY, APPENDED 1860.

At the time of this conversation I was not of course aware of the opinion of General Aupic (then French ambassador at Constantinople), nor of that of General Bem, who has expressed himself in terms almost identical. Nor

had the positive evidence been furnished by the events of the war of 1853. I may now recall, that *before* the opening of that campaign I had made this announcement: "The Turks will beat the Russians whenever they have an opportunity of meeting them." I added, three months later, "Whenever the Allies appear on the field with the Turks—*the Turks will be beaten.*" I conceive it to be important to recall these prejudgments, because it is the habit to-day to take for reality the appearances that are presented; or rather to take the words that are printed in lieu of the events that occur. In proof of the authenticity of the above, and of the words not having been whispered in a corner, I subjoin extracts from the *Times*.

*Before Turkey had declared war against Russia.*

"We must oppose the aggrandisement of Russia, and so long as this is the only alternative, we must maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire; but of this we may be sure—that while *a tumbledown Turkish Empire lies at the feet of a powerful military monarchy*, and our only method of curbing the latter is by 'maintaining' the former, we shall never enjoy much respite from troubles like the present."—*Times*, Sep. 28, 1853.

*After the Turkish Victory at Oltenitza.*

"We cannot pretend to be of opinion that the conditions of past times are reversed, and that the military ascendancy of the Czar has now been transferred to the Sultan. *We fully anticipate that the Ottomans will be ultimately discomfited*, but if the contrary should prove true, more will be gained for the peace of Europe, than if the Vienna Note had been accepted by all parties, on the day when it first appeared. *If the Russian Empire, so far from threatening the balance of power, and the liberties of*

*more civilised States—so far from menacing the Turkish Empire with absorption in its own—is actually unable to cope with Omar Pacha in the Danubian Principalities, the most difficult and alarming question of modern State politics will have been resolved at once. Mr. URQUHART may then claim such triumph for political foresight, as never before fell to the lot of man ; but such will be the general satisfaction of Europe at the result, that nobody, we think we may promise him, will be at all likely to repine at his exclusive credit.”—Times, Nov. 11, 1853.*

*After the Russian discomfiture before Silistria.*

“ Swift and terrible has been the retribution which has fallen on the Russian army engaged in this shameful and unprovoked aggression, and the chastisement is rendered the more humiliating to the pride of the Czar, and the more important to the political independence of the Porte, by the fact that a *division* of the Turkish army, *unassisted by European troops*, has sufficed to repel the invader, with unexampled losses. These glorious results belong to the Turkish arms *exclusively*, and the soldiers of the Sultan never fought with more devoted and successful bravery than on this occasion.”—*Times*, June 22, 1854.

The prediction here referred to was no symptom of courage, for the case presented no shade of ambiguity. Had the Turks not been able to defend themselves, they would have been left to themselves. The Allies went, as Lord Ponsonby puts it, “ to defend *not* Turkey but Russia.” I had besides the judgment of Russia herself to assist me. In the despatch of Pozzo di Borgo, of Nov. 1828, the conviction of the Russian Cabinet is distinctly stated :—

“ The experience we have just made must now reunite all opinions in favour of the resolution which has been adopted, (*i. e.* to make war against the Porte,) the Emperor

has put the Turkish system to the proof, and his Majesty has found it to possess a commencement of physical and moral organization which it hitherto had not.

“ If the Sultan has been enabled to offer us a determined and regular resistance, whilst he had scarcely assembled together the elements of his new plan of reform and ameliorations, how formidable should we have found him, had he had time to give it more solidity, and *to render that barrier impenetrable which we find so much difficulty in surmounting, although art has hitherto done so little to assist nature.* .

“ We must congratulate ourselves upon having attacked them *before they became more dangerous for us*, for delay would only have rendered our *situation worse.*”

And again :—

“ After the campaign has afforded it (the Russian Cabinet) a more correct estimate of the real state of things, and has convinced it of the necessity of multiplying precautions, in order TO DIMINISH THE DANGERS OF THE FUTURE.”—*Portfolio*, vol. i. pp. 348-351.

The military success of Russia in 1829, and the diplomatic success of the Treaty of Adrianople in the same year, did not “ diminish ” for Russia “ the dangers of the future,” however it may have disguised them from Europe. I, at least, was under no such delusion. In a letter written the morning after the fête on board “ the Blonde ” to commemorate the peace, I stated, with a simplicity of conviction which on now finding it after an interval of so many years, fills me with amazement, that the blow which had fallen, not having crushed the Empire, would renovate it. But I did not content myself with the reflection ; the perception opened to me a career ; I resolved to work for that end ; to make it my business to break Russia by the renovation of Turkey, just as others make it their

business to build a house or to train a horse. A man may make, as well as choose, a profession for himself. And if this was the business of a Government, and Governments shrunk from it, it remained to be undertaken by a man. After all it was an operation contingent on thought, and not on armies. In the operation itself there was no difficulty whatever; the obstruction arose solely from being interfered with by those in whose behalf I was engaged.

From that hour the military, administrative, and financial organization advanced. Checked, endangered, retarded, it is true, and filling those who had the work at heart always with disquietude, often with dismay,\* but furnishing in these very feelings, sources of perseverance and elements of success. At last the achievement was sealed under the walls of Silistria, and the security of the Empire placed beyond all possibility of attack by foe, or cavil by friend.

What happened thereafter, matters not. If Turkey were to be shivered to pieces to-morrow, that cannot prevent this reconstruction from having been foreseen and effected. It was one thing that the military power of Turkey should be restored as against the arms of Russia; it is another that that restoration should hold against the friendship of England. Let Turkey now fall when she may, and as she well deserves, and the words of Mr. Sydney Herbert will still remain my justification—"We (the English and French Governments) were agreed with or enemy, but not with our ally."

\* In one of these moments, so far back as 1836, Lord Ponsonby concludes a letter to me in these words—*But we live!*



## CHAPTER V.

## THE METROPOLIS OF PHŒNICIA.

THE valley or gorge which we had descended gave us a distant glimpse of the sea ; when we got to the bottom we came upon an ancient road about six feet wide, chiselled through the rock, and just wide enough for a laden camel to pass ; it was narrower below. The falling thus unexpectedly upon this track of the camels of Dedan, finding their way to the Phœnician outlets, or the Mediterranean, recalled me from present men and events, and brought before me the people, whose metropolis I was so soon to behold the remnants of, or at least the site.

We emerged from the chain of the Lebanon near the village of Giurgova, and then beheld spread before us, from Tyre on the left to the cape of Beyrout on the right, the Phœnician plains. The city of Sidon was hid, but the spot where it stood was pointed out. It is not however a plain, but the summits of the lower ranges, which appear ; and they concealed, at least in the part before us, the level strip bordering the sea. After a descent of about an hour the country became less rugged, the hills were composed of masses of pale soil and calcareous earth, and a gentle canter of two hours brought me to Saïda.

The strip of land close to it loses the ashy aspect and loose nature of the rest of the country, and becomes black, greasy mould, such as in the richest parts of Hungary and Roumelia ; gardens surround the town, but not so much on the south whence I was approaching ; on that side it was marked by a mamelon crowned with a small castle. I did not enter by the gate, for having outstripped my companions, I turned to the north, where the gardens lay thick and luxuriant. The view of the city where I turned off is most lively and exhilarating. The wall with its turrets has been converted into houses, and fitted with windows ; the ditch in front has been filled up and divided off into gardens. The road encircles these, and on the right of it is a wall which holds up the burying ground, but of which you have the command as you sit on horseback. It is shaded over and almost covered in by platani ; the tombs are not the ordinary turbés of the Turks, but the very fac-simile of the tombs of Lycia, with which Englishmen are now familiar from the collection of them in the first room of the British Museum. The figure is that of the section of a boat turned upside down, and having a very deep keel. Groups of women in their white veils, were seated or sauntering. The scene was circumscribed, but smiling and eastern, I may even say tropical and primeval ; the waving leaves of the banana and the Lycian forms, transported me to both simultaneously. The gardens to the north of the town are somewhat

in the style of Morocco; there is not the aloe, but there are the Barbary fig and the tall cane; and if inferior in luxuriance, the orange trees were there bent under their shining load. Some stray grapes were still hanging on the vines. The orange and the vine fill up the year, the fruit of each being ripe through every month in which that of the other is wanting. There was one plant of wonderful vegetation, the lentiscus; the stems were of the dimensions and the appearance of the gnarled oak, but the top was not in proportion. The branches seemed the growth of latter times, on trunks so ancient that the plants may have been set in the ground by the first colonists of Sidon.

Entering the town alone, I wandered through it till I perceived through a narrow lane leading down to the water, two or three tiers of gigantic blocks; this was a fragment of the wall which enclosed the port. I then traced the continuation of the mole, partly by a scarped reef, partly by masonry. Not being aware "that stone upon stone" did remain of Sidon, this was a surprise, and I promised myself no ordinary gratification in prowling around each nook and crevice.

I was directed to the "French Khan," where I was told I should find consuls, conack, and supper. This building is a large square, surrounded with porticoes, as in Spain. Though now dilapidated, still in the centre stand the fountain and reservoir, and around willows, acacias, bananas, and other trees.

I was shewn into one of its vaults spread with mats and boarded with quilts. I expected a "locanda," a miserable gouty place, with chairs and tables as at Beyrout, and was agreeably disappointed. Having the French Consul for a neighbour, I paid him a visit. His wife, a pretty person, a native, seated in a similar vault, received me. A window opened on the port, and the vault formed a remarkably sprightly apartment. The lady's costume was that of the country; through it predominated the pale straw colour of the silk gauze, and bright yellow of the tags and fringes of gold. The Syrian women wear the breast open, almost down to the girdle, though the dress comes up to the neck; and as much shocked as our ladies would be at the exposure of bosoms, so would they be at the exposure of shoulders. She was sitting on the divan suckling her child, while smoking her nargillé; she spoke French very well, and was her husband's Arabic secretary. Presently her husband came in, received me with the extremest kindness, and offered me the hospitality of his roof. Finding that I had come from the Lebanon, he inquired with much interest into the progress of the Messaa. I found him however already informed of every particular, even to the circumstances of yesterday. It was alarming to witness this facility of communication, and the hold of the foreign agents. He told me that it was with the French Consul at Beyrout that the project had originated five years before. Passing through Constantinople, he had

the coast at this point, have rendered it capable of being made a naval station. I gave up two days to these reefs, and spent them there alone.

It was one day passed on the border of the Atlantic, at Shemish, overlooking the site of the Hesperides, and within sound of the roar of the real dragon that still guards the entrance,\* that decided me on visiting, at my first moment of leisure, the parent city. It was also to the exploration of her far colonies in the west, that I owe much of the enjoyment I now experienced from sitting and musing among the ruins (if ruins they can be called) of Sidon herself; which, if not the metropolis, is certainly the earliest of the offshoots planted on the Mediterranean. So it became a fresh starting point for others. Under the name (never heard by the people itself) of Phœnicia is disguised that wonderful union of power and simplicity to which essentially the epithet BARBARIC belonged. "Barbaric letters," "barbaric pomp," "barbaric gold," meant Phœnician in each case. And what we have received from Greece and Rome, these received from the Barbarians; a name which we so revere in our heart's core that every people dissimilar to ourselves we honour by that epithet.

The polite letters and useful arts, which passing through generation and generation, and spreading from tribe to tribe, have embellished time in all its stages, aided man in all his enterprises, fed and

\* See description in Pillars of Hercules, vol. ii.

clothed, enriched and polished him, sailed forth from this haven, and were distributed by those who chose for themselves this site. In all our greatness, in all we know, we are ourselves their monument.

The side of the hill to the north of the town, and overlooking the gardens, is pierced with tombs. I heard of one that had recently been laid bare by a fall of earth, in which there were paintings and an inscription in an unknown character. I was consequently all anxiety to see it, and got on horseback when little able to support the fatigue. I met only with disappointment. It was a small cavern worked out into side-tombs, of which there may be a dozen, and painted in the style of a modern Greek coffee-room, dabs of paint, festoons, trees, and birds on them.

From the mouth of the tomb there is a charming prospect of Saïda, stretching from the fort-crowned mound to the south, that shields it landward, to the embattled rock in the water, which commands the port on the north, and is joined to the town by a bridge. The port lies between this bridge and a reef which runs out from below the land fort. About a mile to the north of the mole is another reef, affording protection against the only wind and sea here to be apprehended—the westerly. Nowhere along the coast had I seen combined, circumstances so favourable for such a people as the Phœnicians; giving a footing ashore, so to say, for

their ships, and a station afloat, in case of necessity, for their goods and people. In addition to this was the rich land and abundant water of the vicinity for gardens; the forests of Lebanon, close by, for timber, and its cedars for their enormous masts;\* while, last, not least, a climate such, that their December days surpassed the finest we could select from our July.

This supposes, not a people living on the coast that went to sea, but a sea-faring people who, coming from afar, looked out for a convenient station.

The port now, by the rising of the sand, affords entrance only to craft drawing from four to five feet. The present town stands partly on what must formerly have been the port. There were three entrances; one is still perfect, and is like that of a dock, through which a vessel of 500 tons could pass. The reef, which forms the wall seaward, has been joined to the land by a breakwater at right angles. The reef, where it lowers, is built upon by a wall ten feet thick, composed of stones, some of which must weigh 50 tons. They are limestone, but not of that which is found in the neighbourhood. Three tiers still stand on the north-west angle. This wall was for defence, as appears from the height and from the double gateway cut in the rock; the grooves of the portcullis, and the mortices for the bar which secured the door within are

\* See Lucian's description of them.

still perfect. The rock without has been cut level into a broad landing place. In some places mortar filled with pottery is largely used, and is more durable than most of the stones its binds; a large fragment of it is built as a stone into the doorway of the modern city. These stones and walls must have been shaken and displaced by the earthquakes to which Syria has been so often subject.

The reef to the north is distant about 500 yards, running for half a mile parallel to the coast; there is still close under it four fathoms. A jetty composed of blocks, like those I have described, runs out from the southern extremity, leaving but a narrow passage. The reef has not been used only to protect an anchorage; it also served for a port. The whole of it has been cut smooth, leaving only the rock standing on the edge, like a pie-crust. The stone has been grooved, and many of the blocks still remain cut all round, as if the works had been interrupted; this is, however, only towards the extremity. There has evidently been the double object of getting the stone, and levelling the island. The level part has been occupied by wood buildings, as shewn by the mortice holes. The ridge of rock left standing is 12 feet thick and 15 high; a doorway is left through it, with the fittings as in those of the harbour. There are many things that I could not comprehend; for instance, a cross in relief on a detached rock, not carved on the side, but the surface.



The historical value of this topographic scrutiny must chiefly consist in the limits which it must assign to the shipping of Sidon. We have to deal not with triremes, but with the ships of long course and heavy burden ; the coast still retains its original configuration sufficiently to determine the space allotted for their reception. Had the sand risen as at Beyrout, no trace of Saïda would be found to-day. But here the sweeping of the shore by the continuous current from the south prevents the accumulation from rising so high as to allow the sand to be carried inwards by the westerly gales. It would not, therefore, be difficult to fix exactly the extent of docks and wharfage. Pushing these to the utmost limits, the shipping of Sidon could not have exceeded that of Gloucester.

Their ships, however, were not laden with timber or tar, corn or calicoes, sugar, guano, rum or tea ; the return was not ten or twenty per cent. Their cargoes were spices, ivory, gold, silver, gems, and the sand of their coast converted into gem.\* The returns, who shall estimate ?

If we had no writings of past times those remains would tell the story of the Phœnicians ; a people different from all those which occupy history, possessing in the highest degree the mechanical arts, conceiving and constructing in the boldest manner, working for future eras, and directing their labour for the protection of maritime enterprise. Having

\* The Turkish word for glass is *jami*.

much that we now possess, and much that we no longer comprehend: separated from us by the gulf of time, linked to us by the chain of science; not stretching out their hand to take, like Assyria and Rome, not fencing themselves round to keep, as China and Egypt. Great they were, and therefore to be rated amongst other greatness. Yet they had neither numbers nor territory, neither armies nor system; they had only cunning and craft—not the cunning that overreaches, nor the craft that undermines. They had the cunning to avoid offence and the craft to make their way. No wonder that Lamartine, the type of the modern traveller as far as his notions go, turns with loathing and disgust from everything Phœnician, there being no roguery to gratify his morals and no violence to satisfy his philanthropy. Returning from this reef I said to myself, had the Phœnicians not existed they would have to be invented.

(Some pages are here wanting. The Diary resumes with the closing portion of a conversation on a projected plan for clearing the ports of Tyre and Sidon, and carrying thence a railway to Damascus. Who my informant was I have forgotten.)

“ . . . The chains of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon appear inseparable barriers; but it was intended to carry it (the railway) round by Tyre, and so open into the Bkkaa; then turn the Anti-Lebanon at El Bayat, and thus bring the whole line nearly on the same level to Damascus. However painful to see such an operation frustrated, I

cannot but justify the Porte in discontinuing all enterprises, however beneficial to the country, that bring European residents, or afford ground of interference to the consuls or the embassies."

His words confirmed what was said to me by an English merchant at Beyrout—"All we desire is to be left alone and to manage our concerns with the Turks; their suspicions present the only difficulty, and these suspicions spring solely from the meddling of our Government."

I inquired what the concessions were which this company had asked. He said, not being at Saïda at the time, he did not know; but imagined it must have been a reduction in their favour of the duties to the standard at which they were before the English Treaty. Fancying that what he said implied a censure on me, he added that no doubt that Treaty had been well adapted to, and had benefited other parts of the Ottoman dominions, but that it was unfortunate for Syria that I had not visited it before that Treaty was settled. I explained that the parts of the Treaty he referred to had been quite as injurious to the other parts of Turkey as to Syria; and that but for it Turkey would now be the granary of Europe, and Syria covered with silk manufactories, which would have doubled by this time both the quantity she produced and its value. He looked astonished, and said he understood that I was the author of the Treaty. I told him that I was of the Treaty that had *not* been signed.

Children playing in the corridor of the khan round my door, native in every feature, and in clothing humble if not poor, were speaking French! They were at the French school. It is very strange to meet here and there young Arabs familiarly addressing you in French or English. There are schools provided for them without cost, in which they are not only instructed but fed and lodged! What benevolence on the one side and what good fortune on the other!

It is only proselytism. I often wished to have an extract from the 23rd chapter of Matthew, printed in large type to paste up on the walls and doors.\* Yet what would it avail. I however find so great a difference in these Roman Catholics, that I could converse with them on the subject; with the Protestant missionaries I could not; for this reason, that the funds which support them are supplied for proselytism, and that they have sufferance in the country only on the condition of not attempting to proselytise. With the Roman Catholics it is different; the funds are not collected at meetings, no statements have to be made in periodicals or on platforms; the Missionaries are under superiors and are at once subject to discipline and liable to punishment: there is therefore nothing in their general

\* "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves."—Matt. xxiii. 15.

position which may not be discussed without offence. Besides, if not the practice, at least it is the maxim of the Church of Rome, "to satisfy doubts but not to raise them."

These matters were freely discussed on my visit to the school. A Priest was somewhat startled when I mentioned the prohibition of Proselytism by his Church, while he had passed over with suave indifference my reference to the precepts of Christ. There was indeed no offence taken, as would have been the case with a Protestant. It was rather relief he experienced, at the (to him) new thought, that proselytism was not a Christian duty. The only word put in, in denegation was, that "as the Mussulmans propagated their faith by the sword, the Christian might use the weapon of persuasion." This led to an exposure of the falsehood of that assertion and its impossibility. They listened with astonishment to the passages from the Koran establishing directly the reverse. I then appealed to their own experience as to the toleration of the Turks, and asked them what Syria would be under any Christian Government.

After an examination of the school, and an exhibition of the proficiency of the pupils in French (of which I had had already sufficient evidence), in arithmetic, geography and history, the latter being rather comical, the small caterva was dismissed, and we continued in discourse. The master was an agreeable and not an uninstructed man; he was full

of zeal, enthusiastic in his profession, and proud of the "great advantages," which Syria was deriving and had derived from these schools. At length I asked leave to put two questions, which being granted, I put as follows :

1. Are your young men better sons than the rest?
2. Are they more loyal subjects?

On this a silence of minutes ensued. The master had opened his mouth, but no sound proceeded. Finding that I did not intend to say more, and that I awaited an answer, he at last turned on the vice-consul an appealing glance, from whom at last broke the words :

"How true is what you say." I remarked that I had said nothing, and was only seeking for information from them. "You have said every thing," he replied, "and you have said nothing that has not already been in our minds." Then, turning to the master, he continued, "How often have we deplored the same thing? Have we not considered it a fatality that young man after young man has disappointed our expectations?" He then went on to enumerate cases, and as the review proceeded these cases, considered each at the time as exceptions, proved to be the rule without exception.

Not one of the pupils remained a son to his parents, had taken to the calling of his father, or even to an honest calling; they had all become agents to consuls, *courtiers*, or dragomen. It was a wholly new thought to those I was addressing, that of domestic duty and

political allegiance. I shewed them that as Roman Catholics, those duties were peculiarly imposed on them by injunction, and that they set at nought the spiritual authority of their church, when plotting to subvert the laws of the country which afforded them so large a hospitality, and permitted them to exercise such influence among its subjects. The circle of listeners having been enlarged, I was begged to enter fully on a matter which touched them all so nearly : I did so, and dwelt on the consequences to themselves if England and France should be called upon their soil in struggle of arms, as now they were in competition of influence ; or if the Turkish Government at last gave up the land to flame and the sword. I had the satisfaction of hearing them express thankfulness. They assured me that henceforward my warning should influence the course pursued in the school at Saïda. I had the opportunity of shewing them in the person of one of the young men, whom they had instanced as having been rendered unfit for his station in life, the extreme facility of bringing them back to that state, and also that the knowledge of usages must first be possessed by the instructor. I fear, in the want of the latter, that their good intentions will serve little. A drop in the ocean is little as to quantity, what then is a drop in the Niagara, as to direction ? The conversation remarkably illustrates the deteriorating effects of European influence, even when exerted under the most favourable circumstances, and for the most benevolent ends.

I engaged as a servant one of those young men. I met him at dinner at the Consul's table. They expected him to sit at mine, and were amazed to see him fall back at once into his own station of life, on a look and without a word.

I must not omit to make honourable mention of a bath at Saïda. There are five of them in the town; the one I mean is called Yeni Hammam. In abundance of linen, industry of shampooing, sedulousness of service, variety of rooms, graduation of temperature, and degree of heat (which is often wanting) I have met nothing like it in my present trip. It has not the Alhambra-like splendour of those of Emir Beshir; but it is a temperately ornate and more finished work. In this sense, no bath, even at Constantinople, equals it; the habit of employing old blocks of marble, capitals of columns, and the like, has given an irregularity to Turkish baths even where the materials are gorgeous. Here there was no piece of stone or marble not specially carved for it. The colours were white, black, and yellow; the white was marble, the black the lignite of the Lebanon, the yellow the limestone of the Lebanon, which when wet equals in beauty marble of the richest colour. The design varies in each chamber. On returning after bathing, to the kiosk prepared for me, whilst the path was strewn with the clean napkins, handfuls of ambar were simultaneously cast, so as to fall with each napkin, and on it, before my foot. The ambar is a small round, soft, yellow,



cottony flower with aromatic odour; the Spaniards are very fond of it.

There are in Saïda nearly 4000 houses, one half Mussulman, the other Christian and Jewish. The Christians go little to the bath; if they do, it is on a marriage or at Easter, so preserving at least the tradition of its ancient use. There remains, therefore, five baths for 2000 families. The young Maronite I engaged here had only been once in his life in a bath.

## CHAPTER VI.

A CHAPTER ON IMMORAL AND IRRELIGIOUS  
DUTIES.

THE distance from Saïda to Sur (Tyre) is seven and a half hours, so starting at noon I expected to reach by sunset. Intending to visit, as I left the town, the English consular agent, I sent to say so. He was absent at Beyrout, but I found his brothers, a numerous fraternity, and some neighbours assembled. They opened a vast subject, and were so earnest that they kept me till three o'clock. The assemblage had been specially convened, as soon as they learnt my intended visit, and as the subject underwent a more thorough investigation than it ever had before, I shall report with careful accuracy.

The oldest of the brothers opened the matter by stating, that they were much injured by the Commercial Treaty with England; that they had been year after year expecting a change. They had over and over again represented their grievances as follows:—"The Treaty increases the customs for English merchants from 3 to 12 per cent; this rate, introduced for the foreign trade, is applied to the internal trade. Out of this have grown up monopolies which were unknown in Syria, which had been

abolished in Turkey by the Hatti sheriff of Gulhané. The apaltatori, or farmers of revenue, have now recourse to all sorts of vexations to harass the general trade, having become traders themselves."

I requested to be informed of the specific difference under the Treaty, as to each article exported from Saïda. The answers were as follow:—

Tobacco. This is the principal export. It varies from the low price of eight paras the oke, ( $7\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. for one penny) to five piastres. The utmost production is 14,000 cantars of 2 cwt. each. It goes principally to Egypt, in bales composed of all qualities, the outer leaf being of the lowest kind; and in the centre a little of the best; the aggregate value is under two piastres the oke. Formerly there was one charge of 14 paras for all kinds of tobacco, which, in the tobacco of Latakia, some of which sold for 30 and 50 piastres, was but a fractional duty. It fell, however, heavily on the Lebanon, amounting to 25 per cent on the lowest quality, seven per cent on the highest. They looked, therefore, under the new Treaty, to be relieved from this burden, as 12 per cent ad valorem duty would have been to them a reduction of more than two-thirds. However, instead of that, under the name of 12 per cent, the duty was raised from 14 paras to 76 paras. This amounted on the lowest quality to 1000 per cent, and on their whole exportation to 100 per cent. There being, at present, precisely the same sum paid for the tobacco and for the duty. The lower qualities would have

remained unsold, if the apaltatori had not bought the tobacco, and sent it themselves to Egypt. Besides the effect has been to open Egypt to foreign tobacco, the coarse qualities of which, paying only five per cent duty, are introduced from Greece, Barbary, and even America.

**Silk.** This article comes next in the Saïda market: it is the produce of the southern portion of the Mountain, amounts to from 10,000 to 15,000 okes, is of a coarse quality, and is dyed and wrought in Saïda. It is used for tassels to caps, and lace for embroidery. It is exported chiefly to Egypt, but is also sent to Constantinople, and other parts of Turkey. Before the treaty, silk paid on entering the towns 4 per cent, and on leaving it, dyed for exportation, 3 more. The silk raw, is worth about 100 piastres the oke; dyed red, 130; blue, 170; so that the manufactured article paid in all, in one case 3, in the others  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Under the Treaty it pays 12 per cent, which is charged on entering the town. When dyed, or manufactured, it is considered a new article, and pays 12 per cent more, which 12 per cent is calculated by the tariff at 42 piastres. The duty on the dyed silk is thus 54 piastres, instead of 7; so that on this article the difference produced by the treaty is 47 piastres.

**Grain.** On this article the effect of the treaty is to multiply the duty by 23. The former icktisab was 1 para for 8 okes, now the tariff is 23 paras for 8 okes. There were here no restrictions on its ex-

portation. (The duty was raised from one farthing to 6*d.*)

Soap. A manufacture of Saïda. The oil formerly paid 4 paras the 30 okes. It now pays 15 piastres, or above one hundred-fold. The potass formerly paid on importation 3 per cent; it now pays 5. The soap on exportation formerly paid 3 per cent; it now pays 12. The difference between the old and the new duties is as 60 to 325, or more than five-fold on a cantar of soap exported. The value of the cantar is 4,600 piastres.

As they had referred, in speaking of former charges, to the regular one of 3 per cent, I inquired if more than that sum was not often paid. They answered that it was true, that more was often paid; but that a novel system of abuse has been introduced, that of the farmers becoming merchants themselves. Above all, that formerly, the Treaties were considered law; now, the Treaty was so confused and so contradictory, that everything was arbitrary, and there was no use in appealing to the Consuls.

I asked how it was that these articles, not one of which was exported to Europe or came to England, could be affected by our Treaty?

This question produced an exclamation of surprise. They answered, "The rate established for you is of course laid on us. Long ago, we should have been taxed in this way; but they could not tax us while your trade was free. You increase

the duties for yourselves; they are then increased for us. Though these articles do not go to England, they are often bought and sold by English merchants, and are so held to be foreign."

Having heard all they had to say, I inquired what they wished me to do. They said, "To understand that this Treaty is a contagion, destroying us. It is bad for you, for the Turks, and for us." I answered that I was already perfectly aware of all that. They said, "Then we want you to tell them in London." I said, "I have told them over and over again, and no one will listen to me." "But," remonstrated they, "the English are a clever people; cannot they see that this Treaty contradicts itself?" I answered, "If you see that the Treaty contradicts itself, how call them a clever people?" "But surely, Lord Palmerston is a clever man; can you not make him see it?" "Lord Palmerston being a clever man does not require me to make him see it." "But then he will change it." "He made it; why should he change it?" After some talk among themselves, one of them said, "You mean that Lord Palmerston is like our rejals (ministers) at Constantinople?" "No; for they have the name only." Again ensued a bye conversation, and one of them said, "But Russia is far from here." I replied, "You export grain, she exports grain; you are governed from Constantinople, she has an ambassador at Constantinople and a consul at Beyrout." They now fully appre-

hended ; but again they would return to the English being a clever people. I laid my hand on the Treaty, the English copy of which had been brought, saying you have here the means of knowing them ; they have no means of knowing themselves.

One of them stated, that being interested in salt, and the Government having monopolised it, he went to Colonel Rose to require the fulfilment of the Treaty, which prohibited the imposition of monopolies ; on which Colonel Rose pointed out to him a passage in the third article which contradicted the first, and said that British trade should pay the same duties as the most favoured subjects. This I was asked to explain. They had no difficulty in understanding that explanation, viz. that the Treaty had been made for one purpose and altered for another. They then asked what other changes had been made. I said they themselves had hit upon the most important. The next was the raising the import duty two per cent. The third the imposing one duty of 12 per cent on all exports, whereas the original Treaty contemplated a scale of duties, and the tariff under it, was not to calculate in money one ad valorem duty on all, but to fix what ad valorem per centage each article could bear. Thus Valonia might have had a high duty, because so much cheaper in Turkey than in Europe ; silk would probably have been reduced below the three per cent. The Treaty, intended to facilitate commerce and reduce duties, had been changed so as to increase duties and con-

vert them into prohibitions. They then asked me to mark on their copy the interpolated passages, which I did; also the Additional Articles as to nothing "but the fair sense being stipulated for," and that nothing should be construed as interfering with the "freedom of internal legislation" of the Ottoman Empire. As I was taking my departure, I was asked what I meant when I said that the Turks required no help to put it right. I answered that the Turkish Government had declared by the Hatti sheriff of Gulhané, that all monopolies and all impediments to trade were abolished, and could not afterwards take an equivalent for abolishing them. That the duties under the tariff did not bring money into the treasury, but kept money out of it. That the Turkish Government had the tenths in its hand; and need not go in a roundabout way to get taxes so as to ruin their own property, by imitating Governments who had lost the tithes. That their religion prohibited a higher duty than three per cent. That they fancied they imitated Europe, but in Europe no one taxed exports. That Turkey had no preventive system, and could not have one without adding a heavy charge to the expenses of the empire, which would absorb more than the whole returns from the customs. That the effect of the present duties was to clog commerce in regard to heavy goods, and as to the lighter, such as silk, tobacco, &c., to cause it to pass in a great measure in contraband. These were the reasons they had to urge with the Turks, to in-



duce them to drop the treaty, which they could not do till they understood it, but which was the easiest of all things when understood.

It was now three o'clock, but I was told there was a village half way where I could sleep, and as I had sent on my baggage horses with orders to wait half way, I started. We passed under an alley of the ambar tree which produces the small yellow flower; its leaves are like a fine acacia, the trunk unites the knots of the oak and the spring of the platanus; elsewhere they are but shrubs. The gardens on this side extend little, for water is wanting; the land, however, is equally rich, and a strip of this black loam runs between the beach and the chalky hills. It is a dead level, without a tree or a house. The people have their villages on the hills. As the water might be conducted from the hills, it is probable that this was formerly a continuation of gardens and country mansions, where rested the merchant princes from their labours, and tasted their luxuries. Nothing could be more happily chosen, if I am to judge from the scene and the day. Some clouds served as an awning in the heavens, and a breeze came in from the sea. There was heat enough to enjoy the breeze, light enough to make the cloud a pleasure, and cloud and breeze enough to make the sun acceptable.

In visiting the Upogea, or caverns, with which the rocks to the left are filled, I rode up a brow, and came in sight unexpectedly of Tyre, looking

like a projecting tongue of alluvial land covered with trees. Behind me was old grey Sidon, and before young green Tyre; I turned from the one to the other, and could with difficulty tear myself from the place; but the sun, though shrouded, approached the horizon, and warned me to press on. The clouds spread in dark masses to within a few degrees of the horizon, where they left a space which stretched in a straight line as if drawn by rule. Behind, the flood of ruddy light poured like an ethereal waterfall; on the eastern side the beautiful phenomenon of the anhelion mimicked, in its party-coloured radiation, the rising sun; for a moment I was perplexed, as if I had been suddenly turned round, but then I was reassured by the large disc of the sun, which broke into the open space below the clouds, and suddenly lit them up where darkest, in fragments, patches, and lines, as a distant light might strike on a pannelled roof. How immense did that continent of sky now appear. This was a day to taste the sweetness of Phœnicia, and here was a sunset of mingled gloom and splendour, types of its past fortune and its present state, in which to behold for the first time "Tyrus of the sea."\*

As I resumed my march the scene of the morning came back upon me. In detailing it I had in view accuracy; the subject being one of business, and business the most important. I may now say something of the feelings in me which it then awakened,

\* Egyptian Papyrus.

and which came crowding upon me during my solitary march along the beach, amidst storm and darkness. •

That human beings do become cynics and misanthropes may be as inconceivable to those who have not become so themselves, as that there should be assassins and poisoners. If incomprehensible, it is at all events indubitable, that there are such. To me it is no longer incomprehensible, because during this ride I have all but become so myself, the occasion being this very conversation.

These dozen men, assembled to pour out to me their distress and their lamentations, would, if I had told them that the Treaty was mine, and that it was all right, have held their tongues, bowed their heads, not have ventured to utter a word that was in their thoughts, and probably have told me that I was the benefactor and saviour of their native land. At best they would have suggested alterations, in order to *improve* the work. Could anything be more hateful than human nature thus exhibited?

Turn to the Turks. They are done to death by a piece of paper which they have signed; which does not even stipulate that they must cut their own throats, but only that they may do so; upon this they do cut their own throats.\* With the exception of Mehemet Ali, under the direction of the old

\* The duties fixed by a Commercial Treaty are intended only as the limit beyond which they shall not be raised; not a minimum below which they cannot be reduced.

astute Nubar, there is not a single Turk, from Reschid Pasha down to the street porter, who understands a single word of it. The functionary to whose department its interpretation, and therefore its comprehension, particularly belongs is the Grand Dragoman. That functionary fills here the office of Imperial Commissioner, and did so formerly in Wallachia and Moldavia, where the Treaty was so well understood that it would not be so much as listened to. Well, this Grand Dragoman I have been for the last month daily at work upon, and cannot drive into him the faintest idea of the matter. So that the same results are obtained by knowledge that is destitute of courage, and good intentions that are destitute of knowledge.\*

Since these new charges, the Turks individually have abstained, as a matter of conscience, from bidding for the customs' farms. Taxes are a part of religion. They are bound to the payment of what is lawful (Hallal parasi), and forbidden to pay or to exact what is not. It is not lawful for them to exact more than 3 per cent customs' duty, nor lawful to exact so much from a stranger who does not impose countervailing duties. "The Mussulman," said Mahomet, "must not impose duties for retaliation, and he must not exact duties from those who do not

\* This same Grand Dragoman, after three more months of indoctrination, did suddenly get the idea of what the Treaty was: he sat staring for a moment, and then exclaimed, "Quel monstre c'est l'homme!"

place duties in return." This abstaining of the Turks from a lucrative branch of investment will be held as something noble and generous. But what avails individual conscience against aggregate infidelity? Conscientiousness without judgment adds another argument for misanthropy, to knowledge without courage, and good intentions without knowledge.

Take the English. By their authority and power this Treaty was imposed. They know the effects of placing prohibitory duties on the exports of a country. They have been for years engaged in inducing other countries to abandon restrictions on trade; here they force a Treaty upon Turkey to prohibit her own exports. These exports would otherwise come to themselves. Not a word has ever been said in England except in commendation of this Treaty. When a statement of the case was made in the House of Commons, the Minister could get up and justify his conduct, amidst cheers, by stating it to be the reverse of what it was. The English then are exactly on the same line as the merchants I left this morning at Saïda—or worse: they dare to speak of it; the English do not.

This Treaty has been my occupation of years; involving ceaseless toil and anxiety, ultimately crowned with success. By a quiet, peaceful, commercial operation, I expected to cause to cease the interference of Russia in Europe as well as in Turkey; for trade being suffered to return to its

natural channels, she should be deprived of the fictitiously created financial means by which she is enabled to disturb the world. The measure had been accepted on these grounds, and as realizing these ends, by the English Government; it is, at the moment of signing, by the alteration of a paragraph and the insertion of a clause, changed into an instrument for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, and transfers to Russia the monopoly of the supply of grain for Europe!

There are two kinds of assassins: the assassin of want, and the assassin of passion. There are two kinds of misanthropists: the man who is merely disgusted, and the man who, having endeavoured in vain to serve men, is vengeful.

Both temptations were here presented to me in a fashion perhaps not ever equalled in any case of their several success; either might have prevailed, had it not been that I knew them before I commenced, and looked for nothing but persecution, had I succeeded.

## CHAPTER VII.

CONTRAST OF TIMES. CONFLICT OF USAGES.  
TYRE.

THE night overtook me on the beach. The bright flashes from the mass of approaching and spreading clouds, served to quicken my speed and to shew me my way. The cry of the jackall rose on every side and filled the dismal air with its oppressive sound. To lose one's way along the beach seemed impossible; yet I lost it, and had been floundering for some time in ditches, when a large dark building was cast on the streak of the southern horizon; it was the gate of Tyre. My servants were waiting in some alarm, and joyfully welcomed me. I expected to see here only some fishermen's huts, but found myself conducted through an extensive bazaar, and along a port, where numerous small craft were laid up, and large vessels at anchor. At last I reached the house of the English Consul, or agent, and was shewn into a chamber of novel structure. Scarcely had I been seated when the storm burst upon us in all its fury. This was the second time within a few days that it had just given me time to reach shelter;

there have been many storms, yet have I not during three months been touched by a drop of rain.

Opening, next morning, the shutters of the glassless upper room in which I had slept, I saw four brigs and a schooner lying snugly, as in a harbour, under the lee of this place, the wind being from the west. Before the siege by Alexander, the island of Tyre sheltered a channel, in the same manner as the island of Sidon. A glance at the place from the terrace this morning, in the midst of the hurricane, sufficed, in consequence of the study I had made of the island of Sidon, to satisfy me as to its geology.

The rock of Saïda is not a regular stratum, but a mere induration of sand, like that which I found on the western coast of Africa. There the formation of it has taken place on the surface of a bank several hundred feet high; at first I took this sandstone for that which I had found in the Lebanon, under the calcareous formation; but afterwards I observed it worked into circular holes, and leaving standing points, so like that of Morocco, that I suspected that it must be of a similar nature.

This conclusion I had means of establishing along the coast. The difference with the sand coast of Morocco is, that it has been formed nearly at the level of the sea; at Saïda it has nowhere more than 20 feet elevation: at one point on the



coast, there is a headland running out with a square tower, where it may be 50 feet ; but there its nature is changed, and it contains large quantities of rolled stones from the calcareous range : otherwise it is found at intervals lying along the beach, more like a mere induration of the sea sand, than a distinct stratum. The face of the country has, in other respects, remained the same ; the Roman mile-stones, when formed of materials too hard for their chisels, or too heavy for their means of transport, lie in the places where they stood only half buried ; and in a field, I observed the one pier of a bridge of unmistakable Phœnician stones, which crossed a meandering rivulet ; which now, so far as marked by this river, follows exactly the course it held two or three thousand years ago.

Finding the island of Tyre to be a sandstone of the same description, there can have been no lofty and beetling rock to oppose the "bank cast up" by Alexander.

The rain continued to batter and the wind to howl till shortly before sunset, giving me time to loiter on the ramparts, and admire the waves dashing over the long reefs of the fallen walls, here and there certified as Tyrian by the projecting fragments of granite columns. The rock is the agglomerated sand. There are, standing above the water to the south-west, calcareous masses, which I might have mistaken for the rock of the place, but for those

still standing remnants of breakwater at Saïda. The plateau of the city is not more than ten or twelve feet above the level of the sea. The modern town covers a half of the space; there are towers and remains of fortifications of the middle ages, with some large edifices of the Turks. The whole has been encircled by a breastwork, directed against the English and their valiant allies in the heroic contest of 1840, which commenced at this place, and where the actors escaped halters, if they did not win crowns. On the breastwork to the west, I had the pleasure of seeing, notwithstanding the state of the weather, the nets spread out to dry; and on an open space behind, a number of boys were playing at ball in a peculiar, and therefore to be supposed a Tyrian manner. This visitation I had endeavoured to perform alone, but was per force accompanied by a train worthy of a Pasha in the olden time; not that I was expected either to find treasure or to lecture on "Progress and Civilization;" but I was a Frank, and might be a Consul.

One of my courtiers this day, for though not a consul, a court was forced upon me, was the brother of my hostess. He brought a strong certificate from Captain Elliot for his services "in the Sultan's cause," and various other documents proving his story, which was this. He was the first to raise the people, had got possession of Tyre, and paid out of his own pocket the men he enlisted; he had

acted by the orders of the English officers, and had spent 40,000 piastres, all his substance. The Turks gave him a command, but, on the withdrawal of the English squadron, displaced him. He had appealed again and again to the Consul in vain, was now naked, and had only one pound a month, which he got from the farmer of customs, to sleep every night outside the walls, to watch that tobacco was not smuggled. He came to beg my intercession with the Consul. I told him it would avail him little. That I was, besides, of opinion that he was very rightly served; that the Turks had done quite right in displacing a man who had taken up arms because told to do so by a foreign agent, and that I could not try to have him recompensed for obliging men, who ought every one of them to be hanged as pirates. He seemed quite aware of the nature of the transaction as regarded our officers, and then shifted his claim to the score of the Sultan. Thinking him already sufficiently punished, and on his professing his abhorrence of all intermeddlers, which I believe was now real enough, I promised to submit his case to the Pasha.

I have mentioned the identity of the rock on which Tyre and Sidon are built with that lining the coast of Morocco; a rock which constitutes there the defence of the country, and to peculiarities of which I have traced the chief characteristic of Moorish architecture; an architecture of which I then derived the original from the Holy Land.

This resemblance did not stand alone. On the hill above Saïda, I observed an oblong vault, the same as those still standing at Shemish (in Morocco), and which I have described. The arch being constructed in the same remarkable manner: that is, as if the wall had been built round a mould. Along the coast, the only buildings seen are, as in Morocco, the cubbé and dome of the tombs. The chief apartment in this house exhibited the same affinity. Apparently, nothing can be more dissimilar than the Moorish room, of thirty-five feet long by seven wide, without a window, and lighted only from a large portal in the centre, and this apartment, which is supported by arches, lighted by four spreading windows, and with a depressed passage traversing it in the middle. The affinity lay, however, in the essentials; this room had that Moorish feature which is its own exclusively, two apartments joined at the base, which is therefore the centre.

My mind occupied in these associations, we sat down to dinner, and what should appear on table but Couscoussou! They did not know it by the name, but called it *Mograbi*, or dish "from the west." It was admirably cooked, but the make was far inferior to the Moorish; the particles were too large and hard; they roll them with the palm of the hand instead of the tips of the fingers. I was all the better pleased to have recalled to me, by a favourable comparison, my hostess among the Ziaïda. It is needless to say that here Couscouss-

sou had to be eaten with a spoon; they listened with ill-suppressed incredulity when I explained to them the process of making "cora," and the dexterity with which, at arm's length, the Mograbees projected these into their mouths.

My host was called Atala, and was a Catholic Greek. He wore the old costume, but his house, family, and establishment, as well as his ideas, presented an epitome of many things. Eastern had not yielded here to Western manners, and a grotesque caricature was enacted every moment. The old man laboured to determine in what order self, guest, and wife were to be served. The eldest son, with a cap instead of a turban, strutted about the room with Frank creaking shoes on his feet; presently he came in, and served the pipes and coffee. He ventured not to sit down before his father; but his son, a boy of twelve years old, had no such scruples, and only waited till he had learnt English, to call his father "Governor." The hostess was a fine woman of fifty; she wore the open robe short, and the long wide trousers of the same stuff under it. A spreading *shuffa* flowed over her back, waving with every jaunty step, as she strode in her pattens, which raised her six inches from the floor. The *shuffa* is an imitation of plaited hair (Chaitie), but amounting to ten times the hair any woman's head ever bore: it is spread out so as to fall from shoulder to shoulder, and is entirely covered by a coat of mail, formed of small oblong flattened tags

of gold. They were kind, but very embarrassing, with their attempted tables and knives and forks, and would not get out of the notion that it was my extreme humility which made me prefer sitting on the ground, and eating with my fingers. At last I silenced the stupid talk by telling them that Christ eat with his fingers, and that neither Solomon nor Charlemagne, Alexander nor Themistocles, had ever seen a fork. The usual tedious discussion on this conflict of manners followed : a priest who came in backed me thoroughly. I should be glad to put in his own words some of his remarks ; but that which has effect from its simplicity, and because it is a testimony of latent thoughts, is not translatable or writeable, and I have difficulty in recalling ideas on a subject worn to me threadbare, and nauseating by its constant recurrence in the shape of sights that annoy or discussions that fatigue. The priest, however, bore I thought rather hard on the old man, so I carried the war into his own quarters. I told him to look at home and see what his church had done to upset the ideas and manners of the people, which it had been the first to disturb. He was astounded and asked the explanation. I told him that at mass that morning, I had been shocked with two pieces of the grossest indecency ; first, that they walked into the church with the polluted shoes from the street ; the second, that at the elevation of the host they pulled about their dress (turbans), and exposed their poor

bald shaved pates. He said that was the rule observed in the church for eighteen hundred years, and the Turks had been ordered as a distinction to take off their shoes and keep on their turbans. I asked where the rule was to be found for the one, or the order for the other : he did not know. I told him, that I myself had seen this very change, and from similar causes, *commence* in the Greek church. He contended that it was a proper sign of respect to take off the turban. I asked why they did not do it then when they entered the church, and if it was with them a manner of shewing respect ; if, on the contrary, it was not a shame to expose the head ; and lastly, whether God from the burning bush had told Moses to pull off his turban, and had not told him to take off his shoes ? He answered, that the ceremonial law had been abolished under the new dispensation. I asked if these things were in the ceremonial law ? I finally brought him to confess that neither he nor any members of his church had ever thought on the subject ; and that it was some strangers from Rome, who knew nothing of the country, and who sought to innovate in their ignorance or pride, who had commenced this disturbance of immemorial custom ; of which he could perceive the ridicule in the circumstances around us, and the evil consequences alike in the character and fortunes of the people.

*December 10th.*—I went to the bath, but it was such a hole that I had to return re-infected. After

losing two hours by being kept for breakfast I got off by midday. I was very desirous of visiting the reefs around, to trace which was natural rock, which masonry, and to follow the lines of fallen walls, if perchance they might yet be distinguished. But the sea was rolling too heavily to expect smooth water for four and twenty hours at least, had it then fallen calm; I therefore contented myself with visiting the port. It looks to the north, and though not so shallow, is less spacious than that of Saïda; it has two entrances, one to the west, and one to the north. The current from the south runs through and keeps it in some degree clear. The moles now standing are of recent structure, in which polished granite columns are largely employed; they lie about in heaps, or protrude from the ground and water. The anchorage is in front of the port, and open to the north; the holding ground is uphill and good.

On leaving the gates, we came on a portion of the ancient city higher than the rest, all dug out and quarried, as if a city were building in its neighbourhood; and this quite recently. I had marvelled and marvelled at the wiping out of this place; had it fallen into the deep, or been destroyed by the elements, or carried off by man; how could such masses so totally disappear? I now came to reflect that Tyre had been exposed to plunder in a greater degree than any other ancient city of note. It was on the high way of traffic; it was all exposed, attracting the eye of every seafarer; every vessel



could embark materials from its bay. Nineveh and Babylon were covered in, Memphis and Thebes might be a quarry for some petty neighbouring town, once in ten centuries. The ravaging of Tyre must have commenced a thousand years before that of other memorable places. From the time of Alexander it has lain so exposed; and at hand during the great building periods of Rome and all her tributary cities, down to Constantinople. Tyre may even have contributed colonnades to Carthage.

A more wonderful object awaited me on getting to the isthmus. Here was the seven months' work of Alexander's army:—a causeway carried two miles through the sea; and at the extremity rising to face and overtop walls of 150 feet in height.

From Mount Soracte to look down on Rome; from the Giant's Mount, to trace the windings of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, is to overwhelm the mind with reminiscences recalled, and reflections suggested. There has been accumulated the power of the earth; there has been grasped the faculties of land and sea. But the scenes are too vast; and in either case, the spot before you sinks into insignificance, in its ungraspable associations. Nevertheless, a piece of earth in both cases, supplies food for the substance of the mind, vast, delightful and enduring.

Far different, however, was that species of food as furnished by this bit of rock, on which I looked out from my chamber in the roof. There was a sense

of possession in its minuteness, and an infinitely greater proportionate expansion in its associations. This little fragment once commanded the sea; and the sea always commands empire and the earth. It was not that this empire sprung up the patrimony of trafficking and ingenious men. Empire had already been the conquest of one state great in numbers, arts, permanency and dominion; had passed to another, equally rearing itself by conquest; and the Tyrian dominion arose after and between the rivalries, of Egypt and Assyria. Not that it triumphed over them, but continued throughout their struggles, remaining arbiter at their close. Listen to Alexander on the opposite shore, as he addresses his Macedonians.

“I can by no means deem it safe, my friends and companions, to continue our pursuit of Darius, while Tyre remains unsubdued. Whilst we are pushing our conquests against Babylon and Darius, our enemies by the help of their fleet might transfer the war to Greece. When Tyre is taken, the great and mighty force of their navy will fall into our hands; we shall reign absolute sovereigns of the sea. The way will be laid open to Egypt, and Egypt in our hands we may march on Babylon.”\*

Power is relative. It is not alone by the means which you possess, but by that in which others are deficient that dominion is secured. Thus it was that, possessed by some and not by others, horses, ele-

\* Condensed from Arian.

phants, and gallees, decided in successive ages the fate of the world.

Had the island of Tyre been some cable lengths further out, the conquering career of Alexander would have been arrested. Had the other cities of Phœnicia not been reduced, and their navies not been brought against Tyre, Tyre would not have fallen. The Phœnicians fell as the Lebanon has fallen, by disunion amongst themselves †

After riding along the southern beach of the isthmus, I came unexpectedly, having no guide, on a gush of water, which I took to be the stream from the aqueduct. I traced its course a short way, and came on tanks built up in masses of old masonry. The description corresponded; but this could not be the Fountain of Solomon. I soon observed an aqueduct of larger dimensions, turning towards the same point, and following it about a couple of miles came to other sources equal to any expectations; there were three or four pools raised about twenty-five feet: one of the blocks of masonry was eighty feet square;

\* It was during this siege that chain cables were first used, in consequence of the dexterity of the Tyrian divers, who constantly cut away the ground tackle of their adversaries.

† In another work, "The Pillars of Hercules," I have said so much upon the Phœnicians, that I avoid enlarging on the subject here. But as their inventions were the elements of their greatness, I must beg the curious reader to consult that work for the proofs which I have there collected of their having discovered the Mariner's Compass; an essay which should have more properly belonged to a work describing Tyre and Sidon, than to one describing only Tartessus.

inside, the pool was octagonal; the water rising in it pours off at three sluices, and turns six mills. I observed trout swimming familiarly about, they are not molested. It is a river which springs up, and certainly the Queen of the sea had an unrivalled bowl on land.

Nothing can be more idle than the discussion respecting the deflection of the course of the aqueduct. I expected to find it running some five or six miles at least northward, and then turning and running as many more westward to Tyre; otherwise how could the question arise of its determining the position of old Tyre. The whole distance is a few fields; the water is brought from the beginning in the direction of the base of the isthmus; it forms an angle at one part, but is continuous; evidently to spare some princely gardens, for it could not be an early work. The fountain I have first mentioned, being close at hand, would be first employed; and when its supply was insufficient for the growing population, the other source would be brought down through lands then adorned and built upon. These are Artesian wells: here, as in so many other cases, the earliest works have only anticipated the most recent discoveries.

I had now to make the best of my way to a village three hours distant, on the road to Beled Bsharré. We hurried across through cultivated fields, and over the broken ground, which rises above the strip of rich land on the shore; these hills are poor-looking, full of rock, and destitute of trees, though generally they are under the plough.

In the hollows where there is moisture there are mulberries, and some olive trees of old date. I observed repeatedly what appeared to be fragments of columns on the eminences; and on visiting one of them it proved to be a square stone post, standing 10 feet above the ground, and grooved on one side. Soon after, I observed a couple; they were at a considerable distance from my road, but I hastened to them, and was recompensed by discovering an ancient oil press complete. The posts stood four feet apart, both had the groove corresponding; in front was the round trough for crushing, entire; behind the roller lay a block, which might weigh six tons, and close by a deep reservoir for the oil hollowed in the rock. This country must, therefore, at some period, and a very remote one, have been an olive forest. Here may be seen the farm buildings and arrangements of the time of Moses.

As the sun was setting, we reached the summit of the first range of elevations, and found a village close to it; we entered it, supposing it to be Nacfaya, our place of destination, and whither instructions had been sent on to have conack and supper ready. There was no conack and no supper, for this was not Nacfaya, which we were told was distant *eight hours!* My servants were in great disquiet and discomfort, but the gloom gradually yielded before my delight at having succeeded in losing myself.

I had observed, as we approached the place,

several men on horses sitting like statues, and other signs of the neighbourhood of some person of importance. A horse richly caparisoned was led by, and as I was admiring him, a Turkish gentleman, as I imagined, came out of a cottage. He was however a Metuali, and nephew to "Hamed the Bey," as they term their chief. He advised me not to attempt going on that night, for the country was a labyrinth. He himself was going in a different direction, but would order one of the cottages to be prepared for me. His appearance, address, costume, and attendance, was far above any thing I could have expected among the Metuali, and superior to any thing I had seen among the Druzes. There was no pretence; the Osmanli was well worn, and I was glad that I had not been diverted from visiting this people by the contemptuous discourses respecting them, to which my ears had become accustomed. The village itself having no view of the sea and Tyre, I walked to the brow of a hill in front of it to take a last farewell; also for the sunset, which would be each evening a wonder in our countries.

The evening I entered Tyre, the heaven was as a roof; now, and from this elevation, the sea was as a floor: in it was not reflected, but on it was cast, the shadow of the clouds and the tints of the sky. The black line of the city was the only figure on that silver field; within the border of the dark land, the light danced on the waters flowing from the pools

of Solomon. The balmy breath of the Mediterranean streamed up, heightened in fragrance as the warmth of the day waned. The clouds seemed in myriads to hold council on the colours they were to put on; they changed and changed, and I watched and watched, till "all was grey."

I had been absent an hour, and found supper ready; but my French-taught Sidonian was sitting among the baggage. I had a visit from half a dozen of the elders. The name of this village is Aïtat; the second of the name I have met with. I told them of the Aïtat of Morocco, their predecessors who recollected having left Syria three thousand years ago. The village is composed of 15 houses; it pays six thousand piastres a year, or £60, and six hundred measures of grain of eight okes each, equal to £100 value. The former is for the Government, the latter principally for the chiefs. The Government tax is about £1 a head. They had nothing else to complain of, except bad seasons and short crops. This too reminded me of Morocco, where I had been answered that they only suffered from God's evils, "Old age and bad weather." Two other Moorish words met me; a district called *Zehil*, and another *Garb*. They smoke the nargellé, which, after a few whiffs, they pass round, as the red Indians the pipe. It is a curious instrument of coarse native manufacture. They do not smoke Tomback, but a composition of tobacco and *dibs*; the treacle made by boiling the juice of the

grape. I cannot say I liked it much, but it is a sight to see a group of peasants enjoying a luxury, with us restricted at once to the wealthy and the exquisite. The nargillé is used by rich and poor, young and old, men and women. We have a notion that it affects the lungs; it would not appear so, for the lungs in this country are in such perfect condition that no one seems aware of his having any. Nor let it be supposed that this is in consequence of the climate; persons so affected find benefit from it, and it has even been introduced at the hospital in London for diseases of the chest. This hut is a good specimen of that class of houses. It is adapted for the family and the cattle; but the distinctions of grade are so arranged, that nothing is found of the offensive nature we might suppose. An inclined spot is chosen. The floor is on two levels, the lower for the cattle. Their heads are on a level with the floor used by the family, and are turned towards it. At the edge of that floor is a hollow of plastered clay to serve as manger, and as you look down you get familiarized with their various countenances: the row of horned heads affords the image of the decoration of a Doric entablature. Such must have been the manger in which Christ was laid. Nothing could be more unnatural than to go up the stall to lay a child in the manger; nothing more natural than to depose it in one so constructed. Their food is corn, or chopped straw, for both of which the manger equally serves. This



hut contained three camels, two asses, two horses, and six cows. They occupied the one half and the lower one, and had their separate door. The people on the upper part had steps, on one side of the continuous manger, to get down to the cattle. They had on their own platform a small door, through which you could creep out on the higher ground of their side of the house. There were no windows and no apertures, except these two doors. In one corner was the fire-place with chimney of projecting cane work, coming down to catch the smoke. Clay, plastered and wrought into ornaments, adorned the chimney and the door. On the clay floor, mats were spread, and on one side were the wicker and clay bins for grain and stores. The roof was supported by two transverse walls hollowed out into Gothic arches, resting on a column; the two columns stood in the middle, between the people and the cattle, and interrupted the manger.

I had been much dissuaded from venturing among the Metuali, or Kizzil-bash, as they were ferocious and fanatic; they would not eat with Christians or Mussulmans, nor use the dishes out of which they had eaten: that I risked being stoned as well as maltreated in a country where there was absolutely nothing of interest either in the way of scenery, antiquities, or people. I naturally apprehended that, being neither the guest of a chief nor within reach of any person of authority, I might fare ill as regards supper; but presently a

stewed fowl and a dish of bourgoul made its appearance, which would not have disgraced any country. It must not, however, be omitted that this was paid for, and a bakshish expected for the night's lodgings.

I succeeded in affording relief in a recent case of hernia, and was soon assailed by patients. Two things are exceedingly painful in travelling; the sight of disease which you cannot relieve, appealing to you in full confidence that you have power to relieve; and the parting with friends with the expression of the hope to meet again, a hope you feel never can be realized.

*Dec. 11th.*—I started this morning with the sun, yet notwithstanding constant inquiries and speedy travelling, I reached Tebnin only two hours before sunset; though the distance is absolutely insignificant. I could not have travelled less than twenty-five miles. I went over one piece of ground four times. It is true I had first to make for the village I intended to reach last night, which made a difference of half the distance. I have not, however, lost my pains.

The country is a labyrinth of rounded hills; each valley breaking into two, these again in like manner bifurcating, with villages here and there, so that at the bottom of each valley at least there is a road, and perhaps another over the hill. The people are wonderfully ignorant, or perhaps affect to be, of places and distances. From eight persons, of whom

we so successively asked the way, we could get no distinct answers; when only three miles distant, some said it was twenty-four, others said they did not know where it was. We overshot it considerably, and reached from the opposite side. As we were ascending the hill on which it stands, we overtook a person on horseback, of homely but substantial mien. He wore a heavy black turban, was short and thick set, with jetty black beard, and a fine open countenance. We addressed to him for the five hundredth time the question, "Is this the way to Nacfaya?" He eyed us, and then broke out into a sort of whistle, "No wonder that you did not come," said he, "last night from the east, since this morning you arrive from the west." After this he gave me the salutation which ought to have preceded my question, and told me he had waited supper two hours for me. On arriving, he conducted me to a very nice little apartment, all clay, indeed, but with divans round covered in white. I contrasted it, not unfavourably, with the row of ox and ass heads, though I was very glad for once to have seen the other. Breakfast was brought; a dish of fried eggs and another of honey, to be scooped alternately with cups of marcook (scons). A fork was brought for me; I said I preferred my fingers; he merely answered, "I sent for it that you might have your choice." What a contrast with the city people of Tyre! He drank from a vessel with a spout, at arm's length, as the Proven-

çals and the Catalonians ; so this, too, was a Tyrian usage. Two persons in perfect rags came in on business ; it was wonderful to compare the courtly manners and the beggarly attire. My host, after attending to my wants, entered a little into conversation, in the light easy way of a man of the world, and then, without pressing, observed how much he should be gratified if I could make it not disagreeable to spend the day there. My wonder increased respecting these belied Metuali. This was a man in very humble circumstances, two ragged boys being all his male attendants. In regard to etiquette, there was no more difficulty than as to eating ; he treated me as he would a Mussulman. It was only after I left that I learnt he was a Maronite.

The village is of 25 houses, but very poor ; they pay 4000 piastres and 400 measures. I asked my host if there was anything behind this : he shook his head, and said, "There are many oppressions, but the chief is this tax, which the people are too poor to pay ; they have little land." I said it struck me that the people had little industry. "You must have observed," he answered, "how busy they all are." "Yes, at present, for it is sowing time. They are laborious, but not industrious. I see no implements in their houses ; no home-made clothes on their backs, and I am told by those who know them, that in the intervals of field labour they loll about and do nothing." "There is no interval of labour ; when the grain is not to be sown or cut, the tobacco

is; and if neither, there are grapes and oil. All the year is occupied." "Yes; occupied, but in different degrees: if they had home industry, to be taken up in all intervals of labour, and pursued by the women, the regular field labour would not be interrupted, their time would be filled, and the money that goes to the town would remain in their pockets." "Your merchants would not like that." "I wish it as much on our account as on yours; the English manufactures are injuring England as much as Syria."

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE METUALI.

FINDING that the chief of all the chiefs, "Hamed the Bey," was not at his capital, I determined to push on for Tamar Bey, seven miles further, as he had returned from his muster, his district being rated at 7000 males. Tebnin is on a higher level than the hills I had been amongst, and crossing the ridge from which it became visible, I had a last sight of Tyre. The hills, now swelling in dimension without changing in nature, put a new face on the landscape, and when I had got to the crest of the ridge, a vast extent of country was spread before me. Opposite stood the castle of Tebnin, crowning a hill; beyond, lay the country of the Metuali; and beyond again, rose all along the horizon the mountains of the Druzes. First, there was the Lebanon foreshortened, and of which the edge stood towards you, exposing at this distance its geological formation, with all its peculiarities of fracture and levels. Then the Anti-Lebanon swept down, and spread further out, the double crest of Gebel el Sheik forming the centre. His crown of snow, since I saw him last, has greatly enlarged its borders. Then along the horizon, the nodule-like

hills of the Hauran, again Druze country, and which, on the other side, overhangs the Ledja, and looks upon Damascus.

The castle of Tebnin, which I had heard of as the stockade of a Metuali chief, was a whitewashed building, tumbling in ruins; but still in its strange towers, curtains, and escarpments, there is something of the Crusades. I looked again, and was reminded of a frontispiece to an Elzevir edition of Cæsar's Commentaries, in which, in my youth, I had pored over an Helvetic illustration of Roman circumvallation. There was the turreted circles, the scarpèd cone, and the whole placed on a mountain. I descended the gully and scrambled up the other side, and now, on a nearer approach, I could distinguish the materials. The small squared stones of the country appeared above; but the lower part was of other masonry. Was it Saracen or Pelasgic? Roman or Jewish? was it Tyrian or Cyclopic? It was all these, and more.

I reached a little straggling village on the plateau below the castle, and intended to leave there my horse while I ran up to look at the inside of the ruin, when my bridle was seized by a couple of men, who turned me round, and I found I was to be conducted so to it. A person of official air, with European pistols in his belt, then addressed me, saying that he had received that forenoon orders from his master to have the castle in readiness for my reception, and to make his apologies for not

being able to be there to receive me. Of course I had now to give up the idea of proceeding that night, and was wondering to what I could owe such unexpected civilities, when one of the men conducting me said, "We heard this morning that Daoud Bey was to arrive to-night, and we have been watching all day." Nor could I get any explanation beyond this.

We reached the gate by a paved ramp; we passed the portal of modern style, and found ourselves between mean and ruined walls, in the midst of mud and filth. Entering a small court, I dismounted on a step opposite to a rude cavern, rather than chamber, which seemed to be the scene appointed for the preparations. Against the wall was placed one of those bed frames, or raised estrades of wood, six or seven feet wide and eight long, with a railing round three sides, on which a mattress is laid with cushions around, which may be garnished with the richest stuffs. This may be carried into the garden, or placed in the rudest apartment, and serves for sleeping at night and living by day, free from the inconveniences of dirty floors or unfurnished walls. Such a Farash was placed in this cavern; and so soon as I had taken my place excellent sherbet was served in cut crystal, the napkin richly embroidered. Then followed a Persian nargillé in gold and enamel, and at the first whiff the odour of Shiraz revealed itself. I then saw that it was a Persian who had presented it. The Vakil came again to make excuses; that the place



was ruined, as indeed I saw, that the only apartments covered in were the Harem, that the Bey was now constructing proper apartments above, and he much regretted they were not ready. These I afterwards saw; they were as regards the stone work in very good style, and the colour, though coarse, was also free from the false European taste. I proposed visiting the ruins, when a pompous old Persian walked in and endeavoured to engage me in conversation on Shah Shoojah, Runjet Sing, and Cabool. This Shirazi Tombac, this Irani Khan, are they evidences of another foreign influence? Strangely divided race, where every force is centrifugal. I however broke away from Herat and Peshawar, with which the Khan did not cease to pursue me all round the battlements, first to examine the ruins, then to view the country. The first operation took up all that remained of the day, leaving also something for the morrow. The second was performed at intervals in the course of our scramble; and here I nearly terminated my career. After so many ruins scrambled over with impunity, here on a ledge my left foot slipped, so that both legs shot out over a height of sixty feet; but a branch of a tree was within reach by which I caught.

The sun had gone down for us, when I was examining and sounding one of the cisterns, of which they count 360. As I emerged I had a glimpse of the country to the north and east, as if lighted up by a flame of barytes. I got on the top of a wall

and watched the changes over this wild theatre, constructed of so many and such diverse forms, and already painted in so many colours. The Lebanon was clear; Gebel Sheik was as but the basis of a pile of clouds, themselves a mountain twice Mount Blanc; only that towards the middle there hung a thin horizontal streak, which spread as an awning over half the heavens. The sun, as I have said, had set for us behind a hill; he had set too for the lowlands of the Metuali, but he was playing with all his smiles on the green cliffs and slopes of the Lebanon, and striking on the clouds in floods of orange and purple. The pure sky seemed struggling with itself as to what precious stone it would be; the victory remained with the sapphire, for as the sun departed, the lines of colour rose in the opposite sky, and all the shades of red passed over its face, till the last glow went; and then came the blue to the air, and the grey to the land, and the white to the clouds; and as the colours rose the clouds descended, and laid bare the snowy crests of the old head of the Sheik against the azure heavens.

The Khan, whose Farsi chatter had even been arrested, now exclaimed, "It is like a sunset at Herat."

Now came the question, was I to eat alone? The supper was served for one. I begged the Khan to let me feel his pulse, and remonstrated with him on the injury his health was undergoing by too much fasting. The contest ended abruptly by his plunging his hand

into the dish. They brought me, just as they would do in our highlands, bad bread instead of excellent cakes, for which I did not fail to ask, and after they came, to scold.

*December 12th.*—My demand for marcook brought me this morning a distinguished compliment. A message from the Harem, a repetition of that from Hamed the Bey, and with breakfast a bundle of marcook, which the ladies had themselves prepared.

I again inspected the castle, and admired the view. There runs through the middle, one of those ancient walls, twelve feet thick, built of stones of five and six feet long. I here saw what appeared to me the earliest form of stones, chiselled on the edges and the centre left rough, as we find among the Etruscans and Romans; a broad border is chiselled, and the centre is left very high; in fact nothing has been taken off it, no chisel has been used, it has been picked smooth by strokes of a pointed hammer or pickaxe, and the mark is there as if they had just come from the quarry. Inside of the building these stones are not to be found, so to say in situ, but built with other large stones of very ancient structure, yet taken from ruins more ancient still. The rock on which the castle is placed has been scarped all round to a slope, and where the rock fails the talus is made up with masonry. The recent rains had laid bare a considerable portion of this work, and I stood in face of a Jewish, if not Philistine, edifice or es-carpment, still standing above 100 feet in height.

This was something, considering that the great conquerors of the earth had conspired to fill up their ditches, and level their walls.

This fortress bears testimony to the well-digging propensities of the Canaanites. They reckon 360 cisterns, and I do not think the estimate excessive ; wherever the ground is a little disencumbered you cannot walk ten paces without coming on the mouth of one. The whole stands on a substructure of cisterns. Below the fortress the ground is in like manner burrowed. The women were drawing water from one on the neck of the hill, and five or six others were stopped up. Elsewhere and everywhere they are to be found, sometimes with extensive masses of masonry supporting them, columns standing in them, and other indications of their having been covered in.

The fortress has not been merely a rude defence ; however strong, it has been embellished in its day. I saw a granite column and several fragments of marble, but the most interesting memorial was one of the large sarcophagi. A fragment indeed only remains, placed on a mass of stone and mortar masonry, which has now slipped down ; but the whole has evidently been part of the building, and identifies it with the people who have left these nameless tombs, and these again with the mortar walls.

Standing on the highest summits to the north, the Vakil, who I find is also a Persian, pointed out to me the wide domains that own his master's sway, the crests of three of the seven castles which his

father had built. "Here," pointing towards Sidon, "you travel seven hours through Metuali country; here, towards Tyre, six hours; here, towards Gebel Sheik, six hours; there, towards Acre, six hours; to cross it in any direction requires a summer's day, and from one frontier to another a woman may pass with gold in her hand unharmed."

I asked how many men he had for his guard, and for this service; he answered ten. He then said that one hundred villages had been entirely ruined, that the country had never recovered from the ravages of Jezzar Pasha, that they had no water, and had heavy taxes. He hoped better days were coming, since the Sultan had got his own again (from Ibrahim Pasha he meant).

Tebnin is the ancient Thoron of the Crusades, and ill-famed in their story. It is reported as *built* by Hugh of St. Omer, to whom, on the accession of the second Baldwin, Tancred, who went to replace Bohemond, abandoned Galilee. But of course it was as much built by him as by the modern Metuali chief who claims, in our days, to be its founder. The 600,000 warriors and the lion-hearted Richard who constituted the third Crusade, ended with, and was summed up in the capture of Acre; but all the other places on the coast were lost to the Christians. The fourth Crusade mustered itself to an attack on Thoron, and melted before that place. The Ayoubite Princes, after the death of Saladin, divided his possessions, and each

set up for himself; they were soon engaged in wars. This was the moment for the new armies just arrived from Europe to regain their lost ground. They issued from Acre, and, in proceeding northward along the coast, were attacked by the whole force of the Mussulmans, who crossed the Lebanon to meet them on the river Eleuthros. They were beaten so thoroughly, that all the towns of the coast, from Sidon to Laodicea, fell without resistance into the hands of the Franks. Their power was thus restored from Antioch to Ascalon in the maritime region, and the fortress of Thoron alone held out. The Christians were determined to besiege it. The details of this operation are given by Arnold de Lubeck in a manner to rival the sieges of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Acre. The height of the wall, the enormous size of the rocks on which it was placed, the difficulties of the approach, the fruitlessness of the first efforts of the Crusaders, the security of the besieged, whom no missiles reached, and the effect of their missiles on the besiegers, all would lead to the inference that this was a castle placed on a cliff, and defended by its height and solidity. But its strength was in the labour of some early race, and the subsequent events of the siege shew that it was so. After a continued repetition of those efforts of daring valour which signalized the sieges of the Crusaders, but without thereby making any impression on the place, a new process was discovered. In the ranks

and serving under the Duke of Saxony were miners from Ramsburg; they undertook to mine the walls, and succeeded so well, that without stroke of the battering-ram, and to the consternation of the besieged and the joy of the besiegers, down tumbled towers and curtains as by a miracle. Here there is no mistaking Tebnin, and I think I can fix on the spot towards the south end where this attack was made, at a place where the present lines fall within the ancient ones, and where the built talus is displaced. In fact, the miners commenced below the foundation of the talus, which, giving way, of course brought down on them the ramparts themselves, which perhaps overhung the spot of the mine by a couple of hundred feet.

The Mussulmans, losing all hopes of safety, sent to offer the place with all its riches, and all they asked was to be allowed to retire with life. But this Christian camp was without chiefs who could command or soldiers who would obey. Some were rejoiced at the submission of the Saracens, some were enraged at seeing a plunder, which they deemed in their hands, snatched away by a capitulation. The envoys of Thoron were received in a public assembly, and conditions were settled with them; but the adverse party warned them against submission, as they could expect no mercy. On returning, they represented the fury and the divisions of the Christian camp; and the inhabitants and garrison, animated at once, if I may so say, with

hope and despair, resolved to hold out to the last. They hurried to the walls to denounce the capitulation and defy their foes. They reformed their walls, plied their machines, countermining the miners, attacked them in their mines. As they rallied, the Christian host—divided, suspicious of one another, sacrificing instead of supporting each other in partial attacks—seemed to have changed at once places and character with the besieged.

In the meantime the Mussulmans, aroused and united by the danger, assembled from Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo. The news of their approach completed the demoralization of the Christian host. The chiefs, to veil and facilitate their own flight, published a general assault for the following morning, and decamped during the night. The army, on finding themselves without chiefs, and fearing foes and treachery, disbanded in the wildest confusion; and those who were so lucky as to make good their retreat, neither stopped nor tarried till they found themselves safe within the walls of Tyre. The forces of the West were broken before this little Syrian fort.\*

I had been looking in vain for traces of the Crusaders, but could not discover any, excepting of course in the towns of the coast. It is probable that the Lebanon held its own against them; and

\* Cette quatrième croisade dans laquelle toutes les forces de l'occident viurent échouer contre une petite forteresse de la Syrie.

*Michaud*, t. iii. p. 69.



the terraces shew, that in ancient times the population was more dense than to-day. It was at Shimlan that I first heard of, and observed, traces of terracing on elevated parts, which must for many centuries have lain waste and barren. Tebnin is out of the range of the Lebanon. Nor is it against the Crusaders alone that the Lebanon was shut. Alexander made nothing of it. This particularly appears from mention made of successes, whatever they may have amounted to, obtained against the Anti-Libanus.\*

After leaving for "Hamed the Bey," and sending to the ladies, such compliments as I should not like to set down on Frank paper, I set forth, accompanied by all the male inmates of the castle down to the village. I then descended the south side of the hill and ascended another, where, observing a column, I went to see it, and found a piece of stone twelve feet high, a column with a pedestal left square, the pedestal still stood two feet above ground, and on the top of the column was a hole for fixing the continuation; it was three feet in diameter.

An hour more brought us to a largish village on

\* "In the meantime, while the engines were preparing and the ships fitting out, as well to attack the city (Tyre) as for a sea-fight, Alexander, with some troops of horse and targeteers, beside archers and Agrians, made an excursion into Arabia, to the mountain called Anti-Libanus; and having reduced the country thereabouts, partly by force, and partly by composition, at the end of ten days, he returned to Sidon."—*Arrian*.

the bare side of a hill, and in front a large two-story house equally bare, the residence of Tamar Bey. I heard him everywhere well spoken of. He had lately lost his father, and had just come into possession; he had never quitted his native hills. Having been disappointed in seeing Hamed el Bey, I was curious as to what this Metuali chief might be. I did not send before, and determined not to present my letter from Emin Effendi, till after all the little matters which constitute the great concerns of Eastern life were settled. I had the advantage of meeting whilst he was in motion—a great point when ceremonial is unadjusted; he was coming down stairs, so that he, approaching, had to take the initiative. He was embarrassed, and I admired the manner in which he got through his difficulties, and very soon could present my letter, without its making any difference. I had regretted in the morning that Walter Scott had not had the opportunity of witnessing on another scene, the attempts he has so well described, of poverty to hide its rags, and fallen dignity to deserve, in at least the forms of its hospitality, its own respect. Here it was another picture. I had left the ruined castle of the Grand Seigneur of Richard II. for the Celtic Tanistry, which has descended nearly to our times.

Tamar Bey is remarkably handsome. His features combined the Roman and Greek ideal. The oval chin and reflective mouth and forehead of the Hellene, and the salient and resolute nose and cheek

of the Imperial people. The eye glistening and playful, the air soft but not effeminate. I was charmed with him, and I was pleased in watching him, as I did for ten hours, during his intercourse with the persons of so different mould who sat around his hall. This hall was a gaunt vault with a mortar floor and a broad estrade or divan of the same material on three sides, but on which mats or carpets were laid. Close by the corner where he sat, and level with the divan, was a hearth on which burnt a brushwood fire. All around crouched the Sheiks, bearded, moustached, shrouded in abbas, accoutred in arms, overshadowed with lowring turbans; all were striking, not one had a trace of beauty, nor did a shade of delicacy by nature or refinement by art, disturb the semblance of Ismaelian and Crusader, but not of troubadour.

I broke the long silence that followed my introduction by the question, "Have you music here?" the reply was "None; such things once abounded, but they are gone." Some trace of chivalry appeared in a gauntlet which lay on the estrade; as I was considering it, the purpose was revealed by the fluttering of a hawk, and the gingle of his bells, which in the darkness of the apartment I had nearly swept with my sulam from his perch. I then observed hawks similarly perched all round the hall, there being holes in the floor for the perches.

The Bey passed me his nargillé after a single whiff, lifting first, as is their wont, the cup containing the

fire, and drawing it free from smoke; when I took the instrument in my hand it felt as if suited for the mace of Richard the First, being of solid silver inlaid with gold. The Bey was mutsellim, or governor, and tax-gatherer of nearly a third of Bsharré. I sat through his ordinary business for three hours. He then addressed himself to me. He had neither the natural faculty of conversation, nor the materials for it; but his quick apprehension and resources in appropriate words, justified the impression he had already made. We fell of course, on Druzes and Hungarians. "It is strange to see in these parts a person from your lands, though they are very common among our mountain neighbours." He then inquired where I had been among the Druzes, what chiefs I had seen, what I thought of them. He expressed assent to my observations, and then proceeded to say: "They are brave, but have weak minds. They are brought up in secrecy, and cheat Mussulman and Christian, whom they equally hate; profess loyalty to the Sultan, and are always intriguing with strangers." I expressed the hope that the Porte would send to Beyrout a Pasha who knew Europe, to stop these things, which no nation in Europe desired, and which were no part of the functions of Consuls, who were only commercial agents. "The Sultan has been long enduring,"—and the subject dropped. After a while: "Are there not ambassadors and consuls from Turkey in England?" Yes. "What

would you do with them if they meddled with your mountains and Sheiks?" As I said nothing, he smiled and nodded; and the conversation dropped. It was resumed by his asking me if the Hungarian matter was ended. I answered that it was so, with a pea left in the wound. "How could Russia withdraw after her demand; she had nothing to learn by the Sultan's answer which she did not know before?" You must know best. "Perhaps the answer of England and France frightened the Muscovite?" Do you think so? "We know England and France are always with Turkey." As at Navarino. "Well, what do you mean?" I am looking for your meaning. "Let them only come and we will see who is now the strongest." Would you have marched to the Danube? "Yes." And how? "It matters not; with the ten thousand muskets of Beled Bsharré, or with one on my single shoulder." And therefore you think they did not come. "Yes." I acknowledged the compliment paid to my understanding by his laconism; on which he explained: "Yes, and every Mussulman would have done the same." So you think Turkey stronger than she was. The whole assembly here answered, "Stronger and becoming still more strong." Then you think you are a match for Russia without us. "I do." *Ilhamdulillah*. "Then are you not with us." Our people are with you, but the Russians are foxes. "Then why have you taken our part?" What have you said just now? "You take our part only because

we are the strongest." You said Russia learnt nothing by the Sultan's answer, and now withdraws; you meant that she did so, because you were the strongest; did she not know that before? "Of course Russia is not blind." Why then did she demand, knowing what she would get? why retire, having demanded? "Do you know?" I think I do. "Then you think her very foolish." No, very wise, nor has she in any thing shewn more wisdom; she has not Turkey only to manage; she does much work in setting up and pulling down kings. In France she had put one recently up; they made caricatures of him, painting him as a bear's cub. So she makes him step out and say to her, "How dare you—hold back—or I," and other big words, and then all the people say, "What a brave prince; who said he was a Muscovite?" "Your words are strange, and may therefore be true: we hear of France and England always together; yet it was France that went to Egypt, and it is France that holds Algiers, and France and England are they not now troubling the Mountain, and the friends of the Sultan. Praise be to God we do not want such friends."

The conversation here dropped, and perfect silence ensued for the space of half an hour. The sun was setting, and I was impatient to get out, as the sunset had become to me like a friend's visit at an accustomed hour. The only window to the chamber was to the East, and it was the reflected light that made its way in; but I feared to break this stillness.

There was something in that assembly voiceless and motionless that was worth a sunset; and as the waning light fell on the figures on the opposite wall, or cast shadows from those on the same rank with myself, or shewed against the light the row of scribes who had put by their pens, I could scarcely resist the sense of being in a dream, and seeing in it an entranced assembly around Aroun El Raschid; or a tomb opened up, whose occupants were placed in the postures in which they had lived on earth.

When a guest enters, those present are not regulated in their motions by the chief person, but rise according to their respective rank; last of all he comes up to the chief. After the general *Selam Aleikum*, as soon as seated, each repeats to him *Suble Hair*: to a superior he rises again in making his *temenas*. Thousands of times in the course of the twenty-four hours must these walls hear those words; they even repeat them to those asleep, as I this night witnessed. They never miss them on meeting or parting, nor on any occasion for repeating them; going from one apartment to another, bringing in of light, having drunk water or eaten supper, &c. The foregoing conversation was at least a dozen times interrupted by the rising of the whole party.

As supper time approached, my curiosity grew with my appetite. I was now at the fountain of knowledge; for that meal must solve for me the enigma. A Turk, whom I found there, all by

himself, and who had a house to himself, told me that they do not even taste dishes which had been touched by us (Mussulmans and Christians). I had seen nothing of the sort, and coffee-cups and sherbet glasses were in full pratique. At last, I saw with the corner of my eye a small round table brought in and placed at the further end of the estrade. A servant of my own came to notify that supper was ready. I was blind and deaf, pertinaciously so; he retreated. Again he came, with no better success: messages were going and coming, and so passed a quarter of an hour, which I rendered absolutely blank by refusing all conversation. At last the Bey made the formal announcement. I protested: I had breakfasted with the Khan before leaving Tebnin, and could perfectly wait his supper hour. Tamar Bey did sit down to supper with me at the little table placed at the end of the room. He, too, gained a victory, for he kept me away from the supper table. The poor Bey was not full of appetite, nor were the dishes such as to provoke it. The quality was execrable; in such cases quantity is supposed to restore the balance, but quantity was wanting. Two small Italian plates, intended for olives, made their appearance, with each three mouthfuls of scraggy goat's flesh, mixed with pulse and green tomatas. After two morsels gulped, the Bey made a sudden retreat; not to the long table, which in the meantime had been placed in the middle of the hall, but to the Harem; whence he



did not emerge all that night, nor next day, till long after the time I had fixed for my departure; but which I postponed, in order, by seeing him again, to take off the edge of the weapon which the habits of his sect had forged, and the inexpertness of his cook had sharpened to my hands.

While we were engaged in this tête à tête, a mat had been laid in the middle of the floor; on this a long table, five or six inches high, had been placed, and, as at a theatre, table, implements, and viands, all came in together, and were instantaneously placed: there were the convives, too, all ready squatted round. The time occupied was the theatrical five minutes; then they were all up and away, the table and mat gone, and all that remained was a man sweeping with an enormous broom, and the hawks. Then some came back, and spreading their jackets in a row, made their prostrations, and again departed. In about half an hour, the Bey's court began to fill, and we had again and again the Suble Haïr, and the embracing, and the gettings up. There was but underbreath conversation and whispering of the groups along the wall. The Turk came and took his place by me, all anxiety to know what had happened; when I said, "The Bey and I supped together:" he was thunderstruck. Inquiries were made for the Bey; he was coming: then the barber came to boil water, the Bey was to be shaved first. So it went on to the end; every quarter of an hour it was "the Bey is coming," and

that to me, who knew full well from the beginning, that the Bey was not coming.

I was in the meantime exceedingly tired, having sat up all the previous night writing ; having sat on the hard mortar there through the long hours of that day. I counted off therefore Greybeard and Blackbeard as it gathered up its abba and took its departure. When the last vanished, an attendant brought an armful of satin pillows and gold brocaded coverlids from the harem, and all the household assembled to view the rigging of my anti-flea apparatus ; which was of a novel construction, invented only within the week, and constructed in the ancient city, which has left its name in Eastern lands to sheets, and whose inhabitants first invented the process of undressing when going to bed (Sidon).

*Dec. 13th.*—I was ready to start at sunrise, but the Bey not having made his appearance, I sent to say that I could not depart without seeing him, and sat down in his corner, and got my paper and pens. He had expected me to hasten my departure, not to see him. However, whether it was the summons sent or the blockade established, he surrendered at discretion. His self-possession was gone, he wanted to put me in the place of honour : I had to take him by the arm before he would occupy it. Then I set him at ease by conveying to him, not precisely in words, that it was any thing but offence that remained of the reminiscence of last evening. Had I been a Russian agent, I should have had him in my

pocket the moment he sat down at the little round table. He gave me a man to take me to the fortresses of Honin and Skiff, and I took my leave. One of his servants, a nice looking lad, came to ask me to take him with me, for he wished to serve me all his life. The man who accompanied me was handsomely dressed, rode a pretty filly worth here £20, performed his duty without familiarity, and when at the end of the day I dismissed him, he was perfectly satisfied with 15 piastres, little more than half what you would pay at Smyrna for a scoundrel of a valet de place.

A fair was assembling as we were quitting. Stationary booths were erecting, the ground was yellow with oranges, the road filled for half an hour with animals laden with crockery-ware, mats, abbas, and boxes of haberdashery; such as caps, sashes, ready made trousers, which have the convenience of fitting all sizes, the only measure requisite being for height. Not a muleteer passed who did not give his Suble Haïr, many of them drawing up on the road side to salute. After better than two hours travelling through the broken hills, which are here in the hollows well sprinkled with trees, olive, oak, and some ash, we came suddenly out on a deep valley or plain, beyond which unbrokenly rose Gebel Sheik, with a long bank which shoulders him, sweeping down to the south; the bank was cut in gullies by the water down to black rock, the verdure was olive green shaded away into brown, the inequalities

on the summit were rugged, two of them appearing as craters rising higher on the southern side. I have before said, that the Lebanon must have been cast up by a recent volcanic irruption; here one saw the operation distinctly; the gush of the lava upheaving Gebel Sheik, and then after he had been raised the violence of the internal force subsided, and the surface of the fluid mass cooled and hardened; then the mountain had settled down, leaving an interval between his calcareous rock and the lava, and then indenting and pressing it down. On one of the last cliffs of the Sheik, and immediately opposite to us, I distinguished a fortress of singular appearance; it crowned the sharp point of a pyramid of great height and regular form. Afterwards, seeing it more in flank, it proved to be a range of which I had seen the sharp edge; this was Baniyas, the ancient Panias, the domain of Pan. The plain, which might be ten miles across, was a dead level, smooth as a billiard table, divided off by culture into straight lines of yellow, green and brown, as it was ploughed or not ploughed, or the fresh corn had sprung up. There were no trees, and though entirely under the plough, not a village to be seen. On inquiring, I found that it belonged to the roving Arabs; so in the war of camel hair against stone walls, the former had gained so much ground, and pushed so far into the land of cities. I saw some of their tents, here called *Haimath*, on the hill side, merely a black covering stretched over stone walls and bushes.

At the bottom of the valley to the south, lay the sources of the Jordan, cut off from the superior waters by a chain of low hills, which seem to form a bridge between the Anti-Lebanon and the Lebanon, on the continuation of which I stood. These upheld, as I found on advancing, a circular valley called the Merj Ajoun ; it looks like some liquid suddenly rendered solid. The cup in which it is held is a circle of smooth rounded hills, yellow, pale or reddish, the Lebanon limestone. The overflow is to the south ; the northern portion is the highest, and turns off the waters running down from the Bkkaa ; which force their way through the outlyers of the Lebanon to the sea near Tyre. Through the interval of the two chains might be seen Sonin which overhangs Beyrout, covered with snow ; and round to the left the last summits of the Lebanon, seen on edge, amid which I could distinguish the crest of the Gebel Rehan, where I had spent three days with the Messaa.

I had taken the route which had brought me out on the brow whence I had obtained this view, by the wish to see some ruins. Close by, was the fortress of Honin, and under it the village of Mais. We had to descend to it, turning to the north ; having dismounted I reached it alone, and found a party of the inhabitants basking in the sun. On the south side of a house built on a sweep of the rock, they were seated, arrayed in the gayest colours, bright green, blue, red, yellow ; not to speak of the

gold and silver tissue which bedecks very generally the right shoulder of the abbas, and other parts of the dresses: seated there on the pale rock and illuminated by the sun, they looked like a row of some South American birds, assorted for the contrast of plumage. They rose to meet me, and invited me to join their assembly: I told them I was going to the fortress; soon after, when the Bey's horseman arrived, the whole body followed him, and came and squatted round me on one of the battlements, where I was contemplating the view I have just described. They followed me wherever I went, never obtruding nor even speaking, when I sat down, they stood, until told to be seated; were ready to do any service, and vanished on a sign. I passed my nargillé round, which is not an honour only, but a treat, as they mostly smoke the mixture of tobacco and treacle. With this I made them happy, and they returned contented, after seeing us on our way, and wishing us a prosperous journey.

It might be supposed that to have a nargillé among the rocks, it would be requisite to carry fire and charcoal, but all these things are nicely managed. They have balls made of pounded charcoal and flour, which can be lighted by putting them, with a piece of lighted amadou and a little tobacco, into a small wire cup secured by a chain; this is swung rapidly round the finger; the tobacco burns from the amadou, and the ball is lighted from the tobacco; it is then placed on the nargillé and burns while it lasts.

We now travelled northward on the crest or the side of the chain, till we came to a narrow valley, formed by it and the cup of the Merj. It is well wooded and watered, and around a village there we found every thing that man could desire—vines, fig-trees, walnuts, olives, mulberries, irrigated fields; and dispersed through these the silver poplar, which gives so much sprightliness to a prospect. We now ascended the steep side of the hill, and then descended through a grove of olives to a village, where we had in front the dark massy rock which bore on its summit the castle of Skiff, separated from us by the river of Casemieh which sweeps round its base but too deep in the ravine to be seen. The village is perched among the rocks, interspersed with all kinds of trees, adorned with the Cactus Opuntia, and forms as beautiful an object, and enjoys as lovely and grand a prospect, as any inhabited spot of earth. The height of the rock, the depth of the gully, and the lowness of the sun, put all thought of visiting Skiff that night out of the question. I found too that it was two hours distant, as the water is not fordable, and it is necessary to go round by an ancient bridge; so I contented myself with sitting out the sun on one of the roofs. Indeed he had disappeared behind the cliff on my arrival, and lighted from the other side some corners of the castle, while casting into gloom and darkness the broad mass of rock on which it stood. I then retired to an apartment formed by three walls and a roof,

the fourth being composed of mats which were rolled up or let down at pleasure, the centre one being the doorway. Soon a supper was brought, which might have put to the blush Hamed the Bey, as well as the Bey Tamar. The elders congregated round me as I supped; and as I now write, a dozen sit along the walls in profound silence; a word would cause them to disappear, but it is their pleasure. While eating, dressing, undressing, you are always leading a Roman life, at least such as that Roman desired to lead who said, "Build me a house where I shall be seen by every one every hour of the day." No doubt this is very annoying to Europeans; not only because of the difference of habits, but because they do not know how to get rid of spectators without offending them; also because the people take liberties with them which do become intolerable, as I now found myself, even by having with me one servant accustomed to Europeans. Your servant is the fogleman; their demeanor will be calculated on his; the first word between a servant and his Frank master removes every restraint.

The varieties of the people are like those of the land or the landscape. Here they were Christians, characterised by the reverse of inferiority to their neighbours: curious as to the cause, I inquired if they had domestic industry. Just as a thrifty Highland housewife would have answered, they replied to me. The Sheik, comprehending the object of my question, added, "We are not like the Metuali, who



have to go far away to Sur, and pay three times the price of what they buy ; we make at home every thing we want." " And we dye it too," exclaimed a man sitting at his side, and holding up a pair of hands, the cerulean complexion of which, gave colour to his words.

I suppose I am a fixture here for to-morrow at least, for a storm came on which rages still, though the night has advanced towards morning.

## CHAPTER IX.

## HASHBAYA AND ITS EMIRS.

THE storm has ceased, but the rain continues. I am lucky to be in such comfortable quarters. This village contains eighty houses, the male (arm-bearing) population by the new census is 180. The poll-tax is 16 piastres, they pay 14,000 piastres miri, and furnish 1,900 measures of barley, of six okes, value one and a half piastres, and 700 measures of corn of eight okes, value two and a half piastres; the whole amounts to about 22,000 piastres, or 270 piastres the fire. The measure of grain is equal to 22 pounds, and this they have for less than sixpence, or one farthing per pound! Thus, good wheaten bread enough for daily food may be had for a halfpenny, a horse's keep is sixpence: the public tax of £2. 10s a fire would therefore represent a sum equal with us to £12. Wages are so high that a man working one day may eat for three. They offer the antithesis to the European system; there food is dear and man cheap. While recently travelling in Asia Minor, I reached Magnesia very hungry: having outstripped my attendants, I was alone, and went to a common shop, where I had three skewers of kebab, a much esteemed dish, and

the best of the kind I ever tasted, a yufka somewhat resembling Yorkshire pudding, a large lump of ice in the jar of water, a dish of yaourt, a bunch of grapes, and afterwards a caimac (cream) ice. The ice would not be exactly to our taste; it was their cream, iced; all was excellent; a common field labourer might, if he chose so to spend his money, have had four such meals a day for his day's wages; the charge was as follows:—

	Paras.
Ice for water . . . . .	5
Kebab and yufka . . . . .	25
Youart . . . . .	30
Grapes . . . . .	5
Cream ice . . . . .	20
	—
	85

That is, two piastres and five paras, about  $4\frac{1}{2}d$ . The field labourers were then receiving from 8 to 10 piastres a day. They have tobacco at  $2d$  per lb. instead of the  $8s$  that our labouring classes pay; coffee and sugar, if they like, at a lower rate, though they come from our colonies, while the luxuries, within reach of the wealthy only with us, are open to all; to say nothing of luxuries which no European monarch knows, in the bath, shampooing, and the courtesies of common life.

When assailed by such expressions as, "Oh, that this country were in your hands!" "What would this country be in the hands of the French or English!" I have contented myself with instancing my bill of

fare at Magnesia, and mentioning the price of bread and the amount of wages in England and France; and I have found that little round of statistics to produce a considerable effect in clearing the political atmosphere.

In the morning it rained, but the day having cleared up, I ventured to sally forth for the castle, the horses to wait at the bridge. I descended to the hollow of the stream, saw the bridge higher up the valley, but in passing near the castle, that is as near as one could to a building on a cliff 400 feet high, I perceived that it was modern; there was no inferior layer of huge stones, the tower and arches of the interior were exposed, and looked so middle-age-like that I wavered.

However, after crossing the bridge, I tied my horse to a tree, and proceeded on foot, taking the path which wound round the back or the west of the cliff. When I reached the summit, a mass of black clouds greeted me with some drops of rain, so I beat a hurried retreat. We travelled over the hills that form the cup of the Merj to its northern extremity, where is situated the village of Jedeidé; the rain being heavy, we attempted to gain admittance, but were everywhere repulsed; and as it was but two hours to Hashbaya we shook off the mud against the inhospitable place; and, leaving the cup of the Merj, we descended into a pretty valley, through which the water flows to the south into the Jordan, finding its way to the east of the Merj, as the Thany does

to the west. By the water stood a handsome khan, but now in ruins; we followed the course of the water for three or four miles, then struck into the hills on the right, scrambling among rocks and olive trees till we got right between the cheeks of two hills; we reached Hashbaya as it fell dark. The rain tells its tale upon these towns and villages, and this one was nestled among rocks; it was hard work to get to "the serai," the walls of which looked indeed imposing in the gloom. I was surrounded by a number of idlers, who speculated much on my original nature, whilst I sent up to the Emir to say that a stranger asked for hospitality. I had a Buyourdi from the Pasha, but I did not choose to use it. As the servant was long in returning, I felt rather uncertain as to how I was to pass the night. I wronged however the Arab in his nature; the answer came that he was unwell, and had leeches on, but that he had ordered an apartment to be prepared. Immediately on entering supper was served. It was homely but abundant; it was real hospitality that looked to the hunger, not the daintiness of the guest. Soon, however, a message was brought by a superior officer, in a different tone, praying excuses. This personage's report seemed to have been favourable, and brought the son of the Emir again to apologise; forcing on me the place of honour, and saluting after the coffee. The room then filled with the gentry of the place, to the number of thirty; among whom were two other sons of the Emir, handsome boys, whilst the eldest, about twenty, filled his

father's place with the tact of age and the sprightliness of youth. He begged me to abstain from the, no doubt onerous, ceremonial; but I felt it my duty to make a sacrifice, in consideration that I had to redeem the shortcomings of other travellers, who may have all the good will possible, but who do not know how.

They were much excited about the census, and dreaded to be taken as soldiers; they had the most extravagant and absurd notions on the subject; and I was requested, after correcting a few mistakes, to explain the matter to them. Having done so, they expressed themselves well satisfied, and only feared that it might fail in execution.

As I had expressed a wish to go to the bath, the young Emir told me he had ordered it to be got ready; and saying he did not wish to oppress me that night, "asked leave," and his troop, including all ages from ten to ninety, rose simultaneously and hurried, as is their wont, from the apartment, not to give the trouble of standing to return their salutation.

Adventitious circumstances might account elsewhere for amiable hospitality; here there was none: what then changed a shelter and a supper, into a reception? There was Lady Hester Stanhope, eccentric, if not more, without knowledge of the Arabic, with very slender means, yet she possessed in this country control over its princes and people, which made her be treated almost on a footing of equality, by the rulers of the land. But it must not

be supposed that it is a light thing to acquire this power: to learn manners, is not easy for the grown man. Lady Mary Wortley Montague seems to have had an intuitive gift, Lady Hester Stanhope great originality, and the experience of the best times and society of Europe. Sir John McNeil had an analytical mind; Mr. Lane microscopic observation, and laborious perseverance. These are the only persons belonging to our country, of whom I have knowledge, who have possessed that key in the East "to the hearts of men" which Bacon commemorates; yet may it be attained by ordinary persons: on two conditions however. Speaking as I do from my own experience, I have confidence in announcing them:—first, unreasoning study; and afterwards assiduous care. Once fail and the jar is broken; fail in one item, and the rest goes for nothing. The requisites are constant study of persons, appreciation of their character and position, exact memory, and a sense of this as the thing of major and paramount importance. Once entered upon this course, it increases the interest of mere travel, just as the knowledge of geology does of scenery; independently of the chances of finding mines of gold and treasures of gems, in the mud trodden by others under foot.

England has been peculiarly fortunate in this line. I cannot recall to mind one single person belonging to the continent of Europe who has at all ventured upon it. I know indeed of the existence of one

Frenchman, though I am not acquainted with his name; nor has he left behind him any thing tangible or permanent, save the impressions of himself. I learnt the circumstance in so interesting a manner, and it is so illustrative of what I have engaged to describe, that I will record it.

Some years ago at a dinner in London the following anecdote was told:—

The embassy of General Gardanne, which was to prepare Persia to unite with France for the invasion of India, must have been composed with equal care in the selection of the persons as with magnificence in the numbers of which it was composed, their rank, and expenditure. The peculiar talent of Napoleon was judgment of men: he had himself in the East imitated Alexander in his assumption of Persian manners. If anything could have contributed to the success of his Indian scheme, it was the character of the men so chosen, and nothing more than the choice he made could afford the test of his powers. Well, this embassy miserably failed, and with it the Indian expedition. Of all the pre-eminent men whom it included, not a trace remains in Persia, while the name of a second Lieutenant of Engineers has survived, and will survive for centuries.

The incident had been quoted to shew that the Persians could discriminate as to the man, and disregard the station; but as the narrative proceeded, another of the guests, beside whom I was



seated, continued to whisper, "How extraordinary!" When the narrator had concluded, taking up the thread, the other continued in these terms: "When the embassy returned, my brother was in Spain (such is my recollection), and it repaired thither, as I did also. He himself saw, and questioned every member of that embassy, being excessively incensed at its failure. I had just arrived, and speaking of it, he said to me, "In that embassy there is but one man," mentioning his name, "I shall make him soon, if he stands the test, a marshal of France." To the inquiry, "What has become of him?"—the Prince of Canino answered, "He was killed that night."

It is thirteen years since this conversation occurred. I may not be precise in some of the incidents, but the substance is there, and the reflection to which it gave rise, and to which I gave utterance at the time, was, that the genius of Napoleon in its highest exercise was but a return to, and a concurrence with, the simplicity of nature, as still found undisturbed in the peasant of the East, a polished but unlettered man.

Here the door stands ever wide; all classes mix together. Were there, as with us, distinctions of grade according to politeness, they would soon settle by this free intercourse to the lowest level; but as all are equally polished, by politeness, not by doors and walls, the grades of society are preserved. With our manners, this country would sink into the

veriest kennel, or they would of necessity be forced to adopt, as we have done, seclusion; converting one people into a variety of reciprocally unknown and mutually hating races. Johnson has not admitted the word civilization into his Dictionary of the English tongue: we know from Boswell that he abhorred it; first, because it was a nonentity; and secondly, because it was a false substitute for civility.

To a European, the forms of this country are an intolerable burden; to an Eastern, the habits of ours are sometimes peculiarly attractive when least capable of extenuation. I one day heard Emin Effendi, after some domestic annoyance, holding forth to Izzet Pasha on that admirable part of European society—*servants*. He expatiated on their docility, alertness, dexterity; contrasting therewith the stubbornness, loquacity, and impudence of Turkish retainers. Above all, he was in extasy at the ease with which they could be got rid of. Having overheard all this unobserved, and enjoying the grave face with which the Pasha took it in, I entered, as a bull a china shop. Poor Emin Effendi was presently picking up, and trying to fit his broken crockery, to the great amusement of the Pasha, who had been very unwilling to believe, though unable to gainsay. A word attributed to the Duke of Wellington, on the occasion of some apprehended insurrection, proved a sledge-hammer in this onslaught, "Nowadays, no gentleman can trust his butler."

As I concluded writing the foregoing sentence, the Emir, unannounced and unattended, lifted the curtain, and entered. I recognised him by the likeness to his son. He attempted to treat me as his son had done. I was giving utterance to my embarrassment and shame by his treating me above my deserts, when he pointed to the maps and books around me, and said, "What are we, ignorant men, before you, who are endowed with science, and who honour us by visiting us in our rocks and dens." "I wish," I answered, "that you had some of our science, but much more, that we had somewhat of your ignorance. Twice has the torch of science been held by an Arab hand when the world was dark." "When?" said he. "Once, by the Phœnicians, at the beginning of time; once, by the Saracens, after the old things had passed away." This led to a conversation on Arabic literature, in which two of those present very intelligently took part, and after I had not reluctantly yielded to his request, that I should remain that day with him, the party got up and took their leave.

But it was rather with me that he spent the day; for the meetings and meals were in the apartment allotted to me, and the servants came to me for orders; and, when I declined, would take no refusal—the Emir was nobody. It was the story of the entranced beggar of the Arabian Nights.

I was too much interested and occupied with the family, which in numbers is truly patriarchal—though the attendants took care to tell me that the

Emir had but one wife—with the cousins, and the still young generation, of which there were two, all glittering in gold coin, ornaments and jewels, to ask for those things which chiefly interest travellers; and, unless I had been told of and taken to see it, I should have missed the finest piece of ornamental arabesque that I have yet seen; and still more remarkable in its emblematic than in its architectural character. It was not a ruin of the times of the Kaliffs, and owned no Abbaside, no Omniade, no Fatimite for its author. It was part of the dwelling of the present family, constructed by the great-grand-uncle of the present Emir, 75 years ago, and still used by them.

The serai is grandiose, but built upon or repaired with mean workmanship. The courts are filthy; the walls dilapidated. As the young Emir conducted me up some flights of stairs, I was little prepared in coming upon the roof, to behold what appeared a portal only. There was no opening; an arch with a flat wall beyond. The arch Saracenic, and the whole in encrusted marble or wrought stone of the variegated hues of the Mountain, all complete and exquisite. My conductor said, "There is nothing false here," meaning no plaster or paint. The first impression is that it must be painted, so much care has been taken in selecting the stones of uniform and bright colours.

How shall I describe it? It was neither a hall, a façade, a tower, nor a gateway. It was a marble imitation of one of those gorgeous tents of the time

of Soliman the Magnificent, which I have seen at Constantinople, with a back and scroll roof only, to be placed on some eminence commanding a prospect, and where for an hour shade was required.

The roof on which we stood was an oblong, parapetted round; at one of the narrower ends, the wall rose about 50 feet, the width being about the same. In the thickness of this wall there was a horse-shoe arch occupied below by a divan, and steps ascending to it. At the sides were two recesses with windows, and a small staircase leading up to chambers constructed in the wall. There is a hollow left in the mouldings of the inner arch, with a round orifice at each spring, which they told me gave an agreeable echo when music was played in front. It was the gate of the city reared on a terrace, the place of meeting for the Elders, the seat of justice, in a word "*the Porte.*"

Afterwards the young Emir came to sup with me, and I told him that I admired "the room," as he called it, more since I did not see it than when I did; then I only saw its stones, now I read its poetry. This I had to explain by "the Elders sitting at the Gate," "the Golden Gate," &c. typifying the two great virtues of Hospitality and Justice. That the idea of constructing an apartment in that form, consecrating to it all that was capable of being ornamental, executing it with such taste, and placing it so under the heavens, gave me the history and character of his great-grand-uncle, just as Ibtedee

gave me that of Emir Beshir. He answered, "You are right. He was a just and a hospitable man and a great governor; he was chief of all this country till Emir Jusuff, the uncle of Emir Beshir, killed him and reigned in his stead." I inquired how Emir Beshir had not come to see this "gate" before he built his Palace. He told me that he had come, but could not find workmen to make the like; but that part of the palace of Ibtdeen is a copy of this. So far it is true, for the inner entrance is copied from it, only it is such a copy as such a man would make.

This place contains 1200 houses. The only industry in the Charchee was silk winding and dyeing. Formerly, there were many looms for Kefiehs, and silk and cotton stuffs, which now they receive from Damascus; which, too, within the last ten years has fallen off to the amount of two-thirds of its looms. French silk, and English cotton imitations, supplying the place. The Charchee, poor as it was, offered resources to one in want of necessaries for the road. It is formed of a series of arches, as if a colonnade were divided off into shops. There are here five populations, and there is a village near of Nussarieh (Nosairi). I asked the young Emir if he would not like to visit Europe. His younger brother interposed, "You take all our money, and we have none left to enable us to go to visit you." The idea so prevalent on the continent of Europe, of the oppression of England's commerce, I find every

where here, and with reason. The people, attracted to the shops by gaudy colours and apparent cheapness, lose their taste and their money; their costume is tampered with, their habits of industry destroyed. Instead of converting on the spot their cotton and silk into stuffs, occupying thereby their leisure hours, and thus clothing themselves at *no cost*, except dye stuffs and the machinery; they go to market with so much more raw material; whilst the spare time becomes worse than spare. I will cite one instance, close to Smyrna, and within the range of the observations of Europeans, Magnesia. Every class there complained of decay. It was not the Government; there were no new abuses; on the contrary they were better off. It was not new taxes; on the contrary, they paid less. But formerly there were in the houses of the town and the villages round, 14,000 looms; now there are not 200. What in such a state of things must be the result of a tariff which establishes a distinction between exportation and importation, to discourage the first and to encourage the second; sinking the first with prohibitory duties, and leaving on the other duties, such as in Europe would be considered to constitute an entirely free and untaxed trade.

I was here interrupted, perhaps fortunately, for the subject is one which hourly weighs upon me, by the entrance of the Emirs and Sheiks. It was the second son who to-night led the cortege, which was twice as numerous as on the former occasion. After

the divans were filled, the floor was occupied, and there appeared a throng outside. The second son is the flower of the family. It was he who in the morning had spoken of the drain on the country by our trade. He now led the conversation up the rugged steeps of political economy; then went to Egypt for illustration of evil measures; thence to Algiers, inquiring what chance the French had of maintaining their ground; and entering on the other topics, which the name of that place suggests to every true Mussulman. Then came the affair of the Hungarians. In answer to their questions, I asked whether they thought the Sultan ought to give up the refugees or go to war? They said, he should not give up the refugees. I inquired whether they were all of that mind. They all agreed. I then asked if they would have been ready to fight had there been the necessity, to which they all assented: I then told them that the matter was settled by the Sultan's refusing to give them up, and without fighting, because they were all of that mind. I then said that I would tell them what the Sultan had said when first informed that such a demand was to be made. They all bent forward; and when they had heard the words, a burst of admiration followed, and they re-echoed the last sentence, "Sooner let the Empire perish."

*Dec. 15th.*—Last night I was lulled to sleep by the tinkling of the Aoud, and the choruses of voices which at times drowned it. Before the music began,



there had been a loud reciting of prayer, so that this family is Mussulman! I heard the most excellent character of the Emir in as far as I could make inquiries, and I wish Turkey had a thousand such. Here is a case of the Porte, clothing with its authority the feudal chief, without having destroyed the invisible but all powerful restraint of old manners; which does not appear in books, and is not comprehended by philosophers, but which has been in all time the prop and stay of those societies who have been great without laws, and just without philosophy.

Hashbaya pays 150,000 piastres per annum. There are 600 houses of Christians, and 100 Jews, who besides pay charatch, which may amount to 20,000 piastres more; which would give an average a little above £1 per fire.

This morning I left by sunrise, and without seeing any of the family; we descended to the Waddy Teim, and worked our way to the northward. The valley is separated from the Bkkaa by a narrow ridge or hogs-back, a miniature in the style of the Lebanon. We reached in six hours its watershed at a village called Maité. The country had just assumed a singular aspect. A burst of volcanic matter had come up to the surface which, peeling like onions, left rounded masses, which were picked off, to leave parts fit for culture; and instead of being built in walls to support the earth, were laid in heaps. The land had recently been sown, and

was a light green; the stones were grey or brown with a tinge of purple. To the left, the limestone assumed the appearance of little pinnacles, and being just ploughed all round, the dark reddish-brown earth appeared, making a sort of chintz pattern with the grey. There were clouds passing over, and the dark spots so shadowed, looked black. The whole was indistinct and gloomy. On attaining the elevation of the village a change came over the prospect. The hills were earth, and so steep as to be nearly bare of verdure. The colour was light, in parts quite white; the green of the new sown fields was pale, the rest was stone colour, or pink, very pale. The sky, deep over head, was, towards the horizon, as pale and transparent a blue as were the fields a green. The sun behind us shone out and made the landscape shine with the splendour of a first coating of light colour laid on the canvass. At this village the people were loud in their complaints. There were about 20 houses remaining from more than double the number. They had hitherto paid 6000 piastres, besides corn, and 12,000 were now demanded. They were besides in debt, and the people had fled, some to Hasbaya, some to the Hauran. They were under Mustafa Bey, the Mutzelim of the Bkkaa, whose district extends 10 hours by 6, and comprehends 50 villages and 20,000 souls.

They gave us excellent grapes, which they told us were the last. They were brought from a village half an hour distant called Raket; but I should have

thought it was vintage time. I met not less than 30 asses, carrying loads of grapes, or going with boxes for them. Some one has said, that no one for the last time performs the most insignificant act without pain. I ate these grapes, which by their account was to be the last for the year, with infinite pleasure.

In three hours more I reached Hammara. It was a little off the road on the right, and a little before a break in the Jebel Arbi shewed me the Bkkaa. On reaching the village, I had a view of it spreading before me, right into the roots of the Sonin; whose summit, like a succession of waves, and whose side, like a congregation of pyramids, or mamelons, was covered with snow; as also Gebel Hirmel farther still to the north. The evening was bright but cold, and I anticipated a piercing day on the morrow in crossing the range. Opposite Hammara was Aité, where the pottery is made, in the same range as the vine-growing villages, and along the circle of hills of aluminous shale. This is the third time that I have fallen on the name of the Hittites, and left in a manner which marks an expelled people seeking refuge. The name would descend from the race to the spot, and the title of the nation become the name of the village.

I reached the village alone, and wandering through its dilapidated walls in search not of a hostelry but of a host, I heard shouts in Turkish of "this way! this way!" and turning to the voice, saw on a roof an

old man with flowing white beard, enormous white turban, and wrapped in a white abbas; the very impersonation of winter, waving me with the cheerfulness of summer, the way to the entrance of his house. Having reached the terrace, he spread out a corner of his abbas for me to sit on, called for coffee and nargillé, and, patting me on the back, asked me in broken Turkish, where I should have been by this time if he had not called to me. On finding out that I was a Frank, he said, "This country was yours (referring to the Crusades) before; it is now mine, and so it is yours again." A blazing fire was not an unwelcome sight, and we sat chatting as best we might, till supper arrived. I had begun to study Arabic, and having thus got a small stock of words, he was able to add to their number, and volunteered, if I would stay with him fifteen days, to make me pass current without interpreter. Supper was brought for me alone, he having vanished; but on my sending to say he had carried off my appetite, he returned with it.

He confirmed all I had heard at Maité, and described this village as in the same condition. Last year more grain had been exacted than was gathered; they had borrowed up to 46,000 piastres to meet the demand. Many had fled; their fields were uncultivated, and he did not know what was to be done. They had petitioned to be included in the Messaa, and he, for presenting the petition, had been thrown into prison; the Sultan wished well to them

and sent orders ; but he must send men. He told me, however, that Mustafa Bey had been changed, and another appointed in his place ; whom I should meet at the first village I should pass through to-morrow morning.

We were up before the bay broke, and with the first dawn were setting forth, as we had slept in a sort of outhouse, without disturbing the slumbers of my host. The Sheik heard us get up, and insisted on making coffee himself, which he brought me after I had got on horseback. The Bkkaa now opened before us as we advanced slanting into it ; but I was abstracted from the earth by the heavens. The fore-foot of the Anti-Lebanon shut out the eastern horizon on the left ; but over it, as the day broke, the clouds became of that red fiery glow which indicates the spot of a large conflagration. They then appeared as if they were the smoke issuing from a volcano, or rather the eruption ascending and scattering on both sides. This was but the accidental distribution of the clouds, standing like a tree on the eastern side, and lighted from below. But to the west a coincident phenomenon, the converse of that I have before described of a rising sun at sunset, appeared. To the point opposite the sun the rays converged, as if they emanated from him, covering the heavens with alternate streaks of pink and blue, with an interval of purple. It reminded me of the Aurora Borealis ; with the difference that the colour was permanent, and not by vibration ; and that, in-

stead of one colour three were intermixed. Before me were the two long hog-back mountains, Sonin and Jurd, with their bristly backs covered with snow. The first, sloping more to the west, was cold, and its white serrated crest was thrown out by the illuminated sky ; but Jurd, facing the east, was dappled with the rosy fingers of morn even before the sun himself appeared on the scene. He came not to embellish. As I watched one part of the heavens, the tints disappeared ; I turned to another, the radiation had vanished. The picture lasted about a quarter of an hour, and was succeeded by one of the most common place and dismal of sunrises, the heavens being shrouded in mist, which indeed was thin and high, and which lasted all the day. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon, from the top of the Lebanon, I again observed the phenomenon of a double radiation, which I attributed to the elevation on which I stood, producing the same effect as that of the sun dipping behind the horizon.

Two hours brought me to Bir Elias (fountain of Elijah), on the extremity of the ridge of Arbi, which separates the valley I have been travelling in from the Bkkaa. On an eminence overhanging it stood a ruin, which I imagined must be part of a temple, formed of large blocks. This supposition was soon confirmed by fragments of cornices and marble columns of enormous dimensions, which had rolled down ; one of them was five feet in diameter. I should not have failed to visit it, but that I was

pressing on to cross the Lebanon, having been told that it was impassable in rain and for some days after it; we had had fine weather the last few days, and it seemed now on the change.

The Bkkaa looks like a lake, and the mountains seem to rise from the water. An outlyer of the Arbi before me, seemed the stern of a foundering vessel; the parallel layers of the limestone imitating in their dip the lines of a ship's sheer, those of the escarpment gave the transom and stern. The plain is rich alluvial soil, which seems to have been originally deposited 20 or 30 feet higher, from hillocks left here and there, as if the remainder had been washed away by some cataclysm. As we opened upon it, stretching far north and south, unbroken by hedge, ditch or tree, with the Sonin on the other side ascending to its snowy ridge by a succession of pyramids, I acknowledged it as one of the kindest works of nature, and one of the most desirable of the habitations of man. This was the Cœlo-Syria of the ancients, which they enjoyed, celebrated, and adorned. The circumstances I have adverted to, of a removal of the surface of the soil to the extent of at least 20 feet, may account for its being destitute of traces of ancient cities. Those which subsist, as Baalbec, are on the rising ground and higher up, where the rush of waters had less power. The smoke rose not through the heavy air, and from each of the villages spread to leeward a long line of pale blue, which appeared like so many lakes. At the corner of

Gebel Arbi we met the head of a caravan, which could be traced in a long line half across the plain. They were going to Damascus. I was wonderfully tempted to turn my horse's head in the same direction, and sat for a few minutes irresolute, till the reflection that a fall of snow might shut me up for a month or more, decided me to continue my course; not, however, without the sense of a cat's back stroked the wrong way, as each mule paced by me, or camel's heads surged in the opposite direction. Then I thought that at least I might strike up the Bkkaa and visit Baalbec, which was not twenty miles off; but the suggestion was overruled, and I proceeded, tenax propositi, not having been directed by the sortes Virgilianæ, but by the Horatian verse—when, lo! on the elevated crown of a field, not a hundred yards distant, stood a real *Maurus*; he had no javelin, but a long carbine slung over his shoulder, and was mounted on a white charger, whose forefeet rested on the top of the mound. The Moor wore a red bournous and a dark kefiéh wrapped round the head, with a heavy blue tassel to his cap; and as he stood against the sky, was a figure to make a tyro pull out the pencil, and a Bellini throw away his brush. The Moor was evidently watching me; when I came abreast of him he hailed me; but it was not to send me to Damascus or Baalbec, but only to inquire if I had seen or heard of Mustafa the Mutzellim, for whom he was on the watch.



On the first rise of the Gebel Sonin across the plain, appeared an important town which I took for Zacklé. Two hours at a good pace brought us to it, passing a large village on the western side of the river. But the town, as we approached, descended also to a village, which we reached through groves of mulberry trees, poplars, and willows; water gushing in all directions, accompanied by the drone of the horizontal mill. This was Mallacca; but Zacklé was in the gorge within; and we reached it in a quarter of an hour, terraced around and perched on both sides of the broken brows overhanging the winding course of a mountain torrent. The bottom was planted thick with poplars, and the terraces above seemed chiefly devoted to the vine. We were welcomed with the brazen tones of the horn from across the gully, where were pitched some green tents of the Nizam; and by the clangour of not very harmonious bells, from the principal body of the place, which swept in a theatre before us to the right.

Zacklé has a style of its own. The limestone blocks here give place, in a great degree, to clay-plastered walls, which, from the contrast, were very comfortable to look at. The tops of the houses, instead of being flush like a box or a cube, had a ledge or projection all round, which, while adding to the air of comfort, improved the picturesque.

I had been directed to a Sheik; but, after with great difficulty finding the house, he was absent.

I suppose I spent an hour in getting a place at which to rest, which I did ultimately at the abode of the agent of Emir Hydar, Caimacan of the Maronites, who gave me coffee and nargillé, and breakfast, and a man to set me on my way. I have been in many filthy and miry places, but never in such a one as this. You plash all the way where you do not stumble, through a channel of mire up to the horse's knees. There are raised trottoirs at the side, which necessity has put them on inventing, on which you see the foot-passengers pushing their precarious way along, holding by the houses or by one another. They have another invention which adds to the burlesque. They do not walk about in boots or shoes, or even galoshes, but on high wooden pattens, such as are worn in the bath or by the women in the lower parts of the houses. These they slip on without shoes over their mests, or leathern mittens for the foot, so that they are ready to step on the seat of a shop or into a room without pulling off boots or shoes. Notwithstanding the mire, I liked the place. There was an activity of life, that contrasted with the congregation of tombs I had lately been hearing called by the names of cities and villages. Every open door exhibited some work in progress—the anvil, the loom, the distaff. There was an abundant supply of all necessaries and luxuries. Magnificent sheep hung in the shambles, gigantic cabbages and grapes, large, clear, and clean, as if just selected from the vintage, or gathered from

a canvass of Van Eke. The people, too, were a fine race. I had from Skiff observed the blue bands on the heads of the women; very generally the keffieh on that of the men; if not entirely blue it was blue mixed with white, or white and red. Sometimes you saw men and women entirely in blue from head to foot; and the other colours, when used, were white and red. The blue was the "true blue," that rich colour, brilliant in its depth, so difficult to hit on, so beautiful when obtained, that the highest of epithets is appended to it. We at least do not speak of "true yellow" or "true red." There was here none of the miserable purple by which lowland and Saxon dyers have polluted our tartans. I was not here precisely in Judea; Dan itself was beyond the opposite mountains. But there was no mistaking here the law of Horeb, and the strife of the children of Heber and Saba; both by the blue that they knew how to dye, and the yellow that they choose not to wear—even to this day.

## CHAPTER X.

## THE HOUSE AND THE HOUSEHOLD.

FROM Zacklé the ascent of the Lebanon is in a south-westerly direction, so that I made a bend round. I had hurried on in the morning in order to get over this day, and leaving Zacklé an hour before midday, that is with six hours daylight before me, I thought I had ample time for an ascent of eight or nine miles, which I proposed to attempt on foot.

The day was exactly fitted for such a walk; clouded, but the clouds high, so as not to intercept the view; nor can I call it clouded, there was a thin and lofty canopy of haze. As we ascended, the Anti-Lebanon, on the other side of the Bkkaa, seemed also to ascend. Its level summit, as far as it could be seen up the valley to the north, being covered with snow, which, skipping over a depressed portion of the chain immediately opposite, lay thickly on Gebel Sheik; which looked from here like a depressed Mount Blanc. As we approached the region of snow, its scent came towards us without its chill. The day was like a May day with us, in the plain

below it was July. I loitered from headland to headland, and reluctantly quitted a brow where I had sat down. A muleteer, who saw my disinclination to depart, described the scene as I could not. "It opens," said he, "the heart." This is the season for travelling in this country. In summer there would be the overpowering heat; the verdure would have vanished from the plains, the snow from the mountains. All those contrasts which occupy, and those effects which charm at present, could not be so much as imagined. There is indeed the inconvenience of a storm, but that is of little moment; at least I have found it so, and, excepting on such occasions, it is summer weather you enjoy. As I sat down on the cliff, which I had so little inclination to leave, everything breathed of summer. The work in the fields, the tinkling of the bells of the browsing goats, the song of girls and women, as in thick succession, the groups appeared scrambling up or springing down the precipices; for the road during the early part of the day was thronged with people and mules. And lastly, to crown the image of summer, I stopped a mule laden with grapes, and got such a bunch as Joshua may have carried to Moses, as a specimen of the chosen land. It is only in winter that the colouring of the earth and rocks can be observed with advantage. This is the sowing time, so the fields being turned up you see the true colour of the earth. The fields already sown

are covered with a sea-green verdure, which brings them out. Here, in the rocks, you look for the same varieties of hue as elsewhere in the heavens; there is, with the exception of blue, all the tints of the rainbow, and any piece of landscape would require at least 12,000 out of the 18,000 tints and shades used in mosaic work. Imagine a field of realger, and a rock beside it of orpiment, and then a gully of lake, and then a falaise of gamboge.

The summit of the pass was so sharp, that as you turned away from the Bkkaa you came in sight of the sea. But, from the haze, the line of the horizon was indistinct, and could not be made out; so the impression was of a sudden falling away of the earth. Towards the summit, the sandstone in juxtaposition with the lava was burnt and scorched; there were fragments resembling scoria, also a puddingstone, and under the sandstone, the coarse oolite I had observed at Gebel Rehan. The snow powdered on these formations, brought out the parallel lines. A crest to the south of us, shewed its cuttings so distinctly, that it looked like a mould of differently coloured jellies. Soon after crossing the summit we came among the grey limestock rock, but in a new fashion; a sheet of it below me, lying horizontally and about ten feet in thickness, was broken off at right angles so as to look like the spiculæ of an artichoke, laid layer above layer. The imagination may build up the sort of cliffs, precipices and gorges, 1500 feet thick, through which

we had to descend. The fragments, moderate as rocks, always called up the idea of human builders of the Titan and Cyclopic breed. There was sometimes levels of these lines stretching beyond one another, and seen through the gaps and interstices of the first ; or there were solitary fragments left standing like columns. On the opposite hill, the ledges stretched far away, and on them might be traced here and there the picturesque cottages, with projecting eaves, something resembling those of Switzerland.

From a dilapidated slope of this wreck, we dived through a steep sort of staircase into a narrow gorge, which, winding to the west, soon afforded a prospect of escape ; the view was, however, bounded by a dark field of pines, the edge presenting against the horizon a regular fringe, from the bush of the tree being at the top of the lofty stem. There was a stream at the bottom of the gully on our right, dancing by a succession of waterfalls over the ledges ; it could not have taken less than a hundred leaps to reach the bottom. I counted thirty at once in sight. The night was fast closing in, the grey horror of the rocks had not been enlivened by one playful ray ; the grey gloom of the heavens sent back the eye to the indistinct chaos around. The day, unlike her wont, put on no dress, decked herself with no gems for her evening guests, but in russet went to bed ; and we saw before us indistinctly, the cattle returning to the village, as if shadows cast on the face

of the rocks. Suddenly on turning a sharp angle, we distinguished the lines of houses against the sky, crowning a theatre of terraces of the mulberry.

This village of Antoura was dignified by a building resembling the acropolis of an Hellenic fortress, it was the church; but the promise was not kept. I found the men and baggage-horses wandering about, finding no place where to lay their heads. After continuing the search half an hour, and being warned everywhere that the people were "*hot*," meaning had got the fever, a well dressed and portly person got up on a wall, and saying, "Fadda,"—I accepted the invitation, and ascended by a ladder to a room just finished on the top of the house: it was absolutely bare walls. Fire was ordered; I expected to see a mangal brought in. They had no idea of the sort. I was asked where the fire was to be, and on indicating the spot, a basket of earth was tumbled down; live embers were then brought, over that a basket of *black* charcoal; then some blocks of mulberry, the nicest of all woods to burn, especially in a close apartment, as it makes no smoke. I recollected the fire in the tent of cork in Morocco; but that was a flame only, issuing from a black, unglowing mass; here was a real fire, with its white heat and glowing embers; the flame was like that of spirits, and the little smoke there was resembled vapour. Scarcely were we established, when the rain and wind assailed our exposed apartment in such a manner as to be very



uncomfortable, and somewhat dangerous. With baskets of clay and cow dung, I managed to close up the door and other openings, leaving only a window to leeward, and a ladder for access.

I have spoken of the mangal. It is not only a most important, but also a remarkably handsome piece of Oriental furniture. It is a brazier for charcoal, which can be used with advantage for heating rooms only as follows. There must be a mass of ashes, and that mass must have an extent of surface; for otherwise, the burning embers cannot be kept long, and do not allow of the heat being suddenly raised at pleasure. The charcoal is first lighted in an open iron case, placed in the wind, or rapidly fanned till every part is thoroughly red, and the disappearance of the blue flame has shewn that the carbonic acid gas has made its escape. The hot coals are then carried to the mangal, and buried in the bed of ashes, where they may lie snug and hot for four and twenty hours, or suddenly pour out their heat upon the room if you choose to rake them up with the pincers. The mangal, in an establishment of distinction, is a vessel of brass, highly ornamented. There are some splendid specimens amongst the Cufic remains. It is of an ornamented figure, round, oval, square, or approaching to these forms; about 3 feet in diameter, standing about a foot from the ground, with short legs, and on the top a broad border all round: it is placed in the centre of the room. If I were to go on, dealing with the matters

here involved ; such as the use and saving of fuel, its economic application for warming houses, the preparation of the body in reference to alternations of heat and cold, the part therein played by the condition of the skin, and the character of the clothing, the use of the different degrees of intensity of fuel in reference to cooking, and finally, the impossibility of the co-existence of open fire-places and healthy lungs, and of open coal fires and the science of cookery, I should indeed be engaged in writing a book, but it would not be on the Lebanon.

In Antoura, each person seemed accustomed to the pantomime of the thumb and forefinger. I will do them the justice, however, to say, that whenever I pronounced in reply the word "Nazarāne," they slunk off, as if preserving some sense of shame. The Druzes do not beg. Among the race of mendicants there was an exception: a boy, all in rags, who brought the clay, did not beg, and refused the bakshish I offered. I asked if he was cold ; what his father was ; what work he did : to which he answered haughtily and successively, "No—why?" "My father and mother are dead—why?" "I carry earth—why?" and then ran away. Here was a spirit that, not brooking pity fled even from pay, not charity.

After a good supper, I lay down quite exhausted, expecting a refreshing night ; but over fatigue dispelled sleep, and a nuit blanche made a blank day of December 16th.

I was haunted all night by the face of that boy, and the gesture with which he met my open hand with a piece of money. What was here, never to be known? Was it a Hampden, a Milton, or a Cromwell, or something for which the name yet remains to be found? There must be some equality in the distribution of faculties and characters to the races of the earth. Had I found collected in this urchin, the share of spirit and independence originally allotted for the millions of Syria?

During that day, being unable to move, my pen was busy. The storm had ceased, but it came back again at night. The weather cleared up on the morning of the 17th, and I reluctantly set forth; we were soon drenched to the skin, and took refuge in a village not three miles distant.

*Dec. 19th.*—I have had during these two days an experience such as it falls to the lot of no foreigners travelling in England to obtain; that of dwelling under the roof of the poorest of its inhabitants. Isolated and shut in by the weather, I have lived after their fashion, slept as they sleep, eaten of their fare, heard their story, seen their habits; and acquired a clear and definite idea of their existence, such as I had not obtained during two months spent among them, but not in exclusive contact with the poor.

These villages are restricted in their produce to silk and grapes, there are no fields cultivable in the neighbourhood. They are at a distance from the cities of the coast, and from the plains, so that they

have to pay an additional price, alike for the produce of the country, and for that imported, on account of the English tariff. Thus rice is 25 per cent dearer than at Beyrout ; corn 50 per cent dearer than in the Bkkaa. The property chiefly belongs to Emirs, and they are mere farmers. It will be evident that I am not selecting favourable specimens in the families I am going to describe.

Nothing can be simpler than their state. They pay to Government a fixed sum ; a fixed sum to the church. They have certain fixed seasons of work and of idleness. They have abundance of substantial food and coarse clothing, but nothing beyond. They have no aspirations or cares. They have little to fear from bad, or to expect from peculiarly favourable seasons. They are good-natured without being hospitable ; they are laborious without ingenuity ; fair dealing without integrity. You would neither call them light-hearted and gay, nor morose and stupid. Their ideas wander scarcely beyond the limits of their sight ; if they are in this respect as low as the European boor, they are, in manners, above the European gentleman.

When I asked them what they did when a quarrel arose ; they answered, " The devil made it — God will settle it." When I asked them why they had made the last war ; they answered, " Others went and some of us too." When I asked if they hated the Druzes ; they answered, " We neither bless them, nor curse them." When I asked if they were content with

being deprived of their arms; they said, "Others are deprived of theirs." As to their general circumstances all they had to say was, that they were better off now, than under Emir Beshir, paid the same in money, but less otherwise.

The house in which I am writing, which is the best in the village, though there is little difference between them, is 25 feet broad, 50 feet long, and 8 high. It is divided into two parts by a mud partition; on one side lives the mother and her younger son, on the other the elder and his newly married wife. It cost 1500 piastres building, and is of rude masonry (this being off the limestone and on the sandstone) of dry stone, plastered within with clay. The roof, the weighty part, is supported by three transverses of trees, a yard in girth, resting in the centre on a column of four stones, one above another. The timber of the roof cost 600 piastres, the wall about 8*d* the square yard. The interior is destitute of all kinds of fittings or furniture; there are no windows or chimneys; a shoulder against the door is composed of reeds and clay, and serves for a cupboard; the mocadé, or low clay fire-place, at the angle of this shoulder, affording a snug corner within for foul weather: in it I am now sitting, writing by the light of a pine-wood fire at 2 o'clock in the day. In the partition there are the bins and jars of various forms and sizes, of clay and chopped straw for dry stores; such as bourgoul, beans, onions, and rice. They are called quarra. For wine,

dibs, oil, and arrack, there are baked jars, of various sizes, and all of Etruscan forms. The small ones with spouts are called *Beul*; the next, without spouts, and with two handles, *Dweik*; the vessels for carrying water, *Jarra*; and the large amphora, capable of holding 20 gallons, *Chabié*. These are made at Bechabel, three hours on the road to Beyrout. This large one cost 13 piastres. A distaff and a spinning-wheel, *Dulab*, composed the utensils of the household, together with the round trays of cow-dung and chopped straw, on which they place the silk worms, *Tibak*. Cookery is carried on by earthen pots with handles, *Cudné*, and small frying pans of the same material with a handle, *Tuclac*, or *Maclè*. Wooden spoons are used for cooking, but not for eating; and when food is brought, it is on a round tray of straw made something like a target, called here, *Sanie*. The nargillé completes the establishment. Coarse mats and sheep-skins are laid on the part occupied by the family; they have a quilting to lie on, and one for covering, with a couple of cushions to offer to a guest; but their own night-clothes seem to be chiefly their capotes.

The dress of the men is the red cap, or tarbuch, round which is wound the kefieh, or the calemkia; the first is that which the Arabs hang over the head and shoulders, binding it on by a rope, or grummet, of camel's hair; the latter is muslin, which used to be dyed or painted in the houses, in flowers and figures, and which is named after the pen

(Calem). These are now imitated in Europe, and it is the only imitation which has not been prejudicial to the costume of the country. This head-dress, which is neither the naked red cap nor the ponderous turban, is the handsomest I know.

The chief article of dress is the abba, which by the working population is curtailed in all directions, and instead of the slits for the hands at the corners of the large square sack, is fitted with short arms; it is of coarse woollen stuff, hard laid: the woof much thicker than the warp, and having the look of poplin; it is striped white or black, but is sometimes mixed with red and blue and gold and silver thread; it is of beautiful workmanship and of infinite variety.

The jacket has open sleeves, is of camel's hair, brown in colour, and embroidered in blue lace. The inner jacket and long trowsers are of the American coarse unbleached cloth, called Domestic, which they dye blue; the trowsers are of course ample. The belt is the Scotch imitation shawl of low quality, and the costume is completed by a pair of red shoes of ancient form; the calceus of the Romans, and such as we find in the Lycian tombs, and called *mdass*.

The cap (they have not yet taken to those made at Constantinople and in France, of glaring colour, which may be had down to 3 piastres) costs 25 piastres, and lasts two years. The mandil costs 6 piastres, lasts six months; the kefieh costs 8 piastres, and lasts two years; the abbas costs

15 piastres, and lasts a year ; the domir, or jacket of camel's hair, costs 45 piastres, and lasts two years ; the meintan and shalvar (jacket and trowsers) costs 35 piastres, and lasts six months ; the belt 22 piastres, and lasts two years ; the shoes costs 10 piastres, three pairs for the year ; also three shirts of Frangi stout cotton at 7 piastres. The dress of my host thus stands him in 200 piastres a year, of which 30 are for shoes.

The women wear, when not the Tantour, a red cap with a half mandil ; a veil, *Gata*, of white cotton, or of mixed silk and cotton, or silk alone, which they make at home, and called *Caz* ;\* a gown, *embaz*, open in front, with long sleeves, of Frank cotton cloth, dyed blue, and trowsers drawn round the waist and ankle, of the same stuff left white ; the shift is of the same stuff as the veil, spun from the refuse silk, and mixed with cotton thread (English twist). The belt is the same as that of the men, and the expense of their dress is equal to that of the men.

They eat twice a day in winter, and three times in summer ; one meal is always hot : the chief dish is bourgoul, stewed in fat or oil with onions, and eaten with scones. To this is added lentils, cheese, preserve of grapes, and lebben, fresh or dried. This family consumes 600 okes of wheat for cakes, and 130 okes of bourgoul at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  piastres the oke, about 350 piastres a year ; 10 rotols of oil at 8 piastres, 80 piastres. The fat of a sheep, and the meat pre-

\* Originally from Gaza, our gauze.



served in it, 80 piastres; 50 okes of wine, home made; 30 okes of preserves of grapes, home made; and, having no sheep or cattle, they lay out 40 piastres a year in lebben:

Wheat	.	.	.	350
Oil	.	.	.	80
Fat	.	.	.	80
Wine	.	.	.	30
Preserves	.	.	.	40
Lebben	.	.	.	40
Lentils, &c	.	.	.	40

660

Say for food 660 piastres; clothing of four persons 800. To this is to be added taxes, which amount to, charatch for two, 40 piastres; other taxes, 75; in all 1575 piastres, or about £15.

Their resources are, two hundred mulberry trees, which produce silk worth 500 piastres; and a vineyard of two hundred vine-stocks, which gives as much more. They make up the rest by labour in the fields, at three piastres a day; two hands for four months gives 800 piastres. They also plant a little grain or vegetables between the mulberries and the vines, and from these last they get their wine and preserves. They have over 20 pounds of rough silk (*bourre de soie*) which is spun for clothing, or sold when so spun at 20 piastres the oke. By these means, and probably by a considerable squeezing out in the wear of hosiery, they make both ends meet. Two months is all they expend on their own trees and

vines ; and thus the two men by their own confession are absolutely idle six months in the year, and the women are nearly so ; for they have here no corn to grind, no webs to weave, no beds to make, nothing but the cakes and bourgoul, which are soon disposed of ; the little silk spinning they do is the merest amusement.

With the spare time of men and women, everything they wear might be home made, and one half or more of their yearly outlay saved. They might also have every comfort in their home if they only used the knife as Ulysses was wont to do. They have the materials of life in abundance on the six months labour of the male adults alone ; they suffer only from the inconvenience attached to the absence of cleanly habits, which, if they had them, would induce them to bestow a fraction of their unoccupied time in internal arrangements and external conveniences, which would make their dwellings equal in comfort to what their life is in ease.

When I asked them how they could sit and do nothing, the answer was, " We have to attend to the fire ;" and no wonder, because they have neither window nor fireplace ; they said they had never learnt to cut wood or to weave wool. I pointed out to them the Arab tent, where nothing was spent for what was used or worn ; no sense either of cupidity or of shame was awakened by the suggestion, or the reproach ; at least there was no answer.

The two products of the country are, silk and

grapes. The mulberry trees are kept small, the branches being cut off at about five feet, so as to keep them within reach ; they stand generally about eight feet apart, and when terraced are planted in the wall, leaving the earth free for any other culture. A pair of oxen in half a day turns up the small patch they occupy. They are worth ten piastres, or two shillings a piece to purchase. The seed of the worm for one hundred trees is one and a half thimblefuls, *histban*. The cocoons weigh nine okes ; which consist of one oke worms, seven refuse silk, and one spun silk ; the latter sells for 110 piastres, the former is carded and spun as wool ; unspun it is worth six piastres the oke, spun 20 ; a woman will spin an oke in their manner in twenty days. They might thus make from the hundred trees 240 piastres ; but the spun silk is generally retained for domestic purposes, and from it is made the admirable stuff used for sheeting and shirting before the cheap English and American cottons came in.

The vines are planted exactly as the mulberries, and cultivated in the same manner, only the stems are left long and supported on stakes ; the grapes are white, and with a very fine skin. The vineyard furnishes grapes for consumption during five months, besides 40 okes of wine and 30 of dibs. The wine is thick, light coloured, and sweet, resembling must. The grapes are exposed twenty days in the sun, then pressed, and the juice boiled rapidly for an hour ; this is the whole process. It is then

put in the large jars, which are hard and strong; the orifice is closed with cow's dung, which is the luting used on all occasions: it will keep for three years. Three okes of grapes make one of wine. It is worth from twenty to thirty paras the oke.

The dibs, the honey of Scripture, which Jacob sent to Joseph, is the inspissated juice of the grape. It is of two sorts, one dark and liquid, resembling molasses, this is the *Racou*; the other is thick, of a yellow brown, and is called dibs (*Jibes*). In every village there is an establishment for making it; some of these bear marks of great antiquity; there are vats for pressing, and troughs cut in the rock for holding the juice, and a furnace for boiling it. The grapes are not trodden by the foot, but laid in a heap and pressed by a beam, of which one end is fixed in the wall and a heavy stone attached to the other; as the oil seems anciently to have been expressed, judging by the relics I observed near Tyre. The juice is then boiled in the iron pan for an hour, then poured back into the trough; after it has cooled, it is again returned into the pan and boiled, if for the *racou* for three hours, if for *jibes* four. The process is thus complete for the first; the second is still liquid, and is conveyed home, where during a month it is daily for an hour turned or beaten with a fresh branch of fig-tree or botun. This property of the juice of the fig-tree is curious; anciently it was used instead of rennet, as Athenæus informs us, for making the cheese called *Tromelius*;

it occurred to me that this must be of the nature of yaourt (lebben). I made the experiment, and by turning boiled milk with a fig branch at once obtained yaourt. I afterwards found that in the island of Scio, when they are in want of the leaven of yaourt, they make use of the same process.\* The racou takes four okes of grapes to make one oke; the jibes five: the first is worth 40 paras, and the second 60.

The bourgoul I have often mentioned, without describing the manner of making it, which is as follows: The wheat is boiled for an hour; little water is used; when it is absorbed, more is added; it is then put in the sun to dry, and sent to the mill and crushed; it is sifted to obtain equal fineness; the coarser part is used for the poultry; it is made once a year. This dish stands between couscous-sou and pilaff; the first is cooked by mere steaming; the latter by a mixed process of boiling in water and butter; as soon as cooked in the former, the later is poured over it to make it swell.† When I first tasted bourgoul I thought it was cooked in the same manner, but I now find that the process is reversed; the butter or oil (for the latter is used on fast days, of which they have 124 in the year) is first boiled; then the bourgoul is thrown into it

\* For yaourt, that most valuable preparation of milk, I must refer the reader to the "Pillars of Hercules," vol. ii.

† The heat of the one is applied at 212, the other at 600 degrees.

and turned in it with a spoon for about a minute, then water is added in sufficient quantity, as in the case of rice, exactly to cook the dish. It is not eaten with a spoon, but with little twisted cornets of the marcook, which you tear like brown paper; it thus resembles the couscoussou, in so far at least as not being eaten with a spoon. To the latter dish I have elsewhere attributed a high antiquity, and derived it from the Holy Land: I have from it inferred that wheat, not known as an indigenous plant, came originally from that country; and also that in borrowing the grain we had failed to copy the methods for cooking it devised by its original possessors. The bourgoul confirms these positions; it ascends to a period prior to the invention of spoons, and the grain is called *Taim*,\* which, throughout the East, stands for rations. The whole grain, without change in its nature, as by fermentation or division of its parts, as by our separation of it into different qualities, is used for food. It has the advantage of being a hot cooked dish, without consuming fire or time; the dish makes the meal, and is ready in ten minutes. It is then eaten with the marcook, also prepared without loss or fermentation; and thus this family sits down daily to a hot meal of wheat, so palatable and satisfying that they neither desire addition nor change. The condiments are two ounces of tallow. They generally, indeed, add the preserve of grapes, and lebben, fresh

\* Thence the word Timariot, feudal-chief.

or dried, when it resembles cream cheese a little acidulated. The expense of this family for living I have set down at £6, for four adult persons. Wheat is here  $5\frac{1}{2}$  piastres the measure, while it is only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in the Bkkaa. Oil is 5 piastres instead of 4 the oke ; so that the charge is greatly above the average. Yet this comes but to 30s per head, or 360 pence, so that their diet is obtained for less than one penny a day. It may appear extraordinary that this dish should have escaped the observation of travellers, yet it is easily accounted for. I might have reached thus far without once seeing it, unless I had known it beforehand ; and I knew of it merely from the habit of examining the contents of shops. Having seen it in a shop at Beyrout, I ordered it at my hotel. They smiled and looked shy ; and positively the order had to be thrice repeated and enforced, before I got it. Everywhere it was the same struggle. That curse of our age, the aping of things from other lands, has made them ashamed of their own dish ; besides it costs one-third less than rice. This of course would not have sufficed to keep travellers in ignorance of its existence, but gentlemen travellers, however fond they may be of the kitchen, do not add cookery to their acquirements ; and travelling ladies are more given to political than domestic economy.

I had here a practical illustration of the difference of our bread and theirs. I had injured my foot in the passage of the mountain, and found it ne-

cessary to put on a poultice. There being no bread, I folded some of the marcook, strained it, and applied it; when it lay close and clean as if the folds of a cloth. I prepared to change it at the usual time; but instead of the sour disagreeable smell of our bread poultice, it was as fresh as when laid on; I consequently left it, and after the time had elapsed for three changes, and it was no longer wanted, it was still fresh. What must the difference be in the application to the stomach?

I have said that the bourgoul was prepared with tallow; that is rendered mutton fat. When I learned this, I was greatly astonished; for I had been commending the butter which I thought had been used, as particularly free from the generally offensive flavour of that substance in this country. Yet it was tallow all the while, and this let me into an interesting feature of their domestic economy.

In the month of June, they buy from the shepherds, when pasturage has become scarce and sheep are cheap, two or three sheep: these they feed by hand. After they have eaten up the odd grass and other provender about the doors, they get vine leaves, and, after the silk worms have begun to spin, mulberry leaves. They purchase them on trial, and the test is appetite; if a sheep does not feed well, they return it after three days; to increase their appetite they wash them thoroughly twice a day, morning and evening—a care they never bestow on their own bodies. If the sheep's appetite does not come



up to their standard, they use a little gentle violence, folding for them forced-leaf-balls, and introducing them into their mouths. The mulberry has the property of making them fat and tender; at the end of four months the sheep they had bought at 80 piastres, will sell for 140, or will realize, as about to be described, 150.

The sheep is killed, skinned, and hung up. The fat is then removed; the flesh is cut in stripes from the bones and hung up in the sun. Meanwhile, the fat has been put in a cauldron on the fire, and as soon as it has come to boil, the meat is laid in; the proportion of the fat to the meat is as four to ten, eight okes fat and twenty lean: a little salt is added, it is simmered for an hour, and then placed in jars for the use of the family during the year. The larger joints are separated and used first, as not fit for keeping long. The fat with a portion of the lean, chopped fine, is what serves for the cooking the bourgoul. It is called *Dehen*. The sheep are of the fat-tailed variety; and the tails are the great delicacy.

The only thing that remains to speak of, is their religious instruction, if indeed there is anything to say on this score. They have churches; and as they pass them, they go and kiss one of the stones. The ceremonies are gone through by form, and without charge on their consciences or pockets. The only observance I could make out, was of the fast days. Each male from fourteen years, pays to the

priest 10 piastres, and a measure of corn ; to the bishop 2 piastres. I have as yet found no schools. On these two points they differ from the Mussulmans, who do not pay for their church and who have schools. The Mussulman besides holds as duties, cleanliness and hospitality ; though the idea of cleanliness is, alas, reduced to the existing standard. Often did I wish that Mahomet could come and convert these people (I mean the Mussulmans), for this country might be a Paradise, if they were Mussulmans. Habits of cleanliness would bring habits of industry.

These are minute details, and may appear fatiguing. Yet, of common consent, descriptions of the condition of different nations are desirable. What use in a description, unless it be complete ? This country contains the records of the most ancient things. It is so in art, science, institutions, monuments, and races. Why should we not have here also records in regard to those all essential domestic matters, which are the real elements of every state ; what is done and left undone, every day, in each cottage ; that is, how a people feeds and clothes itself ? Doubtless the feeding and the clothing of the people is but idle speculation, if we deal with it simply as a matter of curiosity. But why should we not, on the contrary, deal with it, as a matter of profit and instruction ? It is in the nature of man so to do, when man remains as God made him. The contrary is the result of his own inventions.

When I visit a new people, I discover in myself three desires in operation. The desire to obtain enjoyment; the desire to benefit myself from them; the desire to benefit them from anything I know. So affected, whatever I observe that is profitable, I take hold of immediately and make my own. Although I have not found this disposition in my fellow countrymen of Europe, I cannot, on that account, hold myself to be an exception; because I am satisfied that in this, I am acting according to my human nature, and as any child might do, if he could grow into his adult faculties, without those faculties having undergone a change, which, not being reasonable, is not natural. When it has happened to me to explain myself in this fashion, I have been invariably asked for results. It has been said to me, "Well, what have you profited?" or "if you find anything in habits or ideas which you think better than your own, what can that avail you? A single individual cannot make the world to his own liking; he must live and act as others do." Such question and such objection arise only as a justification for negligence, and could never enter into the mind of one who commenced with a desire of benefiting himself.

Here are some instances. I saw water poured over the hands, in lieu of dabbling in dirty water. This, and not the other process, I immediately felt to be in my nature. From that hour it became my practice; never once deviated from, never occa-

sioning me any difficulty, though living in the land of wash-hand basins ; my practice being itself totally unknown, except to those to whom I have offered to communicate it.

In like manner I observed shampooing, and have never since failed to have the benefit of it, whether in Europe or in Asia. In like manner, the bath. Here edifices and accompaniments were necessary, not easily transferable ; yet without them, I have managed to obtain always its principal effects. I had observed the forms of politeness, which they practise in reference to conversation ; such as, not interrupting, not giving an answer (excuse), and never saying to another that which he already knew—I was lifted out of idle disputation, and had my faculties at my disposal, to use with persons belonging to the contrary habits of mind, all unconscious to them. I observed the manner of collecting taxes—I obtained the key to the institutions of my own land. I heard them speak of sin, as connected with war, not lawful—I was instructed in the nature of religion, as controlling societies as well as men ; and from Mussulmans, who were unconscious that they taught me, I learned to know Christians, who had ceased to comprehend themselves. I found in one country an admirable method of cooking a very cheap aliment (pilaff)—I obtain its advantage in my own, and have taught many others the like. I found in another country a wonderful manner of preparing another aliment, (couscoussou)—I obtain

it from that country, and bring it home to my own. Without multiplying examples, I have this general benefit: I obtain in my own mind elements of comparison, as the result of observing with the view to profit, which serve me at every moment, and with respect to every object; in this fashion. I can place before me any familiar thing, as a strange one to examine; I can find a contrast by which to estimate that which is most common. So that my own country and my own habits are testèd, as stranger ones would be; and whilst in the latter, I can separate the good that has to be taken, in the former I can discern the evil that has to be set aside.

END OF VOL. I.











# THE LEBANON:

(Mount Sounia.)

## A HISTORY AND A DIARY.

BY

DAVID URQUHART,

AUTHOR OF

“THE SPIRIT OF THE EAST,” “THE PILLARS OF HERCULES,”

“TURKEY AND ITS RESOURCES,” ETC.

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# DIARY IN THE LEBANON.

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## CHAPTER I.

### MARONITE CONVENTS.

THE day having suddenly brightened, I had time to reach Emir Hydar's residence, and rejoiced to quit the den where I had been confined in darkness and smoke, though not sorry to have gone through it. I had begun to appreciate vividly the inconvenience of winter travelling in the Lebanon ; but so soon as I had emerged into the open air, and looked around on the prospect, the sun glistening on the snowy crests, and on the green tops of the pines, and penetrating to the red earth from which they grew, or rather seemed to stretch themselves, I again forgot the toil and inconveniences, and applauded my resolution ; for such fresh sweet air, such bright colours, no other season could produce.

We found the population scattered through the thin pine forests, gathering wood and digging out roots. I eyed them now with a haberdasher's eye, and scrutinized each Meintan and Jeleck, knowing the value of each piece of stuff. I found that I

had, as regards the women at least, underrated their costume ; the groups were charming amid the mixture of green and red, furnished by the shade above and the soil beneath.

We ascended a flat ridge about the width of the esplanade leading to Edinburgh Castle, with the precipitous sides falling away to a depth of one or two thousand feet ; the crests, sweeping round, formed amphitheatres which everywhere exhibited entire geological sections. Here and there were stairs of terraces, patches and levels of the picturesque pines, and in all directions, willows ; on the cliffs, in the vales, or among the precipices. The volcanic matter I had hitherto observed only cropping out under the limestone, here it lay on the top of the limestone ; the dividing line stretched, as the horizon itself, level and imperturbable for miles in every direction ; being a stratum upset, which in the explosion had fallen back, and lay reversed, forming the highest parts. This line, dividing the brown or yellow crumbling mass from the hard cracked grey of the calcareous strata, was coarse ; cut out into all the fantastic figures which the rocks and hills had assumed by the wearing of the water, and served to exhibit their sinuosities ; there was a region of yellow, and a region of grey ; and, as the eye descended from the one to the other, it had to readjust itself as if to a different focus. The lower part, not only by the colour, but also by its bold rocks and cliffs, might have been taken for

the place of a sea suddenly let out ; which had left its wild and naked bed as a contrast to the clothed, soft, and purple earth ; or as if two kinds of glasses were employed to let in the rays of the sun. Again might it suggest the contrast of winter and summer ; the grey rocks being the glaciers.

In the bend of the amphitheatre which opened to the right, and on the sandstone part, stood a large and scattered village. The houses were of rich yellow ; arcades and verandahs predominated in the architecture ; it looked like a toy, so pretty and so strange was it. Our road now lay to the left, but I could not be so soon done with this place, so I determined to visit the village of Sourie ; as the convent of Mir Hanna lay in the vale below, on the side of the hill I was upon, I turned back to commence with it. The land cast about its awkward, wry splitting blocks, as if in rivalry of the stately mathematical figures of the limestone. However, by the aid of a stair, rather than a road, in short zigzags, we did get down, helped along by the torrent from the recent rains, which, like ourselves, found this passage the easiest ; I need not say, recent rains, for we were at the moment under a heavy fall ; and the clouds had closed in and descended so that we could not see fifty yards. As soon as we got on the limestone, and that was a little above the convent, I saw, rendered more gigantic through the mist, a sarcophagus on a basement of rock, in the middle of a vineyard. The top lay



under it unbroken, as if just heaved off. This top was very pointed ; and when complete, it could not have stood less than nine feet in height, by as many in length, and five in width. Under it, and at its foot, was another last resting place, hollowed in the rock, from which the lid had been removed. These sarcophagi, scattered all over the country, bear no lines or tracings of any kind, nor are any cotemporaneous chisellings to be found ; it was, therefore, with great satisfaction that I observed close by, set up in the vineyard wall, a mass of carved stone, evidently of a similar character and age : it was five feet broad, and standing seven feet out of the ground ; so it could not be less than ten long : it had two longitudinal hollows, but what its purpose was, I could not devise.

The monastery is well built, with some show of ornament, in the mixture of the stones from the two regions, on the confines of which it is placed : the windows and doors were red ; the walls of yellow sandstone, which appeared quite as durable as the limestone. Inside there were low, dark arched corridors ; the windows shewed little glass, and were barricaded against the weather with boards and clothes ; I should have called it mean and uncomfortable had not the experience of the last few days taught me the value, on any terms, of openings, glazed or not. The Abbot was ill in bed ; but his place was filled by a far more intelligent person, of engaging manners and easy conversation. The rest

of the fraternity were kind, lively, and much rejoiced at this interruption of the monotony of their life: further than this I have nothing to say; as there was not a shadow of any kind of instruction, and no trace of any peculiar character, habits, or costume. They had not however derogated in manners, which prevented their good-nature and kindness from degenerating into vulgarity. I was shewn everything in the monastery by its whole inhabitants; the church, which was only 120 years old; a chapel, of date unknown, but with no signs of antiquity; a cellar, where the jars stood together like the amphoræ of old; a printing office, a subject of great pride and little profit; a refectory, where human bones were suspended over tables which bore no one's flesh; the old Abbot in his bed, for whom I prescribed, much to his satisfaction and little to my own; and finally, the chamber prepared for my reception, where I was told I was to stay a month, as they would pray for rain every day during that time. This was fasting time, and I had asked to be permitted to share their refectory meal; they decided otherwise; and a very well garnished tray was brought to my apartment, where the whole of the brotherhood assembled to see how I liked it. By this time we had become fast friends, and the arrack with the seed of the pine to dispel its taste, was put in circulation; though but slenderly partaken of by the fathers. It was with difficulty the supper was introduced, for every square foot of the floor had its occupant; and I had to un-

dergo the critical inspection of the whole community in disposing of bourgoul with marcook, and fowl with nature's knife and fork. This manner of eating was commented on, as a sign of very great humility. This time however I was dispensed from having to reply; for the Abbot's deputy rebuked the speaker for inferring that any one should be humble by reason of eating in the same manner as Abraham and Moses. They next treated me to a song, which was no other than a psalm sung in Greek, the words beginning *Ἐπαύετε τὸν Θεόν*; and sung in the Greek style by all the lungs, with a bursting neck and a red face: the whole party joined in the chorusses. It was short, and only carried me through two of the four dishes before me; they then hoped they did not disturb me, when I thought that they need not have asked the question. After a very amusing evening, I retired to rest; and made up for three sleepless nights, to awaken to a sunrise that denied the prayer of the monks, and invited me forth to walk the world again, beginning with the beautiful village of Sourie.

But before I proceed, I have something to say of this monastery. I had just entered the Maronite country; a race which has a distinct existence, solely by reason of its belief, and whose belief is nevertheless the common one of the Catholic world. This was the first monastery I had been in; it was also, as I was told, the largest and most ancient. I had to look in these institutions for the source of

this life, and I found this one, politically and religiously, a nullity. As I approached, it had occurred to me that these institutions offered the means which I was casting about to find, to invigorate the domestic industry of the people, or rather to arrest the decay of even so much as they still possess. The subject introduced itself, by one of the brothers bringing in a sock which he was knitting, and in a manner which I had not before seen; he used fine brass knitting needles, each made into a crotchet at one end, and he took the loop off the other needle with the crotchet, as we do off the finger. He worked expeditiously, and said he had begun the pair that morning, and expected to finish them by to-morrow night. This is now all they make at home; their black caps, till recently, were knitted in like manner, and dyed by themselves; now they buy Turkish caps, and put them on a mould to give them the shape, and dye them. On inquiring the reason of this change, the acting Abbot answered "*idleness.*" The whole subject was now opened; they said that formerly they used to have wool and cotton brought by the peasantry, and made their own clothes. Now these are not brought, and consequently they had to dress in the American cotton dyed blue, like the peasantry. I was able to tell them that the peasantry would now be very glad to bring cotton and wool, but that *they* (the monks) preferred piastres. Again it was confessed that the cause of the change was "*idleness.*" They then complained of the great

poverty of the people, and their further impoverishment by their buying everything from America and England ; to which countries they sent nothing in return. I, on the other hand, explained their poverty by their idleness ; and suggested for them the field of useful enterprize, to which I have above referred. They all acknowledged the evil, but the idea of meeting it had not arisen in one of their minds, nor could be made to enter. They were dead flounders, and could only float with the stream ; nevertheless, the chief spoke with great energy on the subject, and gave utterance to gloomy forebodings. He had seen the condition of the people gradually sinking for twenty years, and now, with nothing to fear from chiefs, and no oppressions to complain of from government, he saw them becoming poorer and poorer, idler and more idle ; yet with all this, he could not face the idea of doing anything to stop it, and could only suggest, *filling up the ports of Beyrout and Saïda*. “ When we had no trade,” he said, “ we were rich ; now we have much trade and are poor.” I told him that what he desired for the Lebanon, I desired for England ; that she too, when she had no commerce, was well clothed and well fed, and that the coming in of their gold was to her a much greater loss, than the going forth of it was to them.

Several times the personages at Beyrout, now raised from Consuls to Ambassadors, (Elchi) were introduced. I had succeeded in stopping such conversation, or in giving to it the go-by. It was only

the following morning that they gained their wish ; which I let them have, by asking them what made them so anxious about the Consuls, and what they expected or feared from them. The answer was, “ We owe to the Consuls our not paying charatch, nor duties on the articles of our own consumption ; and in all litigations we have the benefit of the presence of the dragoman of the French Consul.” When I put it to them, that this regarded a former state, when the French alone protected the Catholic priesthood, and that their freedom from charatch was a concession of their sovereign ; to which they agreed ; they then said, that when they now went to the French Consul, and the Druze to the English, and the Greek to the Russian, it was no benefit to any ; but quite the contrary. They then asked if the Turkish Consuls did not protect the Mussulmans in India !

They consider themselves in great intercourse with the world, and spoke of the number of Europeans they saw. The numbers were soon reduced to two Englishmen, and an English Houri. I was carrying on this conversation in broken Arabic, so I imagined that Miss Martineau must have passed this way, and that their intuitive sagacity, knowing “how to observe,” had discovered the sort of compliment that would be most gratifying to that lady. Proceeding then to inquire how long she had stayed with them, and what she had spoken to them about, I found I had fallen into the mistake of sweet Ann

Page's lover, and that the Hourî was not of the feminine gender. This name, which Mahomed is made to give to the attractions of his paradise, the Christian Arabs apply to those who shew the way to ours; and what I had taken for an accomplished lady, turned out to be a blooming Prebendary.

*Dec. 20th.*—As it was little out of my road, I determined to take the village of Sourie, which had so fascinated me, on my way. The distance was but a mile, but it took me four hours to traverse it. I have spoken of this scenery putting a pencil in the hands of every tyro limner, and exemplified my words; finding words unavailing, and the pen devoid of form and colour, I took to sketching; now seeking to catch, so to say, an architectural detail of the stones, there the historic groupings of the mountains. The pillars of rock and the façades of precipice were interspersed or screened with festoons of vines trained up the walls, and carried from the one to the other; such columns stood sometimes 40 feet high, and the unbroken fronts, now and then, ranged for hundreds of yards. I was winding my way along the water-course, and the promontories of squared block ran down from side to side, one into the other, forming a series of triangles; on the opposite side some peasants were scrambling in the same direction, and looked absurdly theatrical; especially by the path being always hidden, so that you could not see how they got along; the difference is, that what would be most theatrical in our stage costume, and most

stage like in our scenic painting, is less so than the costume of the people or the forms of nature. It was endless and ever new; you were stopped at every turn, and the pencil invited forth; here you have ready made a study book of rock, and an album of ledges. I looked for these, as a sportsman for game; like quails they started under my feet. After closing my sketch-book, I turned round to proceed, and found a monk standing close to me, who had been looking over my shoulder. He was a magnificent figure, with a grave and benignant countenance, bearing, but not yet bent by, the burden of years, with a long beard, partly silvered, not frosted with age: nothing could be more unlike the community I had left, but to which he belonged. He saluted me, and seeing some sign of surprise in my manner, he extended over me both his arms, and raising his eyes to heaven, seemed at once to invoke on me a blessing, and to convey to me the knowledge of what the gesture meant. I had already moved forward before I apprehended him; and this dumb interchange of a second, sent me away reproaching myself with having perchance too lightly judged of the monastery I had quitted, yet gratified by the thought that these cells might enclose devout breasts, meekly bending before their Maker, benevolently regarding their fellow men; and I recollected the words which the night before I had listened to as of form, "We daily pray for all men; to-morrow morning we shall pray for you."



The hell of the Sagas is Hecla and ice: the converse must be the exchange, or the mean, of these extremes. An earthly paradise must be the charms of each season; but the charm can be tasted only by the privation. In testing, then, the merit of the seasons, there must be a flavour at least of their ascerbity; a chill of cold and a flush of heat; a blaze of sunshine and a blast of storm. Now all this I had; and in the alternations, to which I was exposed, of temperature and of dwelling, I began to suspect that some profound philosophy lurked at the bottom of the eyeless reeky hovels. Who could have devised a happier process for sharpening all the appetites for draughts of day and beauty? Yes; the winter is the time for the Lebanon; and I say so with some right to be heard. I have watched, and found, and compared, and concluded, and can tell over the things you would have, and those you would lose. I shall enumerate some. Here, the earth and the rocks are the chief objects, by the beauty of their tints; in summer, these would be concealed by an impenetrable matting of verdure. In summer, you would have no carpeting of emerald sward on the level spots, and under the tall stalks of the pine, diffusing freshness. In summer, you would have no waterfalls glistening on the hill sides or murmuring in the valley. In summer, no smoke would ascend from the villages—smoke, waving like a pennon, rising like a column, or spreading like an opal veil. In

summer, there would not be the vigour of the limb or the freshness of the spirit; and besides, in summer, we never think of what the effect in winter would be. In winter, we are always drawing the contrast with summer, and causing, in the hot-house of the imagination, plants to bloom and fruits to ripen. At all events, this is the season, and this is the spot, for the artist who seeks to master the rainbow part of art; this is the placid time for the lover of nature, that is, of solitude. And this points to my only want—a friend. Had I had a companion, these lines might not have been written: thought would not have waited the dull record of the unimpassioned memory, or intruded thus on the hours of exhaustion and repose.

After this long, well stocked journey, of a mile, I found myself passing under the village of Sourie, and saw ranges of arcades, through ranges of clothes, hung out to dry; it seemed as if it were washing day, or as if the village had turned out yesterday to get washed in the rain, and were now drying themselves. Groups were basking on the terraces, and children playing in the fields or mulberry grounds; as we worked our way through the zigzag, and up the stairs which compose the road, and down which rushed a torrent, these urchins, leaving their gambols, came and sat and looked down on us, uttering, to the smallest creature among them, his salutation: the drawl of the Metuali, became the Greek enclitic; the sūble hair became

sübble häir. These children were charming, with their ruddy cheeks and sparkling eyes: they are the first which attracted my attention; they were also well clothed, and, what is more, clean, even when ragged. How Rubens, or rather Titian, or still more, Murillo, would have rejoiced in these groups; not in the figure alone, but in the fragments of dress; in the tints of pure colours; in that form which, to distinguish from our own, we call costume. Nor was it form, colour, and costume alone, but also demeanour, attitude, intuition, and all those discriminatory lines which enhance the effect to the common observer, but are read only by the eye of art. The water in the lanes had set the larger children on pattens, and made the smaller ones tuck up their ample trousers above the knee, so that their delicate limbs appeared with the bright flesh shining in its cleanliness, and they thronged and thronged upon you like chickens in a barn yard. As I was passing the gate of an outer wall, I saw, against the corner of a house, a little girl, not more than four, with another half her size on her back; yet she had her foot up on the edge of a small stone trough, and another little creature, as diminutive as herself, was washing it; another was holding up the clothes of the one so employed, that she might not get wet, and two more were watching the operation. I could not say that I sighed with philosophic forecast that they should e'er grow older; but I took into my mind the little picture, the most

enchancing I ever beheld, to keep it there unchanged and framed, with as much care as if it were an acknowledged masterpiece, of which the virtuoso could recount each figure, describe each line, and tell each colour. I stood for two minutes before them, but they were so intent on their work as not to observe me, and I passed along, as in a gallery, to another group.

The village equalled the promise it gave from a distance. The arcades, and windows divided by columns, were Saracenic; the masonry surpassed everything I had seen; in the belfry of the church the yellow and white stones were beautifully managed, and I at once resolved, if I could obtain a hospitable roof and a friendly reception, to stay here for the night; so ascending to the roof of a house to enjoy the view, I sent down into the house to make the necessary inquiry. A message came up from the master to say that he already had known me at Gebel Rehan, and invited me to be his guest.

I at once proceeded to inspect the village, and entered about a dozen houses; through every door was to be seen a turbaned senior or a blooming girl, sitting in a hole, foot on traddle, flying shuttle in hand; or the spinning wheel was buzzing, or the silk reel sweeping round. Each was pleased to stop and exhibit his work. I passed the public oven; the vase-like hole with fire at the bottom, round the sides of which the marcooks are clapped for a minute or two; this I have already described,

but here I first saw the operation. The place was just large enough to hold five or six women, who were squatted at their work; the dough is carried to the oven ready worked, which takes an hour, the merit of the cake depending on its long and severe manipulation; here the dough is reduced to the necessary thinness, this is effected not by a roller but by singular dexterity of hand, combined with the extreme tenacity the dough has acquired by the previous kneading. The lump is first flattened on a stone by the hand, then taken up and danced between the hands, thrown over each alternately; the edge being shifted round and round, it thus flies out, and when sufficiently stretched is let fall on a circular cushion of cloth, and so dabbed on the side of the hot vessel; a few seconds suffice for the operation, and as much for the firing. I told the women that their work and their cakes would give any one an appetite though he had eaten three dinners; on which each hand of the party was stretched out with a specimen of its craft. They excelled any I ever tasted; they were either soft or crisp, when the latter they had the flavour of wafers.

If cakes have been lost to England and their place occupied by baker's bread, giving us an unwholesome food at a dead loss of £10,000,000 a year, it is because taste in cookery being gone, cooks were not kept to their work. Discovering the cakes, through insufficient kneading, to be bad, the European pro-

cess is resorted to (as with the Regent's Quadrant) of destroying instead of rectifying.

I profited by the interval of time before supper to visit a convent under the guidance of a little boy.

This yellow or red rock crowning the summits, is not after all the sandstone which lies under the calcareous range, but a strange concretion of crystalline and organic matter; it is siliceous and calcareous; there is gneiss and oolite. I have mentioned the coarse, large, oolite shale, found under the calcareous range; this oolite is above it. The mass is yellow, but where the oolite appears it generally varies in colour, and is a bluish grey, which mingles in the same block with yellow; when yellow, it is of a purer and brighter tint than the mass of the rock; it ranges to lilac, purple, red, and is even greenish. The carbonate of lime filling the moulds of shells is tinted with the predominating colour. I extracted a small belemnite; the transverse fracture was of the colour of garnet.

I had got but a little way when clouds came rolling over the heights from the south; or, as they say here, from "the right." So I hastened on my way. We scrambled through banks of small oak, and up and down cliffs of yellow earth and clay, intermingled with huge blocks; at one spot there was a square reservoir on the very edge of the precipice; the path was on its wall, the water issued from a corner in the rock, and a mass, which must have weighed a thousand tons, was stayed in its place

above it by masonry. We could see only a few yards around us; but the mist did not screen from sight the delicate crocus (zafron) under our feet, the fantastic sweet lemon, which, with its flower-like leaves of green embroidery turned up with purple, ornamented the stones and rocks. The rhododendron was still in bloom, and the myrtle bore its white feathery blossoms.

The convent of Mar Elias was in the hands of masons; it was being rebuilt. At the end of each corridor there was a Saracenic window, with a divan for carpets; the building was substantial and excellent. On inquiring whence the wealth came, I was told that their mulberries had been very productive. The monks were at vespers; I looked into the church and saw, hanging all round, cotton bags, like pillow cases, containing the seed of the cocoons. As they built the monastery they deserved a place in the church. I was departing when the brotherhood came forth; various attempts were made to detain me, one was singular: an old monk brought a bottle and applied it to my nose. The name they gave to their chief was Reis-el-Amma, which came so near to the Spanish El Amo, that I could not resist. Had he not addressed me in Italian I should still have known that he had learnt a Frank tongue by his coarseness and vulgarity. He was the counterpart of my own interpreter, only fonder of arrack, which he brought out, and on which he would have made friends with me with all his heart.

If the stones were superior to Mar Hanna, how inferior the inhabitants. This sight justified my anticipations of what this people would become if once they lost the restraint of Eastern ceremony. One man had done this for Mar Elias. One instrument out of tune will spoil an orchestra and destroy a masterpiece.

I found on my return about a dozen of the principal inhabitants waiting. A tray was brought in, and while I had my supper the conversation began; they reminded me of the Greeks and Bulgarians of Roumelia before they were corrupted. My host was a man of substance, but his three sons performed the service; the youngest five and the oldest ten years old. This place is called "Am senaat"—mother of art. The stone masons are the most celebrated in Syria; of which they pretend it must formerly have been the capital, as bearing its name (Sourie). They are sent for to Beyrout, Acre, Aleppo, and Damascus; they built Ibtdeen. There are also workers in iron, which is smelted near Antoura.

They thoroughly understood the Messaa. My host thought Emin Effendi would succeed, if he had the intention to do so; they had suspicions from his breaking off so soon; he should not have minded the weather in an undertaking like this. They complained bitterly of Mustafa Pasha, who had come with 70 horsemen, staid two days, and left 900 piastres of expenses for them to pay. This would



formerly have been submitted to in silence; now it is a grievance, and they appealed to me to see them righted. When I told them that I was a stranger, who neither would nor could interfere, they did not comprehend. My quality of stranger conveyed to them exactly the reverse.

They pay 8000 piastres; 4500 for charatch at 10 piastres per head, the rest for their few mulberry grounds and vineyards; mulberries, to produce an oke of silk, here about 60, are charged four or five piastres; they pay besides two paras the piastre (5 per cent.) for collection to the agents of the Caimâcan; also the charges for the horsemen sent for it. The idea was not new to them of collecting it gratis by municipal officers. I pointed out to them that, if at the assembly at Beyrout they had made this proposal, it had now been the rule as their other proposals had become. The saving of 5 to 10 per cent. was nothing compared to preventing the creation of a body of middle men and agents of government, and the erecting in lieu some sort of municipal government of their own; this was the great deficiency of the country, and had become a necessity since the chiefs had fallen. The answer was an entreaty that I should write and speak for them. I reproved the thanklessness of speaking in such a strain, after acknowledging what had been done in their favour, and at their request, by their own government, after admitting that their Sultan sent incorruptible men, as well as judicious

orders, and after admitting the insufficiency of their endeavours to aid him in securing well being for themselves. It was all true, but they would not be the first to propose anything ; I must speak for them, and they would bear testimony when called on. Notwithstanding all that was here painful, this was the first place where I have been spared "General Rose" and "General Wood ;" the forms under which the Consuls at Beyrout and Damascus are known.

After domestic matters had been discussed, they inquired respecting the Hungarian business. I was taken quite by surprise ; the question was natural from Mussulmans, but I was puzzled to hear in what sense it was put by these Christian rayas. I soon found that they differed not from the Mussulmans. I put the case to them in all its gravity ; two great powers threatening Turkey with war if she did not surrender some fugitives and outlaws, and asked them what answer they thought the Sultan had to give. They said, "Whatever the Sultan answered will be right." I insisted to have their own judgment, whether or not he and they, his subjects, should go to war on account of these strangers. They said that being strangers, they could not be given up, and that any peasant would do his best to protect a stranger against his own government, not to say a foreign one. I then told them the Sultan's answer ; which they took with satisfaction, but without any excitement.

One observing that the Sultan's was a good government, another that no people got through so easily, and a third that if these refugees had to make their escape out of Europe, and to come to Turkey, it was better to be here than there. On my intimating that I wished to write a little, the whole party rose, and were gone in the twinkling of an eye. My host returned to say that before I took my departure in the morning, they wished to have some conversation about the collection of the miri and charatch. I then sat down on my bed to my notes. This has been a delightful day, finishing with a prospect of a quiet night, for the fleas have disappeared as by magic; they have vanished like the hordes of Xerxes, not one can now be found for love or money, even if wanted for the British Museum. This too is an advantage of winter, to say nothing of flies and mosquitoes.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE CAIMACAN OF THE MARONITES.

*December 21st.*—As the morning first penetrated the crevices of the apartment, I opened a small window two feet by three: the day was breaking exactly opposite. In front was a dark level bank, below it the valley grey as it seemed with hoar frost: on the top of the bank were lines of pine, the tall stalks scarcely visible, the dark tufts fretting the dawn. The morning star was amongst them, the heavens pure and cloudless, the air still, the village asleep. The star slowly ascended through the air, growing pale as it rose; the air was becoming like a star, and then the dark bank revealed rich brown, mottled and mixed; at first indistinctly seen, then more clear, beautifying as it changed: the green of the pine and the sward came out on its sides: as you watched, it waned, you wished each tint to stay, yet rejoiced to see it change. It was a bank only, no cliffs, no summits, no groups; a plain field where colour was spread for light to play upon. My eye ranged over no space: confined by the small window back from which I sat, it was a master-piece in a frame, going through the scale of tints of its own accord; soft as that fabled music

too exquisite to be heard, and listened to without the ear. Forms then entered on the stage : a small pyramid of rock became visible in the foreground, on which were habitations, describable by their level lines, and whitewashed doors. The hoar frost in the valley turned out to be smoke, which with its vapoury web, concealed yet revealed, the ground below ; two thrifty furnaces sent it forth ; it rose to fall again, as water from the rock ; then, as water spreading to its level, it filled the chasm ; at first I could not tell whether it was the reflection of its glassy surface, or the transparency of its airy nature, that gave forth the image of other objects than itself. Now, spot by spot became distinct, as if a lens before each were being adjusted to its focus. The brown mantle, as if cast over an under-coating of gold, seemed to glow with inward light. The stalk of the pine, the shadow of its heavy head, the green of its ostrich-like plumes, came forth from the yellow and brown : the seared leaf of the oak, the figure of the stone, were distinct as day in the whispering light, and by the docile and transmitting air. Then the sky was covered with thin streaks of clouds ; which were grey and sober, as if fearful to disturb the performance of that hill on the instrument specially its own. A change came over the valley. The two falls of smoke rose up as columns. The neighbouring cottages resumed their toil, and one by one sent also forth its signal. While watching them, the brown hill had disappeared as a dream ;

and the sun broke in through the copse where a little while ago the quiet star had been ; and, bearing for a moment the heads of a dozen cedars on his disc, as the blazon of Lebanon on a shield, he rose all up into his heavens, dispelling and overpowering by his presence the beauty which had been evoked by his approach.

At this moment, that is after the lapse of the few minutes taken to write these lines, I see from my little window (from which I am driven by the sun) nothing but an unmeaning hill, a valley filled with mist and an unenlivened sky. Beauty is to be caught before the sun is up, and this the people know. The first prayer of the Mussulmans is at the first light. Then is the hour of tranquil enjoyment. With the sun they resume the course of life. If anything is to be represented as delicious, it is compared to the morning cup of coffee, or the morning pipe: if a man is to be signalized for indecorum, he is represented as one who would disturb you in your morning kef.

So by my "sabba keffisi" I reckoned back the days, which were "the mornings and the evenings," by the rising and setting of the sun. We attach the idea of extreme rapidity to these changes in these climes: at this season these exquisite moments are doubled, and the twilight hours are so adapted in duration, that you remain at their close with that contentment which the body experiences after a repast which has sufficed. You can say, "I

have eaten," and yet know that when the proper time comes round again, you will be ready for your share. These mornings have been of old, and this land may not entirely owe its title of "land of the morning," to its being illuminated at an earlier hour.

Finding I could go by the monastery I had visited yesterday to Bekfaya, and that the distance was only four or five hours, I sent the horses round, and resumed the road by the broken steps up the cliffs that overhang Sourie. Mar Elias overlooks the sea at a distance of some ten miles, and is a point of survey for the country. I did not now visit the Maronite convent, but a Greek one close by. I found a decrepid monk, some dirty lads, and a serving man or two, all squalid and forbidding. Here too the grain of the silkworm was suspended in the church. This hill is a spur projecting south-west towards the sea, occupying at the back a third of the horizon. The remainder of the circle sweeps round from Beyrout, which you see on a point running out into the sea, on the extreme left to Mount Sonin.

The sea spreads over another third of the horizon, and then the rocks cut it as they arise in disorder. The shore is visible at the point of Beyrout, about twenty miles distant; and then again at the nearest point of the coast for a short interval; each wave may be distinctly seen as it surges on the land. Carrying the eye thence straight across the picture, you strike the summit of Sonin, both being equally

distant from the point at which I stood ; the one as high above me as the other was below. Sonin is estimated at 9000 feet. From the centre of its long back, and just under the line of snow, the side was broken in by a watercourse, which could be traced by zigzags in a straight line downwards, till, sinking into a profound chasm, it swept by the hill or mountain on which I stood, though hidden from view. Beyond, lie the rocks of Kesroan, touching the shore, rising as they reach inward, and also as they recede from view. I could distinguish twenty-two villages. First, under the snows of Sonin, and at the sources of the Jinaizin, the winter streamlet, which has rough hewed these mountains and fashioned their vales, is placed Bes Kinta, of 500 dwellings. Two hours to the north, on the same level, at another break in the side of the mountain, is Fakra : this place I was anxious to see for its reputed beauty, its ruins, and natural bridge. The village was, indeed, not visible, but they pointed out to me the Erd Fakra, "land of Fakra." Following down the waste of soilless rock, there were scattered along a precipitous bank, overlooking the chasm and reaching to nearly opposite the point on which I stood, a succession of clustered hamlets, under the names of Alcaban, Farakel, Magraa, Zabouga, altogether numbering about 1000 dwellings. Their rectangular forms, with the terraced fields and vineyards, give an architectural aspect



to the cliff, and make it a sort of Isola Boromeo, swelled into gigantic proportions.

Further to the west, and dipping to the gully or the shore, sometimes on knolls, sometimes in vales, are, Roumia, Ajeltun, Rayfoun, Doreen, Absumar, Dar, El Bsara, Belluni, El Wisé, Maria, Sarras, Mariasfil, Birge. On the shore, the place of Sok Michael was pointed out; the view of the coast is then interrupted by a projection of the mountain. On this side, the valley makes a sweep round, advancing its brown, ruddy, and pine-shaded sides, five or six miles. Here is Bekfaya (to which I was bound), with other villages nearer and further; Mtacté, Bechabel, Kishof, Marumtoni, being rather a continuation of habitations than villages, and amounting to a couple of thousand fires. On the other side, Suria and its villages were hidden by the masses at my back, of crumbling earth, warm glowing rock, and stately cedars, that divide the landscape into two parts; one of symmetry and culture, the other of barrenness and disorder.

This symmetry is of culture only. It comes from the reproduction, a hundred or a thousand fold, like the ripple of the wave disturbed by a stone, of the sinuosities by the terracing; the shadows of numberless walls fill up every outline. The hill behind, deluged by the rains, had the appearance of an outpouring of lava; and the same effect was produced wherever there was a bulging out, as the billowing

and descending terraces had the appearance of a spreading and a tumbling wave.

I must speak, too, of the pines, the chief natural embellishment. They are the nearest approach to the emblem of Judea—the palm. The stalk is equally fine and lofty, the head is more bushy, and when in groups forms much more of a canopy. The palms rejoice in lowly plains, where it is unrelieved and ungrouped; they garnish no crests, climb no precipices, crown no knolls. The pine, contrasting its deep green with the brown and yellow, the grey, the black and white, of the washed earth, the rugged cliff, or the snow-crowned mountain, now stands on a summit as a fringe, nestles in a valley as a grove, and now hangs as a cluster on a bank; or, when covering both the crest and the side, seems like a flock of heavy birds nearing a mountain in their flight.

At length I took leave of this charming spot, and descended into the valley which separates it on the south-west from the prolongation of the hill on which Bekfaya is placed; and about sunset, after traversing a continuous village of houses surrounded and divided by orchards, terraces, and vineyards, reached the serai of the Caimacan of the Maronites. On the way there was stone-cutting, quarrying, lime mixing in abundance; building was all the rage, and the Emir was in stone and mortar. The serai stands, but is not finished. It is a massive square of two lofty stories; there are mean

European windows and grand Saracenic vaults, fitted on to the projecting basement of the Egyptians. The road passed in through it, also out, but at the other side; it could be reached only by a long ladder. The Emir was at prayers, I heard the chant as I passed, but I was shewn into a chamber already prepared; and here, too, was a jumble. A Turkish divan in a European room, that is, a room of no form at all; French sashes to Moresque windows; Manchester goods quarrelling with Mosaic flooring, and gaudy wall painting with marble slabs. The people, who soon filled the apartment, had, however, no admixture, but were all Oriental.

The Emir soon after sent to say that he was old, that it was cold, he consumptive and could not come out that night. The husband of his only daughter, a fine lad, his grand-nephew, and three relatives, came in, with reiterations of the courtesies of which the above was the substance. No light task was it to furnish replies to the epigrammatic varieties of phrase for the same sense, which they produced. The ball was always caught and returned; with the Druzes I had, with the exception of Sheik Hassan Talhouk, to be at *les frais de la conversation*: here I had only to make those of reply.

These were Emirs, and yet Christians! there was Emir Hydar, and Emir Halil, and Emir Machmoud, and they were Christians. There was an

old man, with long white beard and turban, the very essence of a Mussulman, and this was a Christian. I felt an emotion of pride to think that the followers of Mahomet had not altogether gathered in the inheritance of Abraham. Here were Christians in possession of every form, ceremony, circumstance and device, which to our eyes stamps the Mussulman. And the Mussulmans are abandoning these things to become like unto Christians! while again the Christians of Europe are turning admiring eyes upon, and imitating, what the Turks, to imitate them, are giving up. Such was the subject matter of our conversation, if I suggested the theme they furnished the conclusions.

*December 22nd.*—The sun was out of humour this morning, his rise was a failure; but he was only reserving himself for the day. Receiving from the Emir the message that he intended after matins to visit me, I went out to walk in the meantime, but imperceptibly the distance between me and the seraï was increased, till I suddenly discovered, by looking at the sun, that six hours had elapsed since I left it; I toiled and panted up the steep and stairs, laden with specimens. Then did I find how well guarded is the Lebanon. Had the Highlands been thus girded and mailed for war, perhaps our chiefs might have kept their honour, and our clans their chiefs. Had this been so, then too might the Lebanon have been to-day secure and tranquil; England could never have become a robber state

abroad, until power was centralized at home; and England herself restrained by law, would have restrained others.

The words "culture" and "fortification" are synonymous, for to cultivate you must entrench. When you have walled and ditched, you may plant or sow. The roads are staircases, and may be barricaded from level to level by the inhabitants of each spot in a day. No cavalry can act; there is nothing against which artillery can be brought; and the best disciplined army would be reduced in point of science to the level of the defenders. It ceases now to be a wonder to me that so slender a population should have so long held their own; the marvel is how they could have been reduced; nothing could have lost them save division. What they are yet capable of, when resolved, is exemplified in the stand of the Druzes of the Ledja; there against two thousand peasants Mehemet Ali had to employ twenty thousand regular troops; and only succeeded by the military eye of an old general of Napoleon, who abandoned active operations, and succeeded only by time, numbers, treachery, and blockade.

When I use the word "division," it is not to escape from thought by means of a word. I imply by division "error:" men are only divided when they err, and all err when there is division. It is not the special errors of individuals, which they have the merit of inventing for themselves, but a gradual growth of perversion, to which all are subject, and of which all are unconscious. From which there is

no escape, but to the desert. There man retiring out of his age and into himself, diving back into childhood, when nearest to his Maker, may find again that standard of right and wrong, by which to regulate within and estimate without, thought, word, and act.

The country, or rather the rocks, are thickly covered with oaks, used for training the vines, whose numerous and antiquated stems sometimes rival the trunks on which they lean. The hill is backed against the east, and as the sun topped it and his rays ranged down along it, and shone through these now thinned and light coloured trees, he seemed to illumine them; and they shone on the dark earth from which the light was intercepted. Smoke rose all around from the festive preparations of each hut, on this their last day of the fast; it lingered among the trees, filled the sinuosities, or hung as gauzy curtains in the sky. The hum of human voices rose and was re-echoed all around this steep valley opening out on the sea; though here and there only, a human figure was to be seen hopping and springing among the rocks, or toiling up the stairs. The broad expanse of the Mediterranean filled up the rest and seemed to rise into the heavens. I was attracted towards it and into it: after rock and mountain, there was a novelty in this level of fluid, this moveable part of nature, upon which men were floating and in which fish were swimming. A box of timber moved by a will, not

its own, pressed its way through that plain, all calm and motionless as a sleeping child. Mountain and ocean! What is there, what can there be, equal to standing on the one, while gazing on the other!

My long absence had given alarm, as these people are not accustomed to solitary strolls. The Emir, who had already paid his visit, now repeated it. He entered alone, and I did not recognize him, for he wore a turban. This is the first high functionary of the Porte whom I have seen with one; every official now wearing the red cap, which was formerly a disgrace. On explaining the cause of my first uncertainty, he said, "I am old, if they will give me back the years I have lived, I may take perhaps their manners: as it is I cannot change." The visit was short; the crowds in the corridor and around the serai, the horses of strangers waiting for audience, and of messengers for orders, picketed or tied to stones and stumps; and the rattling of their ringed curry comb, left no doubt that the excuse of business was no fictitious one. With every appearance of earnestness he pressed my stay, suggested making this my head-quarters while visiting the country, and said he could better provide for me in a warmer situation in a few days, when he should descend to his residence on the beach. He sent me his two eldest grandchildren, (he has four) weakly boys of ten and twelve, but sprightly, and with that charming marble pose or eel-like activity, as the occasion may be, of the children of the East.

To my surprise, I found that both spoke Turkish; so that with them alone of the whole establishment I could converse without an interpreter: they even served me in this capacity. They were dressed exactly like the children of the Sultan.

An afternoon's ramble up the hill surpassed that of the morning, and brought me in contact with a seam of enchrinites, of which a ledge of rock seemed entirely composed. They were fine but indistinct; and the rock so hard, that after much labour I came away without a single specimen. I had observed at Shimlan a bed of terebratulæ and enchrinites imbedded in clay, and so soft that the specimens would require more care and space in packing than I could afford.

These people have the habits of goats. I got upon a very nice smooth beaten pathway, on a space purposely left between two terraces. I was stopped by a wall, which as I approached I supposed had an outlet at one side or other. There was none, it was a *chair* or *cul de sac*; on examining it all round with care, I found points and edges of the stone worn, and distinguished the continuation beyond: the road was over the wall! With us it might just have done for boys robbing an orchard. I cleared the obstacle and continued to explore; and every now and then there was again a block or ruins of stones and rocks, where only by the wearing of the edges you could distinguish the track. I, accustomed to mountain work, had along the beaten



paths of the Lebanon, like Fitz-James when he lost his way on Ben Leddy, to use the hand to aid the foot.

I spent the evening with Emir Ismael, a man who reminded me of Petronievich among the Servians. He has not his talents or depth, I had almost said his square intelligence and round manners, but he is a man of composed and business-like habits. I may call this the first conversation on the state of the country. I freed him at once from all embarrassment, by telling him that I was not only no agent of the English government, but that I deplored its measures and did what I could to oppose them. He at once disposed of the foreign part of the question, if not in the same terms, in the same sense as Tamar Bey, and summed up in these words: "Our former troubles came from Cairo, our present ones from Beyrout." On the subject of the system of Caimacans I thought we were at variance. He said it was satisfactory to the people of all denominations, and had been approved by all the Powers. As I was applying myself to argue from the results of their interference as to the value of their opinion, I saw that in the corner of his eye which informed me that it was superfluous to proceed. His interests were in favour of the abuses of the system, and his class was opposed to the means requisite to their correction; but he put the case in substance thus, "We have all an interest in good government superior to the particular interest any may have in misgovern-

ment; for by abuses alone can troubles be again revived. The government of chiefs is gone, and must be considered as such: we must either have the authority of the Porte or the intervention of the people, or both combined."

He said the system was both good and bad; that the good arose from circumstances only; that the hands of a good governor were tied and no restraint left on a bad one. This was the sum of his objections; when I stated mine he concurred; viz. the combination of judicial, administrative, and legislative functions in the hands of one body, pretending to be representative. Besides the absurdity of the document known as the "Constitution of Chekib Effendi," he complained of the change of Pashas; each interpreting it differently. I excused the Pashas by the incomprehensible and contradictory nature of the law, and the torture of their existence under the Consuls.

*Christmas day.*—From 12 o'clock at night the ceremonies began in the different churches: the people issued only at daybreak. The occasion has brought hither nearly all the Maronite notables. Several have been to visit me in the course of the morning, and much talk we have had. North of Kesroan there are no chiefs, but merely, as they are called there, *fellahin* or peasants. The Greeks are there more numerous, and have no chiefs. They say, that when I have seen Kesroan, and the district lying on the coast, I shall know all that is to be known. What

an amount of ancient things preserved and of present things remarkable, in a district not equal to some English counties! The stock is here Druze, not Maronite. This family and the other principal families were Druzes; the grandfather of the present Emir was a Druze. They say that the Druzes are of one mind, while the Christians are divided. They all represented their political condition as improved, and their material state as deteriorated. An old Sheik who has just left me, was vehement on the score of the tariff. "Your ships come," he said, "with the holds full of *comash*, and go away with the captain's cabin full of gold. Formerly, we sold our tobacco and silk and made our clothes. Now we buy everything but abbas, and you no longer take our produce." I told him that for the first they had themselves to blame, and for the second their government: if they were not idle they would make their own *comash* as formerly; as to their goods, we never took them; if they sold them before and not now, or less than before, it was their own government who prevented it. When reasons were assigned in Parliament for the charges laid on British trade by this Treaty, the case was explained as one of hardship, to which the English government had to submit. In that explanation, these words occurred: "You cannot say to a Foreign Minister, sign this or jump out of the window." The Porte, being an independent government, was responsible for its own acts, whether in treating

with a foreign power or dealing with its own people. He inquired what the new duties were ; and held up his hands in amazement when I gave him the items. He said that they placed the Sultan above their heads ; that every thing he did was good ; that they were of all his subjects the most faithful ; that they loved him more than the Mussulmans did ; that he loved them, but he never could have done this : that if it was so he must have been deceived. I told him there was no deception ; the Turkish authorities gloried in extorting from the trade of England a larger duty than formerly ; the English government gloried in having given liberty to the trade of Turkey, whose well-being it was ready to secure at any sacrifice. The only conclusion the old Sheik could draw was, that England had cheated the Sultan. England is now a dark cloud overhanging the Lebanon, oppressing it with spinning-jennies, treaties, intrigues and bewilderment.

One of them observed that there must be equal guilt on both sides : if there was treachery on the one, there was folly on the other. They contrasted the constantly recurring internal convulsions of France with the tranquillity of England, and asked me to explain how the reverse appeared in the action of the two powers in the Lebanon. This I did by explaining the organization of the French consular system, which gave to it character and independence ; whilst the continual change of ministries, embarrassed the prosecution of a treacherous purpose ; whereas

in England, no one attending to foreign affairs, every thing was at the mercy of one man. It was answered me that what I said was incredible. I referred them to the commercial treaty. They asked if the Foreign minister had not to explain what he did to the Queen and to his colleagues. I answered that the Ambassador at Constantinople was not acquainted with the instructions of the Consul at Beyrout. The words of Emir Ismael conclude the matter, for they leave nothing to be said. "We are in your hands, as a bird in the hands of a child, which neither feels nor knows the torture it inflicts."

Many will consider such statements as derogatory to the country's honour, and as unworthy of one who belongs to it. I should, however, rejoice in such a reproach, for it would be a beginning of a return to the thought that a country's honour ought to be cared for, and that allegations of treachery ought to be sifted, if only for the character of the minister supposed innocent. At all events, it will never by a just man be imputed as a fault, if I, after failing to obtain judicial investigation at home, should do all in my power to warn those abroad, who may be so involved; the more so, as they are the first victims, and it is only through them that England herself can know what is being done.

I have sought to make them understand, that neither the French nor the English nations had any

other desire than for their welfare, and that the interests of neither are consulted in the intermeddling of their agents. Such ideas are to them neither incomprehensible nor visionary. They are comprehensible, for they have before them the conduct of the respective Consuls; they are practical, for every village still exhibits ruins, and every family has to deplore deaths. Be it observed that neither England nor France is appealed to for protection against the Porte. It is as against each other, that protection is wanted. Thus by their respective connexion with populations of different creeds, whom they have placed in feud, the conflict between themselves is obtained.

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#### NON-INTERVENTION OF THE QUEEN IN THE LEBANON.

Note—1860.

Twenty-five months and one day after the conversation recorded in this chapter, in which poor inhabitants of the Lebanon inquired whether the Queen of England knew what her Ministers were doing, a letter of that Queen was communicated to her subjects, in which those subjects were informed that the Queen did know what those Ministers were doing, and had no power to prevent it.

This was made known on the occasion of an attempt by the Sovereign to punish one of those Ministers; in so far as dismissal from office and the stigma of dishonour might be called punishment, for the deception of a Queen and the disturbance of a universe. As the circumstance is connected with England, it is one that may

have interest for the reader, because it belongs to the category of things to him unknown. At all events it must be of interest to the reader of a work on the Lebanon, because it furnishes the key to the proceedings there, which could only be devised and perfected by arbitrarily altering measures that had been decided on by the Queen, taking with other Powers important decisions without her knowledge, and despatching those decisions for execution without her assent. As it is solely because the decisions of the Queen were overruled, and her penetration overreached, that any interest can attach to these pages, for otherwise the Lebanon would have lived on in ignoble quietude, I may be excused for attributing peculiar importance to this letter of the Queen, and for inserting it here, so that the reader also, if he chooses, may take knowledge of the contents of this curious document, of which not the least remarkable part is the reply.

*The Queen's Letter.*

“The Queen requires first that Lord Palmerston will distinctly state what he proposes to do in a given case, in order that the Queen may know distinctly to what she is giving her royal sanction. Secondly, having once given her sanction to a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the Minister. Such an act she must consider as failing in sincerity towards the Crown, and justly to be visited by the exercise of her constitutional right of dismissing that Minister. She expects to be informed of what passes between him and the foreign Ministers before important decisions are taken, based upon that intercourse, to receive the foreign despatches in good time; and to have the drafts for her approval sent to her in sufficient

time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they must be sent off. The Queen thinks it best that Lord John Russell should shew this letter to Lord Palmerston."

To which Lord Palmerston replied :

" I have taken a copy of this memorandum of the Queen, and will not fail to attend to the directions it contains."



## CHAPTER IV.

## TRIPOLI.

I WAS sitting thus about sunset, in conversation with some of the people, with the hills of Kesroan before us, when, on a sudden, the light burst forth on the land facing us. The evening having been for some time darkened by clouds, for a moment I was bewildered, as if I had been turned rapidly round. The place of the grey region was occupied by the red; looking up to Sonin, I saw the same tint, but deeper still, over its snows. From this spot the rising and the setting sun, except in summer, is hid, and the west was wholly shut out by buildings. I went up to my apartment, the Saracenic window of which was to the west, and beheld a sky which I never saw the like of, nor could have imagined. It was streaks of blood—red, arterial blood—with a strong light shining through; interwound with these were specks of bile, deep yellow, turning to green: the long line of the sea below was dark. It was a heaven to terrify a besieged city, or a troubled state. I was appealed to, to know if it betokened storm; I was struck with this forgetfulness in Palestine, and asked them if they

did not say, when they saw the sun set red in the west, "To-morrow it will be fair weather." It seemed an augury of their fate.

Late at night, I was called out to see a magnificent halo of the moon, which occupied a large portion of the sky; there were radiations from it. Shortly after, it came on to blow strong, but without rain. In Arabic halo is hallal.

*Dec. 26th.*—Left Bekfaya this morning. We forded a river, the road having been carried away, and arrived late at (name illegible). I sat on the terrace in the moonlight. Next morning broke like a dream on the glassy sea. I left the churlish place; went into the first shop in the market-place, and asked them to buy something for me for breakfast. They welcomed me, and took me to their house. The man was a silk-worker from Damascus. This is the only place, except Deir el Cammar, where they make abbas, caps and other wove stuffs, passed through the woof, in the same manner as Cashmere shawls. The people were all masticating sugar cane or sucking oranges. I went down to Jouni on the beach. Came on an open space, with a row of large boats piled up on one side, such as at the camp of the Greeks at Troy; on the other, tents, sheds, rude houses, and piles of oranges. Seeing a chief parading with his umbrella, and being told that he was president of the Megilis, I sent to say that a member of the English Megilis would be glad to see the hall of theirs, and its

president. The answer was, "I have not the key." One of the petty merchants kindly invited me to his shop, and offered me his house, to which I returned to sleep. What a contrast was here! Proceeded next day along the beach, and ascended to Gazir. The rock was like the Mer de Glace, with the hollows filled with earth instead of water. Ten monasteries came in sight: they were Moarni, Armenian, Greek, Syriac, Lazarist, Capucin, and Jesuit. I was embarrassed which to select, or whether I should go to any. During the last two days I was either in a new country or under a new atmosphere. It was not rudeness or churlishness; it seemed to be studied insult. In our countries, with hotels to go to, and only hotels to depend upon, the traveller is above the world; not so here, where shelter or food is to be obtained only as a free gift. I was even uncertain whether I should prosecute my journey; and, at all events, was looking out for the humblest habitation to ask there for admittance, when I perceived some Turkish soldiers, and learned that Mustafa Pasha was in the village. I repaired thither accordingly, and my troubles were at an end. I found him in comfortable quarters, which he had fitted up with brass bedstead, and other camp Frank accoutrements. I had just finished a hasty collation that had been prepared, when a visit from the Jesuit Fathers was announced. On this occasion I acted as interpreter, and a very ridiculous scene it was. Their awk-

wardness was extreme and painful. They did not know how to salute, how to sit, and tried to make up by fine speeches. They were further put out by not knowing what to make of me. Not suspecting me to be an Englishman from my accent, nor a European from my dress, hearing me addressed by a Turkish title, and seeing me occupy the place of honour, they could not give their attention to their subject, until at last I relieved them by informing them that I was an Englishman and a traveller. The ostensible object of the visit was to invite the Pasha to one of the ancient mysteries which was that night to be enacted by their pupils; an invitation which we both accepted. The gravity of the performance was greatly disturbed by a French boy, lately arrived, who, having a fine voice, sang the solos; the refrain of one was "My Heart," addressed to the Virgin Mary. In Arabic, kalb is heart, and kelb is dog. The boy, mistaking the one for the other, persisted at the end of each stanza in repeating the wrong word, which invariably produced shouts of laughter. After a very amusing evening, we retired, mutually well pleased, and I accepted the invitation of the Fathers to spend the next day with them.

*27th.*—Sky, one vast field of small fleecy clouds, coloured progressively as the rays struck upwards, shewing in their convexity, the globe form of the earth. The part of the horizon free from clouds was first blue, and then went through all the changes

of colour successively, as if a rainbow had expanded over the heavens.

The forenoon was occupied in a learned discussion, which arose out of the figure of the TRIQUETRA on a saddle cloth. They were vexed at these indications of antiquity, but found it not very easy to dispose of them. The Protestant missionaries were angry, when such matters were introduced: that is comprehensible, the Maronites being Catholics: but why the Catholics should seek to shut their eyes against the evidences of a high descent for their co-religionaries, is incomprehensible, except, that making war upon usages, they dislike them. On the present occasion we did not travel beyond ornaments. The Triquetra had been suggested by presenting itself. I instanced its use as an emblem in Pamphylia, in Sicily, and in the Isle of Man; in each, being the national blazon, but without traditional explanation or social use. Here it is in the usage of the people, but solely in reference to horses. So that it is here more primitive than it could have been amongst the races who have left its record two thousand years ago in Asia Minor, or in Sicily, or who preserve it to this day in an English island. Being connected with the horse, there may be an association with the horse tribes of the East: it is found amongst the Tartars. The ornament is, moreover, always worked in felt, which is the earliest species of clothing, and which also is connected with the horse.

But this ornament does not stand alone. There is the SEAL OF SOLOMON or Pentalpha, (five triangles interwoven,) that mystic symbol of the Jews which to-day adorns the houses in Morocco, as well as in the Lebanon. The OPEN HAND is equally stamped on the buildings in the two countries. This sign can have nothing to do with the Arabs. The number five is so offensive to them, that they will not utter it, because it is associated with the hand. It is not only that there are these three ornaments, but that they are, if not the exclusive, the predominant ones, and that being associated with numbers, they have a mystic and religious sense. The Triquetra is the number Three, the Trinity, whether of the Godhead or man's nature, and so belongs to the earliest religions. It is worn to this day by the Horse Tribes, the descendants of the followers of Oguz Khan, the conquerors of China and India, probably also of Asia Minor and Egypt, and the professors of the religion of Japhet. The Pentalpha and the hand are severally connected with the number Five; and therefore with the great Indian Buddhist Reformation, of which Five was the number of predilection, although the Cross was the symbol.

• In the Arabian Nights the Seal of Solomon is constantly introduced, shewing the traditions of that work not to have been Arab; indeed, what is there in Arabia that is not plagiarism? Their conversion to Islam had taken off the edge of the Sabæan antipathy to the sign.

I started late, and got down to the beach near Byrgos; and, turning northwards, crossed the river Ibrahim, or Adonis, by a bridge that one had to ascend like a tower.

Platani and willows in the stream were festooned with vines; tall reeds and cacti were growing around. Abrupt hills, through which the streams pour down, lined the shore. We arrived at Gebail at dark, after passing through deep sand; I could make out granite columns as I entered the town, also immense blocks in the wall: one measured in height three and a quarter times my extended arms, my height in depth, and in width nearly five feet; say  $18 \times 6 \times 5$ . The plain was all filled with ruins, somewhat resembling Sur. Meantime my servants could find no house where they would receive us. Sounds of merriment, dancing, and the aoud, at length attracting us to one, some soldiers came to the door; they belonged to Mehemet Bey, and took me at once to the Caimacan's out of the town; afterwards a sumptuous supper was sent by Mehemet Bey. He had been with Layard at Nimroud; kept me up nearly all night with antiquities and adventures, the Pasha of Janina, the Greek and Russian wars.

28th.—After visiting the tower, I wished to sit down and write in one of the rooms at the top; and sent to get something brought thither for breakfast. Nothing, however, could be got, so I had to return to Mehemet Bey. I found assembled round him

thirteen monks in their cowls, which were blue, with blue kerchief round their heads, black *abbas* (?) with stripes in red. He was telling them very energetically that if one of them gave a false report he would have him shaved and sent to the galleys ; an announcement which produced a considerable sensation. He shewed me the fallaka for the bastinado, which was beside his bed, and a jessamine rod ; this, said he, is my pen ; with it I sum up accounts in such fashion that 2700 become 10,000 ; alluding to the first and present census of Kesroan. He said he had visited every part of Turkey, but never saw a people like this ; elsewhere there are liars, but here there is nothing but liars.

We went to see a sarcophagus in Parian marble. It has been mutilated, by order of Emir Hydar to take the front ! It was dug up in a field, the plough having struck on the top. Orders had arrived to get some fossil fish from a village called Hael, about six hours north-east from this place ; I had to instruct three scientific emissaries in selecting and packing specimens, and taking and marking fragments of the rock.

In the afternoon I left for Petroun, distant four hours ; in passing by the walls of Gebail, which are made up of old stones, and fragments of columns and carved stones, I observed a singular combination of the numbers three and five ; it was the seal of Solomon with a trefoil at each angle. One of these ancient blocks so employed has the figure of the



coins of Byblus, which is a representation of its temple. At Gebail I was shewn a piece of glass stamped like a coin, the size of half-a-crown, of a greenish colour, transparent, and with an inscription in several lines obliterated by wear, yet seemingly Phœnician.

It was like a June day, and I suffered from thirst, not having taken the precaution of my companion from Gebel Rehan to Saïda, of drinking by anticipation. This coast is destitute of water; at the few huts we passed they either refused us water or offered that which was brackish, and we hurried on to Petroun to get a draught. The rocks along the beach continued like yesterday; thin layers of silex running through the limestone, and giving to them the appearance of masses of Roman brickwork. The country gradually lost its Lebanon character; the words requisite to describe it would still be the same, but it was the difference between a translation and an original. The view contracted, or extended, only along a common-place coast; the terracing had disappeared, there were no longer abrupt transitions, and the contrasted colouring had faded into indistinctness; the heavens took also their tone from the earth, and aspired to nothing beyond what we know as a summer's day.

The sun shone on the little promontory of Petroun when we first came in sight of it, in a manner to give it an air of importance. As at Gebail, we come upon sand. The sand seems to have taken a fancy

to haunt the ancient cities: there was none before Gebail, and none between it and Petroun; and so at Beyrout, Sidon and Tyre. The place had the same ruinous appearance, but building was going on. The inhabitants exhibited no signs of dilapidation. A merchant who had come to visit Mehemet Bey, had given me a letter to ensure a night's lodging, a matter of some moment in this inhospitable region. It was conned over by them, as if it had been a letter of credit, which they had to meet. It was not till after long deliberation that it was decided that I should be allowed to enter one of the houses: once admitted they were kind and hospitable enough. No wonder that the inhabitants are well clothed; the craft of the place is tailoring and silk winding. They make clothes for the monasteries, and wind the silk from the neighbouring plain, which is covered with mulberries, though there is no water. There are 300 houses, and they pay 10,000 piastres, of which 2500 consists in a poll-tax of 10 piastres. That evening and next morning they pursued me with questions about the census, with complaints about the treatment they received, the expenses of the soldiers and officers, and the punishment for pretended offences in concealing their numbers; which they averred arose only from the fright they were in. I held up a glass to them, and was nearly as fierce as Mehemet Bey. These wretched tailors were requested to give in their own returns. They gave in one-third of their numbers; consider-

ing their trade, that perhaps was two-thirds too high. There was no exception ; priest, chief, monk, peasant, black head and grey beard, all joined in the lie. I told them that they could expect nothing but severity from those employed, if only from the disgust which they inspired. No reply was made ; one of them afterwards said to me that he had told them so before ; but, said he, “ our heads are thick.” No, I answered, “ your hearts are false.” However, their hospitality surprised me, as contrasted with other things ; until it turned out that the letter had an enclosure, in the form of an order from Mehemet Bey to receive me, and to treat me in such a manner that I should speak well of them. They told me, that he was the real governor of the country ; that what he shut was shut, and what he opened was open ; that all disputes were referred to him ; that he was rich, and traded with Persia and England.

29th.—Beyond Petroun, a promontory runs out, with a chain of moderate height in its rear, across which we had to pass. The rock was that of the Lebanon, but decomposed, and had the appearance of earth washed down. When we got amongst it, there was on a small scale very pretty glimpses, and especially one of a little castle built on an isolated peak of about forty feet. From the top we got sight of Tripoli: its “marina” on a low sandy point running out a couple of miles into the sea ; the city on the brow or in the hollow of a hill in the rear. The castle, of the form of a house,

together with the clearness of the atmosphere, made it appear quite near. In two hours we reached a small khan or café, close to the beach; and under the brow of a promontory to the left, was nestled a monastery. These buildings are the country seats. They have large possessions, pay no taxes; the monks live in indolence at home, or range the country at pleasure. Here I was overtaken by a party of the Emir's soldiers; they came up at full gallop and careered around the khan, playing the jereed. I admired one of their horses, with deep withers, a belly like a greyhound, short couples, and other excellent points; his appearance was, however, shaggy and lean. They were pleased with my selection, and exhibited his paces; the rider then dismounted, and the animal was offered to me with an earnestness which I had great difficulty in shaking off, and which was a warning against a similar commendation in future.

About two hours from Tripoli I saw, near the road, some tents of a very mean description; of rushes covered with felt, and the people at work making wooden spoons. I rode up to them; the Sheik started up, invited me to dismount, held my horse, went and picketed it, spread a carpet, and ordered coffee: what a difference between this poor gipsy-looking tribe and the churlish Maronite. The tents were six, the remnants of a tribe of Turcoman; the children as well as the people spoke Turkish; they had some poor cattle which they pastured. Again the Triquetra!

Before reaching Tripoli there was a beach of hard sand which we galloped over, and then entered an olive grove, where the trees are in rows. A thousand years have passed over these, for they were planted by Justinian. Yet are the ranks complete, as if of a plantation of yesterday. Such must the whole country formerly have been; every where there were fragments of the oil presses, and sometimes the stones entire. After the olives came the gardens among sand, and then the tombs. Here, as at Saïda, each grave has in the centre earth for plants; and at the head and foot a vase, inserted for water, with which the plants and flowers are industriously refreshed. There was scarcely a grave where the verdure was not brilliant, as if that morning a mortuary feast had been held, and a sacrifice to the manes performed. The care was not periodical, but only the usual signs of regard and habits of intercourse with the departed: here and there they might be seen busy at the task; here a woman and children, there a solitary old man, placing the palm branch, or assorting the myrtle. The tombs are fitted with temporary habitations; neat wooden frames roofed, and the sides covered with mats of reeds.

At the gate of the city, I inquired if any bath was open at that hour for men, as generally after 12 o'clock they are appropriated to the women. An old man, a Hadji, who seemed pleased with my inquiry, volunteered to accompany me to one at

some distance ; there being eight baths, six for the women, and two only for the men. I suppose he meant, open at this hour. So, sending my servants to find some place to rest in, I proceeded on foot under the charge of Hadji Abdel Kader. The town was much larger than I expected ; the streets wide and clean ; at several doors I saw in progress the silk belts, for which, like its omyne of Barbary, this place is celebrated. It was a long way to the bath, and we made a circuit, as the Hadji saw I had need of a barber ; and, according to him, there was but one in the town ; he insisted on my taking him with me. The bath was small, but comfortable and hot. Fatigued, and in the utmost want of it, with a fortnight of dead skin on me, often travelling in a country destitute not of baths only, but of every idea of, or convenience for, washing ; I did enjoy this health-giving and strength-restoring luxury, as I do not think I ever did before. My interpreter had gone about from place to place to find a shelter ; and now I was rather incommoded by his activity. The Consul's dragoman first arrived with salutations, requesting I should go to him ; an invitation which I accepted as of course. Then came a messenger from the Governor ; and on his finding that I was going to the Consul's, soon arrived a troop of cavashes, the Embrochor, or master of the horse, and the Governor's own horse for me to ride, as I must be tired, and the consulate was distant. The conse-

quence was that the people of the bath, where I had entered unattended and in a coarse country costume, began to overwhelm me, and to multiply the hands engaged in pinching and cracking joints; so that they seemed literally to exemplify the French expression of putting themselves in four. After having my skin renewed, every muscle worked, every joint cracked, and then a fountain of lather opened upon me, and revelling in its soft white foam, I emerged to a clean life again. The moments that succeed a successful bath seem to condense years of life—years also seem taken off the score. I had no reason to regret the Hadji's resolution to bring the barber, and I fully subscribed to his commendation of him. The fourteen days' beard, which would have cost in our ordinary course, excruciation, fell with the ease of a gentle pressure. I had intended to allow the head to remain unshaven, in preparation for my return to Europe, but this success encouraged me to one more shave; and, without this, I should not have known what it was to have the head shaved. After it had been gone over five or six times, I put my hands up and felt a large billiard ball in the place of a human pate.

I had besought the officials to let me return peaceably by myself, and expected that my request had been attended to; but on emerging from the bath I found a troop of attendants with enormous lanthorns, and the charger all glittering in gold embroidery. I had no resource, and mounted.

The animal, frightened by the lights and a string of camels which blocked the way, began to rear and plunge. I was embarrassed by a long sulam, and after a struggle in the narrow, crowded, ill-paved streets, amid crowds of people and shrieking men, women, and children, the horse fell right back upon me. I had, however, extricated my feet in time from the stirrups, and had thrown myself free as we fell. They were alarmed, and wished to lead off the horse. I did not want him before, and would have him now. The animal now proceeded quietly enough till we came to the consulate, where a similar scene occurred; again he fell over, and again I extricated myself. It was wonderful that no injury was received, except by the trappings.

I was conducted through a narrow passage, up a mean stair; and then opened upon me a hall of the Arabian Nights—a dome thirty feet high, pierced with lights as the cupola of a bath; and on the three sides, within Gothic or Saracenic arches, raised estrades, with designs around. The walls were partly in the coloured pottery slabs formerly made at Damascus, the floor in marbles inlaid, a fountain in the centre, and water flowing on the floor. There were in the further walls two rows of windows. It has long been my wish to have a cathedral to live in; I was at length to be gratified. Such then were the habitations of the Saracens.

30th.—The morning commenced with messages and visits of congratulation on my adventure of last



night. I have gained a name in Tripoli for not being beaten by a horse.

*Tripoli, January 1st, 1850.*—I find I am out two days in my reckoning, and that this is the first of a new year, which I expected to have begun at the Cedars. Time, whose steps are often held too slow, has stolen on me a march; the present moment is ever all that can be ours, it is therefore needless to complain that the missing days are numbered not on the one side but the other.

This place is plain enough; it has, however, its attractions. In the little shops, like booths in a fair, men and boys, in strange costumes, twine that soft and glossy fibre which is this country's wealth; shining in all rich colours, and giving the desire to feel and stroke it, from its soft folds. Their quick hands go and come as their fingers unravel the threads of rainbow dyes, while their toes hold firmly the braid; or the wheel spins round as they wind the precious tissue; or they swing in the hand as they comb and settle the heavy tassels, vieing with the lapis-lazuli, in lustre as in price; or the fibre of the clever worm is enlivened with gold, or it is figured into arabesques. Each stall has its own device and figure, its separate work or fancy. Their toil is by the light of heaven and in the eyes of men; they gaze from their raised stages on the throng, and the passing throng is pleased to look again on them. No factory bells assemble them, and no dismal walls enclose them. There were other stalls where were

piled the produce of industry and care; some sent from the banks of the Rhine; others from those of the Hudson. There was Manchester and Nottingham, Paisley and Glasgow, coarse, glaring, stiff, graceless. Tripoli has wrought this year 27,000 okes of silk, and exported 80,000.

The river Cadesha runs through the town. There are bridges over it, and a pretty glimpse up its main channel. There are gardens interspersed among the houses, orange trees piled up with fruit, and all sorts of trees interspersed with the rich foliage of the banana; the fruit of which does not ripen here as at Saïda. With the houses, the gardens, and the water, this may be called a little Damascus.

After spending two hours in the bazaars, I went to visit again the tombs, when I found the people, as yesterday, at their quiet work of love. A little girl passed the gate with me, carrying a bundle of myrtle branches and a pot of water. There were others before similarly laden, and others followed. I sat among the graves and watched them, refreshing thus their recollections, and keeping green the memory of their own hearts, as they poured water on the recording plants, symbols of tears and refreshing grief.

I then went to pay the Governor a visit; when I perceived his dimensions and rated his hundred weights, I understood how he might be perfectly safe on the animal of last night.

After staying with him as long as I had been in

seeing the city—which brought me to two o'clock—I started for the “Marina” with a merry attendance, all mounted on little asses fitted with enormous pack saddles: a company of Bachusses or Sileni, a-straddle on rambling butts. Our vehicles were wilful and discursive, and the tails of them flowed both ways; so that a succession of incredible figures, unless boys on whirligigs, were crossing and veering, decorously saluting, or gravely smiling, all the while. The path was a broad sward between two ranges of hedges of lofty reeds, interspersed with vine-enveloped trees: at intervals there were doors into the gardens; and as you passed you saw at each, piles of the buxom orange or maidenly lemon. Soon appeared the white clean houses of the Marina, and the masts of the shipping. We emerged from the rows of reeds right on the sea. At a gate our asses were seized; we were chucked off, and left to find our way on foot. We soon got through the bazaar to the water’s edge, where was a large tower into which I could not gain admission. There was a sort of breakwater in front, composed of a chevaux de frize of granite columns. In front was the ancient port, a reef to the north, and a jetty running to the north-east; within which lay a score of small craft, and one of nearly two hundred tons. The anchorage is at its entrance, which is to the east; that is, on the north of the isthmus, where a dozen vessels were anchored. I made my way about the beach to the west, between the houses and vessels

building; which amounted to three of about two hundred tons, and a dozen smaller. There was here a well built and spacious khan, on the face of which were shot marks, but of ancient date; the lintels were slabs of granite, one of which was shattered by a ball. I continued in this direction till I came to another tower, which I found open; and ascending it, looked out on a view for which I was little prepared. From Tripoli the view is confined by an immediately overhanging hill. On the way to the Marina I had never looked back, being busy with the ass I rode, and engaged with the other asses and their riders; it was only when I reached this window that I saw Lebanon in all its majesty, sweeping on by an infinite number of knolls right down to Tripoli. The city, backed by its dark fortress on the brow of a declivity, ranged between two elevations. That on the left was like a heap of twisted scorixæ or slag, cast out from a glass-house; that on the right, running on in a long bank, which shut out the view of the country behind, from those who travel the coast. Below were spread its gardens, pointing down to the sea, and as it were wading through it, to reach the spot on which I stood.

Entering one of the apartments of the ruined tower, I found two children gathered up in a corner on a sheep's skin, and a dog crouching beside them; it was evidently their abode. I had been close to them for some time, but had not heard a sound; they

were in rags, and when I questioned them, they answered in Turkish that they were orphans: they had an older brother, who had gone to try and get bread for them. They had nothing; yet these young creatures, trained to endure in silence, asked for nothing; there was no whine in their tone, readiness in their tongue, or stretching of the palm. They had seen me for half an hour close by, and had lain still; they spoke only when questioned. When I gave them something, there was neither grasping nor thanks. The hand was stretched forth self-possessed, and the eldest, rising and slightly bending, as he laid his hands upon his heart, uttered these words, "May God not make it less to you."

Without the ruined tower the place was all liveliness. The fresh breeze was blowing and the bright sun shining, the white walls glistening, the distance casting from afar its shadows. Purple grapes hung among the bunches of oranges; the pavior's mallet echoed from the roof, the mason's hammer from the wall, the shipwright's adze from the hull; and after this we remounted our asses, and filled with a cloud of dust the intervening space to Tripoli. The sunset then commenced his mysterious game, and gambled through earth and sky, sheeting this in gold, that in vermilion; but neither sight nor sound could dispel the group of little Seljouks hungry and silent in the tower.

A church has been recently built at the Marina: it is pure Gothic, a nave and aisle without transept

or chancel. This has been formerly an island or reef, like those of Sur or Saida, joined subsequently to the main land by the accumulation of sand.

The name of "Marina" is a perversion of foreign sailors; it is *El Mina*. This occurred to me at once, but I heard the very word in use. That word was given as a name both to district and city: in the first intention it signified fortification, or perhaps habitation; and to find it here is evidence of the connection with Southern Arabia. The word is scattered over the face of the earth, and has passed into all the languages of the west as applied to various objects; all however connected with its original use.

A small dock, to hold twenty or thirty vessels, might be here constructed at a trifling expense; and, from the superior activity of this place to anything I have seen elsewhere along the coast, I should look here for the commencement of Phœnician restoration. - When I made the remark to two of the consular agents, they replied that the treaty weighed so cruelly on their rising industry, that they could not look forward to any such improvement until it was removed or greatly modified.

As I returned to the city a messenger met me bringing me a horse, and announcing that the Governor was waiting at the consulate. I had had enough of his horses, and thinking he must by that time have left, continued my way on my ass. However, I still found him, and he repaid my visit in kind, that is as to

length: nothing could exceed his amiability; and his conversation, though that of an unlettered man in every sense of the word, was not deficient in that salt of wholesome flavour, which far more than compensates the storehouse lumber, or flippant something-elses, which, in similar circumstances, with us would have furnished the entertainment. The story of Phœnician greatness, the failure of European systems, the character of the Turkish people, the nature of recent changes, were passed in review: the ball never dropped. He spoke with humility of his people, lamented their past conduct, expressed earnest hopes for an improvement; and was glad when I distinguished between changes which consisted in a return to those habits which formerly made them a model in politeness, order and justice, and—imitation of Europe. His conduct, I understood, did not belie his words; and the cleanliness, good order and activity of the place bore similar testimony. I was consequently much pleased with the visit; and on his retiring, turned to my host, a sensible, quiet man, anticipating from him the expression of the like. To my surprise all I got was a shrug of the shoulders, and an ironical sneer. I inquired if he was false or silly? There was no answer. Such is the habit of the Frank in speaking of the Turk, and each would fear to lose caste if he did not go through the ceremony with his nose and upper lip. At the Mina, I spoke to the captain of a Greek vessel dressed in the style of Cranbourne alley, and

remarking on the activity of the place he made me the same grimace. Yesterday, after my visit to the few Turkish tents, and when I was filled with the contrast of their ready hospitality with the churlish Maronite, my Maronite interpreter repeated the grimace, muttering—"Che Bestie !"

After supper I was invited by the lady of the house, who had been laid up for a month, to pay her a visit; she understood, but did not speak Italian. Her bed was on the divan, and covered with silver brocade; two little boys, of three or four years old, in crimson from head to foot, were sprawling about her, and her own attire (the head at least and bust) was surely never designed for a sick room. She said the prettiest things in the neatest way. After thanking her for the permission she had granted me, I was about to retire, but she had a purpose of nothing less than a Tertullia. Another lady was there. Coffee and nargillés were brought, and presently the small apartment filled. The gentlemen broke in at last, and then adieu to all conversation. They began with their loathsome and everlasting politics. My silence was construed into acquiescence, and I could imagine myself a Russian agent in the midst of the fawning adulation of a party of Greeks. At last, the brother of the American agent, thinking the ground sufficiently prepared, addressed me in these words: "When will you come to take possession of this country?" To the surprise of the male portion



of the party, I replied, "What kind of subjects should we find in traitors?" The lady of the house took up the thread as soon as I had dropped it, and I understood enough to know that she treated the American in a manner not at all calculated to compose his spirit. But this talk has no roots: he was presently the readiest, when all were ready, to admit the absurdity of all they had been saying, and began even to testify himself: thus—He and his brother deal in silk; they advance money before the crop, and depend consequently on the returns. The Maronites recently threatened to burn the houses where the missionaries were lodged, and drive them out of Eden. This animosity was excited by the proselytism of the latter, exhibited under a form which would be tolerated nowhere else upon earth, that of affording gratuitous education, board, and lodging. The consequence is that the two brothers, being Americans, have lost their trade; the people will not deal with them, nor complete for them their engagements. He said that the inhospitable treatment I had experienced was from the same cause: being a Protestant, they connected me with the American missionaries.

The Mussulmans of Tripoli are, as may be supposed, very fanatic, and not long since committed an unparalleled outrage on the corpse of a Christian, on the alleged pretext, that it was carried on the shoulders of men. Formerly Christian bodies had been conveyed by a horse or an ass; this practice, now

disused, the Mussulmans wished to revert to. The chiefs of the place were implicated, and even the Cadi, in so far at least as in his not interposing to arrest it. The ringleaders being cited to Beyrout, a revolt was threatened. Izzet Pasha came with some thousand troops, and secured the implicated persons, who are still in prison in Beyrout. During the moment this evening that the contest was maintained, this incident was cited; "How," exclaimed they, "can we endure the *Turks* after such things?" The Mussulmans in question were Arabs, not Turks.

## CHAPTER IV.

## VARIOUS THINGS, RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR.

*January 2nd.*—THE ladies certainly bear the palm at Tripoli. One visit this morning being to a newly married couple, I had some account of the marriage ceremonies, and they are notable. Seven days the bride does not open her eyes; forty days she does not speak. Her mother comes to visit her at the end of seven; then she changes her clothes seven times: the Bishop attends to put on the clothes of the bridegroom.

Tripoli contains the chief establishment of the Lazarists. I was anxious to get on, but still made an effort to pay it a visit. This body has been long predominant in the East, and is peculiarly favoured by the French Government, which even places funds at its disposal; its importance in the affairs of the Maronites can therefore be imagined. The appearance of the fathers was strikingly favourable; but for the difference of colour, their costume might have been taken for one of the country. A black silk scarf was wound round the head as a turban, flat at the sides and high. The Superior was not a Frenchman, but a Spaniard from Estremadura.

Père Francisco Amaya had no appreciation of

Eastern character, he had no eye for the beauty of costume ; none of the æsthetic bearings of the subject touched him ; he looked merely to the practical and moral state of the case, premising that his business was religion, but that he should not speak to me on that branch. He entered on the other at far too great a length for me to be able to record, but the substance was as follows. This country is weighed upon by Europe ; its industry is extinguished, its character is degraded, and it is exposed to peril. At Damascus there were, a few years ago, 34,000 looms making their own beautiful stuffs, now there are 4000 ; they go and see in the shops imitations, cheap as they are poor, lose their money, and cease to be industrious, which is the first of qualities. With idleness, comes idle conversation. They then mingle in politics ; every man has three appendages, not given elsewhere to human nature, his foreign friend, protector, and rival. They are always looking out for some impossible event, and in this constant "attente" they are carried away from every upright feeling or rational object. It is a matter of complaint that the Turkish Government does not make harbours or roads ; what, for them to invite foreign invasion ! Nor is it only their own ruin that may ensue ; what misfortunes are not in store for Europe ? This was the first hour of relief I had had, the first conversation with a European that was not a shame, a disgrace, and a fever. But

then this was a Spaniard, the only people of Europe that have not sunk into vulgarity.

My expectations of being able to reach the Cedars were considerably moderated by the account which I received from the Padre Amaya. He had, ten days ago, sent a servant to get some of the cones; he had been stopped by the snow at Eden, which he represented as then deserted. Finding, however, the little reliance that can be placed in this country on any evidence and any reports, I proceeded as if I had heard nothing, late as it was. Ascending the hill above Tripoli, I was confirmed in my supposition that the Mina had originally been an island. There is distinctly the sand, like that at Beyrout, blown up on the coast.

In little more than an hour we came in sight, on the opposite side of a beautiful ravine, of the village of Zgarta, reported at two and a half hours, where we were to pass the night; it is the winter residence of the people of Eden. We were conducted to the house of the Mucataji, which was in three stories, or rather, of two stories with a room on the roof. An instant rush was made on me: I was hauled from my horse, and hurried into a dark dungeon, crowded with people. After a moment's perplexity, I was enabled to distinguish the chief, by a glimmer through a loop hole, in a handsome youth, on whose head was a turban of the style of the Caliphate, lofty and full in front, and flat

and close behind, it reflected, in gold and crimson, the scanty light which found its way into the gloomy place.

Sheik Jusuff Caramb sprung up and embraced me—a Maronite, warm-hearted, self-confident, and with that openness and courtesy which at once commands esteem and inspires affection. After a few minutes of conversation, I requested leave to go to the roof to see the sunset, as that was an event I never missed. We mounted by a dark dilapidated staircase, and emerged into the evening light. The house is rather below the village, and to the east, so that the houses and the olive-trees shut out the western horizon; to the east, the valley opened, between the hill which I have described to the left of Tripoli, resembling a heap of contorted scoriæ, and the fore-foot of the Lebanon. This hill is included within the limits of Emir Hydar; his frontier then crosses the valley, and sweeps round the base of the hills on the south, to the gorge by which I shall to-morrow ascend to Eden. This, then, was the end of the Maronites and of the Lebanon. The valley, filled with water, which is conducted in levels on both sides for mills and irrigation, is rich though not beautiful. The sun shone down it, and it seemed reluctant to part with his violet light. It was calm, and the smoke ascending from the Tenuours, or ovens, which they heat towards evening for their cakes with green boughs and inflammable

shrubs, gave forth rich volumes of smoke.\* The mountains descended to the west in a succession of boar-like snouts, and a strong southerly wind, from which we were sheltered, carried along the whole line of the western sky broken clouds, like a cowed procession of spectres. The heavens above were dabbled all over, as if a brush of white paint had been dashed and twisted about on a blue canvass—signs of bad angury for the morrow.

The apartment on the roof was allotted to me, and there supper was served. I now found that Sheik Jusuff spoke Italian and French with sufficient ease for all ordinary purposes, although never should I have suspected it, for his manners were those of a gentleman.

Sheik Jusuff, without delay or circumlocution, commenced as soon as we were alone. "I had no expectation," said he, "of a visit from you; but since you have come, I must not lose the occasion. I have much to tell and much to ask." He did not, like Father Francisco, leave the religious question aside, but began with it; quoting the words of Christ respecting the rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. He applied them in the sense that his duty as a subject had to be performed, as well as his duty as a Christian. To the priest, the religious bearing of loyalty was quite a new

\* "Ten women shall bake your bread in one oven." (Leviticus xxvi. 26.) The word used is tennour.

idea : it was not so to the layman, and yet this layman had been pupil to the priest ! He was full of it, pent up within him, and abounded in quaint illustrations. These ideas had "grown in him ;" none shared them with him : "the people, like the Israelites of old, had all gone after strange gods."

He described them as in a state of either fear or expectation. Father Francisco's word had been "attente." Sheik Jusuff's was "tremblement." The Sultan had ordered that no one should be Governor but those with whom the people were pleased. This was very fine. He tried to protect a peasant from a Usurer or a Sheik ; the Fellahin would be sowing or reaping in the fields, but Sheik and Usurer would be writing to the Pasha. The Megilis is very fine ; but it is "a cold thing." The system of Chekib Effendi is very fine ; what it forbids it makes easy. It forbids the Pasha to displace the Caimacan, but enables the Pasha to give an order to the Caimacan, by executing or by refusing to execute which, he will be equally ruined. The people have deputies, but have no power over them ; they are for life. The officers of the Government the people have power over, as their office is at their good pleasure. The people can disturb the Government, but can do nothing for their own good, and so there remains no punishment for bad acts, and no shame for evil conduct.

He asked me what he was to do. I answered, continue as long as you can as you are. "What



then am I?" You have stood by yourself; try as long as you can to live by yourself. You must be prepared to fall at a certain point, circumstanced as you are. Knowing that, try to hold on as long as possible. "But can I get no help?" What help can your body get from without? What help can your mind get from without? "Why must I fall?" Because you are in neither of the two positions in which you might ultimately stand. You are neither in the desert, so as not to be compromised by necessity, nor are you in the centre of affairs, where, by the mastery of your own spirit, you might get the mastery of affairs, so as to direct them well. You can neither be the restorer of laws by your secret reflections, nor the rectifier of wrongs by your administrative authority. You are in the midst of circumstances too overwhelming for any man to stand long against them; these circumstances being but remote and distant consequences of the evil that is in operation. "Are there others so situated as you describe me to be?" A man standing by himself is the rarest of events, not merely in space, but in time. Relative excellence in character and institutions is not to be attributed to the exercise of individual faculties, but to the non-disturbance of primitive simplicity. Therefore is it that mankind, in all their varieties, are equally to be reduced to nullities in themselves, and may be divided into two categories, monuments or wretches. "I understand you to mean a distinction favourable to us

Easterns, which cannot fail to be flattering ; but by saying such words, you surely grievously offend your fellow countrymen." You are much mistaken. A great writer has said, "men are always above their circumstances ;" so are they also above their ideas. A man in degradation and penury is above his circumstances, because he knows that it is degradation and penury that he suffers from. So when you tell him that his ideas are false, is he flattered by the suggestion conveyed that you are appealing to his own internal judgment. If I tell a European that he is a wretch, that European, not being himself a fool, he will feel the compliment to his individual judgment ; but there will be some twitterings of his self-love, because he will suspect that I am insinuating a commendation, at his expense, of the Eastern. But when I place in anti-thesis the Eastern as a monument only, then have you at once the judgment flattered and the self-love not offended.

He is implicated in the affair of the Missionaries already referred to, and is cited to appear before the tribunal at Beyrout. As he evinced considerable alarm as to the result, I endeavoured to reassure him, by pointing out the preposterous nature of the accusation ; which must be judged of on its own merits, as the American consulate did not meddle in politics. He replied that everything that happened became English or French ; that if one of his own servants beat another it would immediately

become an English or French affair. The spilling of a cup of coffee might bring England or France upon them, how much more if a Sheik be accused by a King before a Pasha (he meant the President of the United States). His friends had entreated him to go to the Consuls; he had answered, "If one of my servants were to go, and ask protection of a neighbour, what should I say to him? I am the servant of the Sultan, and not of the King of England or France."

I at first heard of this affair from one of the missionaries, Mr. Wilson, who told me that the missionaries had been driven out of Eden by force; which, at the time, I thought very likely. It has to be observed that the proselytism carried on is not, as is supposed in Europe, against unbelievers, but between Christians.

The Roman Catholic regular and secular clergy are established here as in any other Roman Catholic country; that is to say, they are Pastors of flocks and not Missionaries. The Protestants have no flocks, and they are sent with a view to creating them. Twenty-five thousand pounds are yearly subscribed in the United States for that object, and the Missionaries come here, having to justify the salaries they receive. They have town house and country house, horses to ride, and an establishment and a table which speak well for the taste of the citizens of the United States. These are results obtained by exertion and combination; and which,

affording enjoyment in their possession, prompt to efforts for their retention. The persons thus raised to affluence and consideration in a fine and luxurious climate, would have to sink back to hard conditions of life, if not into want and destitution. This relapse presents itself as the consequence of failing in the creating of congregations, or at least of supplying to those who subscribe the funds, plausible grounds for expecting that the consummation is near. Looking at the country, nothing can be more painful and more hopeless than the contest: nowhere is an ear open. As to converting the Turks, they might just as well try to convert the Archbishop of Canterbury. If by an exceptional cause, such as has affected the House of Shaab, a Mussulman becomes an apostate, it is not to the American Missionary he goes for a sacrilegious baptism. As to converting the Jews, it would be much better for the United States to send Missionaries to Monmouth Street. There remain then but the Maronite, the Greek, the Greek-Catholic, Armenian and Nestorian Churches, that is to say Christians, to convert. From the pre-existing animosities amongst the Christians, the Missionaries could not so much as open their mouths to any of the members of these communities on the subject of religion; and therefore it is a totally different course that they have adopted. They have offered themselves as schoolmasters; not as persons depending for remuneration on their claims to the confidence of parents, and on

their proficiency ; but supplying instruction gratuitously, and adding thereto remuneration to the scholars in various shapes. Their admission in this form has been forced upon the people by the Turkish Government ; the condition however has been appended to it, that they should not attempt to interfere with the religious belief of the pupils. This has been going on for years ; the money continuing to be supplied on the grounds that Protestant congregations are being created, and the proceeds enjoyed by the Missionaries on their undertaking that they shall not create them.

This statistical under-current is, however, veiled or disguised from the men themselves. The one generation has, so to say, succeeded the other ; the new men come out occupied with their own zeal, not caring critically to examine the position in which they stand, and entering at once on a contest already engaged. They are filled with contempt for everything around them, and to religious zeal, itself a sufficiently active impulse, is superadded the necessity of furnishing reports for public meetings and periodicals in America—reports which, failing to contain statements of proselytes secured, have at least to supply narratives of contests undertaken and martyrdom endured. It is thus that I had passed by, as very simple and very insignificant, an attempt in an outlying village to preach openly and directly to the people, and the outrage consequent thereon. Such

a disturbance might of course furnish grounds of complaint, on which, as in half a dozen other cases not more remarkable, a score of the poorer inhabitants might have been dragged to Beyrout, and imprisoned for a few months. But I was not prepared for being myself one of the sufferers, to the extent of being refused hospitality throughout a whole district, where hospitality is the law and practice, and where hotels are unknown. Nor was I prepared for the Governor of the district, living at a distance from the scene, being arraigned as a malefactor, and subjected to pains and penalties, such as in Europe no longer attach to high treason. I therefore continued at this place the inquiries I had commenced at Tripoli. There was no discrepancy whatever in the accounts I received; from which it would appear that there had neither been, on the part of the missionaries, an attempt to preach, nor, on that of the people, an act of violence.

The missionaries, arriving at Eden, entered a house, and disposed themselves to occupy it. The master of the house told them that he would not, and could not receive them. They persisted, threatening him in the name of the Turkish authorities. A great commotion ensued, and the people, with the fear of the Turkish authorities before their eyes, devised a plan for dislodging the missionaries, by unroofing the house. A roof in the Lebanon is not composed of tiles and rafters; to

touch a roof is a very serious affair, not to be undertaken in wantonness. The people had the satisfaction of seeing the missionaries mount and depart, without any act on their part which would expose them to after retribution.

The conversation begun upon this head, extended itself; and we soon came upon Proselytism in general. Sheik Jusuff commended highly the toleration of the Turkish Government, yet claimed for the Christians a counter duty very much akin to intolerance. When I asked him where he found this duty enjoined, he quoted the words "Go preach to all nations." But what? "The Gospel." Do you not profess to be a follower of Christ? "That is very true. But Christians have still to preach the Gospel to Mussulmans." Were the missionaries preaching to Mussulmans at Eden? Do they preach to Mussulmans at all? "Do you mean then to say that it is improper to send out missionaries?" This question led to a longer reply than I can here insert; in the course of which I shewed that announcing or heralding the Gospel to unbelievers was one thing, and the seeking to make converts another. Quoting the denunciation of Christ against proselytism, I shewed that those denunciations were applied not to unbelievers, but to those who held the true faith, as the Pharisees did, but who not living up to their faith, sought to mark their infidelity by fanaticism. That, finally, it was the purity of the life of believers that was enjoined by Christ as the means of preach-

ing the Gospel; that by such means it had been first spread. That the missionaries sent forth by Christ were not supported by subscriptions, but on the contrary were ordered to take no money in their scrip and but one change of raiment; and that what they preached was not dogmatic distinctions but *repentance*.

This affair at Eden brought to my mind an incident which may be found in the reports of the Parliamentary Committee on India of 1812 or 1813. A European (not an Englishman) having received the loan of a house refused to quit it on being required to do so by the owner. The witness added, that had it been an Englishman he would at once have claimed the house as his property.\*

\* The following is the paragraph referred to in the text:—

“ Q. Have you known of any instance of private traders going into the interior and committing those disturbances ?

“ A. I cannot exactly recollect particulars. In the district in which I was myself, that ceded by the Nizam, there was only one European trader came into the country while I resided in it, he applied to me for a place to put up in for a few days; I sent an order to the headman of the village to accommodate him; he was shewn into an empty house, the master of which had gone on pilgrimage; he remained there above a month, the master returned. The private trader, whether a man of quiet habits or not I know not, would not leave the house, the owner returned and complained to me. I directed the trader to quit the house, which he did after receiving the order, in the course of two or three days. It was fortunate for the owner that the trader was a Dane; had he been an Englishman he would probably have kicked out the owner for



Supposing the persons sent to this country as missionaries to be themselves all that Christians ought to be, supposing them to appear as the Apostles, poor and penniless, labouring unhired and unrecompensed, still what could their words avail against the effect produced by the conduct of the nations to whom they belong, and who are called by the name of Christ? But if there were to be found such men in Christendom, would they be wandering in foreign lands with such work to do at home?

Sheik Jusuff, like Saïd Bey, is not the oldest son of his father. He has a brother, staying in the same village, double his age, with whom he is in deadly feud. The brother expelled their father from the government, and he expelled his brother. He gave me a history of the war which was exquisitely Homeric.

*Jan. 3rd.*—Leaving at dawn, in an hour and a half I began the ascent, and climbed for the twelfth time the sides of Lebanon. After attaining a certain height, the country below lost its inequalities, and looked like an undulating plain. Here and there were to be seen patches of olive trees, in rows, relics of the vesture which at one time must have been spread over the land. A good tree gives

presuming to molest an Englishman in his castle, and it would have required a suit of law to eject him.”—*Sir Thomas Munro before the Committee of the whole House of Commons, 1813.*

nearly a hundred weight of oil: they are at the distance of from ten to fifteen yards, and pay eight piastres tax. The age generally assigned to them is a thousand years; but this may be tripled at least. The olive groves of Athens were in their vigour in the time of Pericles, and are a fine middle-aged grove to-day. The grove south of Tripoli has every tree in its place, and it is 1100 years old. The proportion of timber to foliage being excessive; as the tree becomes old, the trunk extends, assuming distorted forms, and opens into fret work; the branches break off, so that they come, when very decrepid, to look like a piece of ruin, with some shrubs on the top. This is the character of the trees scattered over this plain, which, therefore, were in full vigour when Abraham crossed the Euphrates. At the time of the building of the Pyramids this whole country was planting, or had been planted, with olives in rows.

I was joined by a priest and a party of peasants, on their way to Eden, to bring away for the winter a part of their moveables. It was not, however, from them that I obtained this information, hard as I laboured to extract something. On the other hand, they were accomplished diplomats. The English Minister has fully succeeded here in awakening that attention to what is passing abroad for the want of which he has so often rebuked the House of Commons. They incessantly broke off from any questions res-

pecting their own state, to ask when we were coming to take possession of the country, and the like. This is the French preserve, but they had cautiously commenced by inquiring whether I was French or English. As soon as this was ascertained, they told me that they loved Colonel Rose, and that all the village loved him; he had come and held a Divan, and all the people went, and he had got a firman from Constantinople for them, by which they had been spared fifty purses (£250), and also the horsemen who would have been sent to collect it. On cross-examination, however, the fifty purses and the horsemen disappeared, and all that remained was a claim on their village, as a Government farm, which had been decided in their favour. To prove to me that they had a case, they said that Emir Hydar had had one of his villages taken as a Government farm. When I asked why the Emir had not gone to Colonel Rose, they laughed as men who saw it was needless to continue the farce further, and said, "Oh, now it is not to Colonel Rose, but to you that we will go." To such a pitch has this prostitution reached, that they imagine they have a marketable stock in hand whenever a chance opens for whining and fawning on a stranger. A new and brilliant thought here struck me. Ireland may any day be converted into a Lebanon, if you will only get two politico-religious Consuls at Dublin, Limerick, or Cork, or at all three. What a precious life of it the Lord Lieutenant would have!

Imagine the delightful Blue Books to be published at Berlin and Vienna. The —— Consul said to me at Beyrout, “the Lebanon is the Ireland of Turkey.” But one day we shall have Ireland the Lebanon of England. If the Turkish Government was fit to understand a joke, would it not announce to the French Government the necessity under which it was placed, of sending Consuls for the protection of its co-religionaries to Algiers; and to the English Government, the same necessity for the appointment of Consular Agents at Hyderabad and Delhi.\* But this is no joke; it is the very way to get rid of these nuisances at Beyrout; on the refusal of the request by the two Governments, then the Porte answers, “Relieve me then from the intermeddling of your Agents.” The two Consuls themselves would be certainly nothing loath: poor Mr. Moore is like the wheel of a railway carriage, doing hard work; disinclined to go, but not able to stop. He said to an English merchant the other day, in reference to his own duties, “it is a tortuous path, Mr. ——; a very tortuous path.” Just what a railway wheel would say, if like Mr. Moore, it were gifted with a plaintive conscience, and an insurgent tongue.

As we ascended the loftier parts, we were involved in clouds; we were able to see only the ground we

\* Three years later than this the English Government positively threatened the Porte with oppressing its own Mussulman subjects in India, unless it (the Porte) yielded to certain demands of intervention in its internal concerns.!

passed over, or rather the stairs we were clambering ; there was neither wall nor portal, nor valley, but a village of terraced vines and mulberries on the side of a hill, under a hollow and bare cliff, traversed by streams conducted to mills and gardens, and adorned with magnificent walnut trees. These trees however are the relics only of a grove, which Ibrahim Pasha, who converted all things into elements of war and instruments of destruction, had cut down for musket stocks.

Smoke ascended from one part ; we repaired to it ; I was not refused admittance, and there were not people in the place enough to unroof it. We had to enter by the back ; the front was allotted to the women, and the oriental seclusion of the fair sex is here preserved. This may throw additional light on the missionary turmoil, as quite unconsciously, they may have entered at the wrong door, and if informed of the distinction, would certainly have treated it as a piece of barbarism and judaism which it was their mission to destroy.

The hard shining clay floor was not dressed for company, so I was asked to retire till the necessary arrangements had been made. On re-entering I found rich carpets, a luxurious divan, velvet flowered cushions, and the shilté in the corner, of Damascus tissue and embroidery. Involuntarily I looked up at the ponderous roof, and shivered at the thought of a shower of sticks and dust in such a place.

My host entered : he wore a white turban, red

antery, and blue shalvar, with a belt of the striped silk of Tripoli. A handsome Cara Khorasani sabre, and one of their short blunderbusses hung by the wall, and around, amid the coarsest things, and in the humblest place, might be observed similar evidences of rank and taste. He is brother-in-law to Sheik Jusuff.

When I was seated, water was brought to wash my feet; a scriptural ceremony which I was glad to accept. Then a large muslin shawl, embroidered in gold, was thrown over me, and a censer richly chased, hung round with coral drops, and from which arose a volume of the smoke of aloe wood, was introduced below it, till I was nearly suffocated in finery and perfume. Then came the goblet of lemon-flower water; the fresh bubbling nargillé, also scented with the aloe, and lastly, the genial tiny cup of coffee in its filigree setting. How artfully are devised the means of turning fatigue and exhaustion into enjoyment; how lightly touched the various senses, and how enhanced the operation by the style; the antique beam of greeting lighting up the oriental flower of hospitality. This was the first time I had seen the censer since my return to the East; this too civilization is driving out. The grand style in Turkey used to be to meet a guest at the door with a couple of censers, which were carried before him to the apartment where he was received; one was then placed in the middle, and on his retiring both again accompanied him to the door. At Constantinople I was

myself the last to observe this usage with private persons. It pleased me the more to find it still beside the Cedars, and this pomp of the Western cathedral, in the domestic usages of Eden.

When I retired to rest, the sheets proved to be, not calico, but rich thick white silk, of the texture of Poplin, but much more soft, having at the top and bottom an elaborate border like a scarf in stripes of red and blue.

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*Note to p. 87.*—On the threat of the English Government to oppress its own subjects.

“It rests with the Porte to determine in what manner this just and indispensable reform may be most satisfactorily completed. Hitherto the British Government has treated with similar liberality the millions of Mussulman population brought under its rule in India, and it would deeply lament the necessity of adopting a less generous policy towards them. The Porte, unwilling to incur so deep a responsibility, will doubtless bear in mind, &c.”—

*Note addressed to the Porte by Lord Stratford de Radcliffe, January, 1855, in Eastern Papers, No. XVIII. entitled, “Correspondence respecting Christian Privileges in Turkey.”*

## CHAPTER V.

THE CHILDREN OF EDEN, AND THE CEDARS  
OF GOD.

MY Journal must here be supplied by a letter.

“Eden, January 4th, 1850.

10 P. M.

“What a date,” you will say. Eden was so called because “a place of delight;” a garden of trees fit for the food of man and watered with fountains. But then too in the days of the prophet it was a proud city; the Assyrian king brought up his battering ram against its walls. There is in the word itself a melody of old echoes that come whispering soft thoughts.

The ascent from the tenanted plains was not only to the high and desolate places of the earth; it seemed a journey backwards through years, leaving behind, and below, the ages, their rulers, and their slaves. Other lofty mountains inspire conceptions of sublimity and present forms of beauty; but, however grand or fair, they are matter alone. This is a place of the spirit, where the soul, not the limb, climbs; where matter serves and nature aids in adorning an altar of primeval traditions.

But Eden is a *village*: There are houses with



doors and windows ; there are cocks and hens, but there are no inhabitants. This is one advantage of a winter visit.

But the night is cold ; a terrestrial chill brings sceptical sensations. Eden after all is my resting-place not my goal ; and the sudden change, the rising wind, the dismal clouds rolling up the valley, are alarming for the morrow. The forebodings of the Sheik are added to my fears, and I begin to regret the days I have squandered below ; one of which more industriously employed would have enabled me to accomplish this day my visit to the Cedars. The people around me are so bound up in the honour of the Cedars that I cannot apprehend more than they do for me. We are all afoot during the night, and every five minutes there is a rush out to look at the heavens.

11 *o'clock*.—The sky begins to clear. The moon, a full meridian moon, shines through, shewing herself, but nothing else.

Having in vain sought slumber between silken sheets, I got up again and turned to the Old Testament. Positively, Eden, this Eden, was considered the site of Paradise ! Leaving the four rivers aside, the Prophets did identify this place with the garden tilled by Adam.

The first mention of Eden is (2 Kings xix.) under Hezekiah, when Sennacherib threatens Jerusalem with the fate of the cities which had attempted to resist either himself or his father Salmanesar.

He asks if the gods of Gozan, Haran, and Eden, have been able to deliver their cities out of his hands. He asks where are the Kings of Hamath, Arpad, &c? These are the names still borne by places of importance, or districts of considerable extent. This Eden too must then have been a strong and wealthy place. The expression used regarding it is peculiar. It is "Children of Eden." Of the other places the "Kings" are mentioned. Here then was a distinct race governed in another manner, and such as might belong to a society, preserving amongst its crags a more primitive caste.

But this is not all. It is "the children of Eden who were in Telassar."\* Where is Telassar? what is it? Telassar is nowhere mentioned and nowise known. The word explains itself. It is Tel Sur; the land of Sur. Perhaps you will not be enlightened by the interpretation, at least until I tell you that Lebanon as we call it, or Lebuan as it is, is not the name of the mountain from whence I write; but that its name is Gebel Souria, or mountain of the Sur. And that the Sur are the people by whom I am surrounded; although to the learned, lost in the mists of antiquity, they are not visible. They are older than Greeks and Romans: does that surprise you? They are older than Assyrians and Medes; they are older than Chinese and Egyptians, as children of Eden may well be. Yet they are only Druzes and Maronites, and you may hire them

\* 2 Kings xix. 12. Isaiah xxxvii. 12.

any day, at a very small rate, as Maltese boatmen. For they too are children of Eden, though they dwell no longer in Telassar.

It may be objected that in the Eden of to-day there are no remnants of ancient military structures ; and that the scanty soil of its terraces, restricted in extent, afford no room for such prosperity. That the mulberry tree had not then conferred on the terraces of the Lebanon their luxuriance or wealth. In the Lebanon, however, military strength requires not walls and fortresses ; the whole country is a fortress, and there might have been other sources of riches. Neither does it, as other places, require extent of soil for population ; it buys its bread. Such also was the character of the whole Phœnician coast and people. Probably in Eden they were expert in the working of fine and delicate things ; embroidery, dyeing, chasing, working in gold and silver, for which the forests of pine and algum afforded fuel. And might they not have had a mine in the carving of the cedars, then the timber of luxury throughout the world ? Such must have been the elements of its prosperity, if indeed Eden was a strong and rich capital city. All this we find in Ezekiel. “ Thou hast been in Eden,” says Ezekiel, addressing Tyre, “ *the garden of God*, every precious stone was thy covering ; \* \* \* the *workmanship of thy tabrets and thy pipes* was prepared for thee ; \* \* \* thou wast upon the holy mountain of God ; thou hast walked up and down in the midst of *the stones of*

*fire.*”\* The reference to Eden may be here metaphorical; but with a real Eden, working in jewellery and musical instruments, and placed on a mountain, still denominated “holy,” and scattered over with volcanic stones, the metaphor would have had a more than ideal application. See now what he has said before on the same page. “Haran (Hauran) and Canneh and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asshur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants. They were thy merchants in all sorts of things, in *blue clothes*, and broided work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords and *made of cedar.*”†

Here the visionary paradise becomes a staple of merchants, and a mart of goods. Of its assortments here is the invoice; with the sources and destinations of the wares, specified as in a ledger. The cursory reader would not indeed suspect the mercantile and statistical accuracy of the Prophet; he would suppose his notes to be extremely loose, from the conjoining of Sheba, the land of frankincense at the extremity of Arabia, with the Hauran. But that is not the Sheba here meant. It is at present called Shabba, an ancient city, with extensive ruins, visited by Burckhardt; it is in the Hauran, and intimately connected at this day with the Lebanon: indeed from it the Emirs of the Lebanon take their surname of Shaab. No doubt as to this point can exist, for only in the previous verse another Sheba is mentioned; and what that Sheba was, we are in-

\* Ezekiel xxviii. 13, 14.

† Ibid. xxvii. 23, 24.

formed by its wares, "all spices and all precious stones and gold," precisely the importations from Arabia.

It is impossible to doubt, then, that Eden was a real place, and that its occupation tallied with those of the other places mentioned, which consist in embroidery, dyeing, working in gold, and carving in wood. The cedars did not belong to the Hauran, nor to Hamath, nor to Asshur and Canneh. The cedars were only on the western side of the Lebanon. When Solomon wanted them, the Tyrians brought them down to the sea, to be then transported to Jaffa for Jerusalem. Not found to the north, the south, or the east, they were restricted to the districts of Eden, whose "children" were consequently chiefly employed in furnishing the wares which Tyre received from the Lebanon and its dependencies.

Dyeing is mentioned, and not in a general way : a particular colour is specified, the very colour which to-day is worn by man, woman, and child, and which, very often, is the exclusive one—blue. What a chapter is here opened, if I could follow it, or rather what two chapters ; the one the process, the other the thought. Indigo could not then have been imported amongst "Colonials." Whence, then, came their blue, and whence the thought, by which blue was selected, not being a natural product ? The indigo would not suit the Lebanon, and the selection of blue must have originated in a country

where it was a product ; unless you can find some substitute, and there is none. Eden was not then a primitive seat of mankind, but only a secondary one. On this hint of Ezekiel I shall hereafter work, occasion and leisure consenting. In the meantime, look at the light here thrown on that great contest of the blue and the yellow ; that is to say, of man worshipping an Invisible Creator, and man worshipping the Host of Heaven. I am now glad that the chapter on colour was not inserted in the " Pillars of Hercules." I had my misgivings respecting the primordial station of the colour of the Sun, which misgivings are now confirmed by this historical evidence, and I must therefore reverse the order. The soil of Eden was red, and the red—Adam : the sacrificial colour was the last. The astronomic yellow preceded it ; the etherial blue stood first, as symbol of the uncreated Creator, and as love and affection for uncorrupted taste.

Again, when in Amos (ch. i. 5.) the people of Syria are threatened with captivity, there are these words : " I will cut off him that holdeth the sceptre from Beth Eden," translated, without reason, " House of Eden." The word " Beth" of course means " house;" but is applied here to a city, not a family.

It is gradually that the discovery has forced itself upon me of this one and ancient race, in these now divided and despised populations, and I am assembling the materials for working it out.

*January 5th.*—About an hour before dawn the sky cleared entirely. There was no use waiting for day, so I determined to start at once, and in a few minutes we were on our way; the sky was cloudless. The moon had travelled far to the west, and was bowing towards the ocean through the open space among the mountains, which seemed left for her to reach her bed, and through which the Cadesha has dug its way in the roots of Lebanon, right up to the cap of snowy crests, where stands the sacred grove. As we proceeded we had glimpses of its depths here and there, until we came to the very verge. Here Paradise rises, there Tartarus sinks, and there was night in her gloom and winter in his glory. Excepting to the right, the horizon was filled up with piles of snow, cutting into the dark sky. It lay not as covering the mountains, but like sheets stretched from point to point of some gigantic frame. At times the sight turned giddy, the firm set rocks seemed in motion, while their drapery was gathered into sweeps and folds as if receding from you, as they dragged on earth their glittering skirts, reflecting the face of the uncertain moon in their silvery bends. I could have wished time to pause till I had reached the grove. But the handmaid of the Sun hastened to prepare his chamber against his rising, and her rosy fingers were forthwith seen adjusting the sky. Up then, with a sudden spring, rose the strong man, light for work, scattering the light of dreams: but here he fell upon

a world of silence; and nature presented herself, a virgin in white and blue, like a Conception of Murillo.

Our march was a race, and a festivity. To start at this early hour had been a sudden impulse. The word given was caught like a spark in dry grass; we cleared the village at a gallop: the footmen, in the uncertainty of the way, leaving the horsemen in the rear. "The children of Eden" enjoyed an ovation in a stranger's homage to their "blessed Cedars," and their "Holy Mountain," and their joy found vent in their voices and their limbs. They raced and shouted, braced by cold and excited by the starry sky, and rejoiced by the promise of a glorious day. But after this burst they subsided into silence; the wonders of the heavens were at work in them. When the sun rose his light was wanted for the vast earth-fall of the valley of the Cadesha. The mass laid bare is a mixture of broken stones and earth, pink and yellow. Now it has the boldness of cliffs, and now the desolation of mounds of earth washed away. We speak of ruined towers and broken arches; this was a broken and ruined mountain; there and there fragments of its structure stood erect, cornices and pediments, buttresses and entablatures, of Nature's towers and temples; of which the rest had been upturned by insurgent earthquakes, and swept away by revolutionary cataclysms, laying bare the foundations and opening up gaps in the building of the earth.



Yet this was but one story ; a level floor of two or three miles lay below, between the sides of the chasm ; and away it broke again into a second Niagara of earth and rock. The further progress of the crack, as it descends widening to the sea, could be guessed rather than traced through the bluish shades of the variegated distances ; while, across the projecting parts, the rays of the level sun were reverberated like echoes from cliff to cliff.

Above the line of precipices the Lebanon had, with matronly decorum, smoothed down her sides like a tent ; below, she had widened out her skirts, softening their nature for living things and plants : art and toil had fashioned and trenched each rood of slippery earth, pencilling with rows of mulberry and vine. This garden, overhanging the gulf of ruins, was overshadowed by four or five thousand feet of rock. Here and there the streams leapt clear from summit to base ; and the rectangular forms of the masses that had fallen or were slipping down, leaning against and propping up each other, constantly presented groups of tumbling towers and battlements.

The path which had brought us towards the valley, then turned eastward over the table land, and soon after I had a presentiment that from a rising in front I should see the Cedars. A moment afterwards the footmen passed me at breakneck speed, shouting and whirling their staves ; and so to the brow, where they crouched and pointed, levelling their

sticks as muskets, on a black spot in the very root of the mountain and at the rise of the little plain, and then each eye was turned on me to watch the effect of the "Arz Lebnan !"

We now stood on the level of snow. A few paces shut the dark world out. Not a cloud was nigh, not a shade or tint in sight : neither motion, nor sound, nor bird, nor plant, nor insect. Alone blazed the sun in heaven ; on earth whiteness and silence reigned. Such was the approach to the Cedars. Let them be but scraggy bushes, still I owe to them this moment and this spot ; and I recalled with indignation a passage of the only author worth reading on Syria, Volney, who deploras the *tiresome roads that led to them*. But with no such outer courts had I approached ; had the seasons not now conjoined their times—winter with his heavy robe of snow, and summer with her crown of laughing light—still would the Cedars have filled one day of existence, in such a manner that few such might be numbered in a favoured life.

The whole of a knoll, a couple of hundred feet in height, and perhaps half a mile across, is covered with the grove, some trees of which are scattered on the side of an adjoining one. You approach them by the gully between the two. There were trees, but nothing in them apparently to strike ; no graphic features which belong to the rare and beautiful ; neither the tent-like sweep of the Tanin, nor the spreading roof of the Snowbar, nor the aspiring

plume of the Deodara or the Arar, or the feathery tuft of the Palm. There was neither the sombre gloom of an impenetrable forest, the massive grandeur of the solitary oak, nor the airy shadow of the vaulted platani. They appeared nothing but firs, remarkable neither in form nor dimensions. The only peculiarity was the horizontal bars of foliage, from which stood up, like bobbins on a reel, the cones; not large and rude as those of the fruit-bearing pine, but smoothed and systematically formed like perns of brown silk. I wondered in what consisted their fame, and wandered amid their stems till I had become familiar with my vexation; when, before me came a block protruding from the snow. It appeared a mass of rock, but it was timber; and raising my eyes I found myself below a Cedar of Lebanon!

The rock-like trunk might be 20 feet broad, and as many high; then out from it grew seven ancient trees, as if seven oaks of the forest had been joined at their base, and fitted to a stem. Each of these trees or branches was 70 or 80 feet in height, and, nearly at their summits, 5 or 6 feet in girth. The mass of timber was enormous; and to it the foliage, disposed in bars like the yards of a ship, bore no proportion—their scanty and methodical lines, strangely contrasting with the giant and distorted limbs. Who could have imagined a Cedar like this; this, the Emblem of the maiden of Israel? Yet I

shared the fervent instinct of the mountaineer, which found this name to call them by—"Cedars of God."

On examining a broken bough I found that it resisted the nail, like oak. The rings are so fine and close that fifty or sixty did not occupy an inch. The rings were so irregular, that the timber made in one year sometimes equalled the growth of twelve at another period. The bough I was examining was a fourth or fifth rate one, perhaps a span in diameter; but on counting its rings I found it coeval with the Ottoman Empire. The branch out of which it grew, rating it in like manner, was as old as the Norman conquest; its parent branch again might in the days of Solomon have sprouted from a branch, then worthy to sustain an architrave in the "House of the Forest of Lebanon," and which had shot from the main branch during the building of the Pyramids. That mighty branch itself must have been washed with salt-waters in the time of the Deluge, and figured among the trees which God had already planted when man appeared. Eve might have spun, Adam delved under its branches.

When I said that the Prophets understood this Eden to be Paradise, I had not observed the following passage:—

"The Cedars in the Garden of God could not hide him. The fir trees were not like his boughs, and the chesnut trees were not like his branches, nor any tree in the Garden of God like unto him in his beauty. I made him fair in the multitude of his

branches, so that all the trees of Eden that were in the Garden of God envied him . . . and all the trees of Eden, the choice and best of Lebanon, all that drink water shall be comforted in the nether parts of the earth. To whom art thou thus like in glory and in greatness among the trees of Eden? Yet shalt thou be brought down with the trees of Eden to the nether parts of the earth."

How accurate the Prophet's description, "A Cedar in Lebanon with fair branches, with a shadowy shroud and of an high stature, and his *top* was among the *thick boughs*."\*

In presence of our ancient British oaks, I have felt awestruck with the thought that the tread of Roman legions had echoed from their boughs. What then must one feel beneath tabernacles of verdure planted at the beginning of time, and standing now; in vigour equal to attempting a race with futurity, as long as that which they have already run. Then too, insects of human spawn, hatched and harvested in a day, may snatch an hour from their scanty reckoning amidst their noisy fellows, to wander in the shade or shadows of 12,000 years, and wonder at the story of 400 generations which they will have seen and will see.

I have spoken as yet but of one Cedar. What then was the grove? It was of trees of the same species indeed, but of ordinary dimensions, and these shot straight up, as we see in the so-called

\* Ezekiel xxxi. 3, 8, 9.

cedars brought to Europe: there was no block and no parting off of branches; this peculiarity belonged only to the antediluvian breed. The Titans only had the arms of Briareus. Elsewhere I found more of these vast vegetable polypi: they are chiefly on the top of the hill, perhaps ten in all. Of these, two approach their fall; one by being burnt at the root, the other breached by the storm. Three more are unsound; two only are in their prime, and to them it belongs to convey to future times an idea of the giant brood; if indeed they be not soon killed by the miscreant habit of stripping off the bark for fools to write their names. From sheer shame, I would not read the disgraceful list—but one struck my eye, for it was like a placard: it was “LAMARTINE.”\* The way these Franks proceed is, to slice off the bark with a hatchet, and then to smooth the surface of the trunk. For this purpose the ancient trees are chosen, and of course it is only at the height of the man and eye that these tablets are prepared. The finest trees are at present two-thirds barked, at about six feet from the ground. With the influx of travellers, a few years will suffice to ring them completely. No shame restrains that brood, no anathema stays their sacrilegious hands: a class of persons, generally supposed to consist of scholars and gentlemen, demean themselves as live

\* I afterwards ascertained that Lamartine had not been able to reach the Cedars, but had sent his Dragoman to inscribe his name.

cargo discharged from a Margate steamer on a Sunday afternoon. Thus is civilization laying its poisoned axe at the root of these as of so many ancient stems; and, in another generation, the Cedars of Lebanon may exist only in the Song of Solomon and the dirges of the Prophets.

A troop of peasants passed through the grove, with asses and mules laden with roots of plants, which they had been laboriously digging from under the snow, and which they were storing for fire during their hibernation. A few remain in each village to clear the snow from the roofs. However severe the toil and scanty the produce, they laid not a hand on a fragment of the tempting blocks and boughs scattered around, which had been smitten by the lightning, broken off by the load of snow, or torn by the wind: nor did they touch the chips which had flown from the axe of the Franks. If this respect cannot serve to us as a lesson, let it not be lost as a reproach.

A French writer, in 1725, whose work I saw at the Jesuit convent of Gasir, estimates then the old trees at 20. Thus one-half have been used up in a century by tourists for an album. There are perhaps 30 more which would take 4 men to girth, and which may be 2 or 3000 years old. The remainder, which may amount to 500, are of smaller dimensions, though none seem to be younger than a couple of centuries. These are the characters of the old species.

The trunk dividing at from ten to twenty feet from the ground; the branches contorted, and snake-like, spreading out as from a centre, and giving to the tree the figure of a dome. The leaf-bearing boughs, spread horizontally; the leaves, or spiculæ, point upwards, growing from the bough like grass from the earth. These spiculæ are thick and short, about an inch in length. The cones stand up in like manner, and are seen in rows above the straight boughs. The cones contain seeds like the cone of the snowbar. The timber is in colour like the red pine, with a shade of brown. It is close-grained and extremely hard. No worm touches it, and the centre of the largest trees seems solid. It is considered the most durable of woods. In the destruction of Antioch, Tyre, and other places, in the time of the Crusades, the beams of Cedar are enumerated and mourned over, as are the vessels of gold and silver and the glass of Tyre. Many of these must have been from the times of Hiram and Solomon. It burns without smoke, and emits the perfume of frankincense.

I confess I did make a fire of cedar wood; but I touched no living twig; with the fragments around, and half-burnt trunks, I lighted a flame amid the snow, which filled the wood with its own perfume. The light smoke hung in the boughs, as vapour of amber and opal, and then from the clear flame a perpendicular mirage arose, through which danced snow, foliage, and sky, as if seen through an atmo-



sphere of boiling glass. Their name in Arabic is *Arz*. They are called *Arz Lebnan*, *Arz Allah*, *Arz Mobarik*; the *Arz of Lebanon*, the *Arz of God*, the blessed *Arz*.

The sacred character is, however, not solely derived from their form and position: it must be attributed also to their solitariness. Were they spread far and near, they could scarcely be venerated. At present, to visit them constitutes a pilgrimage. There is besides the mystery. A plant that stands alive before you and yearly produces its seed, and which yet cannot be reproduced by means of that seed, is something out of the order of nature. That in the time of the Prophets they were confined to this district, the Old Testament informs us; that to-day they are to be found nowhere else, any traveller's eyes may tell him.

In the time of the Crusades, the cedar cone was an object of peculiar veneration,\* although probably not a single Crusader ever beheld one growing on its tree. Ascending higher, we find the head of the *Thyrsis* amongst the Greeks, a cone generally taken to be that of the common fir. But the common fir was never an object of veneration; nor can we here neglect the affiliation, through *Pan*, who

\* Godfrey of Boullion, after a successful expedition against the Sultan of Damascus, was presented by the Emir of Cæsarea with all the fruits of Syria. Among these were the pines of the Cedars of Lebanon, and this alone was the tribute which the hero of Tasso would accept.—*Michaud*, t. ii. p. 17.

was himself a son of the Lebanon, and whose native city, **Banias** or **Lacksha**, under **Hermon**, I have described on the occasion of our hawking expedition from **Gebel Rehan**. Ascending still higher, to the bas-reliefs of **Nineveh**, which the prophet-poet of Lebanon beheld in their splendour, we find in the hand of the priest, invariably the one sacrificial offering, the cone of the Cedar. So essentially identifying this region and its people with the Assyrian Empire and its faith.

There now remains a great mystery to solve. How conciliate the veneration for the tree which makes it sacrilege to use its timber, with the traffic in that timber in ancient times? Veneration is never invented; veneration is a plant which does not grow from cuttings. Like the Cedar itself, it is not only *ab antiquo*, but also it is not capable of propagation in subsequent times. It may be that the ancient tribe was the one held sacred, and that those of more recent date were not so. Between the ancient trees and the rest no space intervenes which could have been occupied by forests since felled; and the antiquity of those immediately surrounding the very ancient ones, shewed that they stood there in the time of **Hiram** and **Solomon**. The sense of veneration now draws indeed no distinction between older and younger; but this may easily be understood. After the traffic had ceased, the distinction would be lost, and the sacred character would then be ex-

tended from the fathers to the children, from the patriarchs to the whole tribe.

The term ARZ must remain a subject for future inquiry. It is every way most remarkable. Not being a generic name; not applying to trees; but being an epithet reserved for these. The near approach to that sacred term Ar, which is fire, and the designation of the fire-worshippers, cannot fail to suggest itself. Yet the system of Souria, to which the Cedars belong, would seem to have an association of hostility only, with the Arians and Urians, with the Ararat of the Khita, and the Ur of the Chaldees. It is singular that the sacred and sacrificial tree of the Atlas, the *Thuja articulata*, is named Arar.

I collect and subjoin the few indications that antiquity has left us of the Cedars, which proceed only from Hebrew pens.

“He (the Behemoth) moveth his tail like a cedar.” Job xl. 17. “Now therefore command thou that they hew me cedar trees out of Lebanon, and my servants shall be with thy servants; and unto thee will I give hire for thy servants, according to all that thou shalt appoint: for thou knowest that there is not among us any that have skill to hew timber like unto the Sidonians.” 1 Kings v. 6. Cedar beams were so extensively used in Solomon’s palace that it was called the “House of the Forest of Lebanon.” 1 Kings vii. 2.

When King David wanted to build the Temple, he said to Nathan the prophet, “See now, I dwell in a house of cedar, but the ark of God dwelleth between curtains.”

2 Sam. vii. 2. Of Solomon it is said, "He spake of trees from the Cedar tree that is in Lebanon to the hyssop that springeth out of the wall." 1 Kings iv. 33. The Psalmist says of the righteous, "He shall grow like a Cedar in Lebanon." Ps. xcii. 12. "His countenance is as Lebanon; excellent as the Cedars." Cant. v. 15. "Oh, inhabitant of Lebanon, that makest thy nest in the Cedars." Jer. xxii. 23. The cleansed leper was to take "*cedar wood*, scarlet, and hyssop." Lev. xiv. 4. "They have made all thy ship-boards of fir trees of Senir (Amorite name for Lebanon); they have taken Cedars from Lebanon to make masts for thee." Ezek. xxvii. 5. "And all the trees of Eden, the choice and best of Lebanon." Ezek. xxxi. 16.

There still remains one point to consider, which is the association that seems to be established between the Lebanon and Canaan, in regard to religion, superstition or idolatry. Those who do not look very close in such matters will indeed not draw any distinction at all; they will at once associate "the Grove" and the trees of God on this lofty mountain, with the Groves and High places of the Canaanitish idolators, and towards which the Jews were so singularly drawn. Satisfied as I am, that the population of Lebanon had no connection with the Canaanites, and had maintained their independence against those invaders, as completely as it did against the Greek and Saracenic Empires, and the Crusaders, I have to meet the objection that will be raised from the supposed analogy. This is easy. It suffices to point to the language of the Prophets in regard to "the Cedars," and their language when speaking of "the Groves"

and "high places." The connection however depends but upon a word, and that word a false translation. "The Groves" of the people of Canaan were not planted trees; they were "images," the Bali of the Buddhists, such as are described by Huc and Gabet at the Feast of Flowers in Thibet. In the Holy Land are to be found unmistakeable evidences of the three systems of the East, Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Fire-worship, and also of Sabæism. The religious system of the Lebanon, whatever it was, was distinct from all these.

## CHAPTER VI.

## RISE OF THE TIERS ETAT.

*January 6th.*—TO-DAY the sky is overcast, and though it neither snows nor rains, I should have lost all the charm of the excursion of yesterday. I wished to see the great monastery of Canobin, which is in the deep gully of the Cadesha ; but finding it would take four hours, and render it impossible to reach Patroun to-night, and with the menacing air of the heavens, I gave it up. I therefore contented myself with such description as I could obtain of the monastery, which amounted to this ; that it was a large building in the bottom of the Waddy, and from which, as became a monastery, nothing was visible but the heavens. I bade adieu to Eden shortly after the sun was up.

In two hours we struck on, and descended into, the gully, and crossing the stream on a bridge of trees, ascended the other side. We then toiled along, up and down, through a varied country, not without beauty, but unlike that of the Lebanon, till we reached, about sunset, the chalky range above Patroun. Here the view is very fine ; the sea opens out on both sides, and before us were the chalky cliffs, with their white escarpments, against the dark

and troubled sky. Behind, the prospect extended wide, and through a gorge appeared a mountain with the form of an elephant. The rain had been falling around, but had almost entirely spared us; it was a gloomy, and such as in England would be called, a fine growing day. We passed, near its close, over flint, which spread in sheets of several feet in thickness, either brown, or in masses black in the centre and white all around, as if decomposed, or having been subjected to the action of fire. We had stopped but once for ten minutes at a village called Arbesh Haya, three or four hours from Patroun, where I entered a hut, but which inside extended as if into a street; the adjoining huts being separated by arches only. The lower part of these were filled up with the vases in reeds and clay, and the intervals fitted with pigeon-holes for dishes and implements. Here for the first time I found them spinning and weaving cotton. The spinning of wool and of the refuse silk still goes on, but cotton has been driven out elsewhere by our Jennies. I could find my way from one cottage to the other by passages left in the arcades, and beheld a little population all activity and variety. In one place a woman was spinning cotton with her cumbrous wheel; others, children three years old, sauntering about with the swinging spindle; the cotton or silk not on a rack, but on a sort of pair of horns fixed to a bracelet, held in the left hand; here a woman sitting in a hole in the floor was weaving; one was

walking backwards and forwards, laying the many coloured threads of the warp of a belt for her husband. I got away with difficulty. Domestic industry is always the handmaid of hospitality; each wished to exhibit her work and its produce; their silken shirts and veils, their vests, belts, and anterys, with all the pride with which a Highland lady of the old school would display her huckaback and damask.

From the chalky ridge we descended to the small old castle on the rock, and then, as it was now dark, mended our pace till we reached Patroun, against a gale, which had recently been a breeze, but which became, before we reached our destination, a storm. But not till we got housed did the heaven open its flood-gates. The house where I had slept on my former visit, was filled with guests, so I was taken to another at the extremity of the little promontory, on a rock overlooking the sea. During the night the waves added their moanings to the wind, and the spray, making a clean breach over the terrace, fell mingled with the hail.

I forgot to mention when last here the discovery of a true Tartan. It was not in the clothing, nor in the furniture, but the sheets. I had several times observed sheets which resembled the stripe or check used for ticking in Europe, and attributed the fashion to an imitation of our mattresses. The sheets, however, at Eden, and more particularly this Tartan, satisfied me that it was an ancient usage, of



which I caught a glimpse. I have elsewhere traced the "battle colours" of the clans, not known to the other Gauls, to their having served in this country, in the wars which followed the death of Alexander. It may therefore be imagined with what satisfaction I found a perfect Tartan, still extant. The stuff was a mixture of cotton and spun silk; the colours were blue, red, and white, the white forming the large field, as in the dress Tartan of the Stuarts. The check appears only half the size, but on closely examining it, it has the exact dimensions, for there is an alternation of colour in the intervening stripes. In traversing the whole country, I only once saw it, and, on inquiring, found that there was but one woman remaining who made this stuff. I sent for her, and asked her to make me some, but she said that now they no longer dyed the raw silk, and it would require some months to get the materials prepared. I could find in the whole place none of the stuff. There absolutely remained but this pair of sheets, and they had been put on by mistake, for which the master of the house made many excuses. There was, therefore, a clan Souria, and its battle colours—that is, its dress, not flag—was the Tricolour. How stupid in the French, not to have discovered this claim to the Protectorate. However, the Union Jack displays the self-same colours.

*January 7th.*—The wind continuing, but the weather fairing, I set out about ten o'clock, and had

got about two miles, when a sort of tourbillon came sweeping along the surface of the sea, right in a line for us. We made sudden preparations for its reception; collecting our horses, turning their tails to it, and covering ourselves up; for ten minutes the hail came as if cast in handfuls. After this, the sun broke in, and we continued our route along the beach of rocks, against a wind so strong that at places we were brought to a stand-still. The waves came tumbling down, and the spray went shooting up, and a broad region of foam tracked along the coast the sea line; while the fumes of this great trouble was blown inward along the land, and up the sides of the hills. The path was close on the edge, and the rocks being undermined, the waves found a vent through apertures under our very feet, and bellowed forth like steam engines, shooting up forty or fifty feet, and causing a shower of shattered sea-weed to fall around. In four hours I reached Amshed, a village above Gebail, and, with my usual good fortune, just as we had got under cover, a deluge of rain came down. I was introduced into a dark room, in which, however, there were nine windows, and glazed too, but, faithful to their antique manners, the weather being foul, the shutters were closed, just as if they had no glass. Here it occurred to me that the difference of elevation in the room, and the high step which separates the part round which run the divans from that below, comes from the separation of the part originally destined

for the cattle. I also here observed in a newly built house, the chiselling away of the edges of the stones, leaving the centre rough, just as in the edifices of the highest antiquity. These retentions of the earliest things bear upon the tartan sheet found at Patrour, and on the resemblance between the forms of tombs at present in use, and those of Lycia on the one hand, and of Egypt on the other.

My reason for coming to Amshed was to see Cavaja Tobias. He was the first person of influence I had heard of, who was neither Government officer nor Mucataji. Here was the first indication that something might grow up in the land belonging to itself.

This mansion in process of construction was in the style of that of Emir Hydar, but not so extensive. Ascending the square mass with only loopholes, to the first floor by an external staircase, I came on the marble-paved and tessellated court, thence passed into the darkened chamber before mentioned. An old man in the new Turkish dress emerged from the door way, and embracing me, conducted me within. I found assembled round him a number of persons of respectable appearance, and a train was in attendance, which stood in reference to that of the Emir, much as did his habitation. The air was not mercantile, but courtly. Masses of books, like ledgers, were piled on the floor, and in a recess were heaped Arabic printed volumes; two secretaries were writing at his dictation. After compliments were over

he resumed a story which he had been narrating. When it was concluded he turned to me and commenced a conversation which lasted that afternoon, great part of the night, and half the following day.

He was "a man of the people;" he was a philosopher; he was a parliamentarian; he was a man of progress, liberty and equality; but no theorist, and no revolutionary. He was a practical man, and yet rhetorically inclined; but withal reserved, cautious, moderate, sententious, and epigrammatic. He was a flowing river beside which I sat, and he swelled up, that I might dip my cup in. The stream was historical, the genealogies of the land — the Sheiks; the rise of each house, its date, its adventures, rivalries and portraits. I knew already enough to appreciate the felicity of the selections and the judiciousness of the colouring. To account for things the smallest motives were good; and his motive in all, was the desire to put me in possession of information. There was no escape from the inferences I had to draw, but the inferences were to be all my own.

Before we parted for the night, I varied the theme, then well nigh worn thread-bare, by observing that these personages belonged now to a concluded order, and that I was desirous of obtaining some insight into existing things. The Lebanon having now passed into the constitutional system, I begged him to give me some information on the legislative performance of Chekib Effendi. The

answer burst from his lips, as if from one not only full of his subject, but impatient also to pour it forth. It came in these words, which I write down word for word. "We place you above our heads. You have given us this law, and we thank you." Having said this, he sat silent and motionless. I sat with my eyes fixed upon him; he bore the gaze with an insolence of composure. His chin positively assumed an elevation under it; nothing remained for me but to speak. I told him that if he had come travelling into my country, and made inquiries from me respecting some new parish regulation, my answer, although we were a rude and uncourteous people, would be to the best of my abilities given to his question, and would not consist in something else; which other thing might be taken as an incongruity, or twisted into an offence. My host immediately adjusted himself to a small practising lawyer in a criminal court; was curious to know why Mr. Moore had said so and so; why Colonel Rose had done so and so; with a ready laugh, and "how strange," for each answer. After the argument had been completed, and I had been satisfactorily convicted of knowing nothing of what was doing in the world, and at Beyrout, I thought it high time to let him know that I knew perfectly well what was doing at Amshed, and had perfectly comprehended the meaning of the four hours conversation, which by that time we had had; for, not five of the two hundred and forty minutes had elapsed, before

I had comprehended that I was sitting opposite to a usurer. The word was no sooner spoken than my host was at ease, at least after one and a half wry faces: he blushed, chuckled, warmed and glowed, as I went on with illustrations of the Parliamentary system, in bringing wealth and lands into the hands of those who were sharp enough to manage Parliaments and factions, and could keep their eye strictly fixed upon the one thing needful, the rise and fall of the exchange: and so we parted.

Next morning he did not appear to have passed a wholesome night. The jaunty air was gone, so the fixedness of eye; the rolling orbs and furtive glances gave note of preparation for a combat of another kind; so I delayed my departure to give him the chance; otherwise, no help. I strolled forth; after a time he followed me; while cracking some rocks he approached; we sat down upon the stones, and he began, addressing me by the title of Emir. I inquired the cause of this change of address; he could not apply to me any other title, since he understood from one of his friends that I was President of the English House of Commons. I informed him that his friend was entirely mistaken; that I was not President of that body, but a mere ordinary member. "At all events, you are member of the greatest and noblest body that exists in the world; and we, poor Fellahin of the Lebanon, may well designate by that title any one belonging to it." On this point you are not less mistaken

than the other. A more abject or more base existence can be dragged out by no Fellahin of the Lebanon, than that which falls to the lot of a member of the English House of Commons. "Last night we talked a great deal with words, now let us talk with our eyes." I am quite ready; and here it is. You have made money; do you want to keep it? "I have made money, and I want to make more." Why have you loopholes in your house? "Very true. What is to be done?" Think for yourself. "I have long thought for myself." Yes, to make money, but not to keep it. "Begin then." Get rid of the Sheiks. "Good." Get rid of Chekib Effendi. After a pause, followed by a smile, "Good." Get rid of the tariff. "Good, good." Get rid of the consuls. "Good, good, good." (The Arabic manner of rendering "very," is by thrice repeating the word.) Silence for a time ensued. "How is it to be done?" Let the people collect their own taxes. "I understand it all—*Emir*."

Now, I said, that we understand one another, I want to put to you a question. Your establishment shews me that you possess cunning, dexterity, activity, and resources of a business kind. Your conversation of last night shews me that you have duplicity and tact. Your reflections of the night (~~he~~ started) shews me that you have forecast and depth. Your conversation of this morning shews me that you have judgment. I now ask you to tell

me if you have courage? "Courage with a musket, I have not. Courage with a Pasha, I have not. Courage with a consul, I have not. I have never had courage. You may give me courage." Have you not fear? No answer. Pointing towards his house, I said, "there a torch," and to his throat, "there a dagger." He assented. I continued. You have fear; then you have courage. "What to do?" To join when all others are ready, in a common appeal to your Sovereign, not from the Lebanon alone, but from all Syria, to be freed from those things which you say it is good for it to be freed from; and to lay down a rule for your own government, such as you say it is good for it to possess. "It is all good, and all true, and lacks but one thing. We have no trust. Give us trust." What have I been giving you for the last half hour? "You have only been giving me this, that we must have yourself."

I told him, as the best evidence of what was severally working in the minds of those portioned off, and severally unknown communities, that what had occurred to him had occurred to others; and that as in one case the idea had been presented to them of separate confidence in an individual by means of which could be obtained the union of the different parts of the country, and the union of these with the head of the State, there would be no difficulty in finding an individual to form that link, which would only be a return to their own immemorial usages,



according to which they had elected their own Prince; the last of which elections had been under the Turkish Government, and having been conducted without its interference had received its sanction. But he could not reconcile the labour that I was expending on the country, and, as he expressed it, my indifference to the results. Until I explained to him that what he saw in the Lebanon was but an insignificant fraction of a system of convulsion preparing for the whole universe, against which a solitary and insignificant individual was struggling alone, and who could not therefore bury himself in one of the fragments, without treachery and guilt, a thousand-fold exceeding that of those actively engaged in this conspiracy against the human race.

In the course of the conversation I mentioned an incident as illustrative of the self-collection by the people of their taxes, which I will here set down, as it occurred. Samos, after having been insurrectionized, was restored to the Porte, when the rest of Greece was made independent by the European Powers. And on this occasion all that could be imagined of wisdom, benevolence, and harmony were combined in the institution of a new and better order of things for this patch of ground. This happened fifteen years ago. It was the first time I was admitted to counsels of State, at least in reference to legislating. There was only one point which at the time was not settled according to my wish; and I excited great astonishment amongst those with whom

I had to do, by my journeys up and down the Bosphorus, and the vehemence and earnestness of my representations, as it was no additional liberty that I was calling for, but on the contrary a burden that I wished to have imposed upon the people. Now look at the results. A few months ago, whilst cruising in a small vessel on the coast of Asia Minor, I was captured by pirates from Samos, and by the merest chance escaped with my life. These piracies arose from the ceaseless convulsions of the island upon whom all this wisdom and benevolence had been expended. It was at the time blockaded by Turkish vessels of war, and Turkish troops were assembled to crush the inhabitants. I, however, ran the risk, and having a vessel of my own, broke the blockade, and landed on the extreme southern point. I was presently surrounded by hundreds, and soon by thousands of the population, assuring me that they were not in insurrection; that the Sultan had no more loyal or devoted subjects than they were; and imploring me to return to Constantinople at once, to tell the Sultan that they were in arms to demand a Turkish Pasha for their Governor; for they could no longer exist under the Charter of liberties conferred upon them by the Powers. This Charter was, however, no "Constitution of Chekib Effendi"; it was but an ordinary firman of the Porte, into which had been introduced a new liberty, granted to the people; and it was this new liberty which had been the object of my former opposition. It was this. The tribute

was fixed at 600,000 piastres, the island being left free to impose its taxes as it thought fit. But then came the remission of one third of the tribute back to the island, to pay for local administration. Had merely the tribute to the Porte been specified, the internal state of the island would not have been disturbed. As it was, the general revenue, supplying means for a local organization to the small Principality, it was induced to attempt to dispense with the popular intervention. The contrary system would have enabled the people at each point, by the necessity of raising the tax, to create some means of governing themselves.

When I had come to the point of the 200,000 piastres remitted on the 600,000, he waved his hand, interrupting me, and said, "I have understood. We need say no more on the system of Chekib Effendi." In Samos the retained portion was but a third; here it is six-sevenths.

*Jan. 8th.*—Around Cavaja Tobias are arising houses in the style, though not of the same dimensions, as his own. I went to visit one, and was conducted by the whole family over every nook and corner; not a garret or a cupboard was I spared. There was here no market town, it was no place of industry, it was no port, and yet it is, as I was told, the richest spot in all the Mountain. The fortune of Cavaja Tobias is estimated at five millions; piastres it is true, but millions of anything sounds well.

The industry which has furnished this capital has built the other houses. It is as follows :—

He lends to the peasants money at 12 per cent. ; the money is paid in grain at twice its worth, and repaid in silk at half its value. This was spoken of coolly as the legitimate traffic ; just as the making of eunuchs, or the selling of human flesh in the shambles, in the respective places where these trades are carried on. Then the peasant who cannot pay his debt of 1000 piastres this year, has his bill renewed for 1500 ; and so on, till his land and house become the property of the so-called merchant. But how has this trade but recently sprung up, when the state of the country is rapidly undergoing impoverishment ? This question I put to an Italian surgeon who had been in the service ; his answer was, “since the new tariff.” The foreign merchants no longer can come to buy, and so the peasant is unable to help himself. “They abuse Ibrahim Pasha,” said my own dragoman, “but in his time trade was free, and the honest merchant gained.”

Such is the third estate arising, and this too is a gift from Europe.

It was only three hours to sunset when I mounted ; the distance to Jouni is five ; in passing by Gebail I admired again the polished surfaces of the granite columns, built into the loose stone walls along the road ; and was arrested for a moment by the sight of a group of Mussulman women in the tombs,

seated in a circle, and preparing their floral offerings, before proceeding on their special errands. They seemed to have formed a common stock of myrtle boughs and anemonies, which, with their melancholy grey and purple leaves, and black centre tufts, seem formed by nature for the sepulchre ; while the white cowed heads and muffled faces gave to these women an air of truth in grief, which doubled my aversion for the black and crape, which, in modern times, amongst us, has disfigured the sentiment of mourning and renders hideous its forms.

The road lay along the coast, and right round the rocky point which encloses the charming bay of Jouni. The sun set as we gained sight of it, and it was dark before we reached the straggling village, which is the Parliamentary capital of the Maronites. After consultation held, as to where we should seek shelter for the night, we went to the "Speaker." The answer was speedy, conclusive, and concise. "He was not in his own house, and could not receive me as I deserved." My interpreter, after delivering it, added, "Thank God, there is a Turk here ; let us go to him." Yet only a few days before the Turks were "Bestie." However, the Turk being connected with the Custom House, I too had my antipathies ; and there being in the very garden of the house, where the "Speaker" was staying, a khan, where, in a miserable vault coffee was dispensed, I resolved on passing the night there. Presently, however, the master of the house came with an

inexplicable burst of civility, entreating me to return. My disinclination was at last vanquished by his pertinacity, and I was soon installed in the "Speaker's" own apartment. The enigma was then solved. My host's son is Dragoman to Mustafa Pasha.

I had the two chief men of the Megilis to supper : one of them left me very favourably impressed. He was a Priest, Judge of the Maronites, and who, as my host told me, constitutes in himself the whole Megilis.

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE PATRIARCH.

*January 9th.*—At last I have witnessed the Turkish Parliament in the land of Phœnicia. I shall speak of what I have seen.

We went to it about 9 A. M. I dreaded to behold tables and chairs, but was relieved. A raised alcove within an arch, fifteen feet by ten, held the members, squatted round; a projection of the platform beyond the arch, might accommodate three more on each side. On the floor in the centre, stood the litigants or suppliants, the opposite part of the room was for the public, and the pipe and coffee bearers; below the platform the slippers of the members were arranged, occupying no inconsiderable portion of the space. There were present nine members; two Druzes, one Suni, one Shiïte, one Greek, one united Greek, and one Maronite, which with the President and Secretary made up the number. The appearance of the members, their costume and demeanour, was dignified and sober. The President literally forced me into his place; coffee was served at the expense of the public treasury; I suppose each brought his own tobacco. The proceedings

opened by thanking me for coming, and business was then commenced.

The first case was that of a merchant, who, having been ruined by the French revolution, was unable to pay his creditors ; one of them, an Armenian Saraff, claiming 20,000 piastres, and having a mortgage on his lands, sought to take them for the debt. The lands were worth 36,000, the whole debts were 50,000 ; the bankrupt alleged that the debts owing to him, would cover his obligations : the Pasha had written, requiring the mortgage of the Saraff to be foreclosed. After going through the case, a letter was written to the Pasha, stating that the mortgage was for a debt, and that if the land was taken by the Saraff, it must be at a due valuation, he paying the surplus to the other creditors.

The second case was between a widow and her brother-in-law. The husband had left a will, to the effect that his land should go to his wife and children. At the time of making it, he had no children ; the woman stated that half the land had been bought by her money ; the brother-in-law asked in what coin it had been paid. She answered, by her Tantour, her bracelets, and her belt. A third part of a man's property can alone be disposed of by will. It was decided that the land and house should be between the two, and that the brother-in-law should be guardian of his nieces, and responsible to the court for them. The woman, addressing the President, said, " You have given me a mate I did not



want; if he treats me ill, I will come and stay with you."

The third was an intricate one, respecting a water-course between two villages. Then followed two minor matters, in which the parties were told to settle the difference between themselves, and this brought us to the hour of dinner, or rather breakfast.

After each case had been heard, "El Houri," the priest, dictated to the secretary the sentence. When read out, it was on each occasion received with, "Azim, azim," well, well! It was then passed round for each to append his signet, and delivered to the plaintiff, a copy being registered in a great book. I inquired what happened when they were not all agreed; they could not understand the question. They said, the Shayriat (precedents) would be examined, and the matter would be revised, and they would agree: forcing them to the extreme case, their answer was, "If we cannot agree, there can be no decision." How much there is here that is pure Anglo-Saxon, will not fail to strike the lawyer and the antiquary.

I need not say that I was wholly unprepared for anything like this. I had perused the regulation of Chekib Effendi, and had the idea of difference of laws between Christians and Mussulmans, as in the other portions of the Ottoman Empire, where the Greeks have the code of Justinian. I looked on the Megilis, as it was the intention of the new system to make it, that is, an impracticable body. As great

then was my surprise as my satisfaction to find in it an Indian Punchayet, or a Saxon Jury. I speak not now of its constitution on paper, or of the consequences to be hereafter realised, but of its present operation. The habits of the people have supplied the defects of the written scheme, and it serves to administer speedy justice at their doors, instead of sending litigants to Beyrout or Damascus, or leaving the poor at the mercy of the Sheik, the Emir, or the usurer.

How six different rites and faiths can thus combine, when such social distinctions exist, as between Mussulman and Christian, and such animosity as between Greek and Latin, may appear incomprehensible: but here there is one tongue, one costume, one form of ceremony, and one law. The abstinence from theoretic interference, and the religious toleration of the Government, have smoothed down asperities, and present, in this instance, a singular illustration of its own character. It has achieved, not by science or design, but by that character a result, which, while anticipating the philosophic desires, has baffled the administrative efforts of the West.

The Houri, in the course of the evening, gave me a very interesting account of its proceedings, and its effect on the country. He commended the Mussulman law. The introduction of that law has given to the Megilis the form of a Turkish tribunal; the *cadi* decides, the notables are assessors, witness the proceedings, and, as such, append their seals. This

is the *hic testibus* which preceded the names appended to the ancient proceedings of Parliament. In the Megilis there are six nations combined; each has its judge, and the others act as assessors. It has also to partition the impost, and to decide in cases arising out of its collection, and in all complaints against agents of Government. Here the members are all equal; Chekib Effendi instituted the decision by majority, but no case of voting has as yet arisen. These are, however, functions, beyond the scope of their feeble constitution; and fortunately, the Messaa will take the charge of the first entirely out of their hands, and thereby greatly alleviate the burden of the second.

Cases come before them only when sent by the Caimacan, or when both the parties make submission, when they are, in truth, an arbitration court.

I had as yet had no opportunity of conversing with any of the people of the Mountain on the tariff, and now that I found a capable person, I was restrained: first, not to lose his observations on the matters with which he was familiar; and secondly, because I felt the subject to be foreign to his pursuits. I found, however, that he required not my invitation, and that instead of having to inform him, I had to learn from him. We were on the subject of imposts, and I was saying something respecting the smallness of the sum they paid, when he interrupted me as follows: "I expect to hear such things from Pashas and Mutzelim, but I am surprised to hear

them from you. No country in the world, or at least no part of the Ottoman Empire, is oppressed with taxes as we are. We have no grain, no pasturage, no flocks; none of the ordinary resources of any other people; we live entirely by the things we sell. The trade was formerly free; the country is devastated by civil war; it relapses to the Sultan; his government undertake to be more than just to it; they are kind, they spare it, they proclaim their intention, they take credit for their acts; and these are, to leave it unburdened and to administer to its necessities and wants. In face of all this, they impose on the very articles, by which alone we live, taxes the most oppressive that ever were heard of, and which take out of our pockets *five times* the amount of the tribute, for the repartition of which such a piece of work is at present made."

He then proceeded to enumerate the items. Those connected with the foreign trade have been already given in speaking of Saïda and Tripoli. But only one half of the silk of the Mountain finds its way to the ports in the west; 100,000 okes go to Damascus, and a portion to Aleppo and to Egypt by land. At Damascus the silk pays on entry 30 piastres the rotol, equal to 15 per cent; after it is manufactured, it is again charged, at the rate of 5 piastres on the piece of mixed silk and cotton of the value of from 50 to 70 piastres, and in which the silk may be worth 20 to 30 piastres, which is equal to from 15 to 20 per cent. This manufactured

stuff comes back to the Mountain, making them pay 30 per cent on their own produce before they can wear it. Then follows that pressure on the peasant which throws him into the hands of the usurer; or he ceases to produce, or the produce does not advance as it otherwise would; for the field is still extensive, and the restoration of tranquillity invited to, and promised, and but for these ruinous measures would have ensured, an enormous increase of production. Before these new measures, our silk paid a duty of import at Damascus of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, which was raised by Ibrahim Pasha to 6 piastres the rotal. There was no other. Silk now pays, in the various forms and ways in which it leaves the country, 15, 30, and 47 per cent, and the whole charge which we lie under is not less than 10,000 purses and may be 12,000 (£60,000). The Government, it is true, does not receive this, but we pay it not the less: much is smuggled, and much is expended in custom-house guards and customers' profits, for they do not farm for nothing. It would be more straightforward and profitable for the Government to tax us at once that sum on our possessions; at all events, let us have done with this story of our being the lightest taxed of people.

“ But this is not all. The vexations of a custom-house you are accustomed to in Europe, and think nothing of; to us they are intolerable. A muleteer brings some goods from Beyrout; he is stopped at the gate by some Albanians, who know not a word

of his language, and who cannot read to see if the packages are in conformity with his permit. He gets through this: after three or four hours journey he is stopped by a negro. He gets on to Gazir; he is stopped again by an Arnaut: if nothing worse happens, one or two days are lost in inspecting and relading. The women are searched, and things most unbearable happen: discontent then increases to disaffection. Again, a peasant cannot now take his eggs or butter, or anything else, to sell in the cities, without being stopped, searched, and made to pay. Even for the shoes on their feet, men have been made to pay by these guards and customers. There are here many who look to European Governments; and no wonder." I observed that the Turkish Government was anticipating their wishes. There were many, he said, who were aware of the truth, though of course the causes were beyond the observation of the people: but no one had the thought even of making an attempt to rectify the evil; every such idea is stopped by the very word, "*English tariff*."

This afternoon I took a stroll up to the Lazarist College of Antoura, and it being late before I got back, the jackal's howl rung dismally around. An interpreter named Daoud, whom I had engaged at Bekfaya, was with me. I said to him, "I must silence these jackals," and, unwinding my kefieh, took off and turned my cap inside out, and put it on again: that instant all was still. I was as startled as if I had seen a ghost; he turned pale and stared

at me, as if I had been one. We stood there ten minutes, but not a sound was to be heard.

It would have been curious if I had by accident thought of turning my cap, and at that moment all the jackals had ceased their cry, but there is much more. Some months ago I was put into quarantine at Scala Nova, for having, not voluntarily, communicated with pirates; but was allowed to continue my cruise along the coasts of Asia Minor, taking a guardian on board; he was called Achmet. Landing below Ephesus, I walked up to the ruins, accompanied by Achmet, and a Greek lad from Chesmé, named Miltiades; being in quarantine we three were put in a naked outhouse to sleep. The howling of the jackals was frightful, and I was anticipating a sleepless night, when Miltiades requested me to be quite at ease on that score, as he had an infallible recipe for quieting jackals. We amused ourselves at the credulity of the Greek; he listened for a time, very complacently; and then with, "You will see," commenced the operation with which I this afternoon astonished myself and Daoud. The instant that the cap of Miltiades was turned, the howling ceased, nor did it recommence all that night.\*

Afterwards, at Bournabat, amidst a gathering of ghost stories, I narrated mine of the jackals. Mr. Whittle said he had often heard the same thing, and mentioned a circumstance which had happened to

\* The Scandinavian protection against witchcraft is turning the shirt.

himself, premising that he should not do so unless two gentlemen who had witnessed it with himself had been still alive and within reach for reference; one of these was Mr. Borrel, the celebrated antiquarian, the name of the other I have forgotten.\*

*January 10th.*—Proceeded to Kirko, the residence of the Patriarch, a monastery overlooking Jounie, and reached by a very steep and rocky path. The day was oppressively hot; I do not know what they do in June and July. The Patriarch was in silks and sables; his dress was such as may be seen in the old drawings of Turkish costume, as that of Grand Vizir, only the turban was higher and narrower, and dark blue instead of white. The Benish, or outer robe, which is lined with sables, with the deep border falling over the shoulders and down the front, was purple, the autery (inner vestment) crimson. He occupied a long apartment composed of three intersections of arches or vaults, with divans at the top and sides filling the intervals; the upper part had a mat on the lime floor; the walls were bare whitewash; the divans covered with common carpets. The only thing not in the rudest fashion was the silk shilteh cushions at the top corner, which he occupied, and one at the corner opposite. The top of the room was vacant; down the sides the seats were thronged; at the bottom a crowd of attendants were

\* The story is omitted in the Diary, and space left for its insertion. I do not insert it now, as I may not be able to recall it precisely. It was quite as incredible as the story told in the text.



standing. As men are in the East the furniture of the house, this locale, fit with us only for a stable, or a barn, had a lordly air, such as in our countries has not been seen since feudal times; the ceremonial of approaching the chief of their church might have led a stranger to doubt whether he was not in presence of a dignitary of the Celestial Empire.

The Patriarch is of the ancient house of Cazem, who have for a course of years, which they claim to extend to the early days of Mahomet, governed Kesroan. He is a man of about fifty, tall, well made, and with a remarkably benevolent expression; a character which also exhibited itself in the small matters which I had occasion to observe. I had intended sleeping at the Lazarist monastery of Antoura, and had sent on my things, but he insisted on my staying the night; an invitation which I was nothing loath to accept, for though the conversation was of the most fragmentary description with the Patriarch, I was glad to see more of the manner of the place; and he made up for his own taciturnity by giving me in charge to Mottran Boulos (Bishop Paul) his Vicar General, a young bishop who had been educated at Rome, and of whom I had already heard as one of the ablest men in the country. We soon got into the subjects connected with their ancient history, ethnographic, religious, and administrative. His favour I at once acquired, by telling him that I was satisfied of the utter falsehood and absurdity of the statement respecting them of William the old Bishop of Tyre,

and quite agreed with Narion, in tracing their name to their resistance to, not their adoption of, the Monothelite heresy.

Supper was announced, the pipes and nargillés were removed. The Patriarch rose and led the way ; the party then followed each in the turn of his place. We came into a long vault like the first, down which was set a European table, covered with a cloth, but the dishes upon it, such as they use, fringed with the deep border of puff bread and scones, which they heap round their trays. Slender benches were the accommodation around, but at the top was a more dignified seat for the Patriarch, covered with a carpet. He took me beside himself. It being fast day several "fat" dishes were prepared for me, but the space being already occupied they had to be placed on the top of the other plates ; and as I selected their "lean" fare, the Patriarch on the one side, and Bishop Paul on the other, supplied me with dishes entire or in morsels, and I had to spread a marcook on my knee, to serve like Virgil's table, and be eaten up with its contents.

Those who were assembled at this board were not Bishops and Priests only, or Princes and Chiefs only ; all without exception found a place. As the hasty meal was finished, each rose to make room for the other. Before the Patriarch moved, the guests, including the servants and the mendicants at the door, had been changed several times. As among the Mussulmans, all were welcome because of their need,

and in presence of "the gift of God," all were equal. Formerly, when feudal hospitality reigned with feudal state, and all sat down at the Hall board, grades of food and beverage marked the grades of place; humble, and sometimes scanty fare, alone reached the nether region. Here the meat and drink was the same for all, and the distinctions of degree observed in the Hall, disappeared at the table. I was particularly struck with the Vicar General preparing for me the broiled morsels and laying them before me. If there was any thing in their usages, from which an ordinary man educated in Europe, would have shrunk, it would have been this; but he evidently took pride in exhibiting his entire relapse into his country's manners.

When afterwards, in reply to some expressions of the Patriarch regarding their homely life, I expressed my gratification at witnessing truly patriarchal manners, pointed to the divisions of European society as the consequence of their extinction amongst us, and added a word of hope that the contact with Europe would not cause them to be ashamed of them, or to depart from them, the Vicar General said; "It will be an evil day for us when we cease to take pride in them, and it is precisely those who have been amongst you, who know their worth."

Two children of the Beit Habesh, one of the most ancient of the Maronites are at the Patriarchate. They had been romping in the passage before my

room, but presented themselves at the divan with all the gravity of Venetian senators, in gay clothing of pink and light blue bordered with silver lace; having made their obeisance they took their place, and were saluted all round as if they had been patriarchs of their house: the youngest did not appear to be above five years of age, though he was nearly ten.

*Jan. 10th.*—I spent the early part of the morning with the Vicar General, and we soon got engaged again in history. I inadvertently excited his indignation, by applying the word Arab to them. “Arab,” said he, “means savage. Mahomet made something of them for a time, but he despised them; soon after they fell into discord among themselves, and from that time are known only as tyrants. They consequently lost this fine Empire, and ceasing to be the masters of others, have themselves become slaves; but, wherever they ruled, they have left evil behind them. We, the Mirdites or Moarni, were the first obstacle to their progress; and, being betrayed by the bastard Greeks, were the first victims of their tyranny. They (the Arabs) attacked us in the most tender part, our tongue, and our recollections; they drove out our language, and we are now called by others, and often known among ourselves, by their name. We are *Sourians*. This is our country, and it bears our name. The Syriac is an older language than the Hebrew, and the Assyrians, from whom we descend, were the first of the great

people of the earth. The Syriac is still our sacred language ; now, indeed, the church is the only depository of these ancient treasures, but even within the memory of man the Syriac has been spoken in these countries. For these reasons, the Mountain has always been favourable to the Turks, who were tolerant in matters of faith ; and so far from attempting to impose their tongue on any other people, took care to exhibit the contrast between themselves and the Arabs, by using an interpreter as part of the ceremonial of administration, even when the Pasha or Governor could speak Arabic."

I think he might have claimed more than a descent from the Assyrian, but of this hereafter.

For the gratification which I had derived from this exposition, I made to my interlocutor, ample return, in exposing to him the plagiaristic nature of that so-called Arab system, from which they had suffered ; but which only brought into more striking evidence, the wonderful genius of that one man, who had so emphatically declared himself not "of the people" he lived amongst, struggled with, brought under, and ruled over.

I then asked the Vicar General to what he attributed the occupation by the Turks, of the seat vacated by the Arabs. Pondering, as if reflecting thereon for the first time, he was ready to refer their success to the impetus of their warlike mass. But I prevented the conversation from perishing in that way, by interposing a few statistics, and so bringing

it back again, on the field of thought ; when he suggested—their possessing the law of Mahomet, without the character of the Arabs. Accepting these positions so far as they went, I then suggested, to his infinite gratification, the difference produced by the structure of the Arabic and the Turkish verb, the one being weak, the other philosophical ; so that the Turks were taciturn, and the Arabs, like the Greeks, loquacious. He at once made the application in its fullest extent, rendering it in its simplest form, in these words : “ Of course a loquacious man, can neither be trusted nor respected.” This led to the effects of “ the Press” on Europe. He said, “ Is not the daily printing and the daily reading, equivalent to a universal loquacity ?” and was not slow to apprehend the insinuated sense in the words of the Editor of a London Journal, which I repeated to him : “ Sir, if you could write the history of the Press, you might yet save England.” The loquacity of each person is one thing, and quite enough to ruin any Empire where it is a habit ; but what is that to a loquacity, impersonal, printed and universal ?

On a hill above this place and separated from it by a deep valley, is the Lazarist establishment and seminary of Antoura. I reached it in about an hour, and was pressed by the Superior to stay that night, as I might not find a resting place at Nahar el Kelb. He was amiable and homely, and given up to the details of his occupation. He spoke of Father Amayana, as one whose word was received without

reply. The Patriarch he represented as a man of exceeding kindness of heart; the Vicar General as the only priest or prelate of sound learning. He is never to be seen in the divan; if you want him, you must go to his room, and then are not admitted without difficulty.

The school was bald or worse. Thirty-six children of between ten and fifteen assembled in the refectory, where they sat on benches, ate at a table, pulled off their caps and made a clatter, such as I have not seen even in France: they had also a dispensation from following the Maronite rite, and fasted according to the rule of Rome. These would go home with every habit changed, all respect lost, and in compensation possessing a foreign tongue, which can be of no possible use for persons in their station. The American Missionaries are at least logical; their object is to break up existing things. They carry on a war, deadly though insidious: proselytism is the end, "European influence" the means. They untwine the retaining cords, and wear away the bonds and chains of wont and usage. This is their scheme, and it is the only one they could employ. There are no other means, say they, of approaching these benighted souls. They see in these lands but infidelity under the garb of fanaticism, but barbarism shrouded in empty ceremony. They are the apostles, at once of faith and civilization, and have to cut away the roots of all existing things. But the Catholics, how do they

stand? They hold the Maronite as the most docile of churches; the people as the most primitive and pious of all those who acknowledge the religious supremacy of Rome. Here no heresy has ever disturbed conscience, no local pretensions submerged authority. They see in the Maronite, piety and faith conjoined with primitive simplicity, and yet they adopt the same course! The one or the other must be completely mistaken. The Roman church is assailed in the customs of this people, and that church, with 10,000 times the means of their rivals, is engaged in subverting those customs. "In twenty years," said Father Amayana, "every thing which gives value to this country will have disappeared: in the pursuit of a vague and unknown something *out of themselves*, they will have thrown away the chance of making something of themselves." True indeed, the words of Father Amayana are without reply.

The Superior here, to hear him, was on earth the man most deploring his own handiwork. None could look on Europe with more pity or contempt, or on this country with more sorrow. To *hear* him, he was the very man to send to the Lebanon to reform the Catholic colleges, and to shew the instructors that it was not necessary to pull about a child's clothes to teach him the alphabet, or to cause him to scoff at his parents in order to learn the use of the globes. I did not go into the classes; I had had quite enough in seeing the children at their



dinner, and parading like soldiers through the corridors. The education seems of the poorest order, and in so far presented a favourable contrast with the establishment at Gazir. Disappointed as I had been with the Jesuits, I now recognized their superiority; and perhaps if they were known here, as they were formerly in Germany, as the "Spanish Fathers," that is, if Spaniards instead of Frenchmen were employed in the missions of the Lebanon, the old Iberian instinct might be touched by the ancient, the graceful, the beautiful, the simple things of Canaan.

*Jan. 11th.*—From Antoura to Nahar el Kelb is an hour. You come suddenly on the river, which has cut its deep and tortuous bed through a stratum of limestone, the grey faces of which are fringed with terraces of mulberries. You descend abruptly to the river, then follow on the right side a bend of its course till you come in sight of the sea, and there it is crossed by an antique bridge. The water is conducted on levels along both banks for mills, and the irrigation of the mulberry plantations, which are extensive, and supply the country all around with young plants: we constantly met loads of them on the road. Before reaching the bridge, you pass close under the arches of an ancient aqueduct, which supports the canal against the face of the rock. On crossing the bridge you come on the first of those records, which have rendered this spot famous. It is a slab, 10 feet long by four deep

cut on a large stone, and bearing an Arabic inscription, so eaten by time as to be illegible. At a short distance there is a Latin inscription, recording the widening of the road. You then reach the mouth of the river, and the road, turning to the left, ascends over the rocky, but not precipitous point. Here my expectations were aroused for the cuttings in the unknown tongues: the first appeared to be Egyptian; there was nothing in relief, and the figures had been incised. Close by were two figures in relief, about the natural size, indubitably Assyrian. Proceeding some hundred yards, and at the highest point of the pass, were two pedestals, one on the outer side of the road, the other on the hill side, but not facing each other, or in any way corresponding. On one of these must have stood the wolf, whence the river derived its ancient name, Lycos; or the name of the river suggested the emblem, which in its decay must have been seen by the Arabs, when they changed it to "dog." Hitherto there had been no trace of letters save Arabic and Roman; but here, not on the side of the road, but among the rocks above it, two inscriptions of a more promising kind were visible. On climbing up, an Assyrian monarch revealed himself, with the head and head-dress almost perfect: the lower portion was covered with cuneiform letters, running across the field, and the garments: 36 lines could be made out, but too much worn to be copied, except where the border on the west had

protected the stone. Close by, was another effaced Egyptian bas-relief, and higher up another Assyrian one.

These monuments indicate the importance of this pass. This post occupied, an army proceeding northward or southward along the coast would have to fall back and penetrate into the heart of the country, and go eastward of the Lebanon to pursue its march. It is true that there are no insuperable barriers ; but there is an interminable series of rugged chains, presenting the greatest obstacles to an invader, and everywhere natural defences for his enemy.

This point forms the northern horn of the bay of Beyrout, which with its country houses glittering in white on the side of the hill, looked, in the morning sun, a commanding city. The distance is three hours, almost entirely along the sandy beach, until at the lazaretto, we struck inwards through the gardens. On the beach lay the wreck of a brig, which went on shore the night I got so opportunely housed at Patroun.

For a few weeks I intended taking up my residence at Beyrout, to follow the Provincial Megilis.

I had now visited the Lebanon from east to west, and north to south. There scarcely remained a third-rate chief whom I had not seen, nor a district, with the affairs of which I had not become familiar. I had made the acquaintance in the way of administrative business, whilst every political bias was laid

bare by the pending transactions relating to the Hungarian refugees. I turned away from them with a conclusively made up mind, on two points. Never was a country for which God had done so much, nor a people who could do less for themselves.

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT—AN IMPEACHMENT  
—PUBLIC LANDS.

I CAME to the water-gate of Beyrout, but turned back to go round to the next gate, as close to it is a bath; and I know no greater luxury than landing there at once. On turning the horses heads, we were mistaken by the customers for departing travellers, were rudely seized, and had nearly had the loads pulled to the ground, before I made them understand that we were arriving, not departing. There the harpies stood ready, with poking wire in hand, and were digging into pack-saddles as if they had been Frenchmen. I added my malediction to the muttered curse of the poor and the peasant; but this they were too familiar with, to heed. It is something to record that the sufferers were indignant. What a contrast with the people inhabiting the lands which the Octroi brands with its loathsome stamp of abjectness and idiocy. And these slaves too can barricade streets, make revolutions, upset one day a Dynasty, and to-morrow a Republic, without so much as the idea of freeing themselves from one single thread of the cobweb of subjection, and without any effect, save an additional entanglement of

contemptible thoughts from every convulsion, and an additional load of taxation and oppression from every manifestation of their power.

Restored to equanimity and comfort by the bath, I was conducted to the house of Emin Effendi, and found myself suddenly in the middle of Europe ; so much at least as can be made of it, by upholsterers, tailors, silversmiths, and the furnishing out of a not unwelcome supper table.

*13th.*—I paid a visit in the morning to the Pasha, whom I had not seen when before at Beyrout, but to whom I was indebted for civilities during my trip. The hour of the Megilis having come, he invited me to accompany him. They were this day engaged, as they are three days in every week, with proceedings in the form of impeachment against Feti Aga, former Divan Effendi of this Ayalet or province. This functionary stands towards the Pasha, as the Grand Vizir does to the Sultan. Feti Aga had filled the office under the successive Pashas from the time of the Egyptians. He had managed them all, and made himself necessary to each, by knowing how to pull the strings of the various Marionettes of plain, city, and mountain ; turning knowledge into power, and power into money. Not one person who did not speak of him as an artful villain, not one who did not stand in fear of him. Yet he cannot read his own tongue, and cannot speak the Turkish.

This trial has already lasted two months, occupy-

ing one half of the working time of the Council. It is the first of the sort that has taken place. The Court is constituted by a union of members by popular election with Government functionaries. This Mussulman delinquent is subjected to the decision of the Christian merchants of the province which he has despoiled ; and beside them, sit the Judges of Islam.

The proceedings commenced under the present Pasha, who suddenly displaced him by an act of authority, and without waiting a reply from Constantinople threw him into prison. The Porte appointed the Megilis of Beyrout to try the case, giving to it extended powers. The accused refused to plead before it, alleging that it was composed of his enemies, and was under the control of the Pasha, who was his accuser ; and demanded to be tried at Constantinople. The Porte refused his demand, on the ground that the facts could only be ascertained on the spot ; while, to protect him from partiality, other members were added. Izzet Pasha the military commander, Osman Bey (son of the former Grand Vizir, Rouf Pasha) ; and Emin Effendi was appointed President with a double vote. With this modification he acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Megilis.

On entering we found the Megilis assembled. The upper part of the room was lined by a divan in the form of a bracket. In the centre was a small round table ; at each corner of the divan was a

large arm-chair, and below all, round narrow European sofas and chairs. The Pasha took his place at the upper of the two corners of the divan, Emin Effendi at the lower, the divan between was occupied by the Mufti, the ex-Mufti, the Cadi, the Defterdar, the military commander, and the other functionaries. The arm-chair next to the Pasha was taken by Osman Bey, I was placed in the opposite one. Round the room were seated the delegates of the Mussulman and Christian populations; at the table sat the secretary and interpreter. As soon as salutations were over, and we were seated, coffee was served and pipes brought. The Pasha then commenced with some observations on the conflict of administrative and judicial functions, and I was asked for some explanations in reference to our practice. The prisoner was then introduced, and placed on a chair near the door. I never saw a more forbidding countenance; it was not European, but Calmuck; and then I found that he was ignorant of the Turkish language, and of every tincture of learning, even to the signature of his name. But I soon had evidence of the dexterity which had made him formidable, despite the grossness of his uncultured nature.

The Pasha proceeding with his charges, now at some length, made one of insubordination, alleging that in a certain affair he had acted in opposition to his orders, and had openly expressed contempt for his authority. The prisoner first hedged



himself behind his ignorance of the Turkish, forced repeated explanation, and required the reduction of statements to writing; after having so spun out the day, and when he was pushed into a corner, and a reply required, he merely said, "Let the Megilis read all the documents connected with the business, and when it has done so, if it thinks an answer necessary, I will give it;" and there he left them, and there he was left. Next came a charge of malversation and extortion from an inhabitant of the town. The prisoner produced a receipt; the witness alleged that it had been signed under constraint. The Megilis ruled that it had been so, and then remitted the case to the parties for private accommodation. They protected indeed the interests of the witness, but sacrificed the ends of justice; for they allowed the proved charge to fall as regarded the criminal proceedings in which they were engaged.

They had, however, first gone to a "division" as to whether it should or should not be sent before the ordinary courts. The latter was carried by a majority of one, the Cadi and the Mufti both voting against the reference to their own court, and Emin Effendi waiving his second vote as President, which would have made not a "tie" only but an indissoluble knot, for there would then have remained no Speaker's or Chairman's casting vote to solve it.

The incongruity of the constitution and functions of this body flows necessarily from the attempted union of administrative and judicial powers in an

assembly conjointly nominated by the people and by the executive. However, the absence of legislation, and the fixation of imposts according to which the expenditure is regulated, in lieu of that ruinous and fallacious system introduced in modern times in Europe, of making the expenditure optional, and then imposing taxes arbitrarily to meet it, facilitate its operations. Take the Witenagemot of the Saxons, or the Parliament of the Normans, as it existed perhaps down to the time of Henry VII., and certainly to that of Henry IV., and you will have an approximation to this Megilis ; that is, a conjoint assembly of high functionaries and popular delegates ; in the presence and with the assent of which, the Crown dispensed justice, and administered the country. Then, as in Turkey, the resources of the Government were fixed, and also its ordinary expenditure ; so that the Parliament was engaged neither with budget, nor with ways and means. No laws were then made, so that legislative functions were unknown ; and as the administration of Government was nothing but the Government of the country, that is, the administration of justice, the divergency of these two branches did not exist. There was neither conflict in their operations, nor contradiction in their character. With us, however, the delegates represented real constituencies, which were small but supreme Senates.

But while I allow no weight to these theoretical and preliminary objections, I entertain others of a prac-

tical kind, of which I shall specify but two: the absence of mode of procedure in judicial matters, and the want, both of limit and authority, in administrative ones.

The first objection need not be dilated on, after the proceedings of this day. It was not the dispositions to do well that were wanting. As to character, fairness, and deportment, the scene made upon me the most favourable impression. Had there but been an order of procedure the ends of justice would have been obtained. These were prostrated by the dexterity of an able criminal, through means afforded him by the mere disorder of the proceedings. A public accusation labours under this difficulty in Mussulman countries, that there is not, and cannot be, a public prosecutor, as there are no lawyers. But this may be removed as it was in Rome, and as in the case of impeachment it is (that is to say was) in England. That is, by delegating, on the part of the injured community, its powers and rights to be represented by its grand jury before the Supreme Court. As to the administrative branch, the matter is more complex.

The Megilis, in ordinary, is composed of sixteen members and eighteen votes. The President (2 votes), the Pasha, Cadi, Mufti, Defterdar, Mahl Kiatibi (registrar), Taherat Kiatibi (secretary general), and an Assessor, a mollah of the first rank. These are the public functionaries, six being the high officers of the province, and the two others, the President and

Assessor, sent from Constantinople to represent the two powers—as always practised by the Porte, even in military operations—the Spiritual and the Temporal. The representatives of the place are, in like manner, eight; four Mussulmans, one from each of the three principal Christian communities, and one from the Jewish. It sits two days a week for judicial, and four days for administrative business. For the latter it is composed only of the popular representatives and the two officers of the Porte, unless it calls for the presence of the Pasha, or any of the other functionaries. Their decisions are addressed to the Pasha, and are called *Masbata*, which he can receive only when signed by all the permanent members, that is the ten. Their reports to the grand council at Constantinople, or *Akiam Adlieh*, must bear the signatures of the whole sixteen. For matters in which reasons of State are involved there is a reserved council of four, composed of the President, the Pasha, Defterdar, and Mollah Assessor; it is not optional with them to reserve any matter for this secret council; it assembles only on instructions from the Porte. The President, Pasha, and Defterdar have severally the faculty of private correspondence with the council of the Porte, and of incriminating their colleagues, the council having the option of instituting thereon judicial proceedings, or of arranging the matter otherwise.

The Megilis has complete authority over every branch of law, criminal, civil, and commercial. It

virtually possesses the power of life and death; it overrules the judgments in civil matters of the Cadi, acting as a court of appeal; and it institutes, as the occasion requires, courts of arbitration in cases of litigation between merchants, natives, or foreigners.

In capital cases it exposes the grounds on which it finds a verdict; which, being submitted to the "Akiam Adlieh," is by that court confirmed, and becomes a sentence of death. Minor punishments are inflicted, by their Masbata addressed to the Pasha. In civil cases, between private individuals, they intervene only on appeal from the Cadi's decision; but the Cadi himself, in grave cases, transfers them to the Megilis. Judging them there; his decision is then final. They entertain all litigations arising between private persons or communities with the officers of the revenue or the farmers of taxes, and in all these cases there is no appeal.

Their administrative authority is not less extensive, although less absolute, than their judicial; but the body itself here undergoes an extraordinary change. The administrators of the province are excluded from all participation in the votes, though they may take part in the discussion: the body is then restricted to the two delegates from Constantinople, who, in every respect, are independent of the Pasha, and the delegates of the people, who have eight members; the community is absolutely in possession of its own administration. This branch, which occupies two-thirds of their time, includes,

1. Finance and superintendance of public servants;
2. Sale of revenue paid in kind ; 3. Management of public buildings ; 4. Public works ; 5. Quarantine ;
6. Police, and correspondence with the Akiam Adlieh.

The Defterdar has the finances, but can act only with the prior assent of the Megilis. The Megilis has in this respect no functions purely financial, as we now understand the word ; as in Turkey, by the original and religious constitution, the taxes are permanently fixed. The derogation from that law by the English commercial Treaty does not affect the Megilis, as it would equally tie up the hands of any deliberative body. It is not then that they are deprived of a power, which our free institutions possess ; but that they have realized the end which we have failed to obtain. The voting of supplies, in other words the imposing of taxes, being withdrawn, their financial functions are limited to the superintendance of the collection, so as to protect the people from oppression and the Treasury from loss. The Treasury indeed, receives directly little or nothing from this province, its receipts being absorbed by its disbursements ; which amount to about £300,000 per annum. The arrears fall little short of a year's revenue.

One of the chief financial duties of the Megilis, is to decide on the cases it involves. They superintend the management of the Government lands, which are very considerable. Every sum of money

as received is notified to them, and they keep an account current, which each month is collated with that of the Defterdar, and the balance sheet made up. The Defterdar's signature is not valid for any payment unless counter-signed by the President of the Megilis.

A large portion of the revenue is paid in kind: these, consisting of wheat, barley, Indian corn, cotton, sesame, oil, butter, &c. the Government stores. The Megilis has to decide on their sale, which is effected by auction, in their presence. In like manner, they sell the customs and other farms.

The Pasha has the management of the administrative department, and has hitherto filled all the offices at pleasure, and displaced in like manner. He still retains the power of naming the functionaries, but cannot now displace the humblest of them, without submitting his reasons to the Megilis and obtaining their Masbata.

In every branch, in every affair, they decide; nothing is legal without their decision, and the minuteness of their inspection may be judged of from this; that the police of the town, receive their monthly salary in the very room in which they sit. To them, likewise, are submitted projects which have regard to the culture of lands, the construction of manufactories, the making of roads, the construction of bridges, the opening of ports; and their favourable report is a preliminary step to the discussion, or

entertaining of any proposal proceeding from parties beyond the pale of the administration.

There are about thirty minor Megilis established throughout the province, who in like manner, control the representatives of the Pasha, and correspond with that of Beyrout. Thus, if it is a question of the selling of the farms of revenue or of produce, the local Megilis has to report on the tenders and the prices, and it is only with these reports before them, that the chief Megilis can dispose of either. But the Megilis do not communicate with each other: that of Beyrout addresses itself only to the Pasha, the others to his representatives; and by him or them, as the case may be, the report of the one is communicated to the other.

The Central Council of Constantinople is composed solely of functionaries or ex-functionaries, named and paid by the Government: it has entire control nominally over the Megilis of Beyrout. It has been devised as a check on the local body, but it will fail to prove so in effect, if ever such control is required; while it may, by want of activity, by deficiency of knowledge, capriciousness of temper, or those erratic movements of the spirit or the brain, called "reasons of state," paralyze the local body, or chill and dishearten them, by leaving their difficulties without a solution, and their applications without reply.

Hitherto, indeed, no such occasion has arisen. The system has been simultaneously put in operation



in Roumelia, Anatolia, and Arabia ; the provincial cities selected for the trial have been Adrianople, Broussa and Beyrout. In the two others, conflict with the Central Council has arisen : here the Megilis has been complimented by a Vizerial letter for its conduct in respect to the tumult at Tripoli, when, without instructions or authority, it sent Izzet Pasha with a couple of battalions to capture the ringleaders, requiring him, if necessary, to fire upon the town.

It will be seen that all power is taken out of the hands of the Pasha. The Megilis is not his Council ; he is only one of its members, and its President is his rival. It seems, then, that the point has been passed where a check was desirable over the Pasha, and that now, the danger lies in the Megilis : not that this will at present be felt, for the habits acquired under the old system still subsist. Certain it is, that no people ever had so large and so direct a part in their own government ; and that in their new system, every difficulty connected with differences of religion, in the country, where such feelings are most embittered, have been entirely overcome.

The system runs two risks : the one of breaking up, by rivalry between the two functionaries, the Pasha and the President ; the other, of breaking down under the amount of labour. In pointing out these dangers, I indicate the remedy ; the leaving independent authority to the Pasha in the adminis-

trative department, limiting that of the Megilis in the judicial department, and so enabling it to give its full care to the financial department.

The system of Pashas has worked well for Turkey; under it a smaller population has ruled a larger Empire for a longer time than under any other in ancient or modern times, the Roman republic, whose provincial administration was identical, not excepted. The dignity of the Pasha is the corner-stone of the edifice, and it is not wise to touch it. The abuse lay, in the cumulation of offices in his hands. The late Sultan withdrew from them the military power, through the distinct organization of the army. The criminal jurisdiction and the farming of revenue had then to be withdrawn, to restore the original institution. If from them is also to be taken the civil government, the office had better be abolished. It is, however, but an experiment now made, and I trust the result will be to learn the virtue of the adage, *stare super vius antiquas*.

Syria was the first of countries overrun, it is the only one from which the population has ever been, *en masse*, driven forth; it has continued ever since subject to devastations, and the field and object of more intense struggles than any other. There is at present no portion of the Empire to which it belongs, equally destitute of the habits of self-government; and with the exception of Egypt, since the days of Mehemet Ali, no portion of the subjects of Turkey

have been similarly deprived of their rights of property. These two causes combined, have brought upon it a peculiar pressure of administration, which it has itself corrupted. Its case has proved so exceptional that the general firmans issued under the new system have never been applied. Syria is the Ireland of Turkey. In selecting it as the field of the new constitutional experiments, to the difficulties of a general nature are superadded special ones of its own; the latter class are the gravest of the two.

One of the consequences of these long disorders is that an enormous proportion of the land has become Government property, or *Beylic*. The management of this property adds greatly to the burdens of the Megilis.

The farmers of these lands become tax-gatherers, and form a body, independent alike of the civil government, and of the financial system. Yet the revenue is based upon their contracts, and is thus dependent on them. They purchase the farm, at short terms, and have therein no personal interest. Buildings, mills, trees, and water-courses for irrigation, are allowed to go to waste; these dilapidations have been of years and centuries. The peasants on the other hand, being also only farmers, and inclined to change, seek only the profit of a season. The plantations of mulberries and vines are kept up, but everything else is neglected. The oil is from trees planted one, two, or three thousand years ago; none are planted now. The greatest irregularity prevails in

payments; in some places the fifth or sixth only of the produce is taken, in others a third; in some a half. The practice in the contracts with the farmers is not to specify the proportion of the produce they are to receive, but to say "according to the custom of the place," *Moamish Cadimé*, or "according to last year's account," *Sené Isabha*. To arrive at a correct estimate is thus impossible; and the population, by this inequality of condition, having always before their eyes fears of worse and hopes of better, are rendered careless and capricious. When they acquire property, they never think of investing it in the land, so as to bring into culture the extensive wastes, but seek only to acquire houses in the cities, or land in their immediate vicinity.

The Beylic is supposed to date from the Mussulman conquest: this, as I have elsewhere shewn, is erroneous. The "third," of conquered lands, reserved to the State, was precisely the feudal Grand and Petty Sergeantry, the dues from which were applied to the special service of the king. No more under the Moslem than the Gothic systems, was the property of the cultivator in the soil questioned or disturbed; such ideas were as unknown then as is the practice of those days now. The *Beneficium*, or Lordship, extended only to a tenth of the produce.

These Beylic have sprung up by a process which we now see in operation. The lands of a village are deserted by its inhabitants, who go to settle on land similarly deserted. Another population then,

or afterwards, occupies their place, and by this change the lands of both are appropriated by the Government for debt or taxes. For instance; the lands of a hundred villages of the Metuali became Beylic during their contest with Jezzar Pasha, by having been deserted by their inhabitants. In the Lebanon, the administration of which has been always distinct, there are a great many such royal demesnes, in consequence of the wars of Druzes and Maronites. I have mentioned the Arabs as occupying the Merj Ajoun; wherever Arabs are settled they have made the land Beylic, because the rightful owners have been expelled. How many districts have they devastated in the course of three centuries; how many changes brought about; each having the same result on property? This cause is therefore sufficient to account for the actual Beylic; if it had originated in the original conquest, the public lands would have been chosen in one spot, and placed under a regular administration, instead of being scattered all over the country, and everywhere varying in the amount of rent.

While the Pashas were irresponsible, they accumulated property; perhaps at times paying inadequate sums as purchase money. It was not the Porte that sought to dispossess the people, and its policy has always been to favour them in dissensions with their Governors. The Pashas, guilty in that respect, were those who would be most likely to excite the indignation of the people; at last the ven-

geance of the Porte would overtake them, and their property would be confiscated; hence another source of Beylic.

Whatever the cause, the result is, that the best part of ancient Judea and Phœnicia, is actually Beylic. The Porte, not having arrogated to itself proprietorship, and having come into possession by degrees, and without rendering to itself account of the change, nor taking due measures thereupon, has derived thence no profit.

The larger proportion of the so-called private property is equally Beylic: the occupants having been suffered at different times to locate themselves, through the favour, indifference, or ignorance of the local Government.

The large arrears belonging to this branch of the revenue appears to have no real existence, having been fictitiously created by the anxiety of each succeeding Defterdar, to shew a more favourable balance sheet than his predecessor. The process is illustrated in a case which recently came before the Megilis. The people of a district close to Tripoli, complained that the farmer exacted his share in money, and at the rate, not of the price of corn this year, but of that of last year, which was considerably higher. The farmer urged in reply, that he had taken the farm with the express condition, that the corn should be rated in money at the price of last year, and that the word, *Sené Isabka*, had been specially introduced, and on that condition he had advanced the sum

of 400,000 piastres. The Megilis ruled that the corn should be paid in kind, or at the current price. This produced a new suit; the farmer insisting on throwing up his contract, the Defterdar on his executing it. The Megilis decided on a reduction of the price, which was approved at Constantinople. Here is an instance of the use of the Megilis, if allowed the leisure to attend to the functions which peculiarly belong to it. This is the crying abuse of the country, (I mean Syria); here there is a field, where there is neither danger of collision with the local authority, nor the temptation of personal corruption, as in the other matters in which they are engaged.

What measures are to be taken to turn this national property to account? This is no idle question put by a theorist, or dealt with by a traveller: it is not even the project of a reformer, or a cry got up for the hustings. It is the Government itself which puts the question; it puts it unsolicited, neither urged by an opposition, or under pressure from a mob. Rarely, in the history of nations, has such a disposition been witnessed. What a contrast with all that we have elsewhere seen in our day.

The Porte has wisely deferred forming plans, and issuing firmans, until the means of enlightenment for itself and the people were obtained, and powers provided for the enforcement of its conclusions when formed. The Megilis has commenced by protecting,

in its judicial capacity, the occupants of the lands against the farmers, and the farmers against extortionate contracts entered into at the instigation of the local treasurer ; for which cases, formerly, there was no redress, and which ended only in the failure of the farmers, or the resistance of the people through their inability to pay.

The Megilis has, however, adopted a resolution important, though negative, viz., that until a decision is come to, no further sales of farms shall take place, and that their present holders should then have the refusal.

The Megilis, though left to feel their own way, but follow the impulse from Constantinople ; and to Reschid Pasha is due the merit of the design, which is to give to the occupants the absolute property. The document which finally settles this matter, will multiply by ten every value in Syria. Reschid Pasha originally proposed to put the occupants at once in possession, on paying to the Government the tenth only ; it was objected, that the failure of revenue for the first year or two, would bring the Government to a stand still. The next suggestion was, that the lands should be put up to sale. But there are abundance of waste lands ; and the habits of acquisition and confidence had to be formed, before money in purchase would be laid out. With a view to this, a regulation of succession and inheritance of Beylic was published, by which such property was secured to female issue, and the collateral and ascending



relatives ; formerly such property went only to direct male issue.\*

Here for the present the matter rests ; the Megilis and the public functionaries being instructed to devise means to attain the above ends, by such gradual process as may enable the Treasury to undergo the change. But here time is an element ; the chapter of accidents is open, and this result postponed, becomes at best precarious. I do see a means of immediate adjustment ; which is no other than that which has been already adopted by the late Sultan and his chief advisers.

The deficit of the Treasury, in the first instance, and the impossibility of a compensation by purchase money would both be met by a double tithe on the Beylic. That is to say, that the double tithe should be the condition of possession of the land by the actual cultivators, while its proceeds would at once, if paid in full to the Treasury, equal the amount which it receives from the farmers. Afterwards the second tithe could be remitted, so as at once to establish the uniformity of a single tax ; the *impot unique*, which has been the dream of western financiers, and which, according to the legislators of Arabia, gives the highest amount of revenue, as constituting the increment of the public wealth.

To obtain this double tithe free of expense, it

\* See note at the end of the chapter.

requires only to call to our aid the municipal element. That element does not exist in Syria ; but all that is necessary, is to fix the sum, to render the communities responsible for it, and to leave them to find the means of collection. Every village would, the day following, be in possession of its municipality. This is the process by which these bodies have had existence all over Turkey—all over the world. This is the system which has given to the Empire that vitality, which has at once confounded the calculations and baffled the penetration of European observers. This is the system of which Drosson has traced the panegyric in these few lines, the only ones in his great and elaborate work, which treats of the collection of the revenue :—

“The collection of the revenue is effected by a process so simple, and yet so admirable, that it has never given rise either to regulation or to comment.”

The obstacle to this plan is, however, one which will be scarcely credited ; for it is an objection of the Turkish Government to receive *more than a tenth*. This objection is based on the Koran, which limits to that sum the revenue. It is a pity that the Porte did not equally respect its religious obligations in regard to trade. The case is here not one of taxation, but of rent. The property, if not justly acquired, cannot be restored ; for the possessors have ceased to exist : it belongs at present to the Government. The Government claims it as such,

by proposing to sell it. The one tenth would be the tax, the other tenth, the purchase money; and being in fact, a sale, would confer all the benefits which are looked to from the disposal of the property, and its permanent possession by individuals.

Here is an instance. I have mentioned one Government farm in the vicinity of Tyre, extending  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles by  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , in which are situated the "Pools of Solomon." It is at present farmed for 60,000 piastres, or £600. The six mills under the principal reservoir, and turned by the water that overflows from it, pay to the farm 40,000 piastres; so that five square miles of the richest land, with an unlimited supply of water, pay but £200 for rent and taxes! I have just seen an engineer occupied in the Messaa, who has returned from an inspection of the district. In speaking of this Beylic, he used these words:—"If it were in the possession of individuals who would keep the water-course in repair, and otherwise cultivate it properly, the returns would be at least 500,000 per annum."

This Pashalic, when entered by the Jews, three thousand years ago, contained, besides the Phœnicians, a population of 20,000,000. Silk, which is its present riches, was then unknown. What could it then have possessed in the way of government that cannot be now realized? The authority which rules it at present, has no hostile designs; no theories to carry out, no faith to impose, no tongue or manners of its own, to introduce; and even,

strange to say, no taxes to exact. It leaves it to itself, and does everything in its power to induce and enable it to take that burden on itself. All then that is wanted, is a return to that early simplicity in which lies the secret of all political greatness, as of all popular well-being. The application of that simplicity, will be found in the suggestion I have above offered, of restoring the municipal element, not by schemes and regulations, instructions and laws, but by calling on the people to perform for themselves the duty of taxation.

I would here recall the conversation I had with the elders at Sourie, who themselves proposed to undertake gratuitously the collection of the taxes, under the system prevailing in the Lebanon, merely to save the additional 5 per cent, paid to the agents. That method, as I have already shewn, would save either to the Porte or to the people four-fifths of their present taxes, and do away with a class of indirect functionaries, who are the source of as much annoyance to the Government, as of oppression to the people.

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## GOVERNMENT LANDS.

### COMPARISON OF TURKISH AND INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

With regard to difficulties of administration, arising from extent of territory, from difference of language, belief, and custom, between the Central Government and its subjects, and the varieties amongst the subject populations themselves; difficulties from the existence of robber

tribes, included within the empire, from the warlike habits of the people in general, from the obstacles to communication between the seats of Government, the only one that can be put in parallel with the Ottoman Empire, is that which formerly belonged to the East Indian Company. The measures taken by the Porte, which are detailed in this chapter, offer a case for comparison between the two, as regards policy. What we here see the Turkish Government doing, is exactly the reverse of the course latterly pursued by the English. Since the period of the domination of the Board of Control, when in 1838 the Indus was crossed against the will of the Directors, or without the knowledge of the Parliament, the great internal measure has been to absorb land from individuals, and countries from their princes. That is, "annexation" has prevailed. By an "Act" passed by "the Governor-General in council" in 1852, a Commissioner was appointed to inquire into the titles of all land held exempt from payment, in the presidency of Bombay, whose decision, or that of his assistants, was declared "not to be questioned or avoided in any court of law." This Commissioner could issue an order to any proprietor of such lands, to attend at some specified place, and prove his title *within two months* from the date of the order; failing to do which, his land was immediately to be charged. To appeal against any decision only 100 days was allowed to him, and the only appeal was from an assistant to the Commissioner, or from the Commissioner to the Governor in council. But general rules were also laid down, which were these:—All land so held was to be resumed at the death of the present incumbent, except under certain cases, viz. provided the grant in perpetuity had been either made or recognized by competent authority, of which competency the Government was to be the judge: provided "the conditions of tenure could be ob-

served without breach of the laws of the land, or *the rules of public decency* :” provided the land had been held exempt from assessment for sixty years before the introduction of the British Government, and were held by a *male heir* of the original grantee. But even such lands were to be resumed on *the failure of a male heir, tracing his lineage through male heirs only*.—*Parliamentary Paper, called “Bombay. Titles of Land Commission,” August, 1857.*

## CHAPTER IX.

## AN INTERLUDE, AN ARAB THEATRE.

*Jan. 13th.*—AFTER the Megilis, we went to the Play! The piece, for the opening of the first Arab theatre, was written by the son of one of the members of the Megilis :—was to be acted by the family, which was a large one, in their house in the suburbs. They were Maronites and their name Maron. It was curious to find the cognomen of Virgil in this attempt to renovate the Arab muse. The subject announced was “Aroun el Raschid and Jaffer;” the piece was said to be composed in the high Arab style, and interspersed with poetry, which was to be sung. We went on horseback, preceded by blazing fires of resinous fir, and presently arrived, by a narrow lane and a steep stair (at least for horses), at a house all in disorder, and a crowd of people all in commotion. When we were introduced into the reception apartments, who should we find there but three grave Ulemas, the two Muftis, and the Cadi! The room was strewed with roses, lights blazed in all directions; we were overpowered with expressions of gratitude, and served with hot sherbet of cinnamon.

The theatre was the front of the house itself;

which was exactly what we seek to imitate by our scenes. There was in the centre a door, on each side of it two windows, and two above; the wings were the advanced part of the court with side doors. The stage was a raised platform in front. The audience was in the court, protected by sails spread over. They had seen in Europe footlights and prompter's box, and fancied it an essential point of theatricals to stick them on where they were not required. In like manner they introduced chairs for the Caliph and his Vizir, and cheval glasses for the ladies. As to costume there was the design at least of observing the proprieties; and, as regards the women, that is the boys dressed up as such, with perfect success. As there were no women on the stage, so were there none in the court, and not even at the windows which opened on the stage.

For Emin Effendi and myself arm-chairs were placed in front, and a large sofa on the left for the judges; the other guests of distinction were on the right, ample space being allowed for the service of pipes and nargillés. Between the acts we retired to the divan hané, where refreshments were served; and, though it was long, very long, no one went away, and every one seemed content and merry. Frequent applause rewarded the author and the actors; and at the close Jaffer, to act his part to the life, threw handfuls of coin amongst us, on which the stage was assailed from all sides with showers of roses. The curtain after being dropped, was raised again,



not because the audience called on a favourite performer, but for the performers to come forward to salute and thank the audience.

A short farce occupied the interval between the second and third acts. It was a husband befooled by his wife, a very grave case, and the ex-Mufti judged it to be so ; taking the most vivid interest in its progress, and repeatedly informing the one party of the proceedings of the other. In fact he identified himself with the action, somewhat in the fashion of the ancient chorus, bewailing or approving. The husband at last is undeceived, by observing from the window at the side the lady and her lover ; while the Mufti from the *Stalle d'Orchestre* commented vigorously on the guilty nature of the proceedings of the one, and the extreme imbecility of the other. The roars of laughter which these cross-purposes produced conferred on the farce unbounded success, which all were agreed to attribute to the actor whose part the author had not inserted.

The acting was awkward, the singing abominable ; but the piece was evidently managed with considerable art. It was an earnest of the resources now slumbering, and of the facility with which the Arabian spirit may be touched and awakened. They are now to build a theatre, and other pieces are in preparation. The author told me, that they were painting a drop-scene with the ruins of Baalbec ; on expressing my astonishment at their selecting something not their own, but Greek and Roman of the

bad time, he asked me to suggest something else. I asked in return if they had anything peculiarly their own, and peculiarly beautiful. He answered at once—"THE CEDARS."

Between the acts we were not entertained with "l'Entre'acte," or "le Messenger du Soir," but discussed freely the proceedings at the Megilis in the morning. Feti Aga was disposed of by all, as guilty of far more than all that was laid to his charge. The day before I was told that a heavy blow had been dealt upon him by the Pasha, who proved his having concerted a projected insurrection to deter the Pasha from removing him. He had attempted to throw into the assembly the brand of religious discord, alleging that the depositions against him proceeded from the malevolence of the Mussulmans, because of the protection he afforded to the Christians. A person present said, "He protect the Christians! yes, such ones as the Russian consul points out." This led to inquiries as to what the Russian consul had been doing in the matter. He had taken the strongest and the most undisguised part in favour of Feti Aga. His dragoman and his brother had been both involved in the conspiracy above referred to, and it was on his advice that Feti Aga had made the attempt to bribe Emin Effendi. In supporting malversation, Russia is merely labouring in her vocation; but it is frightful to contemplate the web and nets of corruption which she has spread over the land. Had

Emin Effendi accepted the money, the whole affairs of the Lebanon and the Pashalic would have been in the hands of the Russian consul, without an effort or the expenditure of a penny; and his victim bound hand and foot, wholly incapable of resisting his will or escaping from his power.

*Jan. 14th.*—I have had the opportunity of hearing the Frank population give utterance to its views. The picture is most alarming. The Messaa is a farce, the Megilis an imposture. It would take quires of paper, and ink bottles full of gall, to communicate all I have this night acquired in the way of knowledge and judgment. But it was all true, it was in the "Malta Times," and copied by the "Herald," the "Chronicle," and the "Post" in London. Had Emin Effendi taken the bribe, what a different song would be sung.

The Lebanon has been left by the Consuls in extraordinary repose; but they have been very harassing in local matters. The Lebanon is of use for mutually exciting France and England; local matters for irritating the Porte, when she has to be forced into some submission to Russia. Not only has the competition subsided, but the English and French consuls are acting together in the only matters they have touched, viz., the movement against Emir Hydar: they have insisted on the exile of his rival, Emir Beshir, and three of his partizans. The Pasha has paid little attention to their representations. Emir Beshir has hitherto been the

particular protégé of the British consulate, and used as an instrument against Emir Hydar, the man of the French consul. The Russian consul is reported to have said at the English consul's, that the affairs of the north are not settled; that Russia only waits the spring; that France, whatever may be said at present, is entirely in the views of Russia.

The Megilis is generally occupied in the evening on mere details, but this night, there has been a very interesting meeting. On week days they meet in the morning, separate at sunset for dinner, and sit again, generally till midnight. On Fridays, their Sunday, they have a half-holiday, and meet only in the evening. The evening sittings are held at Emin Effendi's, and to-day, just as we had done dinner, they commenced to arrive; in ten minutes they were all come; not one moved till the close. The séance consisted in what might be called a general conversation on the state of the country, for four successive subjects debated, involved all the points of importance.

First, we had a complaint from twenty or thirty villages around Skiff. It would appear that some former Pasha, had made them over as a compensation for services to the predecessor of Hamed el Bey and other chiefs of the Metualis. Such a gift is not legal, as a transfer of property can only take place by means of a Hodjet before a court, or a firman from the Porte. Subsequent Pashas had,

however, confirmed the grant, and on its being asked how they could have done so, one of the members produced a letter from one of these chiefs to a former Pasha requesting his confirmation ; noted at the bottom of the letter were 100 okes of butter, 100 ardebs of grain, and some other items of the present, which accompanied the letter. The complaint of the peasants was for exactions in money and in grain, beyond what they formerly paid ; but the question of proprietorship being thus raised, the Megilis instructed their secretary to draw up a Masbata, declaring the possession to be illegal, and directing the revenue to be henceforward paid to the Treasury.

In the course of the discussion it came out that the Megilis employed secret agents, and this complaint appeared to have been prompted by one of these. The difficulty is to get the peasants to bring forward their grievances. While talking on this matter, Emin Effendi interrupted a speaker, and said ; “ An idea has just occurred to me, which I wish to submit to the Megilis : what do you say to inviting from each district, a delegate of the peasants to be joined to the Megilis, that we may have accurate information, and that they may understand our proceedings.” Silence followed his words ; after a time one remarked that he did not see any use in having so many persons ; another asked, who will pay them ? I was startled when I heard the proposal, and watched every countenance, but there

was no response. Here was the representative of the Porte offering the fullest measure of liberty, as we understand the word, to a people engaged in dreams of revolution and in projects of treason, and they receiving such offer with indifference and contempt.

A report of arrears in the district of Tripoli, was presented with the Masbatas of the various Megilis concerned, by which it appeared that certain Sheiks were in arrears for periods of eleven years and under, for sums which amounted to 100,000 piastres. These were not farmers of villages, but Muca-tajis, who receive the regular tribute. This incident led to the discussion of the case of the farmers of the Beylic villages and lands, and it was suggested by Emin Effendi, that before the ensuing sale in the month of March, it should be ascertained what, in every district, was the "custom of the place," or had been the custom within fifteen years (an amendment of the Cadi), and that in the new contracts, instead of the general terms, the precise specification should be introduced. This proposal was immediately adopted.

The next matter regarded the sale of the customs. It had been ordered at Constantinople, that they should be simultaneously put up to auction here, and at Constantinople, and that the highest bidder at either place should be the purchaser. In consequence of the doubt no one came forward here; and it was consequently decided to apply to Constanti-

nople, to have the sale effected there. On this the question was raised, whether the whole of Syria should not be made one farm (customs), instead of each port being, as at present, a separate one. It was urged in favour of the first, that at present the customers treated separately with the merchants, to admit their goods below the tariff; thus, a cargo coming to Beyrout was sent to Saïda, paid there an inferior duty, and then was introduced at Beyrout. The export trade was in like manner managed, and sent to the port where the best bargain could be effected. That, in consequence, the customs rendered far less than they ought according to the tariff, and the Megilis was tormented with incessant quarrels between the customers. The arguments on the other side bore on the difficulty of carrying on so vast an enterprise, and the risk of the failure of the customer; one customer (of Acre) was mentioned as having realized last year a profit of £15,000. Being referred to, I explained the injurious nature of a tariff of 12 per cent. and urged the adoption of that system, which should most enable the commerce of the country to struggle against it; mentioning the opinion of several merchants, that it was only by such facilities, they had been able to hold their ground. It was, consequently, decided to leave the ports, distinct farms, as at present.

This led to a conversation respecting a Tribunal of Commerce, by which to get rid of the interference of consuls, and also of a large amount of business,

for which they have neither time nor knowledge ; such as litigations respecting bills of exchange, averages, bankruptcies, and the like.

The last subject was a report of the proceedings of Emir Hydar in Bsharré. In this the Megilis has no concern, the Lebanon being independent of it ; but it was introduced conversationally, after business was disposed of. The Emir, being in arrears with his revenue, had been, on their Masbata, pressed by the Pasha. He had consequently sent to various districts to require money, and amongst others to Bsharré, where 100 horsemen were " eating " at present ; that being the Lebanon financial resource. The people had sent to say that " they had paid every fraction that they owed, and more." The Pasha thereupon remonstrated with the Emir, who admitted that his subordinates had themselves not paid the money they had received ; but that still there was money owing from the villages. The Megilis is without authority ; the Pasha in like manner is unable even to require to see the accounts. And this is the system (for here the constitution of Chekib Effendi operates) which the Frank consuls are pleased to call the " Liberties " or the " Rights " of the Lebanon ; and regarding which they are daily accusing the Turkish Government of perfidious designs ! It was only this day that, in reply to a question from one of these consuls, I said that what struck me most in the Lebanon, was the suc-



cess of the Turkish Government in overcoming difficulties, which to any European Government would be inextricable. He answered, "I am not less astonished than you; but what a pity that it did not commence with sweeping away all these separate populations, systems, and faiths, and thus have finished at once all these occasions of dissension within and without."

To return to the Megilis. A report had been received that 50 piastres per head are exacting in the Mountain for the expense of the Messaa. Emin Effendi, being called on to state what that expense amounted to, said that the two Caimacans had told him that they were ready to furnish the sums requisite for himself and his people. He had answered, that he was well paid by his Government, and could accept neither remuneration nor expenses; and requested them to pay to the 72 valutors the salary that had been fixed of 10 piastres (2s) per diem. The money not being forthcoming, he had paid them himself, and the entire expense of the Messaa had been under 7000 piastres. An exaction, under the name of the Messaa, would certainly be an admirable plan for discrediting that operation.

If all that here appeared to the eye and was heard by the ear was real, how soon might Syria flourish and rejoice. While indulging in the sight and sound, I knew I was in presence of a delusion; that before me were shadows or automatons; nor could I exclude the thought of the liberty which

Rome conferred on Greece at the Isthmian Games. Here, however, no acclamation hailed the hollow boon; and in granting abstract freedom, the Porte has assured to them something practical, which they can understand, and that is, the separation of powers in the local Government, and paid instead of gratuitous functionaries. It was something too, to see, as I saw this night, a Cadi sitting on a mat-rass between a Christian and a Jew. This may appear too extreme a departure from ancient usage; but this was the ancient usage of the Turks. Mah-moud II. had a Jew for his Minister of Finance, and held the stirrup for the Greek Patriarch.

## CHAPTER X.

RESTORATION OF ANCIENT HARBOURS AND  
WATER-WORKS.

THIS night (17th), after the regular business was concluded, the members of the Megilis continued to sit, "on a visit to me," as they expressed it; claiming my assistance in regard to two, for them, very important matters.

Beyrout, in 1840, numbered 14,000 inhabitants; it has now 50,000:\* there was then scarcely a habitation beyond the walls; now the whole country outside is built upon; the supply of water, then insufficient, has not been increased. The increasing trade equally calls for a harbour. On both these points they have repeatedly applied to Constantinople, but without any satisfactory reply. The Turkish Government is so sensitive in regard to any project, which involves the presence or interference of Europeans, that it cannot be even brought to look at such; and therefore the members of the Megilis made a request to me to inspect the harbour, and the country around and above Beyrout, so as to furnish them with some definite notion of the

\* The census gives (Islam) Houses, 1725; Men, 7663:  
(Rayah) Houses, 2196; Men, 7456.

feasibility and expense of clearing the harbour, and bringing down water for the supply of the town. This I had already engaged to do, and shall set down some of the details which they gave me, illustrative of the inconveniences from which they at present suffer.

The Megilis, in its financial capacity, is a corn-merchant, having to dispose of the grain which it receives in tribute. They had recently to sell grain at Jaffa and at Gaza; for the first they got  $50\frac{1}{2}$  piastres the ardeb (120 okes); for the second  $44\frac{1}{2}$  piastres. The latter was of a better quality than the former; the difference they estimated at 30 per cent. occasioned by the greater facility of embarkation at Jaffa. To the expense of portorage and lighterage is to be added the increase of freight attendant on the long detention of vessels. Beyrout imports the grain for the Lebanon, and consequently such grain has twice to undergo this operation; it has thus to incur double loss. Thence the price of food in the Lebanon is 50 per cent higher than in the rest of Syria. Notwithstanding these obstructions, the commerce of the place has so grown that whereas ten years ago one English vessel would be seen in a month, in the course of last year 77 English vessels anchored there, to discharge in whole, or in part their cargoes; the aggregate tonnage of these vessels amounting to 12,864. In all; European tonnage 41,544, native trade 27,179; giving a total for exports and imports of 137,446 tons. A place, like a

man, that is able to work its own way, deserves assistance: the trade of this year shews an increase on the last of one-third in exportation, and of £400,000 on importation.

There remains, however, a far more important consideration as regards the construction of ports. Syria, hitherto dependant on importations from foreign countries, has this year undergone a revolution, for it has exported it. It has sent out a quantity equal to its importation for the last four years (value 13,000,000 of francs). Taking then at 10 per cent the extra charges of lighterage from vessels having to load in the roadstead, the enormous impulse that would be given to the productive faculties of the whole province, by the reconstruction of its harbours will be appreciated. It remains to be seen whether this is practicable, and at what cost.

As to the supply of water. The deficiency here was so much felt, even before the growth of the town, that Ibrahim Pasha sent engineers and boring machinery for Artesian wells. The experiment however failed: the boring tools are still here. They are at present supplied from one of the ancient ducts, which in the rainy season overflows by twenty-two fountains, and runs to waste; but it is dry in the summer. They have to bring water all the way from the Nahar el Kelb on the back of asses. It sells at a high price, and is often not to be obtained at all. In buying, building, or hiring a house, the first necessity is an ass, and a boy to drive it. This place,

recently a village, now so rapidly expanding itself, and having become the seat of the Pasha in lieu of Saïda, whose official designation is still Valy of Saïda, remains by these two deficiencies, compressed and incapable of developing itself into the important mart and provincial capital, which otherwise it promises to become.

This business having been so far concluded, I asked them how it was that the two baths, which formerly were required for the "village," continued to suffice for the "Provincial Capital." They laughed, and asked me in return whether we, who constructed such magnificent ports, and brought such quantities of water into our towns, had baths in them. Emin Effendi remarked that Paris, London, Vienna, Rome, and Madrid, could not altogether shew such baths as Beyrout alone contained. I told them that until progress was complete, that is to say until the human race was bowed down under one dead uniformity, there would always remain in each country something that another might profit by, but that it would always happen that each would be ignorant of its good things. Thus, even in Beyrout, there were things that it would be good for London and Paris to possess. They asked for another example. I gave them that of fixedness of imposts and immutability of laws; and inquired where their Megilis would be if, in addition to other work, it had to vote supplies, and pass 200 "Regulations of Chekib Effendi," in the course of the year? A second example was

Feti Aga. No European Parliament, even an Imperial one, would dare to call to account a public functionary; and if they did, the Government, instead of assisting, would obstruct their proceedings. The old Cadi said, "You are a good physician: you have given us a good many bitter draughts to swallow; but you can add a little honey at times." Emin Effendi closed the discussion and clenched the moral, by these words: "You see now why the new constitutions of Europe have done them no good. We must try and give them a lesson."

*Jan. 18th.*—This day expended on the examination of the harbour, with the most satisfactory results. By throwing down an old tower, and running out its materials to fill a gap, and complete an old break-water, at present submerged, and by clearing out the centre of the present port, where Fakreddeen had sunk vessels with stones, to prevent the entrance of the Turkish galleys, operations which might be completed in a couple of months, the port could be restored to what it was at the close of the seventeenth century, which would enable three times the amount of shipping of last year to unload direct on the quays. One shilling a ton wharfage, on that amount of traffic during two years, would cover the charge. In the restoration of Beyrout there is a facility not to be found in the other ports of the Phœnician coast, which, from Ruad (Arvad) down to Acre, were constructed by means of reefs running parallel to the coast. Along this line the

sand, having accumulated, has to be cleared out, That of Beyrout is protected by the point running out to the west, and so affording an extensive anchorage, protected from all winds south of west and east of north. The harbour itself has still three fathoms within it. It has not been rendered unseviceable by the indraught of sand, and the sea breaks into it with gales from the north-east and north-west, only by reason of the dilapidation of the breakwater.

*Jan. 19th.*—Water-works. Traces of extensive ducts of the highest antiquity are everywhere, underground and overground. Before attempting to trace these to their source, I was desirous to ascertain what chances there were of obtaining water on the spot; and it was to the sea I first turned my attention. A spring is reported to rise on the shore in the very bay of Beyrout. I have mentioned another rising in the middle of a stream near Tripoli; the Pools of Solomon throw up a little river close by the shore. The structure of the Lebanon leads us to expect natural artesian wells along its base. A formation of several thousand feet in thickness, some of the layers porous, and admitting the passage of water, standing on edge, and shelving down to the sea, must, in the lower parts, be charged with water under considerable pressure, so that it will pour out by any vent opened in it, over or under the water line. The people speak of fresh water coming up at various places in the sea: this



is confirmed by Strabo's account of the siege of Aradus. The supply of water from the land being cut off, the people obtained it from the sea, by means of a large bell of lead in the shape of an oven, κλίβανος, to which was attached a hose of leather. It was lowered from a boat over the spring; at first the water came up brackish, but afterwards sweet.\* The depth at this point, as we elsewhere learn, was twelve fathoms.†

When Ibrahim Pasha attempted to sink artesian wells he tried the higher ground, one of these which I was taken to see was 200 feet above the level of the sea. In the repetition of such experiments it would be well to take the lower ground, and not to be deterred by the sea itself.

All the gardens have wells, but the water is brackish and in small quantity. There is in the court of the Tuscan Consul a well of a couple of hundred feet through the rock; it is also brackish, but this well is on an elevation. On a small plateau nearly level with the highest point of the town, and where Ibrahim Pasha had constructed a windmill, I found the orifice of an ancient cistern, actually filled with

\* Strabo, xiv. 15.

† At Porto Venere, a source boils up in the bay: sailing through it, I have taken up a cup of perfectly fresh water. There is, or was, a similar source in the harbour of Syracuse, opposite the fountain of Arethusa (*Fogelli de Rebus Siculus*, 1, iv. 5); and another to the south of Cuba, at the distance of two or three leagues, in ten or twelve fathoms.—*Humbolt, Tab. de la Nature*, tom. i. p. 331.

water, nearly to the level of the ground. I returned, therefore, from my day's exploration satisfied that there were most favourable indications of a supply from this source, and consequently at a very trifling cost. The borers sent by Ibrahim Pasha are in the old tower at the harbour; but the Chinese method of the cannon ball and chain with chisels projecting from the ball, affords a simpler method.

The ancient water-works met me at every turn. Near one of the gates are steps leading down to a passage cut through the solid rock, 6 feet high and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  wide, in which there is at present stagnant water; canals divide from it right and left. This water must have come from a considerable distance, and the enormous quantity and the expense of a canal thus piercing through the solid rock for miles suggest a comparison with the great works of Lætium. Hundreds of thousands must have inhabited the city which required it, and millions have been expended on its construction.

This day we have learnt officially the termination of the affair with Russia. It was but yesterday that I repeated to the French Consul the words of M. Desages\* to myself, "Notre travail a toujours été, de peser sur la Porte." They were rejected as untrue, and as insulting to the generous dispositions of the protectors of the Sultan. How signally they are verified this day. The Porte standing alone, repels the pretensions of Russia. England and

\* Late Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

France back her, and she yields ! Since the Poles have been at Constantinople, Russia has never failed on the accession to office of a weak Reis Effendi to demand their expulsion ; she has now succeeded with a strong one, against the emphatic declaration of the Sultan, and supported by his two Allies. It is the Allies, not Russia, who have triumphed. Allies, who, in the words of M. Thiers, have "adopted the interests of Russia as their own." He added "You have, therefore, nothing further to do : " I answered at the time, "Therefore you have much work and trouble before you."

I asked one of the Consular body to what amounted the European patronage of the Porte, since such was the result. He answered me with, no doubt perfect good faith, "We have gained much, for had it not been for the Two Powers the Porte would have conceded all that Russia required !" So easy is it to be satisfied with one's own conduct, when one has the faculty of explaining it as one likes.

What could be more absurd than taking counsel on such a subject with a Power (France) who, to please Russia, had already expelled the Poles from its own territory : to say nothing of the conjoint sacrifice of Cracow by England and France, and their mutual recrimination, that each "was ready to sacrifice Constantinople, as it had sacrificed Cracow."

The Porte, however, has objected to the term

“expulsion of the Poles,” it has admitted only “request to the Poles to withdraw.” Supposing the Poles refuse! Is it the Porte that has left the wound open? Is it Russia that has put in the pea?

Achmet Effendi, not an ordinary or a pliant man, is sent to Wallachia. He had a salary of 2000 piastres a month, he is to receive one of 20,000. There may be some connection between these incidents.

*January 20th.*—I started yesterday to explore the ancient aqueduct, having in attendance the person who manages the water of the town; but finding him wholly ignorant, I went to Izzet Pasha, whose residence is near the gate, expecting he could aid me. A Turk who was present, said he knew the country and place well, and volunteered to accompany me. He had to go home for his horse; his house was in the gardens without the town, so I went with him. He then insisted on our breakfasting first, and to my surprise ushered me into a library of European books, and filled with scientific instruments. He spoke French, and was a medical man; breakfast was soon served. I had taken a morsel, when he said, “You will find that good, it is pork.” My fingers involuntarily gaped their surprise, and the morsel fell back into the dish; Ibrahim Effendi looked aghast. Neophytism has here lost its usual character: my host was a renegade Maronite. Thus prepared we set forth; I would

not look at the canal which conveys the water at present used, and of which we passed the fountain, as I was told, at St. Dimetry, about a mile above the town; nor the wells which communicated with the ancient duct, as I found there was no escape from this labyrinth, except by getting to the source. We soon came on the plain of red sand, which has been blown up from the sea. Some ancient fruit-bearing pines (snowbar) stand here. You pass through a broad open space, between thick plantations of younger trees, which, with their bright green on the red sand, which bears no other verdure, have a singular effect. After we had crossed this tract, the land is depressed. To the rise of the hill is a couple of miles, which the water crossed on a raised wall or aqueduct, of which we traced the foundations all along, either by the stones still visible, or the hollow from which they had been quarried, or by the quarry work still going on; after two thousand years of pilfering this furnishes still the supply of stones for the country far and near. My companions were loud in their execrations of a people (themselves) who could ruin such works. I felt more mercifully towards them, for I reflected on the new mansion of an Armenian Saraff that I had visited in the morning. Innocent are those who only destroy buildings, compared with those who destroy taste: innocent are those who profit by the ravages they make, compared with those who, to desecrate and pollute, spend their money.

On arriving at the rising ground we lost all trace of the aqueduct. Ibrahim Effendi offered to take me to it again, at the back of the mountain, so we turned off to the left till we struck the Damascus road, which we followed to a khan; then struck off to the left again into the valley of the river of Beyrout, where it emerges from the mountain. We entered the gorge, and at one of its turns came in sight of a magnificent monument, an aqueduct striding across the valley, on three tiers of massive arches, reminding me of the Pont du Garde. It is broken down in the centre, and some only of the pillars of the third series stand; but on the right side, you may stand on the second rank and look down on the bed of the river, 300 feet below; the span of the aqueduct may be two hundred yards: the whole is built of huge blocks.

The sight of this monument, however gratifying it might have been had I been conducted to it by no other feeling than curiosity, filled me with disappointment. The restoration of such a work was beyond the slender means available for the purpose in view.

Leading from it, straight into the mountain, was the aperture, corresponding in dimensions, but not in form, with the passage cut through the rock at Beyrout: the roof is formed by stones laid together like that of a house. Having scrambled up to it, and with torches ready, I found the passage at a short distance barred by the roof, which had fallen

in. The sides, by an incrustation of seven inches, record the long course of centuries during which this stream had flowed.

I now proposed to cross the river to pursue the channel, and had some difficulty in persuading my companions to accompany me. The day was far spent, and the water presented an obstacle to those who feared a ducking. The peasants, however, offered to carry us across dry, a little below, which they did.

Ascending to the other end of the aqueduct, I observed large bored stones, made to fit into each other like tubes. They did not belong to the main channel, but were a branch duct leading off. The aqueduct runs into the side of the mountain, as if there supplied from a source, or as if it were bored through like the other side. But there are here two square reservoirs, of the same kind of work as the bridge itself, and the water is led into them at right angles, the duct running parallel to the river. The peasants who had brought us across said that the other end of the duct, where it reaches the bed of the stream, was three or four miles higher up, and volunteered to conduct us to it. I must not forget that on the other side of the valley, and some twenty feet above the orifice of the passage into the mountain, there are on a ledge of rock several semi-circular arches, which doubtless once supported a conduit of water at a still higher level, and running on the left bank parallel to the stream. Was this

a rival company, the "New River," *v.* "Metropolitan," or was it water for some other city? The conduit I have been examining was capable, with its great inclination, of discharging water enough for the supply of a district of London, and yet the other appeared to be of not inferior dimensions. The peasants told me that that duct also entered the mountain, and communicated by a flight of steps with the duct below. In the bed of the stream we found some fragments of very fine coal, proceeding from a seam of six feet in thickness, close to a large supply of iron-stone and argentiferous lead, which Ibrahim Pasha commenced working; but the operation was interrupted by reason of the bombardment of Acre.

Proceeding up the river for about three miles, we came upon the conduit, and saw the remains of an aqueduct crossing the river, and carrying the conduit from the right bank to the left. This then was the conduit on the highest level, and not that feeding the great aqueduct below. The bed of the river now narrowed, and was filled with rocks; and we continued to trace the conduit for two miles more, up to a point considerably higher than that which was requisite for the level, and reaching to a double fountain which is not the source of the river, but flows into it. The river, they say, is dry in summer, but these sources always run. Attached to the large fragments of broken rock around were masses of masonry, resembling that of the "Pools



of Solomon," that is, rolled stones imbedded in mortar. Lower than these fountains is another, where there were no traces of building, and which the peasants said was very bad water; it flows out on a bed of myrtle, and is said in summer to vary in colour and regularity. Some days being as white as milk, other as red as blood; and ceasing or flowing without defined rule. It is curious that the same observations are made elsewhere. The ebb and flow of the Pool of Bethesda seems established by recent observations, and the people of Sur relate that the ancient fountains there change colour in the spring, becoming white. Then again there is the old myth of the blood of Adonis periodically turning red the river consecrated to him. As the soil of the Lebanon is both red and white, there is nothing extraordinary in these changes; the strata, being set on edge, the water of the low ground may be largely supplied from that which filters through the strata, so that at the period of the melting of the snows, one stratum may be closed and another opened for the passage, changing thereby the colour of the water.

Near these fountains was a grotto, which for want of cords I could not explore, and above it a face of rock scarped and cut into a small chamber, where must have stood an altar or a statue. The roof and walls are mortared for lining; the door is neatly cut; a broad flight of steps led to the platform in front. There are other marks among the

rocks of the sanctity which once must have belonged to the spot, which nature had fitted up at once to supply useful things and to suggest gloomy thoughts.

We had now again to be ferried across the river, and that with expedition, for the evening was closing in, and our small space of heaven was covering over with heavy clouds. While I was on the back of my carrier in the middle of the stream, a vivid flash opened the fire, and as the roll heavily fell upon us, the "urutu," as the Arabs call the rain, came down as if suddenly let loose by a spring. Before we reached the village we were drenched to the skin, and as we entered the first hut the rain ceased: but having nothing to change, no covering, or beds, and little prospect of anything to eat, we determined to plod our way back to Beyrout, which design we carried into execution without mishap.

What an idea does not this give of the early condition of this coast. Beyrout was not then a provincial capital, it was an insignificant place, and in the immediate neighbourhood of places of great importance. What was Berytus beside Tyre and Sidon, Tripoli and Aradus? What was it even beside Byblus and Botrus? Here is the least of six cities, with an interval of a dozen miles between each, requiring a supply of water equal to that of Glasgow to-day, for these distant canals must have been in addition to the local; the nearer sources must have been turned to account before such a work as this

was undertaken. Such evidences as these enable the mind to take in those enormous numbers which the Old Testament attributes to Syria; and on the other hand to justify to oneself the equally enormous prospects which now lie before her, and which for the moment seem to be in the hands of the half dozen quiet and obscure individuals with whom I am nightly sitting in council.

It is not however numbers that have to be considered in contrasting ancient and modern times. It is the value of life. To establish this difference assistance may be gained from the country in which I write. The close affinity of ancient times, and of oriental countries, is admitted; of oriental countries this is perhaps the least favourable one by which to read the past. I can tell the difference between the value of life here and in Europe. Here the great drawback is exposure to violence, which we do not suffer from in our countries, or at least in England. This appears to us very dreadful, but persons get accustomed to it, just as the inhabitants of Etna and Vesuvius. In all other respects, the sum of happiness is on their side. Happiness is not to be rated in its objects, but in its sensations. Man is happy in his affections, his perceptions, and his tastes. Callousity, with all appliances, sensibility with all deficiencies,—such are the two extremes, in the mean of which happiness is to be found. The people here, compared with that of Europe, possess at once the double superiority of faculties to enjoy, and objects

to exert them on ; and, giving a term of comparison for the purpose rather of conveying a thought, than instituting a scale, I should say, that the sum of pleasurable sensations enjoyed in any four-and-twenty hours by one of these people, equals that of a lifetime of one of ours. When we ascend above the classes who on the European side are exposed to privations, the balance is still against us. In our hard wrought existence, the few who draw the prizes, by reason of the loss of polite manners, and by the habits of disputation on abstract matters, do not come into possession of happiness countervailing the misery of the millions who draw the blanks. Their ease of circumstances does not give them either a life of ease, or a life of enjoyment ; they are the prey of self-love, which is the essential part of every European to-day, and by reason of which each European stands the perfect contrast of each Oriental. Our idle classes are thus deprived of the charms of that intercourse for which Alexander Dumas has found the expression, the “ politeness of intimacy ;” \* and are troubled without being in earnest. The separation of sincerity from life, and gravity from manners, is marked by habits which can only be rendered through terms shameful to utter, such as persiflage, slang, sneer, ridicule, and that most hideous of all disfigurements, the laugh, not prompted by a merry thought.

\* “ Cette politesse de l'intimité, que l'on n'a plus de nos jours.”

A people reduced to this condition, and which makes its enjoyments out of its frivolities, can of course not understand how it has sacrificed its enjoyments by its frivolities. I but bear testimony; I do not propose either to change nature, or give comprehension. My testimony is, let the value of it be taken or left, that amongst this degraded and contemptible race of the Lebanon, with the mere exception of the recent pupils turned out of the missionary and Roman Catholic schools, there is not a single individual who could utter a slang phrase, who would degrade himself with a sneer, or who passes an hour the victim of ennui; whilst there is not a man who is in danger of going supperless to bed, or whose prospect of life is closed by relief, in or out doors, from the workhouse.

Providence has indissolubly linked together virtue and enjoyment. Virtue for the people of this country I certainly would be the last to claim. But still, vice has not here put on the mask of frivolity. Where there is not gravity, there cannot be virtue; where there is not gravity there can be neither merriment nor contentment. The first the people of this country do not enjoy; the latter the people of Europe do not know. If there be a few exceptions out of the two hundred millions, these exceptions bear witness against their compeers.

I had, when a boy, a quasi-tutor in an Arab from Tripoli. I brought him one day a caricature of Lord John Russell. Not apprehending his reproach-

ful look, he gave utterance to what was in his mind in these words: "I would rather perish than belong to a race, a single individual of whom was capable of drawing a caricature."

The human beings who were supplied by the water from this aqueduct represent then, as compared with the inhabitants of Glasgow, a totally different human value, being infected neither with squalor nor vulgarity. It can be to me no interest that this current be restored, to supply another growth of population, if that population is to resemble the factory product of civilization and progress. If we cannot hope to see men upon the earth, let us at least preserve in their effigies, the monuments of what men have been.

The entire length of the ancient conduit, may be fourteen miles: nine or ten from Beyrout to the aqueduct, hence to the source four or five; where it passes through the rock it is probably in good repair, and that may amount to three-fourths or two-thirds of the distance. The reparations required would be on the canal from St. Dimetry to the Pines, then from the Pines to the hill, and lastly the aqueduct. The expense for the two first would be trifling; the difficulty is the aqueduct, nor would this entail a very heavy outlay. The broken down part might be rebuilt by means of successive rows of arches, which the native workmen are quite equal to construct; there are hewn stones on the spot, or stones easily quarried, and lime; and a slight bridge

would suffice to conduct the small body of water which would at present suffice.

The result of these explorations is therefore as follows:—

1st. There is every prospect of obtaining by artesian wells an abundant supply.

2nd. To put in order the conduits which bring into the town the present supply, and to clear out the ancient cisterns, which are every where to be found, in which the overplus water of the winter months might be kept. Should this prove insufficient, then,

3dly. To repair the aqueduct.

For the last, as indeed for the second, a company would have to be formed.

[There is connected with this aqueduct an archæological romance, which, not to return again to the subject, I here introduce from my subsequent Diary; and the more so, as the two volumes to which I am restricted, will be filled long before I reach its date.]

*April 30th.* — This morning, my host, (Emir Beshir) was much better, and it was 8 o'clock, (3 P.M.) before I got away from Brumana. I continued on the ridge as far as Deir el Kalaah; along the path were scattered blocks of stone, pierced as a water pipe, and grooved deeply, so as to fit into one another. They formed a duct to bring water to

Deir el Kalaah along the ridge, which however rises considerably, so that there can be no doubt that at the time of its construction, they understood the principle of the ascent of confined fluids. To see if any memory of its epoch was preserved, I inquired by whom it had been made, and was answered "By *Sitti Simrit!*" Nearly two thousand years ago, Strabo was told that the mounds, water conduits, and "stairs of the mountains," were the works of Semiramis. At Baalbeck, Emir Hangar told me, that there were pipes to conduct the water upwards: I did not see them, but they mount over the later Roman part. If so, the Romans could have only followed, and adopted the practice they found, without publishing the discovery in their Penny Magazine.

Anxious to reach Beyrout early to despatch answers to several applications respecting grievances, which had reached me on the road; and also in great pain from my leg, I could only give a glance at the interesting ruins of Deir el Kalaah. Three trunks of large columns stand, and the lower layers of the cella of a temple, in very large blocks; several Greek inscriptions shew the Divinity to have been a Phœnician, one unknown before, Baal Mar-kios, or Baal the Dancer. A second temple has smaller columns, with *Etruscan* capitals. Mr. Bertou found a piece of an Ionic capital of archaic form, and has fortunately given a figure of it, which exactly corresponds with one in the Palace of Nim-



roud, in a bas-relief, representing the attack of a maritime city, which Mr. Layard supposes to be Tyre. Over a window I saw an Ionic volute. The Doric, the first order of Greece, has been found with architrave, entablature and triglyph, at Beni Hassan, 1400 years before Pericles. Then came the discovery of Mr. Layard, giving the type of the Ionic in Assyria some centuries at least before the building of the tombs of Alyattes and Mausolus. Here is the original on the soil of Phœnicia, and having a possible date of nine centuries before Cadmus. Now I behold the Etruscan, the original order of Italy, in the land, from which, through Lydia, we must derive that people.

Deir el Kalaah contains an inscription which, in consequence of a slight discrepancy in the inclination of a letter between a copy, sent home fifty years ago by Mr. Seetzen, and one recently made by Mr. Smith, has become the chief claim to fame of the archæological Œdipus, M. Letronne. The story is a romance ; I must narrate it.

Mr. Smith, the American Missionary, known by his travels in Kurdistan, and a man of extensive acquirements, examined Deir el Kalaah, and copied and sent to Paris several inscriptions, one of which was as follows :

ΡΩΝΑΝΘΗΚΑΙ  
ΑΘΘΕΝΕΚΝΑΟΙΟ  
ΡΟΔΟΥΤΕΧΝΑΣΠΑ  
ΠΟΘΙΝΟΝΛΙΑΙΩ

ΝΟΕΚΡΑΟΥΧΑΛΚΕ  
ΟΝΑΝΤΙΤΥΠΟΝ  
ΠΡΟΧΣΑΝΤΑΒΡΟ  
ΤΟΙΣ /ΕΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΝ  
ΥΔΩΡ

On this M. Letronne set to work, and made it out satisfactorily, with the exception of the two last words. On examining, however, the Corpus Inscriptionum, he found (number 4535) the identical inscription copied fifty years ago by Seetzen, the last word but one shewing a discrepancy. The two words ran, in English letters, *Ierodromon hodor*, which mean, "holy running water." Such an epithet no where else occurs, and in it there seemed to be no sense. But in Mr. Smith's copy the first letter, I, was inclined; so M. Letronne concluded that, instead of an I, it was a part of an A, the rest of it having been effaced by time, and proposed to read the word, *Aerodromon*, which would mean "borne through the air." He consequently restored the inscription in this fashion :

. . . ρων ἀνέθηκα  
(Τή) λοθεν ἐκ νήσοιο Ρόδου, τέχνασμα ποθινόν  
"Ἀμμονος κεραοῦ χάλκεον ἀντίτυπον,  
. . . Προχέοντα βροτοῖς ἀεροδρόμον ὕδωρ.

and translated it thus :

" . . . has dedicated (this monument) brought from a far country, from the island of Rhodes, desired object of art, image of horned Ammon, pouring to mortals water borne through the air."

The inscription is of the second or third century ; and it refers to a bronze work of art, through which the water had originally poured, but which has now disappeared. The discovery of M. Letronne did not end with the word : he saw more in it. He said to himself, " water borne through the air must have been carried by an aqueduct ; tracing this conduit, we are sure to find a monument of this description." He therefore wrote to M. Calliar, a French engineer officer, then surveying Syria, desiring him to repair to the spot, and telling him that he was sure to find there a stupendous aqueduct. Nobody had heard of anything of the sort ; but M. Calliar relying on his Teucer, repaired thither, after some casting about and inquiries, was at length gratified by the sight of the rival of the Pont du Garde, striding across the valley of Beyrout. On a former occasion I came upon the same monument no less unexpectedly. His amazement at the sight may be imagined ; as also the terms of the announcement of the discovery, and its reception by the learned throughout Europe. The whole story is told in the " *Revue Archéologique*," numbers for May, November, and December, 1846.

However pressed for time I could not omit the inspection of this inscription. What was my astonishment when I read, as clear as chisel could cut, and as perfectly as indurated limestone could preserve, the word, *Ierodromon* ! I had to rub my eyes several times before I could trust them. So this chain of

proof, worked out by critical acuteness, and leading from the filling up of a letter in Paris, to the discovery of a signal monument in Syria, was, after all, but a mistake.

The aqueduct is in a deep valley below, at the distance of several hours. The water of this aqueduct was not poured out where it spanned the valley, but at Beyrout; consequently any inscription belonging to it must have been at Beyrout. It is not to be supposed that any one would take and carry it up to Deir el Kalaah. The inscription belongs to the water at Deir el Kalaah, not to the aqueduct bringing another water to Beyrout. This conduit makes its way not through the air, but underground; the word *Ἐεροδρόμον* applied to it would be ridiculous. If, as I have said, this water rose through its pipe, by a principle unknown to the Greeks (being to them one of the ancient works which they referred to Semiramis), then indeed the epithet *ἱεροδρόμον*, sacred-flowing—moved by a divine impulse—would be applicable, and would moreover prove that the water had been so raised to its level. Otherwise there would have been no object in boring the stones, in having them of such great strength, or in beveling them into each other, with so much care.

The discovery of M. Letronne, to which we appeared to owe the knowledge of a monument, amounted to the effacing of the record of a science. This is the most beautiful example I know of European criticism. He could not say, “I do not know

the meaning of Ierodromon." If he could have said so, the word would have remained for some one else, to discover through it, that the ancients, not the Greeks and Romans, knew that water inclosed, found its own level.

These very stone pipes might now be employed to bring, without repairing the aqueduct, water into Beyrout.\*

\* The Terrazi at Constantinople bring the water from the Bends at Belgrade, by a similar process.

## CHAPTER XI.

## ANTIPATHY TO PUNISHMENT.

*Jan. 21st.*—THIS day, an important case. Some villages in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem have complained of exemptions of individuals from paying their share of the taxes, which causes them to fall more heavily on the rest. A Masbata, forbidding all exemptions was passed immediately and unanimously, leaving it open, however, to the parties to make good their claims, if they had any, before a Court of Justice. To obtain appeals from the peasantry is now the great object: it is with extreme difficulty that they can be obtained. Hitherto I know of no case in which the Megilis has refused or delayed justice of this species, and it is wholly gratuitous. The struggle of the Government is to make the people independent. I have used the word “unanimously;” they are not always unanimous. Those who agree, sign the Masbata; those who do not are bound to record the grounds of their dissent.

*22nd.*—A case was concluded to-day, which suggests serious reflections on the changes in the judicial system.

The excellence of the Mussulman Courts depended alike on the comprehensiveness of the law

and the simplicity of its machinery.\* The judge is immovable; † the process of adjudication is carried on in a familiar manner, and on the oral testimony of the parties brought in presence of each other. To displace such a system, and to overwhelm the Megilis by throwing this work upon it, was at once to destroy what had to be retained, and to pervert what it was intended to create.

The peculiar failing of the people of this district, at least of all such as rise above the dead level, is sympathy for guilt. An aversion for punishment pervades all classes, ensuring, as far as they are concerned, impunity for crime, and depriving it of reproach. The accused man is an injured one, and the condemned felon a martyr. From the commencement to the close of proceedings every sympathy is enlisted for the defence, substracting evidence, falsifying proof, invoking mercy, and, when all these have failed, unrivetting chains and opening the prison doors.

The Turkish Government, formerly blood-thirsty, has oscillated to timidity; it shrinks, as those it apes, at the sight of the sword of justice. Its cha-

\* General Galloway, who spent ten years in Arabia to qualify himself for the translation of the Hidayeth used in the administration of the law in India, calls the Mussulman Civil Code, "the greatest effort of human genius."

† The only service ever rendered to England by its Parliament, since it intermeddled in politics, was the enforcing, under Charles II., the immovability of the Judges.

racter is pourtrayed in the familiar expression—"If you want favour at the Porte, only rob and revile it." My first occasion for approaching high officials was for the same purpose as now, the terms being the reverse: then I had to invoke mercy; now the axe. Formerly, when the blow fell, it was suddenly, and mercilessly; in effecting a change it was requisite that there should not be a parade of leniency, for that amounted to a proclamation of impunity. The change was, however, made rapidly, ostentatiously and recklessly; having withdrawn the power of life and death from the Pashas, which was all that was required, they then efface the Courts of Law, substitute Councils in their room; Councils without either precedents, knowledge or integrity, and without superior Courts to coerce them, if they neglect to exercise duly their functions. The case may be understood by the analogy of an English Vestry, on having restored to it its due functions in regard to assessments, being at the same time charged with the business of Bow Street and the Old Bailey. This is a point on which it is next to impossible for a European to form a free judgment, because this judicial perversion, which casts a whole people a prey to the publican, (tax-farmer), forger, bandit and usurer, is but the reflection of that bastard philanthropy which has now taken possession of Europe; which, while gloating in blood shed by the hand of violence, shudders at the very thought of it, when exacted by the law.



If there is one point on which no change was needed, it is the administration of justice. If there be one point on which the people are incapacitated for supplying the place of the Government, it is the administration of justice. If there is one point on which the Government of Constantinople is incapable of serving the provinces, it is the administration of justice.

I now come to the case which has led to these reflections.

The Sœurs de Charité of the Lazarist community brought against a builder a charge of extortion, to a considerable amount, and of a most aggravated nature. On the first hearing, the case was proved on documentary evidence, and the charge admitted by the defendant. There was nothing further to be said; but the members, before issuing their Masbata, wished for time. The matter has been subsequently re-introduced informally, and discussed. On each such occasion some member has brought forward hearsay testimony of the excellent character of the defendant, and has then entreated mercy from his colleagues. A religious body had been defrauded of property held in trust for the sick and poor: the impending Masbata involved no penal consequences, but only that he should refund to the "Sisters" the money which he had obtained from them, on falsified accounts. At last the Bishop became intercessor for the defendant; his grounds were that "his honour" prevented him from

refunding. Upon this the matter drops, that is no decision is come to. There is a point, however, that must not be omitted. This builder has a foreign protection; but it is not the Consul who has interposed to screen him; the members of the Megilis had been to the Consul to get him to interfere, and he had rejected the suggestion with indignation.

The next case was that of an officer in the Customs department, charged with forgery. The Megilis voted the charge proved. The President stated the penalty for the crime, which was five years of the galleys, and directed the Secretary to prepare the Masbata. On this he was interrupted by a member, saying that he had been unacquainted with the penalty, and thought it far too severe. One after another then deprecated, supplicated; the Secretary sat with suspended pen, the President with bewildered looks. Those who wished to see the law executed were afraid to open their lips, lest they should provoke a hostile decision from the majority. And so the matter dropped, the culprit walking forth scot-free.

I took an occasion to say a few indignant words to the member next to me. He shrugged his shoulders, and said, "We are following the example you set us." He then mentioned to me that an English subject had committed forgery, and all that the English Consul did, was to send him away from Beyrout. He shortly afterwards returned. On their remonstrating with the Consul, the answer was, "*He has not forged this time.*"

Another obstacle is to be found in the facility of evasion. No person can be condemned in a Turkish Court by default, the defendant has only to withdraw, and the case is stopped. Elsewhere, indeed, a cavash follows him, and he has to bear the charges of his capture: here, it is otherwise; he has only to get into the jurisdiction of one of the Caimacans of the Lebanon, and he is safe. The plaintiff applies to the Pasha, the Pasha writes to the Caimacan, the Caimacan says, "I will see to it," and there the matter rests. The Pasha has no authority over the Caimacans; and they are all interested in barring all pursuit.

23rd.—To-day the Megilis has been called out in its true functions. The Jews of Tiberias had charged the Mudir\* with extortion. Many of these Jews are under foreign protection; most of them possess landed property. It may be that this tribe are descendants of the ancient Jews of Tiberias, whom the Romans did not expel; and if so, they may retain some portion of the Celtic blood which probably flowed in the veins of the Jews of that district, a district which, besides others of the Apostles, produced St. Andrew. The foreign protectorate, in which they rejoice, is not exclusive; there are Rayas amongst them. The English Consul, who claims many of them as his "subjects," having "tormented" the Pasha, he provisionally replaced the Mudir, although he has now no such authority,

\* The Caimacan is the governor of a Soujac, the Mudir of a Cazas.

and required his presence before the Megilis. The Consul constituting himself the mouthpiece of the appellants, and, as usual, adducing his official character, as the substantiation of his charges, exhibited a case against the Mudir, qualifying him for the gallows. It was now on for settlement: the parties were in presence. The Jews made their charge of extortion and oppression. The Mudir selected one, stated the amount of his trade (£1500), and asked if he had ever exacted a penny from him. The Jew admitted that he had not, but said that was because he had a protection. The Mudir then selected another, unprotected, and put the same question; he too admitted that he had paid nothing. He then produced a document, signed by the chief inhabitants, declaring themselves highly satisfied with their Mudir, begging that he might not be changed, and alleging that this rancour of the Jews proceeded from their having failed in an offer to corrupt him, in order to give a false estimate of the Government lands, which they had usurped. Masbata:—That a commission be sent to verify the alleged exactions from the Jews, and the alleged usurpations by the Jews.

This day, intelligence has been received that a Megilis is to be instituted at Damascus. This is news to take one's breath away. The experiments at Brussa and Adrianople have failed; it is, therefore, on the results of this poor Megilis of ours here, that this great decision has been taken. Yet,

at those two provincial capitals, where the parallel experiments have been made, there was comparatively little to do with public lands; the different populations remained under their distinct judicial systems. There was no trial of a great delinquent to embarrass the march of baseness, and put in play all the springs of corruption. There was no independent and hostile Lebanon administration, no population irrevocably debased, by these places being seats of political Consuls.

Alas, that all this is constructive only, when it could, with so much less trouble, be made natural, and therefore certain, universal and imperishable. Is it then impossible ever to fall on simplicity by chance, or the right path by accident? If the resource of "Sitting Dahrma," of the Hindoo, were open to me, I would choose the door of Reschid Pasha's bedchamber, and he would hear echoing through the night, "Double tithe, and the people their own tax-gatherers." If they want power—there it is. If they want fame—there it is. If they want wealth—there it is. If they want ease—there it is. If they want a satisfied conscience—there it is. But then to do this involves being right, and being right is the rarest of the incidents of humanity, being doubly difficult, as either too hard for their logic, or too child-like for their pride. At all events, I shall not cease to ring it in their ears. It is no longer I, but the people themselves, who cry aloud to them, and say, "We will heap upon you what you want

—gold, and will get what you are trying to give us—  
—independence !”

To govern men is the easiest of all things ; good will is all that is wanted ; but it is just that which is always wanting. Here the contrary phenomenon is exhibited in those who rule, and a country where there is not, as with us, insuperable obstacles to success. This wonderful combination, which perhaps has never existed before, is to be shipwrecked on such a shoal as this—half a dozen Turks have gossiped in London and Paris !

The Megilis of Beyrout affords to us an important lesson. Here is a small Parliament, in which every member attends in his place during the transaction of business, with a virtue and a patriotism, not excelled even by the weaver at his loom, or the clerk at his desk. There are many things they do, which appear incredible to us : to them it would appear incredible that members of Parliament should accept (not to say seek) an office, which they never perform ; for if it be optional in members to be present or absent, there can be no such thing as a Parliament.

24th.—I went to-day to visit the prison, if by that name can be called some rooms fitted with slight shaking bars, not the size of the little finger, on the lower windows, and wooden locks on the doors. The apartments are round the court leading to the public offices, on which some of the windows open. It is the old Serai, used by the Governor

before there was a Pasha here. If this people are old with the tongue, they are young indeed with the fingers. In this abode, which would hold our jail birds, as a sieve would water, are assembled all the atrocious delinquents of this extensive Eyalet; and some of them, whom I have seen this day, would do honour to the Newgate Calendar. Here they are safely kept, to the number of eighty, by a mild mannered jailor in chief, of sickly appearance, with two subordinates to assist him.

The first apartment I was led into was large and airy. The prisoners were seated on their carpets, round the raised part. They rose as we entered, and received and returned our salutation. A group of twenty on the left had risen on the soldiers employed in the Messaa; the English Consul had interfered on their behalf. To the right a group of fifteen represented themselves as consular victims, on account of a box, missing from a shipwrecked cargo. Above a hundred persons in the neighbourhood had been arrested and detained for months; it was during harvest time, and their families and houses had been ruined; the rest had been successively dismissed, and the present fifteen brought to Beyrout to await what should be done with them. The centre group was not consular, but for theft or acts of violence; some of them had heavy chains.

We were then taken across the court into a group of three or four apartments, where were assorted graver cases. One room contained murderers, ano-

ther pirates. In the first I was shewn one who had murdered his wife and daughter ; another who, having murdered a man, cut off his head and took it to his mother, who had boiled it down to jelly. When we entered the room of the sea attorneys, I was struck by the figure of a young man, who stood forth in the centre, tall, well built, but fine in the limbs and head ; with his head and hands slightly advanced he gazed upon us, one by one, with the scowl of a wild beast. He was one of twenty-seven pirates who had risen upon and captured the vessel, in which they were being conveyed to Constantinople. They had taken her to Cyprus, where they were pursued and taken, except this one ; who, finding escape cut off, launched a spar, and seating himself upon it, made for the main, 12 miles off. He was in the water three days and three nights, and then reached Tripoli.

I was then taken up stairs to the apartments allotted to the political " Déténus" and the debtors. The first were composed of the Sheiks of Tripoli, concerned in the affair of the burial of the Christian ; they were five or six portly and goodly personages, in large turbans and comfortable pelisses, seated cozily, smoking and chatting in a room, the door of which was open, and which had in front a roof-terrace, and access also to the rooms in which the debtors lodged. There were five or six of the latter, and among them the builder who had cheated the Lazarist Sœurs de Charité. None of them seemed



to be under any restraint beyond that of an officer under arrest.

Debtors confined are not supported by the creditors; they have the prison allowance, which is 300 drachms, or 2lbs. of bread daily. They are however allowed any food that is brought them, and as this is Mevlut, or the eve of the Prophet's birthday, I found on my return a mess of pilaff for all the prisoners, which Emin Effendi was sending them; this civility is not uncommon.

I had been induced to visit the prison in consequence of having read in the "Malta Times" a soul-stirring description of its horrors, by a certain Mascarelli, who had been sent away from Beyrout, after having been some time confined here, amid "monsters inhuman, who glared on him with their lack lustre eyes, and infected him with their putrid breath." I naturally inquired for the dungeon where Mascarelli had been confined, and was informed that he had not been in the prison at all, but in the room above where I had seen the Sheiks, having the room to himself, and the same liberty as they had; and that in the adjoining apartments at that time there was but one person confined for debt, who had made his escape. This miscreant has managed for several months to fill the two papers of Malta with the most foul-mouthed abuse of the local authorities of this place, and is the source of those calumnies which I found prevalent here, on my return from Tripoli.

Mascarelli is the advocate of Feti Aga. I was told

that a contract had been drawn up and signed in the shop of the Spanish Consul, between him and the dragoman of the Russian Consul, by which he engaged to write letters against the local authorities to the Malta papers, and the dragoman bound himself to pay 20,000 piastres so soon as "any effect" appeared. The unspecified effect was to be either the removal of the Pasha, or the acquittal of Feti Aga. Some time afterwards the "*Portafoglia Maltese*" sent him a bill of 2500 piastres for the insertion of his letters. Mascarelli claimed that sum at least from the dragoman; the dragoman refused to pay. Mascarelli threatened to reveal the whole to the Pasha, and the dragoman then consented to pay, on condition that the contract was to be modified, but no sooner did he get it into his hands than he tore it. Mascarelli vowed vengeance; but at that moment he was arrested by an order from the Porte. The Russian Consul, thinking that the arrestation was in consequence of this affair, prepared for the storm by dismissing his dragoman; but the Pasha has refused all light on the subject.

As we were quitting the prison, Feti Aga himself appeared, attended by a train that filled up the street, and was double that of the Pasha.

This evening there was to have been a general illumination, but the storm, which has raged for four days, put out the lights and shut in the people. During dinner we had in attendance the chief musicians of the place, and the evening was devoted to merriment. If the Turks do not dance, they sing

for their amusement, and there was a contest between the professional and the amateur performers. Were I to give way to my natural instincts, I should call the noise howling or screeching, or anything but singing. However, their instrumental music has often a different effect; artless, it becomes pleasing, and suggests many trains of thought.

On this occasion we had all the music of the Empire, from Wallachia to the Hedjaz, and sung songs of the olden time, in all the moods.

This story of Mascarelli has much disturbed me. There can be no doubt as to the accuracy of the accounts which I have received, and yet the affair is so preposterous in itself, that there must be some more under it than appears. To a power like Russia, the proceedings against Feti Aga are vital, for if they are successful the consequences are incalculable in the way of fortifying the empire.

There can be no question, therefore, that the most intent consideration has been given by Russia to the means of action on the mind of Vamic Pasha; and though of course it is an object to discredit the proceedings in the eyes of Europe, for which its Press furnishes an apt instrument, it is not by such means that Feti Aga is to be supported here, or Vamic Pasha jeopardated at Constantinople. Indeed it is the very reverse. The whole affair looks more like an understanding than a difference with Vamic Pasha; the more so as he is an ambitious man, and I have just heard that there is a project on foot offering the largest scope to that ambition, which is

no less than the resumption of Egypt to the Porte, through his means. If then Russia has obtained a control over him, either by the discovery of some secret, or by that species of corruption through Feti Aga, which has been attempted with his rival (Emin Effendi), or by any other means, it would become an object to establish an appearance of violent antipathy on the part of Russia, for which the reality or the pretence of the agreement with Mascarelli would furnish grounds.

The precariousness of the tenure of a Pasha, and his subserviency to the Consuls, has to be known. The evidence of this state of things is contained in those blue books on Syria which I had brought with me, but which I had had no time since I came into the country to refer back to, until this morning. From them it appears that England can require the disgrace and *punishment* of a Pasha, where no British interest is involved; Russia can thus make England do her work for her, and, when necessary, also brings her direct agency to bear. That is not all; no complaints are to be brought against any British Official. The Porte was about to bring charges against Colonel Rose. The step was anticipated by an announcement on the part of the English Government, that it would listen to no such charges, and that it "would look on any such communication as an evidence of mistrust in the intentions of Great Britain towards Turkey." (Lord Aberdeen to Sir S. Canning, January 22nd, 1842.)

Now let us look at the effect of this position. The English Consul goes up into the Mountain and interferes with the administration. The Pasha is indignant, and writes to Constantinople. The Porte is indignant, and addresses itself to the Ambassador, informing him in the first instance unofficially of the circumstances, relying upon his good offices to obtain from him relief. The reply is, "You shall not bring your charges; we insist upon having as Consul the man who has offended you, and therefore we insist upon the right of interference in your domestic affairs; and moreover we insist upon the disgrace of your functionary, who has dared to report to you such interference." The consequence is that the Consul becomes Pasha. But the Pasha is not replaced by the Consul, in which case the governing obloquy would fall upon England; the Pasha remains apparently master, and so the obloquy of the acts into which he is forced, falls upon the Turkish Government.

This occurred in the year 1842; it never occurred before. This then is a new feature in the world. No Consul, before 1840, interfered with the administration of the country. We must look then to the change operating to bring it about. What is its cause? It is very evident to those who know, and not visible to those who do not. It is the Press. Marshal Bugeaud has said, "Since we have a Press, nobody knows anything." Since we have a Press, anything can be done with us. So

soon as you can produce indistinct thought, by means of controversial writing, the faculty disappears of resisting what is wrong, because you no longer know what is right. All the characters of manhood, energy, knowledge, purpose, henceforward become the property of the evil doers; the rest are mere flimsy talkers. You have a world of wretches, disposed of by the energetic few, and they acquire intensity of purpose from the mere disgust which they experience for the creatures they can lash. The feeling was expressed by Nadir Shah, which must have entered the mind of every great disturber of the world, by means of arms, so must it be present to the spirit of every disturber of the world by means of art — “I am the scourge of God.”

That at this moment Beyrout is the important point for Russia, is exemplified in my own presence here. I should not be here if I did not judge that for me it is the important point of the world. I have already given the evidence of that judgment, and if it is so to me, it is so to her. What are to me hopes, are to her fears. It is here that at the present time the reconstruction of the Empire is involved; that for her is what has to be prevented.

The Lebanon is an English and French preserve, and Russia has nought there to do; of course she too has only there some broken down expectant or cast off mistress's husband! By no means, her Consul is a *Fanariot*.

His early history was a myth, until a former

French Consul at Beyrout arrived here, recognized him and interpreted it. He had been formerly Private Secretary to Admiral Heyden, during the whole filth of Greece, and that most admirable of all pieces of management, the battle of Navarino. A cloud then came over him, and he was transferred in the direction of the Russian penal settlements. But his talents were again recognized, and favour was restored to him, after the accomplishment of a service of peculiar difficulty—that of affording the opportunity of making an example of a suspected garrison, which, some how or other, was seduced into a revolt. He then re-appeared in the Western world, and his destination was Beyrout. It was there that he afforded his valuable assistance to Chekib Effendi, in drawing up this celebrated regulation, which document proved that he had a master-hand in that species of composition. His admiration is unbounded for Chekib Effendi, whom he terms the model of administrators, whilst it singularly happens that Osman Bey, sent to supervise the trial of Feti Aga, who, despising the weak prejudices of the Turks, visits at the Russian consulate, designates M. Basili the model of Consuls. He is said to act on Colonel Rose, as a galvanic battery on a frog. “It is curious,” said the extenuating dragoman of the latter, the other day to the Pasha, “that my chief is never in a passion, except when M. Basili has just left him.”

## CHAPTER XII.

A CIVIL WAR ARRANGED BY SHEIK SAÏD, BUT  
FRUSTRATED.

*March 13th.*—THIS was to have been my last day in the Lebanon. The steamer touches once a fortnight, and was expected early this day. I had so far recovered from my long confinement, that I was enabled to profit by it, and I consequently was early on foot, and got down to Beyrout by eight in the morning. I shall hold as one of the most fortunate incidents of my life, my having moved at this hour. An hour later and this country, at the moment at which I write, would have been already given over to fire and the sword.

On reaching the residence of Emin Effendi, I found every one in consternation. Entering his room, I saw him pacing it in extreme agitation, and dictating to a Secretary. He said, "Don't interrupt me; moments are precious. The people has risen, and the insurrection must instantly be quashed." Meanwhile he told the Secretary to translate to me the dispatch that he had received. That dispatch, from Izzet Pasha, announced that the inhabitants of Jezzin had beaten the troops, and he required an order immediately to vindicate the honour of the



Sultan's arms. It was that order that was being dictated, and it was to the effect that he should proceed instantly to Jezzin, taking with him whatever number of troops he judged necessary, to put down the insurrection, and restore order. On learning this much I interposed, by asking what he was about. He answered sternly, "Doing my duty." I replied in the same tone, "You are falling into a flimsy trap. What do the Sheiks want, but to compromise the Sultan's troops with the people, and the moment they seize is, when the Pasha is absent, to involve and thereby to sacrifice you. I implore you, at least before you proceed, to state to me the case that has been reported." These words, and especially the last, confounded him. He had not read the enclosures! We now sat down to their perusal. They consisted of statements by three different individuals, and these were not only incoherent but contradictory.

The first point that came out was, that the beating of the troops did not mean the rout of a body of men, but the inflicting of some blows with sticks on certain individuals: it was not an action, but a brawl. Then it appeared that the Turkish soldiers, some three or four in number, had been put forward by the Hawalis of Saïd Bey, who had then turned upon them and excited the people to the outrage.

I inquired who had given the orders for the presence or employment of the Turkish troops at all? *He did not know.* I begged him to tear up

the half written order, and to replace it by another, for the recall of the troops from Jezzin, which he did at once; adding that all the parties concerned should be despatched to Beyrout, to answer for their conduct. The matter so far settled as regards Emin Effendi, was still nevertheless alarming. Izzet Pasha was supreme in the military department, and not a man to be moved or influenced when once aroused, especially on a point of military honour. The ultimate decision besides rested with the Megilis. That it would be for extreme measures, possessed as they were with that wonderful infatuation about holding the balance, we had no doubt. There remained nothing but to anticipate its conclusions by steps taken in the meantime, for which the concurrence of Izzet Pasha was absolutely necessary. It was therefore decided, that Emin Effendi should go at once to him, and that I should remain ready to follow.

Now a new dilemma presented itself. He informed me, that during the last two weeks there had been at Beyrout a deputation from Jezzin, clamorously demanding justice against Sheik Saïd, and threatening if it were refused to set fire to Jezzin. They were not listened to, on the grounds that the Pasha had no authority in the matter. It was as essential to content and restrain these suppliants, as it was to content and restrain Izzet Pasha, and the difficulty in each case doubled that of the other. As matters now stood, unless some compromise

could be arrived at, war would be raging within the week ; but no longer a civil war. It would be a revolt against the Sultan. It was now also clear why Sheik Saïd had pushed matters to extremities. It was therefore settled, that whilst Emin Effendi went to the Pasha, I should receive the deputation from Jezzin ; that each should immediately communicate to the other by messenger, so that we should reciprocally know on what grounds we stood.

The people from Jezzin soon presented themselves, headed by three priests. The conference lasted four painful hours. In the course of it I received three messages ; the first, that no troops should be sent ; the second, that those at Jezzin should be withdrawn ; the third, an hour later, that the sum of arrears demanded should be reduced to one-third. On my part, I had to send two messages ; the first, that the case upon which they were acting, was wholly different from the circumstances upon which they had to decide ; the second, an entreaty to suspend every decision till we had had the opportunity of conferring. I cannot undertake to put what passed on paper. The facts elicited were the following.

Jezzin and its dependent villages, amounting to 43, and containing 3000 taxable males, had been rated in the settlement of Chekib Effendi at about 45,000 piastres, which partly consisted in a poll-tax of 10 piastres per head, and partly of a property-tax. Only one payment had been made ; it was

four years ago. They then discharged their liabilities for the three previous years. They did not know the amount that had been collected, but they had paid the poll-tax, at the rate of 20 piastres a head, which was double the sum due. They produced the Masbata for that payment, according to which the two taxes are estimated for Jezzin and seven villages, 37 belonging to Saïd Bey bearing only the one tax, the poll; so that the property-tax fell exclusively on the others. They therefore complained of the whole property-tax being thrown upon them, together with a double poll-tax. This overcharge they had known only after the payment had been made; and consequently they had resisted all subsequent demands for all taxes whatever, and had paid none for four years, alleging that the 20 piastres poll-tax for the past five years was a discharge for the 10 piastres subsequently due for the ensuing four years. Saïd Bey, not content with demanding the whole sum, as before, required in addition 12,000 piastres, and had recently demanded a second 12,000, which was the occasion of the present deputation. They had determined not to pay, under any pretext, a single para, whether as tax or on account, till they were discharged from the demand. After a long and warm debate, I succeeded in getting them to admit the basis of the payment of 1845.

At this time the message reached me from Emin Effendi and Izzet Pasha, that they would reduce

the demand of arrears to one-third. I at once announced this concession, considering it more favourable to them than the grounds on which they had already permitted me to negotiate. The announcement, however, produced an explosion so vehement that no attempt was made at reply, and the whole number, rising at once, rushed out, and down into the street.

On its being represented to them, that what I had said was not a proposal of mine, but a message from the authorities ; and that I should only appear in the matter as their servant, to obtain for them justice, they returned ; though the discussion was long and angry among themselves before they did so. The expression of each countenance was changed ; they glared with their eyes, and their fingers worked ; and though against me personally no passion could be excited, I had a foretaste of the ferocity of a Lebanon civil war. The explosion, however, had exhausted them, and gave me the opportunity of giving expression to the feelings of admiration excited by a people ready to sacrifice their all on a point of honour. The last message had reversed the position in a singular manner ; the people insisting on paying 45,000 piastres, and the Government insisting that they should not pay more than 15,000 (one-third). Finally, the original terms of negotiation, the immediate payment of poll-tax of 20 piastres for four years, *in lieu* of other demands, was altered to withdrawal of all other

demands of Sheik Saïd, and payment of the poll-tax at 20 piastres for four years. This was a very different result from what I expected, and what I should have obtained except for the unfortunate concession; and it was raising precisely the dangerous point of honour with the Megilis. However, I could not do otherwise than accept the mission, as I could not but commend their spirit, and had no doubts as to the justice of their claim. The important point was, however, that I could speak in their name, and so had standing ground in the Megilis.

On entering the Megilis the messenger was in the act of receiving a Boyourdi for Jezziz, and a letter for the Caimacan. I begged them to hear me before they acted. The two documents were read; the Boyourdi was a severe rebuke to the village, the letter a still more severe one to the Caimacan, charging him with the purpose of committing the Turkish troops against the people. I observed that I had listened to matters on which I had no right to speak, unless they wished to hear; and so being questioned, I replied that the one document would exasperate the people, and the other the Caimacan; and while they imagined they were holding the balance between the two, they were really giving their power to the oppressor against the oppressed. The people were not to know the contents of the letter; and the Caimacan could make concessions, and would appear to do so of himself for the protection of the people against the

provincial authorities. A discussion of three hours ensued, and ended by my getting the substance of the private letter inserted in the *Boyouardi*. It was only after this that the affair of the people of *Jezzin* came on.

I nakedly stated their terms, on which there was an explosion, if not equal in intensity, surpassing in vehemence that of the morning. They did not rush into the street, but seemed much inclined to cast me thither. All I could expect now was to postpone a decision ; for this the elements were not wanting in their various passions. From sheer exhaustion, and far on in the night, the matter was adjourned.

I returned home even more pained in spirit than fatigued in body, oppressed with the sense of the precarious condition of the country, which the slightest incident might, at any moment, replunge into anarchy. Here there was no immediate disturbing influence on the part of the Consuls : Colonel Rose was absent ; the Russian Consul abstains from all ostensible interference, and the French Consul had no time to act, had he been so disposed.

14th.—This morning we had an early and private meeting at the residence of *Izzet Pasha*. I was not very sincere in the surprise I exhibited on ascertaining that neither did he know by what authority the troops had been sent to *Jezzin*. He and *Emin Effendi* now saw it all, and were at once humbled and thankful ; when I proposed to with-

draw Jezzín from Saïd Bey, as a means of anticipating the debate in the Megilis, they instantly agreed. In reliance on this diversion, a further document was added to the two of last night, which had not been despatched, stating that the disputed points of taxation and arrears should be reserved for decision by Emin Effendi, and making mention of the Deputation as having obtained this result. With this I was able to meet the Jezzín people: the Pasha went to the Megilis to delay proceedings until my answer was received.

I commenced with placing before the Deputation the extreme difficulty with which the danger had been averted, the prospect of a better state of things when the Messaa was settled, as by it Saïd Bey's property would pay its due share, so reducing their obligations by three quarters. I then stated the contents of the Boyourdi, and as much of that of the letter to the Caimacan as I had been permitted to do. They listened in silence, and as I proceeded I thought they were content. When I had done, they rose; tendered their thanks, each advancing separately for that purpose, and then moved in a body to the door. I had no suspicion of what had happened till I heard the vociferation outside of those who had first left; then cries of indignation began to rise in the street. So I sent to request, as a favour, their return, and told them that I wished to guard against a mistake which they might make; that what I had stated was not a decision, but a



narrative of steps taken to arrive at such a decision, as they would be content with. They replied that they were heedless of consequences, and would quit Jezzin after throwing their hodgets (title-deeds) at Saïd Bey's feet, and burning the town. I made a last attempt to place before them their utter powerlessness to resist, and implored them to consider both themselves and their families before bringing destruction on their heads. But they now seemed to listen only to passion, and I sent them away, after reproaching them for their folly, and their township for sending such wilful and headstrong representatives.

I went straight to the Megilis, and calling Emin Effendi out, narrated the scene. In the meantime intelligence had arrived of revolution in two Druze villages; every hour matters were becoming graver. It was understood that the whole of the Sheiks were watching either for the rejection of the demands of Jezzin, or for concession to it; in the first case to organize a united opposition, in the other to demand a reduction: each (now that the troops had been involved in raising the tax) leading to an insurrection, or to a disturbance of sufficient magnitude to frustrate the Messaa. Another difficulty was in the way; the Porte had ordered the payment of the arrears, and there was no disobeying. The money was for the troops; that was the way in which Izzet Pasha had got compromised into sending men to look after it in the hands of the

Mucatajis, and whom Saïd Bey and the Caimacan had immediately involved in collecting it from the people. The money had to be got, and if the people of Jezzin would not pay voluntarily, the Sheiks would declare that they had not force to coerce them. There was the dilemma. I however anticipated that the scene which had occurred with the people of Jezzin would not remain without effect on the Megilis, whilst a re-action might ensue with themselves. They were now assembled in the street before us; after giving them time to reflect, I went out, attended not by an interpreter but by a sergeant, who could interpret for me. It happened as I expected; they came round me, imploring my mediation. Acting on this change, I called Emin Effendi out into the street, and addressing him on their behalf, offered to accept his decision if he would act independently of the Pasha and the Megilis. They re-echoed the words. "Then," he said, "it is finished; what you can pay, pay that, and on the account on which you hold it due." They answered, "We will pay the one-third of the arrears, and you shall decide whether they be arrears or tax." He left me with them, and when I re-entered the Megilis, the members rose, standing while the President formally returned me thanks.

I may now look back, not only on what would have happened that had to be prevented, had I sailed yesterday morning, but on what we have in hand, as positively gained. The money raised, the

people contented, the Sheiks threatened, the soldiers withdrawn; and the honour of the Sultan's troops vindicated, not by slaughtering his subjects, but by an order which shall prevent their future degradation into tax-gatherers. The Lebanon itself here sinks into insignificance; Sheik Saïd, had he been successful, would have converted the whole Turkish army into an instrument of oppression. That army which at present secures the Empire from attack from without, would lay it prostrate within, from the moment that line of demarcation is passed. No men can feel this more strongly than now do the Turkish administrators here. Whatever may ensue hereafter, in that respect the lesson will not be forgotten. Nor can this lesson be forgotten by the people.\* If I have returned home to-night with satisfaction in my heart, Emin Effendi may lay his head on his pillow, with pride, as well as satisfaction, for the word of a Turk once given, passions were allayed, and confidence restored.

Fearing that the part I had taken might have the effect of increasing the disposition of referring to foreigners, I explained to them, on their paying me a final visit, that I had appeared in it, first, solely

\* The effect of this incident did endure; it was through it that the Lebanon failed in its part in the general insurrection, planned for 1852, which failed in all its other parts equally. The Turkish troops have, since that time, been kept out of the broil, and to these causes have to be referred the delay of the Syrian Insurrection for eight years; that is to say, from 1852 to 1860.

*Note* 1860.

at the request of the authorities, and secondly, solely as their delegate; that had I happened to be a foreign Consul, with every disposition to serve them, I should have been precluded from so doing; because the very fact of my saying a word in their favour would have rendered the authorities deaf to every consideration, save those suggested by their offended self-love. I therefore warned them against referring hereafter to a Consul. They, one and all, protested against any such thoughts. I expressed my astonishment to hear them speak in a sense so opposite to the habits of the country. They said that they had learned by dear experience the result of consular interference. I imagined that they were merely adapting themselves to what they thought would be agreeable, and told them so; but they substantiated their words. They said, "Have you not seen our despair? We have been here 15 days; we have sat before this door all these days; our prayer has been rejected; yet we have sat here. At last we said to one another, where shall we go? and we answered each other, let us go home, or to *Constantinople*. Who ever saw one of us at the door of a consulate?"

*March 15th.*—To-day I had Emin Effendi and the French Consul to dinner. The former, to my surprise, entered frankly into the affair of Jezzín, and the latter mentioned a curious incident which explained the sudden change in the Deputation, between the time that I had dismissed them and their return.

The dragoman I had employed belonged to the French consulate, but he is also one of the most important persons in the place. His name is Maron Nacash, the first, if not the only Arab poet of these times, and the author of their first play, and has recently been appointed judge in the newly instituted commercial court. The Jezzīn people recognized him, and addressed him by name.

After I had turned them out, he passed them in the street. They came to him to beg to be enlightened, for they were in utter confusion; so completely was fixed in their mind the association between Saïd Bey and Englishmen, that when sent to me they could only see in me the English Consul (indeed they persisted in calling me so), and therefore the patron of Saïd Bey; so they interpreted the reference to me, as a conclusion of the authorities to support Saïd Bey at all costs. When then they recognized the interpreter of the French consulate, they were utterly lost. Seeing him, while in this perplexity, they implored him to solve the enigma; he told them that there was nothing to do here with English or French Consul; that I was a friend of Emin Effendi, and as such sought to settle the matter, and that they were a set of fools, rushing on their own destruction. It was then that, relieved from the dread of being the victims of an intrigue, they followed me to the Seraï to make the unconditional surrender, which was responded to by granting them more than they had originally asked. Another inci-

dent is worth recalling. They asked why they could not have a Turk for a Governor, and why the people of Deir el Cammar should alone have that privilege? They used the very words of the people of Samos, "All we want is a Pasha." I told them to offer to bring the money, and pay it into the hands of the Turkish authorities. They had done so, but the offer was refused. When now told that they might pay it to the officer sent to receive it for Saïd Bey, there was an exclamation of delight, as if they had been relieved from any payment at all. In one of the other insurrectionary villages the money, the payment of which was resisted to the Mucatajis, was actually brought to the Turkish officer. Will it be believed that this state of things should be designated by our ambassador at Constantinople as "the rights of the people of the Lebanon?"

On making inquiry as to the cause of the absence of the Pasha at so critical a moment, I learnt that nobody knew. He had started suddenly for a roving visit through the Pashalic. He missed the *emeute* at Jezzin so narrowly, that there was but some hours interval between it and his departure from Beyrout.

In Article 4 of "Instructions of Chekib Effendi to the two Megilis," it is provided "that a list of public obligations of each district, and of the particular obligations of each village and each monastery, shall every year be prepared by each Megilis, under the personal superintendence of the Caimacan." On

referring to the schedule, prepared in obedience to this instruction for the Jezzin district of ten villages, I find poll-tax and property-tax, 32,570 piastres; 36 villages paying poll-tax only, 4160 piastres; one village paying only property-tax, 1272 piastres; 2 monasteries paying 618 piastres (under what denomination is not specified); 1 monastery paying 1919 piastres, both as poll and property-tax; 5 Sheiks paying altogether 2394 piastres; Sheik Saïd Jumbellat is put down separately, as paying 2696 piastres. Total, 45,629 piastres.

*March 17th.*—What a storehouse of abominations are those Blue Books on Syria! They have perfectly understood all along what hangs on allowing the people to collect their own taxes. Mr. Wood (September 7, 1841) reports himself to have said to the people, “The Sublime Porte could never be brought to receive only a certain sum of money from its Provinces, without interfering in their respective administrations.” To disorganize a State, no less than to reconstruct it, its elements must be understood. They require no spies to tell them what I am about. The discovery may be startling, but the struggle assumes a loftier character. So, then the remission of the 200,000 piastres in 1834, to Samos, was no accident.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## MARONITE CONNECTION WITH FRANCE.

*March 18th.*—THE foreign relations are dreadfully oppressive. The English Consul sent his dragoman to demand account of proceedings at Latakia against a Christian who had become Mussulman and had turned Christian again. Four or five years ago, on the occasion of a similar double apostacy and execution of an Armenian at Constantinople, the English Government had coerced the Porte into a promise to abolish the penalty of death for apostacy; a measure beyond its competency. Since then instructions have been sent to the Consuls throughout the Empire to act vigorously in all such cases. Besides the indignation which at all times must be aroused in the breast of the sufferer by a violation of the law of nations, and the more so when it is for no gain, but merely fanaticism, these cases afford the most artfully imagined occasions at once for exciting the fanaticism of the Mussulmans, and for perplexing the provincial Government. In the present case the Consul, in a second communication, declared that he only interfered officiously, and with a friendly view, and suggested that the person in question should not



be sent, as had been proposed by the Megilis of Latakia, to Aleppo, but allowed to go where he pleased. Another version however of the circumstance reached Beyrout, from which it appeared that the English consular agent there had demanded that the renegade be given up to him, declaring that he acted by the orders of his Government, and on this demand the man had been given up. What makes the atrocious proceeding more absurd is that the man is a Greek, and Mr. Basili, his natural protector, never opens his lips. How absurd is it to see the patron of the worshippers of the man-god Hakim (the Druzes) pretending to be fanatic as a Christian, to a pitch never dreamt of in the midst of the Crusades. The Government here are delighted to escape any way for the moment, not seeing that they have allowed a precedent to be established. It always begins with "official" communications or advice, and then they turn to official. As far as proselytism is concerned it works just the wrong way. It will facilitate the embracing of Islam, not of Christianity, making it easy again to abjure it; but all the ambassadors and consuls look to is the opportunity of interference.

*March 20th.*—The Pasha, who had started so suddenly on his journey ten days ago, and so secretly that no one was aware of his purpose till the morning of his departure, is, we hear, rivalling Haroon el Raschid, and goes about the bazaars of Acre disguised as a mendicant. Being of a singular figure and large dimensions, everybody of course knows

him but himself. At Saïda he addressed to the notables a discourse in set terms on the duties of men and Government, ending with a no measured denunciation of those, who, being placed in authority to punish evil-doers, become themselves oppressors. At Sour he encamped at the Pools of Solomon, and the Metuali chiefs having notice of his arrival, hastened to pay their respects. They were left a long time outside, and when at length admitted, the conference consisted in the following sentences :

*Pasha.* What do you want ?

*Metualis.* We have come to present our duty, and to have the happiness to visit your Excellency.

*Pasha.* Visit me ! I live at Beyrout. I have been there two years. You have not come to visit me ; but now I am come to visit you. I am come to see that the people have their rights, and that you do not wrong them. Go home, take back your horses (they had brought horses as a present), and take care not to give occasion for my seeing you, or hearing of you again.

My informant, a European resident at Saïda, and who has resided in Syria 25 years, was in raptures. The contrast, he said, between former times and the present, is this, that now there are abuses, then there was violence. The people then trembled for the ferocity of the Pashas, now they have only to apprehend their leniency.

*March 22nd.*—This day, being Friday, had been fixed for an excursion to the Pines. It had oc-

curred to me to suggest to Emin Effendi to sow some copses of them, as former noted Governors have done, from Fakreddeen down to Ibrahim Pasha, and so perpetuate his name. But he already had the same idea, and had prepared a surprise for me, in twelve hundred weight of seed from the Mountain. The Pines wore this day a mantle of more than wonted loveliness; their red columns ascending from the green groves or fields of the youthful progeny around, and their tufted heads scattered, as it were, through the landscape of mountains and clouds, which shone under the glowing sky and in the glassy air.

We inspected the woods, and selected a place for the new plantation.\* Of the large trees, 45 only still stand: two have been blown down this year; they are about 15 feet in circumference, and the trunk 60, after the branches have been chopped off. These are the trees supposed to have been planted by Fakreddeen, who was put to death 154 years ago, but they are twice as old; I counted in one, 317 rings. They had passed their prime, and were rotted in parts, so that the age of the Snowbar may be fixed at three centuries. Of the remaining copses, the oldest is 45 years, the youngest 12. They are regularly dressed every two years, and the Treasury receives 21,000 piastres for the branches. They are in fields of different heights, and there is

\* I am informed that this plantation now bears my name—*sic vos non vobis*.—*Note* 1860.

scarcely any verdure under their dark shade on the red sand. The plantations are extensive, but occupy a small portion only of the sandy district which extends from the shore on the south, and along it for a dozen miles; the breadth may be three. It does not flow in an even sweep, but presents hills and gaps, and amongst them you might suppose yourself in the desert, thousands of miles from the haunts of men. This mass, moved by the S.S.W. wind, is advancing steadily upon the plain of Beyrout with a speed which suggests the not distant submerging of plain and city; and as at its present rate of speed the whole must have been swallowed up long ago had it equally advanced in former times, the people fancy that there are fountains of sand as of water, and that it is of the nature of an Irish travelling bog. This land has been covered with gardens and culture even within the memory of the people, and probably from the first settlement of the country, so that the sand has only within two or three generations resumed its peregrinations, arrested during five or six thousand years. There are yet rude burying-grounds to be seen, and the part on the coast lying nearest to Beyrout bears the name of "Gardens of the Metuali." When the new sand is blown off, and leaves the old sand bare, it is intermingled with pottery of all periods, and pieces of brick and marble. I picked up some fragments of Phœnician glass. There are two kinds of sand, one red and the other pale yellow; it is the

latter of which the people imagine that there is a fountain : it is blown up from the sea ; the other is a deposit. The point of Rass Beyrout is high and rocky, and of course no sand rises ; but to the south it is low, and with a beach exposed to the S.S.W. wind ; wherever it is so, you have sand blowing up. Its progress is chiefly perceptible at the northernmost point ; it advances, not like a drift, but like the works of a siege, up to 20 feet in height, the talus rolling over houses and gardens. You see the shoots alone coming through from mulberry trees that have been pruned last year ; the sand had reached the root of a lemon tree in a garden, and the proprietor told us that at the last ploughing he had turned up 20 furrows between it and the sand. The extreme northernmost angle of this invasion seems as if traced by an engineer against the southernmost tower of Beyrout. It is a trenching battery opened on that place, and in its sweep, unless arrested by vegetation, will take in the entire city.

*25th.*—An incident induces me again to record the proceedings of the Megilis. The peasants of two villages belonging to Acre, being unable to pay their taxes, had offered all they had, which was oil. The case was referred to the Megilis of Beyrout. A Masbata had been issued for the sale of the oil at Acre, from day to day as it arrived, the Treasurer to receive the money, and the surplus, after the tax was liquidated, to be refunded to the villages : a member of the Megilis of Acre was appointed to

conduct the business. The oil was bought by a French merchant, at the price of the market, and warehoused as it came to hand. The Pasha, however, has ordered the oil to be seized and put up to public auction, because the transaction was oppressive to the people, whose produce had been "usurped." Such is the fruit of this visitation of the Pasha.

The Megilis had themselves sold the oil, and now, when the price is high, they go to the Pasha and say, "See how the foreign merchants cheat the people."

If this plot succeeds, European merchants will be deterred from dealing with the peasants, who will be thus thrown on the class of persons comprising the Megilis. The Pasha is made use of, by means of his desire to protect the people; and the Megilis shuts out from him the truth, because to his eyes they represent the people.

Legislators, whose works have endured, do not begin in the style of that easiest species of literary composition—"There shall be a council, it shall consist of fifty members, they shall be chosen by ballot, &c."

*March 28th.*—For the last ten days I have had no time to make notes. The Megilis on the one hand, conversations on the other, occupying every moment that is not actually needed for sleep. It is hard work with the Turkish officials; it is impossible to do anything without their entire concurrence, and that concurrence is impossible, unless they are

quite prepared to sacrifice themselves. My labour now is to make them accept this sacrifice. One of them has made the declaration in the presence of the rest. What I have now to fear is, the ulterior objects of Vamic Pasha, in reference to Egypt.

On the other hand a most encouraging change has taken place in the Maronites. I have mentioned the inhospitable treatment I received in the Maronite Caimacanship. That was partly, but not entirely, explained by the affair of the Missionaries at Eden. I have since ascertained that the feeling was much deeper, and also very complex; it has only come out by degrees. First, there was the antipathy against me as an Englishman, a very bitter feeling since their obedience to the summons of England, to take up arms against Emir Beshir and France. My association with the Druzes, which ought to have dispelled the first illusion, only aggravated it; and so also my association with the Turkish Government. But what was worst of all, was my estimation of the Turkish character, which provoked them not only in a religious, but a social sense, as affecting their self-love. On the top of this, came the affair of Jezzin; their gratitude is now augmented by the full amount of their prior antipathy. Their first confidential overtures came in the shape of a request that I would not quit the country, for the morning after I had left, they would be cutting each other's throats.

The cleverest man at present among the Ma-

ronites, is Mottran Tobias. I shall, therefore, only take note of my conversations with him. These have been long and multiplied, and in the course of them everything has been gone through. On one occasion he said to me, "Whence comes your predilections for the Turks?" I answered, "Whence come your predilections for the Christians? (I will endeavour to give it in the form of question and answer.)"

*Bishop.* "I am a Christian."

What has that to do with the matter?

"It seems to me that it has everything to do with the matter."

Well, perhaps you are right, for if you are a Christian, you act upon the rules laid down by Christ, and you adopt his life as the model of yours; and Christ has said, "By their fruits ye shall know them." Therefore you, being a Christian, have to judge the Turks by their conduct, and the Christians by their conduct, and not by their bearing either the one name or the other.

"Well, so judging I see in Christians faith; and in Turks, infidelity."

I see exactly the reverse. It all depends upon what we mean by the word "faith."

On this we ran through the social virtues, and the public duties, the contrast in each of which he could not help admitting; having always to bring him back to the point, that in the words of Christ and the Apostles, wickedness and infidelity were syno-



nymous, and that what was preached was repentance and conversion, not in the modern sense of that word. The transition was easy, to the unchristian character of the nations of Europe, and the sin that was involved in every act of what they called their "policy." After this conversation, the fanatical part was allayed, and discussion was opened on the merits of the case.

In another conversation I put to him directly and distinctly the consequences that would follow for them individually on the occupation of the country by any European Power, independently of the struggle itself. I shewed him that the sudden introduction of our social system, would at once paralyze all means of Government, there being neither the habits of submission to systematic wrong, and class oppression, nor the evil intelligence in administration, which we call public spirit, nor the funds, arms, placemen, which we have created for carrying it out, nor any of the expedients, devised and perfected among us in a long course of years, to fill the place of the Patriarchal element, which here supplies all deficiencies, which is politeness. I shewed him that they had a foretaste of Europe, in the Tariff, the Caimacanship, and the Consuls. If he wanted more, he might judge of the fate that awaited them, by what was now doing in India since the English Government was usurping the station of the East India Company; in Circassia, where they could appreciate the Russians; and in Algeria, where they could understand France.

I now come to a conversation I have just had, and of greater importance; an exposition of the position of the Maronites towards France, which I set down as nearly as possible in his own words.

“ I wish you to know that we are not attached to France. France is to us an oppression, from which we would be most happy to escape; we have proved this by acts, but no account is taken of them. How France came to be considered our protector is an old story, into which it is needless to enter. The connection awakened against us the hatred of the Turks and of the Greeks, and to it may be attributed the past suffering of our people from both. Here and in the other parts of Syria, in Egypt and in Cyprus, from the middle of the last century to the close of the campaign of Napoleon, we reckon that the blood of 40,000 Maronites has been shed by the Turks or the Greeks. This is the debt we owe to French protection. When, in 1840, the French Government sent to us to require us to support Ibrahim Pasha and Emir Beshir, we gave a flat refusal. M. —— came to Saida, and sent a messenger to the Patriarch (of the house of Habesh) who sent his own secretary to give him the answer, which had been decided on by the Bishops and Chiefs, which was: “ the Maronites had heard much of, but had never seen, the fruit of the protection of France, and could not, in the hope of it, expose themselves to the risks they were now required to run.” Then the English Government sent to us an

agent, a Catholic (Mr. Wood), accompanied by M. Stendel, on the part of the Austrian Government, proposing to us to accept the protection of Austria in lieu of that of France. We declined to make any application for such protection, and we complained to Mr. Wood of the interference, in our religion, of the Protestant Missionaries, which made us look with suspicion on the intentions towards us of the English Government. He assured us that the English Government was opposed to all missionary schemes, and suggested that we should draw up a petition to the Turkish Government, requesting the Missionaries to be prohibited from entering the country, promising that the English Ambassador would obtain from the Porte an order to that effect. Satisfied with these assurances, we aided in the expulsion of Mehemet Ali, although he had every way favoured the Maronites.

“The promised order respecting the Missionaries never came. England set up a Protestant Bishop, and obtained from the Porte the formal recognition of the Protestants as a body. She dictated, first the Caimacan system, and then the Consul here suggested to Chekib Effendi his plan, which were all blows levelled at the Maronites. Never before were there Druze governors in the Lebanon. While appearing to set up Druzes only over Druzes, the unhappy Christians were subjugated to the rule of these barbarians, and the very Pasha was left without the power of affording redress. France did

nothing to protect us, but instead took that moment to wrest from us three or four monasteries, to confer them on the Lazarists and other religious communities of her own; by means of these, taking out of our hands the education of our children, and bringing them up to be Frenchmen instead of Maronites. Several of our nation, of greatest weight, went to Colonel Rose, to explain to him that the *English Government* was quite mistaken in supposing that the Maronites were attached to France; that they were anxious to free themselves from her; that they had proved this by following the suggestions of England despite of France; and, finally, that the course he was pursuing was precisely the one to force them into this dependence; that it was needless to take up the Druzes to counteract French influence which did not exist; and that England, if she wished to have influence, could have it with the Maronites. The only reply of Colonel Rose, was, "You are, soul and body, French; England has no alternative but to support the Druzes." We have several times attempted to make the Turkish Government aware of these circumstances; it says it can do nothing against the Powers.

"When Halil Pasha was here, we made another effort, and he suggested to us to address to the Porte a petition to relieve us from the protection of France. We answered, "Why do you not send us an order!" He said the Porte feared to do so. We said, "Who is the Sultan, and who are we? Shall we do that which the Sultan fears to do?"

“What course ought we to adopt; is there a chance of England changing her conduct, and affording us her protection?”

I replied:—If England afforded you protection, she would not change. She has given you her protection once, she may give it you again; but the end will be the same. There are but one of two courses; either she deals honestly or dishonestly. If she is honest, she will have nothing to say in your affairs, and she will prevent others from having anything to say in them. But that is not what we have to do with at present. It is with your position in reference to your own Government. The connection of Maronite and Druze with England and France is in itself traitorous, and threatens the Ottoman Empire with dismemberment. Against that danger it is the duty of the Porte to provide, if even by your extermination; it is what any European Government would do without a moment's hesitation. It is even what those very Governments suggest to the Porte. I have myself heard the agent of one of your Protectors say to a Turkish official, “Finish the business your own way.” This may come without any formal decision; you see what you have just escaped at Jezzin; you know what happened in 1841, and again in 1845. In 1845 there were but 400 Turks in the Lebanon; now there are 1500 in the heart of the Mountain, and 12,000 round it, independently of those at Damascus, which, in the recent affair of Zachle, were on the point of being sent there.

“This view of the case had not presented itself to me; but I have, nevertheless, entertained the gravest apprehension for the future. I have felt that we were walking on a volcano: now I see it. My fears had been only for the Druzes; I had not considered the effect on the Turkish Government—(after a pause), Shew me a way of safety.”

Appeal to the Druzes in the name of those interests which for 800 years have united you. Find indignation against the wretch who degrades his people by mendicating foreign patronage. Destroy the suspicions of the Porte, and enlighten it on its true interests and your own. Relieve it from the fears of your introducing into the heart of Asia, the Power which has driven it from the coast of Africa, and the Power which has dismembered it in Greece.

“You think, then, that we should send a petition to the Porte to release us from the protection of France?”

I am gratified to find that you are so disposed.

“Can France injure us for doing so?”

France has no external spontaneous motion, and if she had, she would aid, not thwart you. You are a burden to her, that is to her Government, as much as she is to you.

“Still it will be annoying to her, to have England the patron of the Druzes.”

The pretext of England's patronage of the Druzes would be taken away: you may see the Druzes themselves taking a step equivalent to yours.

“ Ah! If that could be! But they have gained all, and we have lost all.”

Whatever you reckon as gain to them, they reckon as loss to themselves and gain to you. You said yourself, that Colonel Rose “ was prepared to sacrifice the whole of the Lebanon to one man, and that if Sheik Saïd were removed he would think it a gain, if the whole people were destroyed.” The Druzes are sacrificed just as the Maronites are, and that is what you gain, by your meddling with Consuls.

“ We have no sympathies with the Turks, but we are perfectly aware of the advantage we enjoy in having a Turkish instead of an English, French, Austrian or Russian master. We would, to a man, take up arms to keep the Turks in power at Constantinople, but we do not want Turks in the Lebanon, for two reasons: first, they mix up religion with government; secondly, they allow Europeans to turn them round their fingers. Thus four other masters are put over us. When Chekib Effendi was here, a petition was prepared in the Mountain, praying to have a Turkish Governor. Chekib Effendi hearing of it, sent for the Bishop, treated him with great violence, and threatened him and all concerned with punishment. Who could explain such a proceeding? Of course the petition was dropped soon enough, and those who had the day before looked to the Turks to protect them from the Franks, now looked to the Franks to deliver them from the Turks.

Colonel Rose had made Chekib Effendi believe that the Maronites were acting at the suggestion of France, and that this was an intrigue of hers to get Emir Beshir restored! Now, the Turkish Government has changed, and what money is not spent in the Mountain for that purpose!"

The Maronites are not a whit less children than the Turks, and are quite as ready to believe any story, provided it be false. I will pay you 100 piastres for every one you can trace, as paid by the Turkish Government for any purpose whatever.

"We are brought by you Franks into such a state, that every man suspects every other. For us the old proverb is no longer true: The master knows best what happens in the house."

That is the master's own fault. If he had been turned by somebody else out of doors, the other would be master; but when he turns himself out of doors, no proverb can apply.

"But surely if they only knew in England, all this might be spared to us. Why will the English persecute us?"

Do you think that I know the state of the Lebanon?

"I do."

Do you think I wish to serve you?

"I do."

Do you think I know my own country?

"I do."

Would I not then be insane to take all this trouble



to get you to act upon your Government, so as to stop the interference of England—for that is the whole matter, there is no other evil or danger—if it were possible to get the English Government to let you alone?

“Tell me how it is that so simple a thing as that is impossible?”

That simple thing involves the fate not of the Lebanon only, but of the Ottoman Empire, of India, of France, of Germany, of all Europe, and of all Asia. It is a thing as plain as the sun in the heavens at noonday, or as invisible as the sun at midnight. England is nothing more than the man who happens to be Foreign Minister; nobody else knows anything, or cares for anything. There is nothing done in the Lebanon to the smallest point that he does not know and has not commissioned. If I were to go and tell in London what is doing, there is no man who would not laugh in my face, and call me a fool and a madman. The very ambassador in Constantinople does not know what is doing. It is in consequence of a discovery of this kind that Colonel Rose is at present absent.

“But you have not always the same Foreign Minister; you have changes of parties, they cannot all be alike.”

They are all alike. Russia is cleverer than England; some she gains one way, some she gains another; some she uses because she buys them; some, because she knows their secrets; some, because they

have this principle, some, because they have the contrary principle; and some even because they hate her; these last are amongst the best servants and the best masks she has got. But this you may take as certain, as a truth which will never be belied, and which every incident will confirm and establish, that Russia is the enemy against whom you have to struggle; and that the English minister, whoever he may be, is acting as her instrument, whether it be to coerce or to cajole. Though you may be assured that I speak the things I know, I will shew that others know it also. Here are the words of the most distinguished servant of Austria, M. Prokesch, not spoken openly as I speak, but written secretly to his son, and by an accident only made public.

“The Porte resists, but there is no one to back her. France follows England, and England is in understanding with Russia.”

“But why dont you tell them this in England?”

That is impossible. This could not be true if they could be told. You forget that they consider themselves a free people; to tell them this is to offend each man, he will not listen to it. You listen only because you feel the direct blow. For this reason, and not less for another, that you are not yet inflicted with political opinions: the only chance for the saving of Europe herself lies in the East. Protection for this sect or that, by one European Power from another, that is the limit of your present ideas. What you have to reach to is, to unite, to liberate yourselves

from all the European Powers ; but for this you will be equal only when you understand that you have got to rescue Europe herself, by destroying her illusions. It is the purpose makes the man. With such a purpose as this, the humblest amongst you will be a king.

## CHAPTER XIV

## THE SHAAB.

*March 30th.*—THERE still remain two things to see, without which the picture of the Lebanon is not complete. The one, the remnant of the fallen house of Shaab; the other, a Druze Sheik; who lives in seclusion. My attention was directed to the latter by these words, spoken by the person on whose judgment I found most reason to rely: "He is the only man in the Lebanon with a head and a hand." The visit to Hadeth, where the Shaab resides, and to Sheik Nasif Abou Niket, could easily be accomplished by sleeping two successive nights at Shimlan, the residence of Mr. Scott, who has the largest silk establishment in the country. The local authorities were also anxious that I should pay this visit. Thus were smoothed the difficulties in the way, of my seeing a proscribed person. What was to be done for an interpreter? Neither would trust my ordinary interpreter, he being a native: any interpreter that would be trusted by a Shaab, would be mistrusted by a Druze, and *vice versa*. After several days negotiation, I succeeded in getting one for each: for the Shaab, Izzet Pasha furnished me

with Ibrahim Effendi, who had served me so well on other occasions; for the Druze, another arrangement was made.

During the discussion on this important matter, a rule was laid down for me, which gives the whole history of the Lebanon. It was as follows: "Your Dragoman must be neither Maronite, Greek, nor Druze; he must be a stranger, and of all strangers, the safest is a Mussulman." This is no other than the rule by which the Lebanon has always chosen its master; Dragoman and Master are synonymous. Elsewhere there is mistrust; but here there is no confidence. In nations composed of scores of millions, the individuals engaged in the intrigues of diplomacy are rated by scores of units only; here each individual is engaged in them. A village lies before you on the side of a hill; there is a Maronite, a Greek, and a Druze quarter. Each of these are Foreign Powers, having their foreign affairs, their alliances, their truces, and, at any hour, their wars. These wars may break out in the back court of any one of these cottages, and the whole country and all Europe may be involved in it. These foreign relations include every private difference; they affect every contract for the delivery of cocoons; to enforce a delivery of goods, or the payment of a forfeiture for the non-delivery, entails communications with ambassadors, the expositions of reasons of state, and the intervention of the whole of the machinery, put in requisition for the main-

taining or the upsetting of the public peace of the world. This is no supposition. As I write, documents connected with such a transaction lie before me; and at this present moment, three of the principal, if not the principal, European proprietors, in Syria, are secretly applying to the Porte, to become Rayahs, that they may be protected from the interference and oppression of their Consuls. The result has been the establishment of such habits of inveterate secrecy, that no man ventures so much as to write a private letter to another respecting the ordinary transactions of life. They send a letter by a person, writing in it, "you may trust the bearer," or they send a letter making inquiries after health, and enclosing a scrap in a disguised hand without date or seal, mentioning the business itself.

Being on this subject, I cannot refrain from mentioning a singular incident which has recently occurred. The Pasha desired to communicate with the Bishop of the Maronites, who is in fact their representative. The Pasha speaks nothing but Turkish; the Bishop nothing but Arabic. The whole mass of the administrative functions is carried on simultaneously in these two tongues; and yet not one person could be found whom the Pasha and the Bishop could severally trust. At last the plan was hit upon of employing three interpreters; that is to say, that there were three individuals who could be trusted by both Pasha and Bishop, but not one of these spoke both Arabic and Turkish. One of these

spoke Turkish and French, another spoke French and Greek, the third spoke Greek and Arabic; and it was by passing through those three tongues, and three interpreters, that the communication at length took place. The interpreters were Emin Effendi, myself, and a Maronite priest. The first translated to me in French, as the matter was too abstruse for my Turkish; I translated into Greek for the priest, and he translated into Arabic. The peculiarity of the affair was this, that the mistrust was neither of Druzes or Maronites, nor of the Turkish Government; the object in view was the plainest and simplest thing it is possible to imagine: it was the terms of a petition to be addressed to the Sultan. There were no complaints against the Turkish functionaries; there were no demands on the Turkish Government, either for remission of taxes or concession of rights. The petition consisted of a prayer to the Sultan for the exertion of his legitimate authority. The secrecy was solely in reference to the English consulate. The Maronite Bishop was satisfied, that if known to be moving in such a matter, he would draw down on his head the vengeance of England; the Pasha was equally satisfied that if he was known to consent to such a step, the influence of England at the Porte would obtain his removal and disgrace. ●

The village of Hadeth stands on the last spur of the Lebanon, advancing into the plain of Beyrout, and about five miles distant from it. The way is

through the pines. We soon reached it, and scrambling up its rocks and stairs, gained the dilapidated Serai. A delicate-looking young man, with flowing yellow locks, received and conducted me to a kiosk, the rafters of which were charred and the walls scorched. The prospect was however unchanged. At our feet lay the plain of Beyrout, a forest of olives on the left, called the Sahara of Shonefat; in front and to the right, as far as the city, it was a succession of gardens divided off by hedges of cactus, and through which were scattered palm-trees and pines. The mulberry leaves were only just breaking forth, and spread over all a slight reticulation of verdure; a few days hence there will be but a carpet of green covering the variegated maze which now invites the eye.

The French talking young man with light hair, is a Shaab! This was not exactly the representative I expected of that blood-thirsty line. I had been prompted to this visit by hearing of an old Shaab Emir, who had presented himself at the door of the Pasha, blind and almost speechless, with a petition which he presented, saying, "Take, read, and do justice; whatever you do, I will not trouble you again." The petition stated, that alone of the Shaabs he had served the Sultan, alone had not abandoned his faith, and was penniless, and persecuted. This was Emir Selman, who had five or six times driven Emir Beshir from the palace of Ibtedeen. The fair-haired young man was his son; he



said that he expected his father back by sunset ; I determined, therefore, to wait, and afterwards proceed by moonlight to Shimlan. In the meantime I proposed to visit the other Shaab Emirs. Emir Faris lived in a large Seraï below, and was also absent ; Emir Melkem was at the village of Babdall above, and was also absent ; there was at home only Emir Beshir, who in 1840 had succeeded *the* Emir Beshir, and had just returned from Constantinople with a pension of £60 per month, obtained for him by the English ambassador. Besides these, there were many more Shaabs : the colony consisted of eighty males. There was great repugnance to my visiting the inferiors, when I had not visited the superiors, and a visit to Emir Beshir was strongly urged. But I told them that I did not come there to see retainers of foreign embassies, or mercenary renegades. The son of Selman, I now found by his embarrassment, was a Christian ; and, to make matters better, I had to begin by making them worse : explaining that the Shaab owed the Princedom to their Mussulman character, that Emir Beshir, if he acted conscientiously in becoming a Christian, ought to have resigned his post ; that the rest of the family had made religion subservient to their worldly schemes, and had obtained the recompense they deserved. This did not affect him (the son) as it was before his time, and he might be a sincere Christian and an honest man. He now recovered his complacency, and spoke of his father's unbending cha-

racter and his strict "Mahommedanism," which made him the object of persecution to the rest of the family. It was a strange sight to see Christians and Mussulmans in the same family, as I did afterwards that night—the father spreading his carpet for his namaz, when the son went to vespers. I had, however, once before seen the same thing in the Jura, a district adjoining Georgia; but there the order was reversed, the fathers were Christians and the sons Mussulmans. The motive, no more than here was religious. It was, however, less ignoble. To sever themselves from Russia they renounced her church, just, as I imagine, so many Maronites adopted the impiety which the Druzes call a religion, to sever themselves from the Greek empire, which had betrayed them to the Mussulmans.

While waiting for the Emir, I went up to the village of Babdall, and on turning the angle of a house, came upon half a dozen girls and women, flouncing down the rocks, towering with their Tantours, the height of which pronounced them to be of highest caste. The ponderous and clanking ornaments swept the ground; their white veils blowing out like flags, exposed blooming and laughing faces, and heads which were heaped cornucopias of gems and flowers; necks like the idols of Indian temples, yellow with sparkling gold, and robes of a brown-red, spangled all over with stars, and fringed with lace of the same metal. I was riveted to the spot with the sudden apparition; they recalled their

truant veils, and after a burst of merriment, they bounded past, not caring altogether to shroud either their charms or their finery, and turning again and again, to enjoy or invite my admiration.

What a wonderful custom this appendage, fixed on the head on the wedding day, remaining there till death, in sleep, in sickness, in labour of the household, toil in the field, there it sits, knotted and secured, as a bowsprit to the bow of a ship. No superstition belongs to it, no tradition pretends to explain it, no religion consecrates it. It has lived through all faiths and changes, ascends beyond all historic things, and is still enthroned on the matron's brow, despite the anathema of priest and the cajolery of fashion. The wearers had been excommunicated by the Patriarch; but where the Tantour is wanting, and a reason is asked, the answer is, not "Patrik," "Mottran," or "Houri,"\* but "Chebly l'Ariane," or "Omer Pasha;" proving the horn to have fallen not under ecclesiastical bolts, but bandit or military grasp, in these evil and later days. It was not easy to imagine for what earthly reason the clergy should have taken offence, till the Bishop of Beyrout enlightened me: gravely telling me that the Tantour was the idol which the Druzes worshipped! The Christians, he said, had only recently fallen into this Antichristian practice. I have been also told that the Tantour was invented to support the veil! As well say that the dome of

\* Patriarch, bishop, or priest.

St. Paul's was built to support the ball, or rather that of St. Sophia to bear the crescent. The Tantour after the veil! It was before the petticoat. A small bronze figure, pre-eminently archaic, found in the neighbourhood of Saïda, and at present in my possession, represents a woman naked, except a slight covering round the middle, and wearing the Tantour. It was found in one of the primordial sarcophagi cut from or in the rock, which have so often filled me with awe as I have come unexpectedly upon them.

This distinction between married and single belongs to the earliest societies. Morocco and the Lebanon seem alone to have preserved it;\* and these are the only countries where the original people remain. In Morocco, the unmarried men go bare and bald-headed, the married ones wear now the turban, but formerly, the pointed cowl and aspiring shashea.

In the beginning of the world, marriage was of course the great event, the peopling of the earth the first business: it was to be set about in an orderly manner, and as dress was employed in all societies to indicate the difference of sex, so would it be equally employed to distinguish the single from the married state.† The story of savage life, preceding

\* The Highlanders also retain the distinction between the snoud and the smuch.

† In Hebrew, the word for married is *cullah*, which means "crowned;" in Greek also, the word crown and marriage is synonymous.

the polished and the orderly one, is very well for philosophers and political economists. It was only in the reconstruction of such a decomposition as that of Greece, that a legislator could arise to prohibit "vague intercourse." Here an undeviating people's costume confirms the suggestion of right reason, always most distinct in simple times, always at last discovered at the root, or in the fountain, when one has dug deep or ascended high enough to find it.

However, leaving the esoteric part of the question, it is a wondrous appendage to look upon. It is stuck forward, or a little on one side, the veil resting on it, and on the shoulders, and falling in front, so that it is exactly like a snout: the short ones are about the length of the snout of a well-grown pig. When I saw the short ones, I understood the poetic sense of the "exaltation of the horn." Women with them may be compared to a herd of swine on their hind legs: the lofty Tantour suggest ideas of grandeur; the pig passes to the stag or unicorn. My first sight of it was as worn by a group of women gathering olives, stooping down, or on all fours, poking the strange proboscis about, and seemingly rooting in the earth, or barking the stumps of the trees. A stranger sight, or a sight of stranger animals, is not to be had within "the four seas." Equally strange the words I am writing will appear fifty years hence, when the Tantour will be but a tradition, and when critics will have discovered that it never had existence.

We proceeded on our way and soon reached Babbad, down into which we looked, scattered amid orchards and rocks; in the middle was a small church, and towards it, assembled by a tinkling bell, the people were slowly directing their steps from every side; we obeyed the movement, and entered by the door of the men, on each side of which a row of pipes stood against the wall. Way was made for me to the rail in front of the altar, and before it lay open on a low stool, a large vellum Bible in Syriac, round which boys and men were assembled chaunting. The priests within the rail, leaning on long staves or sceptres, with a cross branch at the top, which they placed under their armholes, and on which they leant both elbows, chaunted the alternate verses, the priests from memory, the people reading from the book. The priests wore the high blue turban, and their long black and blue drapery; this group, in postures so unlike ecclesiastical, their flowing beards, the deep antique chaunt in that mother tongue, even of the Hebrew, was all that can be imagined of pristine, patriarchal, and biblical; while the congregation could only be compared to a masquerade. In Spain, two ceremonials, or as they call it "functions," preserve for the two sexes their ancient habits. At mass, the women invariably appear in the *saya-manta*; at the bull ring, the men in the *majo*. On these occasions, Europe and tawdriness are shut out, and the graceful and picturesque resume their sway. Here there is for both sexes

but one festal scene, the church ; and this was the eve of its chief festival ; so nothing was to be seen that savoured of Europe, no not even the hideous black shoe which is sapping the foundations of all costume. Shoes indeed, in a church, were an intrusion for which they have to thank us, but those they wore this day were with the peaked oriental toe, or the square-built antique *mdaïs*. There was not a single individual unpresentable at a fancy ball, whether as to freshness of dress or cleanliness of person. The veils of the women were white ; generally the wide booming *potour* (trousers) of the men were so also. I never saw a people so attired ; there was no approach to anything like indigence.

As we left the church, I observed low arches with sealed entrances, forming the platform on which it stood : these were vaults belonging to the different families. The stone is removed when a new inmate is to be added, and is then replaced, and the wall plastered up. This plan has been supposed to be of recent invention in Spain or Sicily ; the sight of these suggested an older date.

It is singular to hear the Christians using ecclesiastically the Mussulman titles, such as the *Reis* of the convent for abbot ; or the Jewish, as *Rabbi* for teacher ; or the Pagan, as *Houri* for priest. This is doubtless the same word as that from which the Greeks took their " Hero," and may be connected with the earlier race (Horim), whose rude sepulchral monuments, shewing a wonderful care for the

sanctity and repose of the dead, may well suggest their having given their name, like the Magi and Chaldeans, to those who taught mysteries and performed sacrifices and rites.

By the time we left the church, Emir Melkem had returned to his Serai, which overlooked the little valley. We ascended to his Fantasia, where a group of gaily-attired but demurely-visaged attendants were assembled, who on our approach rose and advanced, leaving an open alley for our passage. I sat down on the parapet, and invited them to be seated; a few only accepted the invitation. Presently we saw the Emir proceeding from one of the doors opening on the esplanade to another; he was going to the Selamlik. I was then summoned; the Emir advanced to meet me some steps before the door: he had recourse to the subterfuge of a cushion in the *middle of the divan* to solve the point of etiquette. This was the first time I had observed this expedient in the Lebanon. The whole man, place, and people corresponded. He was fat, heavy, and old; his son fat, heavy, and young. There was great show of earnestness; but it had no connection either with the kindness of hospitality or the gratification of their own curiosity. To have the credit of a visit from a stranger, and make him speak well of them, was all that was in their minds.

I referred to the pleasant spectacle of the people in church; they said, it was only their fine clothes pulled out of their boxes; and so was met



every attempt at conversation. They then introduced the very last of topics to be expected in such a house—Mahomet, by asking me what was thought of him in Europe. Ibrahim Effendi warned me in translating that they expected me to abuse him, for their only pleasure was to revile the Mussulmans. It was curious to have the question put by renegade Mussulmans, through a renegade Christian. I answered, that in Europe “we never had venerated Mahomet as a prophet, but that our most enlightened men rated him very high as a legislator; and that there was no people of Europe who would not accept his political system as the greatest of boons, if they could but get it.” Disappointed, but not baffled, they began to do what they wanted me to do, till one of themselves stopped the conversation by reproving them sharply, speaking also in high terms of the Mussulman laws. He was no renegade, but the Priest, Judge (El Houri) of the Christians of the Druze Caïmacanship. I have mentioned at Jouni the praise bestowed on these laws, now for the first time introduced by Houri Arsenius, Judge of the Christian Caïmacanship. They (the renegades) returned to the charge by abusing all European religions, saying that we shifted from one to another as it suited us; but that they (the renegades) had adopted a religion for religion’s sake. I observed that conversion in Europe turned on reasoning and very rarely on ostensible profit; upon which this conversation suddenly dropped.

This incident brought out more clearly than I had ever before observed, the total disseverance in this country of conversion from conviction. When Ibrahim Effendi was first proposed to me as Dragoman for the Shaab, I thought it preposterous. I did not see that the sympathy of renegade superseded the antipathy of race and religion. The Shaab would have shrunk from speaking before either Turk or Arab, but it mattered not what the faith of the interpreter was or had been, so that he was a renegade. This is very simple; they do not speculate, and they are not engaged in polemical discussions, so that if a man changes his religion there is no disguise about it: each man who has done so has broken loose from all ties, and the only human beings with whom he has a fellow feeling are those who have done the like. This is the very contrary of what we see in Europe; the Roman Catholic who has become a Protestant, or the Protestant become a Roman Catholic, are the two last men to have a fellow feeling for each other.

After a faint exhibition of hospitality, by inviting us to stay the night, I took my leave, by no means enchanted with this section of the Shaab.

Emir Melkem is in the enjoyment of the following revenue:—

Silk, 6 cantars of 200 okes, equal to . . .	£1200
Oil, 50 do. do. . . .	400
Corn, &c. 4,500 roubes „ . . .	
Rent, houses, shops, &c. „ . . .	400

Say that it ranges from £2,000 to £2,500 ; this will be equal at least to £10,000 per annum in England, and this is his share after the peasants have deducted, according to the terms of agreement, one-half, one-third, or one-fourth : the first is, when they furnish all the labour, and pay half the taxes.

We now hastened to Emir Faris, but he was still at vespers in a small church adjoining his Seraï. As we passed it, they were vigorously engaged in Syriac ; the overplus of the men sitting out opposite the southern door, and that of the women before the western porch. A large Fantasia with a low parapet extends in front ; at the projecting angle there is a small building, once a kiosk, to enjoy the view at ease. Here we sat down to wait ; and in the time we had to spare, Ibrahim Effendi recounted the plot of a farce, preparing by himself and the son of my host at Jouni, for opening of the new theatre. They made it turn on the pretensions of Emirs. I submitted that such game was ignoble, and pointed out the Frank with his awkwardness and his insolence, as the figure to transfix. He was delighted with the idea, and the plot altered accordingly.

We were summoned during our discourse more than once, and great was my confusion when I saw the Emir standing before the door, with a numerous suite, where he had been kept waiting ten minutes or more. As I drew near, the blind old tongueless man advanced alone a few paces, and feeling for me, drew me near to him, and gave me

an embrace on both shoulders ; then, despite all my endeavours to reverse the order, taking my left hand in his right, and mingling the European taking of the arm with the Eastern supporting of the elbow, conducted me to his Selamlik, humble indeed in adornment, but spacious ; and where the demeanor and service at least were princely.

As the sun was drawing to the horizon, after the usual flowing passages, I requested to leave, but he insisted so on my spending the night, that I gave in for "a quarter of an hour."

"Tell me," he began, "what England *means*—do you want to ruin us?" On requesting more explicitness, he continued: "We had one malady—we got rid of it. You have brought it back." Having assented, he repeated his question. Pleading shortness of time, I asked for his substitute. "Give us anything," he exclaimed, "give us Turk, Jew, Christian; give us bandits from the highway: do not make us cry out, one to another; 'who dares touch me, I am French; who dares touch me, I am English?' Is this the way you restore a country to its sovereign? is it for this you told the people to rise against my enemy, Emir Beshir?" I asked if his family could govern the country.

"Govern the country! A child may govern it, without the Sheiks: with the Sheiks, the devil only will govern it. The Porte, even if it expels them, will not recall the Shaabs; it has had enough of them; it will place Pashas and farmers of revenue,

as in the rest of Syria." I told him that the Porte's object was to get rid of the farmers everywhere, and that the only difficulty in the way of having a Turk, was the Turkish Government itself. I then asked why the people should not collect their own taxes? He stretched out his hand, groping for me, and finding my shoulder, patted it several times, and said, "*You have found it.*" Again, he returned to the motives of England.

I said that there was a mistake between the "rights of the Lebanon," and the "rights of the Sheiks;" our representative having the first on his tongue, and the latter in his mind. "If any class," he answered, "were possessed of rights, surely it was the family of the Shaab. They are now the only class excluded from all right; they have lost the Emirship; they cannot be Mucatajis; they are ineligible to the Megilis; and not being of the people, they are with them subject to the oppressions of all."

Ibrahim Effendi was quite astonished, and said to me—"Here is the Governor for the Lebanon." Much of the same thing was passing in my mind, save that the objection of his being a Christian was there, which the Mussulman did not feel. He, attributing my dissent to his blindness, said "Where will you find a man with eyes who sees so far?" I bethought myself of the Byzantine episode of old blind Isaac Comnenus, replaced by the Crusaders on the throne, notwithstanding the misfortune which,

according to the Greeks, wholly excluded him; and asked him, if he too, wanted to have a kick at the dead lion—referring to his projected farce. Emir Faris is not unlike a lion; he wears a white moustache and no beard, no turban: he was in a suit of light blue, much of the cut and fashion of that worn by the naval Greeks; indeed, he reminded me of Miaulis, though cast in a smaller mould.

The “quarter of an hour,” was now thoroughly expended, so I again asked leave. He said, “Surely you will not go without visiting the Harem?” I could not resist such an invitation, the first of the kind I had received. Taking my hand, he conducted me into the interior of the Serai. His daughter, and, I think, two daughters-in-law, received us. The first was of dimensions verging on the colossal, with ruddy cheeks, though with a soft transparent skin. I should guess her age at nineteen or twenty: streaks of deeply dyed henna marked her fingers; her head, from which she removed her veil, that I might examine it, was covered with a profusion of jewels, and rich, gold filigree side-pieces were fixed above each temple; thence hung small chains, which lengthened till they reached the shoulder; jewels hung at the end of each, which was thus a small drapery of gold chain on each side of the face. Her braided tresses were covered behind with a shower of the small pellets of gold, which they call *sefa*; round her neck were rows of gold figures strung like necklaces, which

covered it all over; her dress was the same red brown stuff I had observed in the morning, starred over with gold: she was thus a mass of gold, jewels, and purple. On admiring her dress, she naïvely said, "It is because you love my father and me, that you like what I wear." But she had nothing of the Eastern about her, save her dress, her manner, and her wavy eyes. The other ladies were small, pale, and fine-featured, but without her beauty; they were dressed much in the same fashion, and another "quarter of an hour," or rather two, slipped away, whilst I was examining all these pretty things, listening to their unembarrassed chat, and inhaling successively the "breath" of each, for so is termed the nargillé, (*nefes*); nor did I get away until I promised to return and spend a whole day with them, if I could possibly do so, before the departure of the steamer.

The neck ornaments have their places de rigueur, just as if they were parts of the costume. Close round the throat is the *Kirdane*, a succession of slugs in gold, applied to a band of velvet, and from each of which depended a piece of filigree holding a small gem, and having a small coin hanging to it. Below this is the necklace, called *Snowarie*, from its resemblance to the fruit of the pine, having also at the extremity of each grain a small gold coin: these radiate on the breast where the bust swells. Below this is the *Ichèri*, a simple chain of gold, to which are appended five ornaments: two *Asphur*, figures

of doves; two *Semach*, or small circular cases, such as the Jews use to inclose phylacteries; and in the centre a triangular case for an amulet, called *Hirsh*. Those who have observed on the Etruscan tombs the necklaces with the *five* ornaments, will be struck with this living usage. The five ornaments are also found in the necklaces of Assyria. There is a fourth necklace, composed of coins strung together with slight chains, and having six coins, hung so as to form a cross:\* it is called *Fiskuo el Asherie*. This must not be taken for the cross adopted by the Christians in the third century: the cross is one of the five ornaments in the bas-reliefs of Assyria. The bracelet is *Sleité*; the single gem on the forehead *Helil Elmas*. I have forgotten the name of the chain ornament on the temples.

The Emir reconducted me to the esplanade, and then excused himself for having detained me, saying that he had not expected the visit, but so soon as word was brought him that I was come, he left everything and returned home; for perchance, he said, "I should hear something useful for my country."

It was now dark; but I could not forego the visit to Emir Selman. Not less different from Emir Melkem was Emir Faris, than Emir Selman from the latter. He was a tall, hard-featured, broken old man, with a grizzly beard, and dimly glancing

\* When first adopted it had the exact form of the extraordinary Buddhist Shwastica.



through the one round cyclopic eye which, having lost, he had regained; a heavy turban on his head, and long robes falling about him; all neglected in his person and sombre in his air. One not knowing his story, might have taken this daring and persevering pretender,—who had so often driven his rival from power, and never relinquished, until mutilated, his purpose of re-possessioning it,—for an anchorite.

Like Emir Faris, he has regained a limited use of his tongue, and one eye has escaped the effect of the hot iron, though the lids were seared and joined. It was difficult to warm him into speech; his animation, however, came when I touched on the part played by Sheik Beshir, between him and Emir Abbas. Tannous Shediah, their most reputed modern historian, was present, and added to the interest of the conversation. Three hours elapsed before my horses were brought to the door. Emir Selman at one time got up and went to his carpet spread in the corner, for the *Nemaz*, and chanted it in the Syriac recitative, instead of the *sotto voce* of the Mussulmans. Perhaps he had acquired the habit, when, being Prince conjointly with Emir Abbas, who was Christian, Abdallah Pasha sent a mufti to Dair el Cammar, to see that the forms of the Mussulman religion were duly observed. He mentioned to me the application he had made to the Government for a pension, and the grounds on which he had claimed it, requesting me to speak in his behalf, which I

readily undertook to do. At last, delighted with my visit, I got away as the moon rose.

So this is all that remains of the Shaab! Their story, during that night's ride, rose before me in a new illustration of their race. Alone of the Arabs, this family preserved a lengthened domination. Trace everywhere else Arab conquests; the marvel of the suddenness of the expansion, is always succeeded by that of the rapidity of the decay. The same story is told from the shores of the Atlantic to the banks of the Indus; they conquered, they introduced a religion, and a form of government; the system remained, the race disappeared—the Eastern and Western Caliphats themselves, being speedily occupied by Berbers and Turkomans. The solitary exception is this intermingled line of Maan and Shaab; with an uninterrupted genealogy of fifteen centuries, and between the two an unbroken succession of power for ten. Yet they had no cognate population; they ruled over no people of homogeneous faith; they had no army at their disposal; they had none of the vulgar elements of power: they were simply hired by the people of the Lebanon to rule over them. Thence their permanency; until the whole was finally crushed by that miscreant renegade, Emir Beshir; having been first shattered and broken by that other miscreant, Fakreddeen; the only names known or respected in Europe, Of Emir Beshir, Lamartine writes:—"This able warrior and prince has melted down into one people, Druzes,

Maronites, Syrians, and Arabs, who live under his domination.”

This, however, may be taken as a specimen of Europe only in her poetic mode. Let us put beside it an instance of her diplomatic aptitude for observation.

“The Maronite nation, although by far the most numerous in those mountains, has not always been the most powerful, nor indeed so warlike as the Druzes, who *form a Mahomedan sect*. This explains that sort of necessity which has been felt in these mountains, to be ruled by a foreign family, as that of the Châabs (the Emir Beshir), whose princes, up to this moment, *born Christians, live as Mussulmans, and die as Druzes*, to be in harmony with the different nations over which they rule.”\*

So much for one Consul-general. Perhaps the next one will know more about it, especially as he is the great English authority in the Lebanon, Colonel Rose. He ignores the very existence of the Shaab family, and puts in its place a “royal” family of another race and line. His words are—

“Sheik Naaman (elder brother of Saïd Jumbellat), the rich and powerful representative of the royal family of the Sheiks Beshir.”†

Imagine a Druze consul at Liverpool, in a report on the historical incidents of the English

\* Report of Colonel Campbell, Consul-general in 1836. Bowring's Report on Syria, Appendix D.

† Colonel Rose, June 22nd, 1841.

race, speaking of England's "royal family, the Misters John." Lord Brougham's profound observations before the Privy Council on the respectability of the extensive family of "Dost" in India, is nothing to this. Well might Mr. Blacque exclaim—"Christians! ye are incorrigible."

We had before us two and a half hours, along the side of the mountain, and an ascent of two thousand feet; but its flank was furrowed by deep ravines, through which poured the mountain and winter torrents; and the moon, when she rose, was intercepted by the steeps on our left, or dazzled our eyes so that her light comparatively availed us little. I was pressed for time and by hunger, and exulted in an unexpected sense of health and strength; so, acting on the principle that nothing could bring down a horse in this country, we went on through roads which were more like beds of torrents, crossed by little walls, down steeps, up hills, through copses, over rocks, at a break-neck pace; and, justifying by the most audacious experiment, the maxim on which we started, reached Shimlan almost within the hour; though we had been detained some minutes in backing my horse off a projecting cornice of a road, which the recent rains had swept away. I can describe little of this Tam-o'-Shanter ride: the lights in the houses glowed around; the sounds shewed them to be at immense distances. One gully we turned, seemed cut into the bowels of the earth, and a wild scene of rocks and water arrested me for a

moment at a tank, called the Fountain of Grapes. While dinner or supper was getting ready, I was asked to go and see the preparations making in the church, for to-morrow, or rather this day. The figure of Christ is enclosed in a simulated grotto, and then it is produced and the word passed round *Χριστός ανέστη*. But I broke down from sheer fatigue, and tumbled into bed hoping for a hearty if a short repose.

## CHAPTER XV.

## A DRUZE.

*March 31st.*—I WAS up by times, but suffering, notwithstanding that the sea and breeze and plains and sun all invited to joy, and inspired health and strength. Being anxious to accomplish the task I had set myself, I hastened my departure, expecting to pay my visit to Sheik Nasif in the course of the day, and be back here, if even by moonlight, to sleep. We reached the bridge and khan, Jessir el Cadi, in the waddy next to that of Deir el Cammar, in about two hours and a half. On crossing the crest, the view up the waddy was magnificent; a recent fall or slip (Zachlé) was pointed out, by which one village had been overwhelmed, and another bodily transferred to its place, without disturbance of a tree or saucepan. At the khan by the bridge, I had to rest for a time, for the work of last night and this morning was beginning to tell on back and legs. I sent a servant on to announce my visit, and so set forward again in an hour. The heat was oppressive, though it was yet early, and a sea breeze was blowing up the gully: the bottom was a chain of precipices almost meeting from either side. Above, the flanks of the mountain presented all the various

features of the Lebanon, patches of the red sandstone with its snowbars darkening the already dark ground, so that the landscape under a clear sky seemed mackled with the shadow of passing clouds. Around were wild fields of rock, and sedate ranges of terraces, sometimes bearing the olive, sometimes the mulberry. At first one is surprised at the extent of culture; my now more practised eye ranged over space immense which lay neglected. The extent to which the mulberry might be spread may be inferred from this; the district of Shimlan produces 500 okes of cocoons; Mr. Scott, the proprietor of the factory, estimates that it might produce 15,000! One spot on our way was something bewitching; the stones for the terraces being round, the walls were gently sloped back; you saw them rising one above the other, covered with a matting of wild flowers; while the mulberries on each successive terrace had the young leaves just bursting, along the boughs which mingled through each other like verdant nets spread before the perpendicular beds of flowers, till the bespangled banks could no more be made out under the successive veils. The walls were matted with camomile, which breathed its aroma; not the dull heavy scent of the plant in our climes, but light and volatile. Richly scattered through these, were anemonies, and sweet lemon, with its henna-tinged cup, which makes the Arabs call it "bride's fingers," red hellebore, purple narcissus. At the base of the walls when protected from the

devastating plough, or the horse hoof, along the path ran a border of less humble plants; the tall flowering stalk of the squill lily, the white cistus, roses with treasures of soft perfume, and the Arum flower, with its large cup lined, and its spike covered with dark purple velvet, verging to black, and looking at a distance like rows of pigeons with the glossy plumage of the humming bird. But no song of birds was there. Silence was broken only by the fall of water from terrace to terrace, and the croak of the frog.

Further on all was changed. The olive's peaceful plenty, succeeded to the mulberry's silken reign. The truncated oak bore the coils of the vine, which sprouted from tree to tree with its snake or cable-like trunks; the little tuft of green was bursting from each radiating point of the Zenzelac, while its coronet or rosary of beads, the last year's fruits, still hung in clusters from their intersections. The Turks call this tree *Tesbi Agachi*, from the resemblance of its bunches of berries to the chaplet or rosary: it is the tree here of favour and of fancy; it is of no service but for its beauty, and every water-course and road-side is planted with it. The tree itself is striking from the form of its boughs, and the blood-red streaks on its bark. Add the "everlasting" sycamore with its gnarled roots, like huge excrescences on the rocks; the locust with its glossy and waxen leaves of the richest and darkest green; the fig, here in dimensions vying with the trees of



the forest ; and the silver poplar. Such are the contents of a forest band of Lebanon.

Then came a gorge of desolation ; rock on rock tumbled down, broken, fractured, poured ; from the steep side widening as it advances, it sweeps on to the gulf below, a torrent of stones falling into a stream of water. The sense of motion is conveyed by the projecting angles and impending masses of the one, as by the rounded folds and glossy smoothness of the other. The road was through this petræan flood ; the blocks lay around with solid rectangular form and sharp angles, as if they had been brought and cast there ready squared for some Cyclopic yet human structure, only that several larger than the rest destroyed the illusion : the chief of these was a mass 20 feet by 15 and 10 ; yet had it been three times as long, it would have still been 10 feet shorter than a single stone as hewn by the primeval mason of Gebel Souria.

The Abou Niket is one of the six houses of Druze Sheiks, rooted out by Emir Beshir. He invited them to Ibtedeem under a show of reconciliation, received them with smiles, then left the apartment ; and they were taken out one by one and despatched by Sheik Beshir Jumbellat and the Abdul Malek. Two boys alone escaped ; one of these is Sheik Nasif, the other, his brother, is now in exile at the instance of France, on account of the death or murder of a Catholic priest. Sheik Nasif was brought up in the house of the murderer of his

family, and spent his youth in the service of Emir Beshir. But when the English in 1840 restored anarchy, the two brothers resumed their ancient state, and played a prominent part in the consequent civil wars. Sheik Nasif was installed at Deir el Cammar, and there, as at the sack of Hasbaya, distinguished himself by the slaughter of Maronites and Greeks. For courage and conduct he stands pre-eminent among the Shieks. In competition with him there are but three: Sheik Saïd, Sheik Hattar Amad, who is but a bandit, and Sheik Hassem Talhouk, who is but an intriguer.

When making my arrangements for this visit, I proposed to send to ascertain whether he was at home, and was answered, "You are sure to find him, for he never goes anywhere." He is not a Mucataji; his property is considerable; he has a strong party, not by the ordinary connections of a Sheik, but as the Mirabeau of the Druzes. The Christians see in him only a bloodthirsty Druze; the Druzes see in him only the enemy of the Jumbellat and the Caimacan.

The Sheiks had disappeared so far back as 1825; the Abou Niket, the Amad, the Jumbellat, &c., had been expelled, either from their Mucatas or from the Lebanon. The Abdulmalek and the Rosslan remained, but merely as servants of the Emir, and without a vestige of the authority which they had previously exercised. Fifteen years had thus elapsed since the old system had disappeared; the young

had never known it, the old had commenced to forget it.

While it had existed no foreigners had troubled themselves with the Lebanon, so that it was spoken of as an evil time of barbarism and brutality, that had disappeared as uncongenial to the "spirit of the age." When the Rosslan, the Belamy, the Cazen, the Amad, the Abou Niket, the Abdulmalek, the Talhouk, suddenly re-seized their lost power, and revealed unchanged their long-disguised character, it was impossible that among the foreign agents there should not be some who should feel indignation and disgust at such a method of restoring a country to its sovereign, and of protecting a people from its oppressors. The measures taken against Mehemet Ali and Emir Beshir were in reality attacks upon France; her agent therefore was not, like the others, the slave of the lamp. He therefore uttered the proposition, "*Remove the Sheiks.*" To argue against it was impossible; so the English Consul adopted it with this modification, "*Remove Sheik Nasif.*" The agent of Russia on this occasion issued from his cloud to smile an assent. Everybody, except the people, was against the Turkish Government. The Sheiks were against it; the Maronite clergy were against it; the Caimacans were against it. France was the protector of the Maronites, Russia of the Greeks, England of the Druzes; separately, therefore, and collectively the Powers were against the Government whose autho-

rity they usurped, and whose people they debauched. Sheik Nasif was also the enemy of all;—of the Maronites and the Greeks, in whose blood he had imbrued his hands; of the Druze Sheiks and Caimacans, whose hands were stained with the blood of his father, uncles and cousins. He was pursued by England on account of Sheik Saïd, by Russia on account of the Greeks, by France on account of the Maronites. His position was therefore identical with that of the Turkish Government. He was, moreover, the only one among the Sheiks on whom, from capacity, it could rely: how admirable the idea of turning upon him the ostracism devised against the class. The Porte yielded, of course, and dispatched orders for his arrest; but Sheik Nasif was off to the Hauran. He was enabled to return by Kiamil Pasha, who, enlightened as to the truth, wrote to the Porte, “I give my hand to Sheik Nasif; do with me what you like.” The Pasha was removed, but the Sheik was let alone; still he stands as a criminal against whom the course of justice is suspended. He has since made his peace with the French consulate, submitting a proposal, which was in substance as follows:—“I don’t want to be sent away alone; you wish all to be sent away. Make me your man till then.” The compact was concluded on these conditions.

When the British consulate put forward the hostility of the Sheiks as an argument against the Messaa, Sheik Nasif opened communication with

the Pasha, and offered to carry it into effect, and with thirty men to deliver over every Sheik in the Lebanon, bound hand and foot, and then to give himself up with the rest.

Though not actually molested, his distrust is so great that he never appears where the direct authority of a Pasha extends, and had refused to come to Beyrout, even though offered a safe-conduct.

I was well received by his son, a handsome, but feminine youth of twenty, with long auburn locks, and a preposterous blue silk tassel to his tarbouch, which flowed over his shoulders. The Sheik was absent, superintending masons, but had been sent for on the arrival of my servant: I was glad of his absence, to try and get a little rest. At length he returned, accompanied by several Sheiks. He is very like Mehemet Ali. He immediately plunged into the mulberry and its culture, the silkworm and its "education." He has been the first to attempt the improvement of the silkworm, and is actually trying the seed of Piedmont, which would almost double the production of the country. When I pointed out improvements in other points, he seized upon them with avidity. We went out and examined the trees, and I explained the manner adopted in Piedmont for pruning and stripping them. He begged me to send him from France, a work on the subject; he seemed wholly absorbed in these pursuits, and conscious of the benefit that might thence accrue. His own possessions are con-

siderable. His family has 700 okes of silk, equal to £700.

The amount of silk exported, (200,000 okes), at its present rate of price, (100 piastres per oke), would give a yearly value of £200,000. By adopting the processes of spinning and of culture from Piedmont, the value of the silk would be doubled, and the quantity increased by one third at least. The amount of land under cultivation might also be more than doubled on the rocky parts alone.

The hour had now arrived which I had fixed for my departure, as already signified to him, and to all the household, so I concluded that he had no intention to hold with me other converse than of cocoons, and was preparing to take leave, when he whispered to my Dragoman—"We will talk when they sleep." The supper hour came, and the premonitory signals had gratified hunger, exhaustion, and impatience, when my interpreter came to inform me privately, that the supper prepared had incensed the Sheik, and he had ordered a new one, for which they were now killing the sheep!

To roast a sheep whole takes longer than a cutlet, or even a joint, especially with a sweet pudding for stuffing inside. It was now nearly 8 P. M. There was no chance of getting a mouthful before 12 P. M.—if then. Nor was this all; the guests before whom we were to talk mulberries, would not move till the sheep made its appearance; so there had we to sit those four mortal hours, at once bursting with what

we had to say, and famished for what we could not get. When it did make its appearance, a new peril menaced us. Instead of the pile of pilaff, sustaining the sheep, it came forth in various little Frank plates; the Sheik's indignation burst its bounds. I afterwards learned, that after our conference had ended, at four in the morning, he had roused up his whole household, and, to teach them to ape Frank manners again, administered the bastinado all round, with a cudgel, with which he had been ominously playing all the evening. I observed here a new fashion; the stuffing of the sheep was made into *Coras*, as in Barbary, and chucked into the mouth with the thumb.\*

These four hours were, however, anything but a blank. Since I have been in this country, I have been hearing men a great deal, and talking to men a great deal, but I have had nothing to observe or to watch; the only face I have had to look at has been that of the heavens. Nature has produced two wonderful, and two similar things, the face of the heavens, and the face of man; they are like each

\* Jawan the Kurdee stretched forth his hand to the dish, and it resembled the foot of a raven; and he ladled the rice with it, and took it forth resembling the foot of a camel. Then he compressed the handful into the form of a ball, so that it was like a great orange; he threw it rapidly into his mouth, and it descended into his throat, making a noise like thunder; and the bottom of the dish appeared in the place from which it was taken. So a man by his side said to him—"Praise be to God, who hath not made me to be a dish of meat before thee!"—Story of Alee Sher and Zumumed.—*Arabian Nights*.

other, and like nothing else beside. Water pours down from them, sound issues forth; they darken and they lighten: in themselves and of themselves they change, making for us who observe, pleasure and pain, suggesting to us thoughts, and prompting us to inquiry and speculation. The face of the heavens is always speaking to us; rarely the face of man. In this place now, it did so for the first time.

If Sheik Nasif had by design combined a process by which to rivet my attention, and at once to raise and satisfy my curiosity, he would have done just what he did do. He revealed to me that the impending conversation was the most ardent of his wishes, and that it should not be attained to by submitting to an impropriety. He did it with an air that said—"I know you would have done the like in the like case." He had now told me everything in regard to himself, and the ensuing conversation became of value in reference to what I had to tell him.

During these four hours I ran over the different races, testing and rating them by the men they had produced; men I mean, not of thought only, nor of action only, but those who can adjust a plan, and then carry it out, on that double field, which must be equally trodden to secure lasting results, persuasion and management. Amongst the Turks I had found no such men; amongst the Arabs none; amongst the English none; nor the French, nor Germans, nor Italians, nor the Spaniards. I



could call up but three men to place beside him ; I speak of course, not of careers achieved, for that belongs to accident and circumstances, but of faculties observed and possessed. These three men belonged to races rated very low in the scale ; Greeks, Servians, and Berbers. These were, Coletti amongst the first, Petronievich amongst the second, and the Caïd of Riff amongst the third. With the man I saw before me, what were the Druzes, or rather what had been the Moarni, the Mirdites, or the Itureans ? What they were their history shews ; and if I had only known them in this Sheik Nasif, I might have supposed their history. Endurance involves substance ; the substance of a people must be contained in the men you see, just as that of a stuff in the morsel you handle.

At length the guests retired, and we were left to ourselves. His evasions and replies were alike characteristic and original, his similes were picturesque ; it will be evident that I cannot reproduce the conversation on a few pages of paper. The fragments I can give are only such specimens as half a dozen bricks would be of a house, its furniture and inhabitants. I shall throw them for convenience sake into the form of dialogue, not as intending to convey thereby more than the impression.

“ I am a man who goes nowhere, sees no one, is busy with his own affairs, and has nothing to do with public business : what can you want with me ? ”

I have heard that you do nothing without reason,

and therefore am I come, not to know what you do, but what you are.

“If I spoke well of what is, you would doubt me; if I spoke ill you would doubt me. In the one case you would say that I flattered those who are far off, in the other that I hated those who are near.”

I cannot tell you what I shall think till I hear what you say. If you will not speak, I shall know that you distrust me, and then you will have acted without reason.

“I do not distrust you, but I know that what I say to you will go to the Turkish Government.”

Should I hear from you nothing useful, for you or for it, no word that you say shall go to the Turkish Government.

“Ask, and I shall answer.”

Is the Gebel Souria well governed?

“What the Sultan does is well done. I am the Sultan’s slave; what shall I say?”

You said “I shall answer.” Where now is your word?

“There was a master who liked Patlegans (vegetable marrow) and every day the cook repeated, The Patlegan is a good dish. The master was taken ill one day after eating, and abused them; after that the cook every day repeated, The Patlegan is a bad dish. The master at last asked what he meant? The cook answered, I am not the slave of the Patlegan, I am your slave. So whatever dish the Sultan does not order away, is to me a good one. The

Sultan does not order it away even after the indigestion?"

Let us drop this.

"Let us drop it. What have you to ask me? You see all. To one country two masters are given, and these are not masters; you need not ask how it is governed."

Would you have them replaced by a Shaab?

"No!"

What then?

"Is there not a Pasha at Beyrout? Is there not a Sultan at Constantinople?"

But the Sheiks, would they submit?

"The Sheiks!" (here he burst into a long laugh, and then relapsed into silence.)

Well, what of the Sheiks?

"Every body knows what the Sheiks are: yet there is something that people do not know. They are *fools*. You may think that I am speaking in passion, but I will prove by figures what I mean. The Sheiks have the first interest in not being concerned in the government of the country, for they have all property, and that property is worth nothing to them so long as they govern the country; for everything is insecure, and they have to expend on their retainers what they gain by their extortions, and live besides, every day in fear. I have got 2 cantars of silk, 120 of oil, 1200 rous of grain, and houses and shops, which return a rent of 10,000 piastres. My brother has got nearly as much. On this I pay no tax, be-

cause I am a Sheik. The difference between the other Sheiks and me is, that they like this, and I don't. I want my land to pay the same as is paid by the Fellahin; and then it will be of more value to me than now, and of value to my son and my son's son. I have now told all; others will say the Sheiks are knaves, I say they are fools."

Have you not convinced any of them?

"They are not men to be convinced; who can convince pride? who can convince fear? they are busy in their intrigues, they have their quarrels, they dread the people, they are little minded, and they are worked upon."

How worked upon?

"You understand me (after a pause). What have I done that all the Consuls should single me out, and chase me like a wolf? What I have done wrong, the other Sheiks have done no less. But as I have not cheated a brother of his succession, or poisoned a cousin, or taken arms against my legitimate Sovereign, I am not worthy of the favour of England."

You think, then, that the country might be tranquil, if the Sheiks were merely displaced from their offices of Mucataji?

"Certainly, if at the same time the people can rely on the Government; but it understands nothing of this country."

Is not the Messaa a step towards this?

"They have set about it wrong; the men chosen

are the creatures of the Sheiks. False returns will everywhere be made, and disappointment and failure will follow."

What ought to be done ?

"The Government should send to the people, not to the Sheiks, and make them send their own delegates to Beyrout. The people then will understand that they are not sold to the Sheiks, and that the Turkish Government really protects them."

But the Turkish Government fears to say a word in that sense, lest the people should rise and murder the Sheiks.

"Did I not say that the Turkish Government knows nothing of this country ?"

You think, then, that the mere invitation to the communities would suffice to bring them to act for their own protection, and with effect in the adjustment of the Messaa ?

"I do."

The Sheiks were cleared away by Emir Beshir ; how have they returned ?

"That is a question which your Government has to answer."

There are, then, two oppressions of the people, the Sheiks and the Caimacans.

"These are the evils of the country."

How do the Caimacans stand as regards the Sheiks ?

"The Sheiks were at first well enough pleased with the Caimacans, because it was agreed that the

Caimacan was to be nobody. But the Caimacan now wishes to be somebody, and the Sheiks are not at all pleased."

I have heard of that, and should like to know more. The Caimacan was to resign half his appointments to the Sheiks, and now refuses to do so?

"You are not correctly informed. Emir Achmet, the brother of Emir Emin, was put over the other Sheiks, but why put him over us? He was not superior, he had amongst us superiors; so he proposed to divide amongst us, as brothers, his pay. We were six, and each family should have one-sixth; so we consented to his being Caimacan. A treaty was drawn up and signed, and placed in my hands, and he continued to pay the money till his death. Then Chekib Effendi appointed his brother Emir Emin, and we made no objections, as we considered the compact to be between family and family, as is always practised amongst us. But Emir Emin said, 'My brother is dead; this contract does not regard me; the Turkish Government, not the Sheiks, appointed me.' So since that time there has been discord between the Sheiks and the Caimacan, as there is between the Sheiks and the people. We did not like to speak of this contract, but we withheld the taxes; and for four years no settlement of taxes has consequently taken place. When the Turkish Government, six months ago, demanded the arrears, we made known the contract; and the Emir Emin now threatens us, if we demand our rights, to

bring upon us the Turkish troops, as at Jézzin ; for it will recognize no such contract."

So the Patlegan turns out to be equally unpalatable to the Sheiks and to the people ?

" You have said it. You have asked questions and I have given answers. Now I shall ask questions and you shall give answers. Whence came this Patlegan ? Who sowed it first and cooked it afterwards ?"

I answered, narrating who formed the scheme of disorganising a Turkish province, and by whose intervention it was worked out. How the Porte was badgered and beset, and could not call its life its own ; all because it had not courage to speak the one word, that would have set it free. Always going on in the strange delusion, that by submitting to interference to-day, it will have a quiet life to-morrow.

" Well, if the Turkish Government will not say that word, now that you know the truth, when you go to England will you speak for us ?"

In England nobody cares or knows anything about foreign countries.

" What do you say ? Did you not send your fleets, and expel Ibrahim Pasha, and pull down Emir Beshir ? Have you not brought back the Sheiks and set up the Caimacans ? Have you not persecuted even me ?"

The English nation knows nothing of these things.

“What! England does certain things, and then does not know those things. You speak what is not reasonable.”

I describe what is not so.

This conversation, which to me was only confirmatory, was to him the opening of a new field, in the discovery that the Caimacan system had not originated with the Turkish Government. His manner of expressing his loyalty to that Government, and of drawing the distinction between its authority and that of its apparent representative, was curious. “If,” said he, “the Turkish Government were to send a single man to take me here, I would fly; but if the Caimacan came with a thousand, I should wait him at the door with this!” clapping his hand on his sabre. “Before I saw you, I would have asked questions about you. I don’t ask them now.”

Still ask them.

“I would not have asked if you were an agent of the English Government, but I would have asked if you were an agent of the Turkish Government, or the French.”

Why don’t you ask them now?

“Because I now understand that you are your own agent.”

I am as you are, thinking for myself, and when I have judged, acting according to that judgment for the benefit of others. Can we work together?

“That you can tell, not I; for I see only what is



around me. You see what is near, and what is far. Is there any hope?"

You had a great assembly. You drew up a petition, that petition never reached the Sultan—the English Government prevented it. (On his exclamation of surprise and disbelief, I entered into particulars.) The English Government dreaded the effect of that petition on the Sultan; that petition was not what it ought to be to produce effect. Here then is my plan. A complete exposition of the state of things; in which shall be brought out, the injury to the Porte and to you from the tariff; the injury to the Porte and to you from the division of the Caimacanships; the suppression of the authority of the Porte, and the oppression of the people by the system of Chekib Effendi; the dishonour of the Porte and the corruption of the people by the foreign protectorates. Then you will call on the Sultan to resume his sovereignty, and to protect his people; you will claim for the Lebanon its ancient rights of electing its Prince, and of administering every affair by free and open councils. But you must not make this a matter of the Lebanon alone: the tariff affects the rest of Syria, equally with you. You must deal with the public property, offering upon that two-tenths to the Government; you must deal with the ordinary revenue, offering its free collection. This Arzouhal (petition) must not be embarrassed and jeopardied by calling a Council, as you

proposed a little ago, at Beyrout, nor must you stake all on a single paper, which an English consul can stop. Every single city and township must send its own. The Pasha is favourable; every functionary, with one exception—Osman Bey, and he has nothing to do in the matter—is with you.

“But,” exclaimed Nasif Bey, interrupting, “the Maronites, the Maronites! will they be with us?”

The Maronites are before you, and their only dread was that you (the Druzes) would be against them.

“Then all is clear. Don’t say more. You make me tremble lest it should not come out as you say. Now what you have to do is to get me a Vizerial letter (implying pardon), and that will be to me a sign.”

This I engaged to do, and upon this the business part of the conversation closed.

I now proposed to seek the rest I so much needed; but he again detained me with expressions of amazement and incredulity as to England and her motives. I offered him the following analogy:—

Let us suppose the Turkish Government to be engaged in schemes with some other Governments for driving the English out of Asia. Its ambassador at Calcutta, and its consuls throughout the country, will be exciting the Hindoos against the Mussulmans, and the Mussulmans against the Hindoos, filling their respective dupes with illusions of inde-

pendence, and doing everything which shall render insurrection certain and government impossible. Would you here in the Lebanon know what was going on there? Your men would be drafted into the Turkish armies; your money would be given to support the Turkish Government; but your will and your views would be as nothing in the machinations of Constantinople, in the operations at Delhi, in the convulsions of Oude, or in the massacres of Benares. Supposing that you were even curious to know what was going on, you would then have papers published at Beyrout, like the *Portafoglio Maltese*, and would, therefore, be filled with contempt and disgust for those wretched people in India, that your virtuous and generous Government was doing so much to serve.

This he accepted with a limit, placing it thus: "We might be so deceived, but that is because we are not wise. But you, who are wise and learned, cannot be so deceived. Your travellers come and see the Lebanon; they like it; they want to get it." On this I again brought the point back to one of wisdom or folly, shewing that even if we wished to get the Lebanon, it was not the way to do it, and that what we were doing here, whilst not preparing to get anything for ourselves, was preparing to lose India on the one hand, and on the other to give Constantinople to Russia; as we were undermining the Turkish Government and exciting France back again to Indian schemes; referring to the

Egyptian expedition, with the object of which he was perfectly acquainted.

“You have now to explain to me,” he said, “how it is that we look upon you as being a wise and a free people.” My answer was as follows:—

Commercial firms often become bankrupt. This happens because those with whom they deal, and who ought to be acquainted with their affairs are not so. They continue trusting in the wealth which the firm did possess, and which it has lost. It trades upon its former credit, others trade with it on their present illusions, and so the whole breaks down. England was a political firm, with which you could have safely traded fifty years ago, but it is no longer so. Traffic with her was safe so long as she conducted her own affairs in a business-like manner. A man of business decides beforehand upon what he is going to do, and only then leaves the work to his clerks and agents. If he suffers the clerks to undertake operations of which he knows nothing, he cannot fail to be speedily bankrupt. This is what England does.

“Why did you change from the one plan to the other?”

A firm struggles to become rich, and is attentive to its business. Becoming rich, and the affairs extensive, the partners become negligent. By degrees the clerks put themselves in the place of the partners; and the partners, no longer attending to business, take to reading the newspapers. No man

in England, except one managing clerk, is engaged in any business that England is carrying on; but every man is engaged in reading what is day by day printed as news. You know that there is a Patlegan. No Englishman knows it. He cannot see, touch, handle; every event with him is in the clouds.

“But you have a great Megilis.”

The Megilis is what the people are. This is the way. The English Reis Effendi writes to Consul Wood, or Rose: “Divide the Mountain.” On this the Consul Wood or Rose or Moore sets to work. Nobody knows anything about it but that Reis Effendi and that Consul, and sometimes perhaps, a little, the Ambassador. You get up one morning and cut each other’s throats; then people at Beyrout or elsewhere sit down and write letters. The one says, Sheik Nasif is a monster; and the other says, Sheik Nasif is a very fine man. One says, the Maronites are a very virtuous and oppressed people of Christians; another says, they are served right, for they are only Roman Catholics. One says, the Druzes have done it all; they are savages: another, the Turks have done it all; they are ferocious, perfidious and fanatic. Then the people in London begin to write, who dwell in rooms on the housetop. They say, these people are very ill off; we must protect them; or, we must punish them; or, we must convert them. Then they all cry out, We must put down the Turkish Government. The

persons who write this are paid for it; and after it has been written and paid for, it is printed; and after it is printed, it is sold. Then all the nation buys it, and after it has bought it, it reads it while it is eating its breakfast. Then each man goes out and meets his friends and talks it. This is the way the people of England occupy themselves about their affairs; and they call it by a name which being translated means "UNIVERSAL GUESS." They smile then at each other, and say, "We are great men, we know all that is doing in the world, we govern the world; like unto us were none such since Noah came out of the Ark;" and they are quite right. Now you know more about England than if you had lived in it all your life.

"Still there are your line-of-battle ships; these are your ambassadors. You are strong."

The house that is bankrupt at 12 o'clock, is wealthy in the morning. Ships and guns, wealth and regiments, legs and arms, go to constitute strength, but do not alone make it. You must have besides, either the brain to do wrong profitably, or the heart to abstain from doing it at all. Without these, ships and guns are as a knife to a child, or a hatchet to a maniac; first, it will destroy the life of others, and then it will take its own.

"Then there may be worse places than the Lebanon."

Certainly, both in prospects for the future, and possession for the present. There is no man amongst

you who, knowing both, would change his station here for the relative one amongst us.

He now left me to get some rest; but, however exhausted, despite the Spanish proverb, I still feared the fleas, and with some bedding well beaten, laid down on the roof, I soon fell asleep. But presently I became dreamily aware of the presence of that magic-like dawn, to which I had been for nearly three months a stranger. Through my half-opened lids, with my half-awakened sense, between the coverlids and the terraced roof, I beheld the "Bird of Abaye" (the opposite hill), go through its camelion changes; not as if the tinted light fell upon it, but as if varying colours were circulating within, until the sun rudely disturbing their gentle gambols, I drew my cloak over my head and sought, not in vain, another hour of rest for my aching bones.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## ANTIQUITY OF THE SOURIANS.

*April 1st.*—THE Sheik promised to send me by a short cut, and kept his word. I reached Beyrout, descending to the coast by the Damour, in little more than four hours. It was the worst road I ever traversed : there remained fragments of a stair cut in the rock, six feet wide ; the steps low, and about three feet deep. It can be but rarely that animals ascend and descend it, yet the steps were worked into holes by their hoofs. How my horses reached the bottom I do not know, as I had preceded them, and is only to be explained on the principle that Syrian horses are infallible.

After reaching the bed of the Damour, we kept crossing and recrossing it, as if determined not to leave one fordable part untried, though indeed we attempted more than one that was not so. So soon as we got our legs out of the water, we had to duck and dip to save our heads from the boughs of the mulberries, (here of larger growth, and truncated in their branches, not their stems ; looking like a forest of antlers) and lemons, which in orchards or gardens, cover its banks, and where, in pathless luxuriance, we had to wander in a labyrinth of sweet-



smelling and blossoming trees. Whilst scrambling over the rocks to the Damour, a conversation was being carried on across the valley between two persons, who could not have met under two hours' hard walking. They have a manner of coiling up their voice, sailor-fashion, before casting it. They hold on to the note they have sped, until it is caught on the other side. Thus they begin—Eh! Tanou-ou-ou-ou-s-s-s-s (Tanous), and so word by word. In this way the war-cry is sent from village to village, and rock to rock, over the whole country in a few hours, and brings them with a celerity truly miraculous to those not in the secret. At Shimlan a murder was committed, and in half an hour fifty horsemen were on the spot from villages four, five, and six hours distant. Volney mentions an instance of 15,000 men being assembled, equipped for service at Deir el Cammar in the morning, by a cry issued over night.

After emerging on the shore, we turned to the right, and soon came to Mallaca, a village on a height celebrated for its silk. It may be the metropolis of Malaga of Spain: the name of the river, (Damour) recalls the Amorites (Ti-Amori in Berber). Below it was pointed out to me a large tract of land recently bought by Emir Emin, for £1000. Further on, the rocky point of the mountain invades the low strip of level beach, and runs out to the coast. The face of it is covered all over with sarcophagi. This is the richest and most extensive

group of them I had seen; they are scattered for about a couple of miles along the beach, and you see them far up on the hill side. The keeper of the Dukhan or coffee-shop, told me that they are found extending a long way inwards, and offered to conduct me to figures cut in the stone, like those at Nahar el Kelb.

The sarcophagi are indiscriminately cut into the rock, or hewn out of it. The rock is bevelled round and nicely fitted to prevent the water from getting in, and cleared away so that it may not lodge. I had observed that in the double graves, as if of married couples, the form of the lid varies; the same distinction is observed by the Turks. There are no other vestiges. All that seems to have engaged the attention of those who made them was the receptacle for the dead.

The Mussulman graves elsewhere are placed with the same regularity as their places of prayer, but here the rule is dispensed with, and the direction of their monuments is determined only by accident: the ancient usage has been too strong to yield to the new faith. The ancient sarcophagi, whether carved out of the rock, or chiselled in it which constitute the ancient records of the Lebanon; the regular stone coffin, and the hollowed case in the rock, with a lid similar to that on the sarcophagus, are found together: and these, the latter of which could not be moved, are placed in every direction. The sight of these rudiments of the sarcophagus,

suggested a possibility of connexion with the Pyramids.

The discovery of Lepsius is based on a hollow, cut for the body in the rock, and then covered with stones, the entrance being carried under ground, so that the secrecy of the passage and the mass of the edifice, might defy alike curiosity and violence. This connexion had already suggested itself, when at Sweir, I was struck by the sight of a tomb composed of cubes, placed exactly according to Lepsius' theory of the original structure of the Pyramids. The form was indeed not exactly a cube, it being rather extended in the direction of the length of the body; but I have since found in Volney, that in his time the perfect cube was used. It is in the last half century that the sponge has been passed over usages, so that getting back fifty years is equal in regard to customs, to striding over five or ten hundred. Here then we have both the grave cut in the rock, and the pyramidal arrangement of cubes placed over the body, which conjointly compose the scheme of the Pyramids: a mystery now solved, after baffling the learned for twenty-five centuries. The primitive idea evidently belongs to this country. The modification which it underwent in Egypt, and to which the grandeur of these monuments is owing, arose from the fear of desecration, an idea not pertaining to the primitive period; and which could scarcely have been known before conquest had embittered race against race, and a long course of abuse and

tyranny had been run. The existing usages of a people supposed to be of yesterday, give the origin of the earliest and noblest of the monuments of that great empire which had run its race before Rome began! Such a coincidence might of itself suggest a Syrián derivation for the arts of the valley of the Nile, a conclusion already arrived at from the monuments themselves, by those who have most laboriously studied them.

The pyramidal form of some ancient sepulchres, such as that of Absalom and Zechariáh, has been pointed out as an instance of the influence of Egypt on the Jews. But the ordinary architecture of Egypt, such as the Jews must there have been accustomed to, had nothing in common with the Pyramids. These tombs have no door; they are built all up, and that of Absalom is entered by a hole made in the wall. The Druze family tombs are without door, the wall having to be pulled down to admit each new tenant.

I have already mentioned at Saïda the tombs corresponding exactly with those of Lycia. So that we have in this district the original of the two most remarkable forms of sepulture in the world, belonging to two of the most ancient systems, and which in the countries to which they were transferred, have ceased to be practised for two or three thousand years. As the form of sepulture must be one of the earliest adopted by any people, the antiquity of this custom must go far to prove, that the Lebanon is still inhabited by its original people.

The Druzes, like the Moors, bury in their houses those who die in odour of sanctity : the tomb is made in the form of an altar, and stands east and west ; the feet to the east, so that the body lies on the right side, and looks to the south. This, as Mecca is south from here, would at first appear connected with Mussulman superstitions, but it is not so ; the Mussulmans place the body on the back, in order that it may sit up when it renders the spirit to the angel of death. The *Kebla* was the point of prayer before Islam ; the Druzes might have adopted the habit of the old Sabeans, who still existed in Syria in the tenth century. If so, the turning the face to the *Kebla* would have come directly from the idolators, with whom Islamism was at war, while tending to confirm the notion, for which I cannot find anywhere a shadow of ground, that the Druzes were originally Mussulmans. At Abaye I am told that there still exist similar tombs of the *Tenhok*, that is of the princely house that preceded the *Maan*, and who are said to have been Mussulmans.

These Druze tombs are called *Naos*, the form of which is Syriac. Is this from the Greek, or is the Greek from this? Virgil (himself an Etruscan), describing the Palace of the Phœnician Dido, places there the tomb of her priestly husband, and calls it a temple (*Naos*):—

“*Templum erat in tecto, miro quo colebat honore.*”

She also hears the voice of *Sichæus*. No poetic image this, but simply a tradition. At this day the

widow pours forth her sorrows, and listens for the answering voice through the aperture in their tombs left for communication with the dead.

The Phœnicians are considered the inventors of letters, but they drew from an earlier source. Their active colonies were not established on the coast of a barbarous land, and uncultured savages did not dwell above and around them. Connected with this point is a still unsolved problem of Biblical ethnography. The genealogy of Genesis, which existing critics agree in regarding as the series of tribes, not the succession of families, place the Canaanites, among whom the Phœnicians proper are included, among the descendants of Ham, whilst the Hebrews came from Shem, "the father of all the children of Heber." The second born of Shem is Asshur: we have no further notice of that line. Thus Heber and Asshur are a distinct line from Canaanites and Phœnicians.

The remarkable war, of which we have the account in Genesis, and the earliest so recorded, is between two confederations of kings. Chedorlaomer king of Elam, Tidal king of Nations, Amraphel king of Shinar, and Arioch king of *Ellasar*, fight on the one side against the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboïm. These latter had served Chedorlaomer for twelve years, and rebelled in the thirteenth. "In the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him, and smote the Rephaims in Ashteroth Karnaim, and the Zuzims

in Ham, and the Emims in the plain of Kiriathaim, and the Horites in the Mount Seir." Then the confederated kings proceed to smite the Amalekites and Amorites. It is not until after these successes that the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah come on the field and join battle with the kings whom they had formerly served. It is impossible, then, to doubt that the tribes who had been smitten were of cognate race to Sodom and Gomorrah. For what could have induced them to choose such a moment for attack, but desperation, in seeing the discomfiture of their allies, and the desire to avenge them? Many other passages of the Old Testament also lead to the conclusion that these Anakims, or children of Anak, Zuzims, Avims, and Rephaims, were cognate to the Canaanites,\* although their genealogy is not given. They probably were descendants of Mizraim, as well as the Philistines; Mizraim was the second son of Ham, Canaan the fourth, from whom came the other tribes found in possession by the children of Israel; Jebusites, Hivites, Amorites, &c., among whom Sidon is specially mentioned as "the first-born." They are distinguished from the Canaanites by the epithets "great" and "tall," that are always connected with their names, but

\* The various names given to this early people shew the high respect borne to them by their conquerors, and the antiquity then attributed to their race. Rephaim, "great," or "giants." Emim, "formidable." Anak, "king," among the Greeks. Cadmoni and Horim both implying "ancient" and "hero."

they live amongst them. The Rephaims are specially mentioned when the promise was made to Abraham that his seed "should inherit the land." The spies of Moses report how they "saw the giants, the sons of Anak, which came of the giants, and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight." Og king of Bashan was of "the remnant of the giants."\* Joshua is said to have cut off the Anakims from Hebron, and all the mountains, and to have destroyed their cities, so that none remained, "except in Gath, Gaza, and Ashdod," that is, in the land of the Philistines, which makes the probability of their descent in common with Philistines, from Mizraim son of Ham, amount to a certainty. They might have been collectively called Mizraimites, as the others are called Canaanites; being spoken of only as "a remnant" in the time of Joshua, they probably preceded the Canaanites in possession of the land: the Zuzims are said (Deut. ii. 20-23) to have been destroyed by the Ammonites (children of Lot), and the Horims by the children of Esau.†

\* His enormous basaltic sarcophagus is of record; which points to the epithet "giant" not being figurative only.

† From Ham—*Cush, Canaan, Mizraim, Phut.*

From *Mizraim*—Anamim, Casluhim, (out of whom came Philistim) and Caphtorim.

From *Canaan*—"Sidon his first-born," Jebusite, Amorite, Hivite, &c. (Gen. x).

*Anakims*, (Children of Anak)—Joshua destroyed them, except in *Gaza, Gath, Ashdod.* (Josh. xi. 21-22).



Now comes the question, are they the original people? The word Philistine is admitted to be derived from Phleseth, which means "emigrant."\* Scripture history confirms the deduction. "Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?"† The Phœnicians were also always treated as emigrants, and they were among the children of Canaan. There must have been a still anterior race, the race who gave to the land its name—Syria.

Amongst all the conquests recorded in the books of Moses, never is the Lebanon mentioned. It stands completely apart from the changes in dominion going on in the plain. When the name does occur, it is as a distinct region to "the land of the Canaanites," and the inhabitants are called "the inhabitants of the hill country."‡ The great war of the time of Abraham, is between the children of Shem, and the children of Ham. All those associated with the King of Elam are descendants of Shem; among them appears "Arioch, king of

The *Zamzummins* or *Zuzims*, destroyed by the Ammonites, (a people like the Anakims, "great, many, and tall.")

The *Horims*, or *Horites*, (Gen. xiv. 6.) destroyed by the children of Esau.

The *Avims*, destroyed by the Caphtorims, (Deut. ii. 20-23).  
Og, King of Bashan, of the remnant of the giants who dwelt in Ashteroth, (Josh. xii. 4.)

\* Bochart, "Geographica Sacra," p. 329.

† Amos ix. 7.

‡ Josh. xiii. 5, 6.

Ellasar." It is in Telassar that dwell the "children of Eden," whom I have already identified with the Eden of this day, at the foot of the cedars. If the name of Souria is still the name of *Lebnan* among its own people, not forgotten in the change of tongue, not superseded in the pertinacity with which the Hebrew epithet has been fastened upon it by all foreigners, it is because they are the Sourians; of which the Old Testament alone affords sufficient evidence, even had the ancient name been lost. Coming now in confirmation of the name, what more remains to be said? They fought the great battle in the vale of Siddim, under Arioch king of Ellasar, together with Elam and Shinar, (the Amorites called the Lebanon *Shenir*), against the descendants of those who had driven out their forefathers, as they were in turn driven out by the Israelites.

Elam was the first of the sons of Shem, Asshur the second; from another son, Arphaxad, came the Hebrews, from Heber: the lines of Elam and Asshur are traced no further, but we have got enough in the names themselves. Elam is Persia, and from Asshur, Asser, Sour, must be derived both Syrians and Assyrians.\* That subsequently there were two distinct Syrian and Assyrian kingdoms, the capital of the one being Damascus, and of the other, Nineveh, does not militate against the anterior

\* "The Syrians before and the Philistines behind, and they shall devour Israel with open mouth."—Isa. ix. 12.

common origin of both. The Jewish history here again affords evidence in a remarkable passage:—When the Israelites were come into the land of Canaan, and had possessed it and dwelt in it, each was commanded to bring the first of all the fruit of the land in a basket to the priest, to be presented unto the Lord, and in doing so to say, “A *Syrian* ready to perish was my father; and he went down into Egypt and sojourned there with a few, and became there a nation, great, mighty and populous.” (Deut. xxvi. 5). The Syrian language was also the language of Assyria; at least the official and court language. In that language the servants of Hezekiah requested Rabshakeh the Assyrian to speak to them, that the “people on the wall” might not understand him.\* In that language spake the Chaldeans to Nebuchadnezzar when he called for the interpretation of his dream.† In that language was written the letter to Artaxerxes to hinder the rebuilding of the Temple, by the nations whom the Assyrian kings had placed in the cities of Samaria.‡

Nothing, then, can be more distinct as regards race than Canaanites, Phœnicians, and Hebrews. Yet their language in the time of St. Augustine and St. Jerome—that is, 22 centuries after Abraham—was so closely allied, that each people could understand the other. This was no assimilation, the result of time. When the Israelites, or more properly the

\* Isa. xxxvi. 11.

† Dan. ii. 4.

‡ Ezra. iv. 7.

Beni Israel, entered Canaan, they knew its language. Hebrew *spies* penetrated into it; the mission of the Gibeonites required no interpreter. One language appears to prevail throughout the whole of Palestine during the course of Biblical history. No interpreter is heard of. Abraham came a solitary individual; he could not have imported a tongue. But neither did he need an interpreter, when "he stood up from before his dead, and spake unto the sons of Heth, saying, I am a stranger and a sojourner with you: give me a possession of a burying place." And would not Abraham have spoken the Syrian tongue, coming as he did out of Mesopotamia,\* where the remainder of his family had been for some time settled, who also are called Syrians as well as himself? Rebekah is the "daughter of Bethuel the Syrian of Padan-aram, the sister to Laban the Syrian."†

I imagine, then, that both Anakims, Canaanites, and Hebrews adopted the tongue of Souria, that is, the Syriac. In this case that people must have been their superiors in arts and sciences, if their inferior in arms. If they derived from them their language, they also derived their arts, which arts they subsequently communicated to the Jews.

The Beni Israel appear to have been familiar with letters (as signs of sound, not sense) in the time of Moses, long before we have any trace of them in Egypt, India, or anywhere else. The Chinese never

\* Gen. xxiv. 11.

† Gen. xxv. 20.

have known them. In Canaan there was a city called the city of the "Scribes" or of the "Archives;" for *Kirjath-Sepher* may be translated both ways. Among the Carthaginians, the title of the highest magistrates was "scribe."\* All the habits connected with writing which we now find in the East existed there. The *deviet* or case for reeds, and the holder for ink, was worn in the belt, or as we translate it, "on the loins."† In the time of Job, the seal was appended, of soft clay.‡ As now the Easterns soften with turpentine our sealing wax, and then impress the seal, covering the part over again, so that it utterly defies all the processes, even of our English post-office; and it was an offence to send an unsealed letter.§ Writing was then known when the Jews entered; and being associated with their political hierarchy, must have been of ancient date, and therefore probably derived by the Canaanites from the aboriginal population. Indeed, the tradition existed in ancient times of such a derivation of letters; it is recorded by Diodorus Siculus, but, appearing to be destitute of likelihood, it has passed unnoticed. That writer expressly says, that letters were learnt by the Phoenicians from the *Syrians*.

The square Hebrew character at present in use, is comparatively a modern invention. The character

\* *Sophetim*, whence *Σοφία* of the Greeks, *Sapere* of the Latins, with all their compounds and derivatives in all western languages.

† Ezekiel ix. 2, 3.

‡ Job xxxviii. 14.

§ Nehemiah vi. 5.

of the coins of the Maccabees is unquestionably the most ancient trace of those of Judea. Eighteen letters have been made out, all nearly corresponding with the Phœnician alphabet, which contains twenty-two. The letters wanting are the simple I, the Z, the T and P (supplied by the D and B.) The square Hebrew has not more than three which correspond with the Maccabean coins. The Samaritan is derived from the Maccabean, and the Maccabean from the Phœnician.

The name then of Gebel Souria is a monument of the highest historic value, exceeding, as the Maronite Archbishop remarked to me, in extent, no less than in antiquity, that of "Gebel Lebnan." It is singular that no traveller has noticed this: from all that has been written in this country, no one would suspect, that to this mountain any name belonged, save its Hebrew one.

The Syriac, Hebrew, and Arabic are cognate tongues. The Hebrew cannot be the parent, for there could not have been a Hebrew tongue in the time of Abraham "the Syrian." On comparing them, it will be found, that the Syriac possesses the stamp and character of antiquity. It is the simplest in structure, the poorest in vocables; in it are found the roots, and from it are taken the most simple terms of the Hebrew and the Arabic. The Hebrew stands midway between the rigidity of the Syriac, and the amplitude of the Arabic. If the tongue in which the word Adam has the meaning assigned to

it in the 1st chapter of Genesis,\* is not the first speech of man, and the mother of tongues, at least it can be said of no other (save the Turkish, in which Adam is man) that it has equal claims to antiquity; and it is a living language to this day. It was with no ordinary emotion that I heard it first spoken by a Chaldean priest from a district called *Soria*, in the neighbourhood of Diarbekir, and questioned him on the names of animals, that I might know how and why Adam had called them.

If this assemblage of probabilities is allowed to stand, the inference from them is indubitable, that the Sourians of the Lebanon preserved the ancient tongue, whilst those of the plain, undergoing vicissitudes, modified it into the Hebrew. It would thus be natural to look to the first for the invention of letters, which would coincide with the circumstances in other respects, and the tradition recorded by Diodorus.

The absence of letters on the sarcophagi does not militate against this conclusion, on the pyramids of Egypt we find no hieroglyphics.

How very amusing is all this. Here racing through the country, thinking the least in the world about archæology, and sunk over head and ears in political conquest and disputation, I have discovered a

\* Aadam in Syriac is "earth." Eve likewise, in Syriac *Huin*, means in that tongue "the mother of the living." The name Noah was given, because "he would comfort them in the toil of their hands." The word in Syriac means "rest."

private antiquity of my own. An antiquity that beats all the other antiquities, which no one had ever dreamt of, but which meets me with its gaunt, misty, but unmistakable face, at every turn. There are at least a dozen different lines of proof. There are the tombs; what can exceed that? And yet the terraces, exceed it; the Tantour exceeds the terraces, and the Tantour is exceeded by the Dirhem and Carat. What would be thought in England if we spoke of an ounce of apple-trees and a pound of land? Would we not immediately claim the numerical division of the rest of Europe as autochthanic among ourselves? The whole metrology of the ancients is based upon the Drachma or Dirhem; beyond it we cannot ascend, but under no system was it other than a weight, and there is no trace of mensuration among them by aliquot parts. Here we have the dirhem, at once a measure of weight and a measure of space, and employed correlatively, with the aliquot or proportional measurement of the Carat, which we continue to employ, both for absolute and relative weight, the one for precious metals, the other for precious stones. This practice is to ourselves a mystery; there is no solution of it. It furnishes exactly the same species of proof which is afforded by a compound term in one language, when the radical belongs to another.\* Every time I return to Beyrout, I bring back for the exasperation of the

\* The Lebanon is to this day held to be a unit, being distributed into 24 Karats, which at present are termed *Mucata*.



learned Franks, some new evidence which produces strange contortions of physiognomy; they having quite made up their minds not to admit, and it being utterly impossible for them to deny. Precious set these civilizers; and every Frank is so, who is established here without an honourable calling; that is to say, unless engaged in trade or agriculture.

Two hours through the sands, and between hedges of cactus, brought me to Beyrout, early enough to go to the bath, which closes at sunset. I had not been there for nearly two months, and scarcely recognized the place. A new bathman had taken it, and fitted it up "à la franca." The cushions of the divan had given place to miserable nondescripts; English cotton imitations had taken place of the silk bordered futa: coffee was no longer served in the Flinzan and Zarf. When I rejected the Frank cups brought me, none others could be had, till they sent out to *buy them*. The follies of a man may be amusing, but the folly of a people saddens and disgusts. They have method, however, in their folly; carefully abstaining from imitating anything that might be useful, and selecting for destruction such things only as are excellent.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE SYSTEM OF PROTECTION:

*April 8th.*—I WAS to have sailed by the French steamer of the 5th, but again it has been impossible, and the events in Europe afford me every chance that I could have either desired or hoped. But it is events *here*. Is it not an event when a Russian consul at an out-of-the-way seaport, reverses in a moment the political relations of the European governments, and that, not on the receipt of a courier from his government, but on the arrival of a piece of news?

First let me set down the case as it is; not as it appears to be.

The demand to surrender the Hungarian refugees was not made in the hope that Turkey would yield, or with the intention of coercing her. This is not a statement made after the event. On my arrival in Turkey last year, I used these words: "There is no war in contemplation; the quarrel is made, as that about Persia in 1838." The apparent union of the governments of England and France, had, however, the effect of drawing the nations together. This was counteracted by the outrage upon Greece by means of that English squadron which had just left that of France upon friendly terms, and without

prior communication of the intention to the French Government.\* The attack on Greece, on the old pretext of Russia's ascendancy, has the effect of driving her into Russia's dependence, but the object clearly is a quarrel with France, although it does not appear why that quarrel was necessary, or what are the effects that are to flow from it. Enough for me that there is a quarrel with France, and that behind that quarrel there is some danger which has made it necessary.† It will not then be an easy matter at this minute for England to make a quarrel with the Porte about the Lebanon. The more so as some glimmerings of the truth seem to be piercing in England, if one can judge by the batch of newspapers by the steamer;‡ and not less in France

\* I have since learned at Constantinople, that Sir S. Canning said, in exculpation of his own conduct, that he had been kept as much in the dark as the French Government.

† It was to constrain the British cabinet to accept the protocol disposing of the Danish crown.

‡ The "Spectator" has the following:—"Uniformity of effect indicates community of cause. The results are,—that the Greek people are driven by distrust of England into a sympathizing allegiance to their king, the puppet of Russia; that the king is effectually estranged from the English friendship, taught to distrust even France, as an ally of England, and left to look for support from Russia alone. Is it a real quarrel, this of Palmerston and Nesselrode? Palmerston's ministration serves Russia as faithfully as Nesselrode's. How desirable it would be to get at the bottom of these mysteries and extract the truth! But against that exploration the present case is to be closed, like others that have gone before—for ever closed: Lord Palmerston 'is preparing papers.'"

also, as would appear from an article in the "Revue des Deux Mondes," from the pen of the son-in-law of the Duc de Broglie, French ambassador in London.\*

The English act in Greece takes the Russian cabinet completely by surprise! It declares itself in ignorance of the footing on which it stands with England, and awaits an answer. But M. Basili, at Beyrout, on the first news from Greece, knows exactly what to do, and two months ago repeated verbatim Count Nesselrode's despatch of the 19th February, which we have just received by the steamer. A Russian agent is neither a being of impulse nor a prophet. The closest intimacy reigns between the Russian and English consulates; but so horror-stricken is M. Basili at England's perfidy, that on the hour, he is converted from the most devoted of friends to the fiercest of foes. Not content with private vituperation for the bewildered Mr. Moore, he sought an audience in the lanes and saloons of Beyrout. He cited her act in Greece, as an instance only of her universal policy, and undeviating character; she was everywhere "a traitor

\* Désesperant de pouvoir jamais s'entendre avec celui qui s'était fait à Madrid le patron des cabales des exaltés Espagnols; à Rome, à Naples et en Sicile le promoteur des insurrections; en Grèce un agent incessant de troubles, et de desordre; qui avait livré Fribourg et Lucerne à la colerè des Radicaux Suisses—les grands Puissances venoient témoigner à la France le désir de se concerter avec elle à l'exclusion de l'Angleterre. M. le Comte de Collerado et le Général Radowitz pendant leur séjour à Paris mirent en avant l'idée d'une entente à quarte."

to her friends, an oppression to Europe, and a curse to the world." An English resident said to me, "I can compare his language only to that of Napoleon during the continental blockade." Do not these words describe Count Nesselrode's note of the 19th February?

The people of Beyrout were exceedingly surprised; they expected that he would be recalled by his Government so soon as Mr. Moore's report reached head-quarters. I explained at the time that M. Basili could only have acted on instructions, and that they would find a "Note," already written, would be fulminated from St. Petersburg, so soon as the necessary time should elapse for the "News" to appear to reach that capital. I was listened to with stupid wonder or undisguised incredulity. It was one of those, who had so listened, who brought me the newspaper containing the despatch. In giving it, he said, "Well, Europe, I see now, must be made up of dotards or children." By means of this interpretation, given beforehand, the people at Beyrout did not remain intimately convinced, like the rest of the world, of the implacable hatred subsisting between Count Nesselrode and Lord Palmerston.

This vessel brings intelligence of the speedy return of Colonel Rose. The people ask why has that functionary been so long absent? I inquire why is he now sent back? The Turkish authorities console themselves with saying, "If any trouble

arises we can appeal to the eighteen months of good relations that have subsisted with the British consulate while administered by Mr. Moore." Such precisely was the reasoning of M. Guizot, on the return of Lord Palmerston to power; but that did not prevent the Ministry and the Monarchy from being speedily blown up.

A new French Consul-General comes out from Trieste, where he has been engaged in the regular consular business of superintending the expedition of manifests and ships' papers: he is reported to be a man who will not meddle in intrigues. The French consulates are divided into two branches, the political and commercial. They are under distinct sections of the Paris Foreign Office, which look on each other with great jealousy. *Beyrout has been withdrawn from the political, and placed among the commercial consulates.*

The Madrid official journal has a passage which supplies food for reflexion: "Since the departure of the British ambassador Spain is not in a *worse* position politically or morally, and has not suffered in her commercial affairs."

*April 11th.*—This day I was present at the installation of the Tribunal of Commerce. I have before remarked on the effect of seeing Cadi and Jew, Mussulman and Rayah, Greek and Latin, sitting side by side in the same council. To-day the black coat of the Frank figured along the sides of the room. The Firman and the Regulations were

read; the members were sworn; the President addressed them on the duties of their office. This Tribunal is to consist of 12 members, 3 chosen by the Mussulmans, 3 by the Europeans, 6 by the various denominations of Rayahs; but they have named as supplementary members as many more. The nominations have given general satisfaction, and I have no hesitation in saying that this is an institution which affords the greatest prospect of benefit, without any drawback. Besides the work which it has to perform, a work the most essential, it will steady the action of the Executive, discharge the Megilis from its overwhelming toil, and reduce by a large amount the sources of corruption.

The Firman has at last arrived for the settlement of the public lands. It adopts the proposed modification of the Tanzimat: the occupant is to become proprietor, and the charges are to be progressively reduced, till they reach one-tenth. Thus where the peasant pays two-thirds, he shall the first year pay one-half, the second, one-third, and so on progressively, until the tax descends to the tenth. The concession of the rights of property would have been no boon, without the reduction of taxes. Together they constitute as important a change as has ever been made in the internal condition of a country.

The Firman is, however, but an experimental one. The application is to be made to certain districts only to see how it will work, and there is to be a purchase. It ought to have been universal, imme-

diate and unbought; and unless it is so it will be a failure, not an experiment.

At Aleppo Zarif Pasha has been busy in pursuing malversation, and has gained from the people golden opinions. The nomination of Saïd Pasha (brother-in-law to the Sultan) to Damascus, had created great alarm, from his past reputation at Constantinople; but he has surprised every one, and honestly cheated expectation. His arrival was signaled by proceedings against extortioners. In one case, a commission appointed to inquire having made a mitigated return, the Pasha summoned its chief, called him a traitor, and sent him to prison. Another commission was named, and the sum to be refunded was increased four-fold.

There was this night a long discussion on the privileges of foreign traders and protected subjects; and the necessity of freeing themselves from this oppression. The discussion was carried on, on the assumption of a common interest between the foreign trader and the Consul. It was with exclamations of surprise that they listened to my statement, that the Europeans settled in Turkey would be glad to become Rayahs; nor would they credit me until I produced a letter from the English proprietor of a silk establishment in the north of Syria, requesting me to obtain this boon for him. I had then to detail similar applications from other parts of the Empire, and the steps taken in consequence, which had hitherto failed, through the dread of the Porte



to offend the ambassadors. In this matter the Megilis might render to the Government the most essential service.

Interference respectively of one country in the internal affairs of another, presents a terrible prospect for the human race ; for it involves the extinction of each people, and the absorption ultimately of the whole, in some one Government more dexterous than the rest. A Government that has formed a plan to dismember another, commits only a crime when it interferes in its concerns. Interference without such purpose reveals hopeless debasement : it is judicial blindness. Such a Government no more sees the consequences of its acts, than it apprehends the vileness of its character.

Once entered upon this course, it revolves within the circle of the pettiest passions ; its policy is placed at the mercy of accidents and underlings. The self-love of the Consular agent works upon that of the Ambassador ; transferred to narrative, it surprises the perspicacity of a Minister, and, by anticipating, compromises the decisions of a Cabinet. Language and acts proceeding from hence, call forth an analogous response, and the relations of the two States become an interchange of fraud, deception, intimidation and corruption ; hourly reproducing themselves, debasing the character, and perverting the understanding of the men who rule on both sides, and ultimately of the nations who are ruled by them.

The Government, engaging in such a course, must, in process of time, be itself subjected to the same operation. In the scenes I daily witness, the picture of what, at a future time, England will have herself to undergo is presented to me. Reflections such as these, are not new. They have, indeed, prompted those great efforts by which that code for the guidance of mankind which is known as the Law of Nations\* has been compiled. They have equally presented themselves to mere politicians, and even in our own day. The Duke de Broglie, speaking of the conduct of England and France in Spain, expresses himself thus:—

“The Government that pursues a policy of influence, exercises the calling of a dupe, and when it reaps a harvest of ingratitude gets precisely what it deserves.”

This species of interference has been known hitherto only as diplomatic representations made in regard to principles. Here it is administrative. It bears upon the taxes, the customs, the limitation of districts, the administrative functions, the parish business, the selection and displacement of functionaries, the operations of the courts of law ; whatever is included under the word “Government,” belongs here to “interference.” This operation is exercised

\* “It is an evident consequence of the liberty and independence of nations, that all have a right to be governed as they think proper, and that no State has the smallest right to interfere in the Government of another.”—*Vattel*, sec. 55, b. 2, c. 4.

without authority, without control, without responsibility. The discussions, in reference thereto, are carried on between the functionaries of a Foreign Government; and as that Foreign Government can enter upon this field only by an act of usurpation, its position is that of an enemy. Every act is directed to subvert and to disturb: the object of each individual is of necessity to supersede the legitimate authority of the native functionary with whom he is in contact.

Thus it is that the administrative interference, which has, in Syria, replaced the diplomatic, is carried on through Consuls.

It could never have been proposed to distribute diplomatic agents over the provinces of an Empire. The Consuls are there for mere commercial purposes; they, by the law of nations, have no representative character. Appointed, admitted, and paid for, as such, while forbidden to travel beyond their functions, these functions they are required to execute. It is in the nature of things, that when a body usurps foreign functions, it neglects its proper business. This is what we see here. The Consuls, whilst by their political meddling they bring upon the land convulsion and anarchy, do not protect trade, and do oppress British subjects.

The circumstances are so unlike anything in Europe, that they are scarcely comprehensible. The European residents have, by the generosity of the Sultans, been treated as guests, and exempted

from taxes. Thereupon the Consuls have certified certain natives to be foreigners, giving them "protections," and so claiming for them immunity from taxes. The taxes being levied according to a sum fixed for each community, the portion of the protected persons, who cease to pay, falls as an additional charge on the rest. The disturbance created by so shameless an abuse, is easily imagined; the animosities between the provincial authorities and the Consuls, and the hatred between the "protected" and unprotected Rayahs. The evil is indeed working out for itself a cure, in the contempt that has overtaken the protected persons, and the indisposition to deal with them commercially. The Megilis, by strong remonstrances and judicious resolutions, might strengthen the hands of the Government, so as to enable it to meet and put down this abuse, by forbidding all protection. This will prepare the way for that measure, without which neither Turkey nor Europe is safe for a day—the reduction of the Consuls in Turkey, to the same footing as that on which they stand in Europe.

An expression of Mr. Disraeli's, in the House of Commons, I have heard quoted at least fifty times during my present trip, and always with exultation, by British merchants. It is this: "The Consuls are a body of men who know no more of the laws of their own country, than of those of the countries to which they are accredited."

Hitherto, appeals from Europeans to be admitted

as Rayahs, have smitten with panic the Turkish officials: they have never ventured either "yes" or "no." An application recently made here, has been differently received. It has been transmitted to the Grand Vizir, with an urgent request that it be granted, and accompanied by a general review, both of the consular pretensions, and the silk trade, from which I transcribe the portion bearing on the first of these subjects.

(*Extract.*) TO THE GRAND VIZIR.

*Beyrout, April, 1850.*

I herewith transmit from the proprietor of a silk factory a request to be admitted to the protection of the Porte. The reasons for this step cannot but be grave. The fact indicates the consideration which the Empire has gained in the eyes of foreigners. A subject of one of the first commercial nations puts aside his nationality, and prefers the justice exercised by our august Master to the shield of British power. Such a preference cannot be rejected. Mr. — asked only for permission to address himself to the local authorities, without the intervention of the Consul; but it appeared to me that a Firman would be the means of gaining for him a more permanent independence. In granting it the Porte would not appear to be taking one of her subjects from England, but to be conferring a favour on one of them. The vexations of the Consular system are everywhere sufficiently intolerable, but here they pass all bounds. These rival influences have here opened an arena for their strife in the very bosom of the populations, and extend their influence alike over ordinary incidents and general measures. These functionaries speak and act as masters or as enemies, and have

confiscated the authority of the Province in the hands in which it has been vested by the Sovereign. Nothing could be better fitted to demonstrate the hollowness of the system, and to lower its arrogance, than the request which I transmit.

In a commercial point of view the case is of great importance. Since the English Treaty has closed to the Lebanon its ancient foreign markets, fettered its internal commerce, and totally ruined its local industry, these new factories can alone rescue it from poverty and depopulation. Yet these establishments are threatened with ruin.

I am prepared for the astonishment, perhaps the incredulity, which your Excellency will feel. I have experienced the same myself. Convinced as I now am of the existence of an evil which secretly assails the prosperity of the country, I can do but one thing, and I ought to do it whatever the consequences may be to myself, which is, to present to you in the best way I am able the question as I see and understand it. I think it demands all your attention; in submitting it I claim your indulgence. In pointing out the errors into which the Government has fallen, you will not doubt my sincerity.

I divide the question into two heads; the first is the general state of the Lebanon, which I treat in a separate memoir. I here take up all that concerns the spinning operations, and shall expose to you things which I do not think you will judge proper to lay before the Council. The state of the Lebanon would necessarily demand a formal decision; but for what concerns the spinning you can give effect to the conclusions arrived at, by a word of instruction either here, or to the commission for the regulation of the new tariff.

At the time when the silk of the Lebanon was about to be taxed 12 per cent. foreigners came and erected spinning establishments, which in increasing the value of the silk opened to it new markets which were closed to it during the prosperity of the Lebanon, and thus could compete with the finest produce of France and Lombardy.

Although these factories were at first established in great numbers, they did not continue to increase; many are but little worked, and some are completely abandoned. Those which are the most flourishing are in such a position that one of the proprietors speaks in these terms: "I am reduced to the necessity of deciding whether I shall continue to sink my capital in the hope of better success, and with the prospect that with the greater tax imposed by the new Tariff, the certainty of bankruptcy would follow, or to retire at once with the sacrifice of three parts of my capital."

It is therefore necessary to protect these factories, and through them to save the Lebanon. It is for the Government of the Sublime Porte to find the means of doing it, and I do not hesitate to say that it should be done even if it involves a sacrifice. I shall endeavour to shew the position in which they are placed.

The peasants can only furnish the cocoons in small quantities, and with each a separate contract is required. The population is now so impoverished that it can only live by anticipating the harvest, the European must pay them in advance. These payments begin shortly after the harvest, at rates which go on increasing till the coming harvest; that is, from 9 to 14 piastres the oke. In order to have money they are always ready to contract for a larger quantity than they can furnish; the manufacturer should therefore know exactly their resources, and bind

them by strict conditions. Such is the demoralization that the cocoons can only be obtained by constraint. If the cocoons are not furnished at the time and in the quantity specified the spinning is stopped. In other places they contract with the Chiefs of the Villages, but here the Sheiks have straitened the municipal authority, and that indulgence is unknown. The Howalis are sent into the villages by each manufacturer as for the Miri; from thence come expenses to the people and to the manufacturers, and these last have to pay as much as 5 per cent. on debts before he can obtain the intervention of the authorities. In this consists the principal difficulty of a manufactory in this country; it is not in the working of the silk, but it is in the mass of small and irritating matters. The manufacturer's business entirely depends upon the good will of the authorities, which in the present state of the administration of the Lebanon can be refused to him, or can be given in an inefficient manner. Again, as regards judicial differences which may arise from it, he is dependant upon all the casualties which here shackle the course of justice. If he be a foreigner he has the support of his Consul, but it may happen that instead of support he gets only hindrances. These are costs which cannot be put into figures in a current account, nor be estimated in a tariff, but which for certain are sufficient to cause bankruptcy to a factory, whatever may be the profits of its work. Intricacies like these, which it would be impossible to calculate beforehand, and are to be found nowhere but in the Lebanon, are fully disclosed in the following application.

The Caimacan of the Druzes writes to the English Consul in these terms:—"One of your subjects takes upon himself to lend money in the villages to per-



sons who cannot repay it; he then exacts a large fine, and thus oppresses the people and brings distress into the Mountain, giving infinite trouble to me and to you. Desire him, I pray you, for your own peace and mine, to depart." The Consul conveys by letter this communication to the manufacturer, who answers in modest and conclusive terms, shewing the falseness of the assertions and the absurdity of the conclusions. The Consul sends for the manufacturer, combats his views, upholds the Caimacan's letter by all possible arguments; in effect, places himself in his place against his subject, and finally makes the manufacturer retract his letter. The manner in which he succeeded was by taking from the manufacturer all hope of being protected against the Caimacan by any one whatever, making him feel that the English Government having a political object in hand (to secure the affection of the Druzes), "could not sacrifice it to quarrels of private individuals, and that the Turkish Government was not favourable to silk establishments." He gave him a dispatch (from Sir Stratford Canning) to read, in which these considerations were set forward in a manner not to be misunderstood; so that the manufacturer, perceiving at the same time that he had no resource in the Consul against the Caimacan, nor in the English Government against the Consul, was entirely thrown back, and consented to all that the Consul required of him. Notwithstanding this, on going home and reconsidering the matter, he becomes indignant at the conspiracy and the intimidation to which he had been the victim, and he returns the letter he had retracted with a protest. These curious documents are enclosed with this memoir.

The manufacturer on a former occasion had endeavoured

to communicate directly with the Pasha, but the Consul had a clue to this step, and made a scene with the Pasha, which had the effect of throwing him into the hands of the Consul. Then he tried to put himself under some other consulate, but he found none that would receive him. Having at a later time discovered that he had been deceived as to the disposition of the Porte, he came and related to me his position, and begged of me to be his intermediary with a Government which had the greatest interest in his prosperity.

I have given these facts in detail because they lead to reflection. It cannot be doubted that if the Porte has closed its eyes against the industry of the Lebanon, that has not prevented an inimical eye from being fixed on what happens here, and considering all the consequences of its success on the *peace* of the Lebanon.

Let us consider in all this what is the interest of the Druze Caimacan, or to speak more correctly of the Druze Sheiks. The Caimacan, invested with the authority of the Porte, appears to occupy an elevated position and to be possessed of an independent authority; but it is not so, the Emir Emin is but the equal of the other Sheiks. They did not agree to his election till after an agreement, formally enacted though secret, by which he ceded to them the half of his appointments, and not being in a situation to fulfil his engagements they become his creditors. At this moment some "Howalis" are at his house for the payment of a debt of one of these Sheiks to a foreigner (not an Englishman) for cocoons. It is remarkable that he has not written a letter to the French Consul, as he did to the English. Such being the position of the principal Magistrate of the Province, the position of an establishment subject to his caprice and its own necessities may be imagined.

But the Sheiks will have, as may be supposed, an interest in making establishments flourish which bring them money and increase the value of their luxuries; yet the first interest of the Sheiks is to rid themselves of all foreigners. The system of the Mountain at the present time has been summed up in these words by one of the Sheiks himself: "From the top to the bottom the big one eats the little." It is, therefore, above all things necessary for them to have little ones; they dread the prosperity of the peasants because it brings their independence; they fear every occasion which can bring within their reach the authority of the Porte.

Beside this document I will place an extract from a letter I have received from Dr. Thompson of Swedia, who is both a medical practitioner and a proprietor, and who, in his latter capacity, is desirous to escape from his Consul by becoming a Rayah.

"Jan. 23rd, 1850.

"Several years' residence in the East, and my professional privileges having given me facilities for knowing the character, habits, and customs of all sects and classes, I can bear testimony to the invariable regard of the Turks, and Turkish Government, to the rights and property of Europeans resident among them. As regards myself I carry this confidence so far as to desire to forego my rights as a British subject, and stand solely and entirely upon the rights of a Rayah, or subject of the Porte. This would guard me against my legitimate

authority, who from my dear-bought experience and that of all others similarly circumstanced, thwart and embarrass not only the local and general legislation of the Sublime Porte, but sadly cripple the operations and commercial interests of those whom they are avowedly called upon to foster, protect, and encourage. The difficulty in persuading Europeans of the perfect safety of making investments in any pursuit in this country arises from several sources; namely, a total ignorance of the country, its laws, and their mode of administration, an unfavourable impression derived from the writings of casual visitors, and the distorted views given by European officials. There is on the one hand wilful perversion of the truth, and on the other a total ignorance of the *laws* which, when properly understood, have merited the approbation of some of our first legal authorities. It is thus that the European officials in the East embarrass the legislation of the Porte, and damage the private and commercial pursuits of European residents. Many instances might here be adduced, where parties for years past have ceased to claim more than the *privileges* of *Rayahs*, and who, in consequence, have overcome their previous *difficulties*, and by a simple appeal to Turkish law, (without the intervention of consuls), obtain satisfactory and prompt redress. It is thus that residents of twenty-five, and thirty, and forty years, place that reliance on their Turkish rulers, which in no one instance has been disappointed. The erroneous impression also gone abroad regarding the "tottering of the Turkish Empire" tends to prevent many from adopting this as their country and home. Nothing can be more delusive and unfounded than this impression—no person not minutely and for years acquainted with the civil and

military organization of Turkey and its dependencies, could have any conception of her present position in the scale of nations, and of her resources in case of war with Russia ; these are facts easily inquired into, and the more closely they are investigated, the more convincing will be the proofs of the utter fallacy of any such supposition.'

But where Consuls have not disturbed the administration, and before such proceedings as we see here were dreamt of, they still most injuriously affected commercial transactions. It is not only that in quiet times the personal character of the Turks is such that a stranger is always unmolested, and always safe, but he is equally so at moments of the greatest exasperation. After the battle of Navarino, it was expected that all the Europeans in Turkey would be massacred. So completely possessed of this idea was Sir S. Canning, that before allowing the news to transpire, he summoned the merchants on board a frigate, and sailed off with them. Some of the older residents, however, who knew better, absolutely refused to go. They were landed ; not only were they unmolested, but, consul and ambassador being now removed, they obtained at once, through the medium of Mr. Sanel, the senior merchant, the favourable settlement of several matters that had been in litigation fruitlessly for years.

If England wishes Turkey not to be absorbed into Russia, and to remain, as heretofore, the bul-

wark and protection of Europe against the barbarian, she has the easiest of all means for effecting that end, and it is by withdrawing her ambassador from Constantinople. If she wishes her trade to prosper she will withdraw her Consuls as well.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## TURKISH FINANCES.

“TO DIMINISH THE DANGERS OF THE FUTURE.” Such were the words found by Pozzo di Borgo, in 1828, to define from that period the relations between the Russian and Turkish Empires. Words are not lightly used by grave and business men when mutually exchanging their thoughts. The term “danger” does not apply to the mere frustration of schemes; and used as it was by that diplomatist, in reference to the army newly created by the Turks, it applied to that which lay behind: toleration, surplus revenue, and productiveness. Tolerant in religion, flourishing in finances, exporting corn and oil, the army of the Porte would defy foreign aggression, her subjects retain their loyalty, and her produce, drive that of Russia out of all markets. In all these respects, Syria is the critical point for the two Empires. Its section of the army remains alone incomplete. It is a drain to the treasury, instead of supplying it. It imports corn, instead of exporting it. The toleration which elsewhere has preserved peace, here, by being carried to excess, opens the door to insurrection and dismemberment. Toleration is connected with Turkish rule; here it ceases to exist, because the

Turkish Government shrinks from appointing a Turkish ruler. The completion of the camp for Syria, and the causing of Syria to cease to be a drain on the treasury, depends on the means adopted to increase its productiveness. To this point I propose now to address myself.

In the course of last year importation of grain has ceased, exportation has commenced. This is owing to the confidence restored to the cultivator. A drain of £200,000 of money has been replaced by an influx of £500,000.

The present limit to this increase is in the numbers of pairs of oxen, the difficulty of embarkation, and the obstruction of the tariff. The latter, as shewn by the returns, is capable of being tided over ; with grain brought down to the harbours at the rate of 10s. or 12s. a quarter, this can be understood.

Entered thus on the field of expansion, the relief afforded in every branch of the financial department can be imagined. The resources of Syria suffice to supply the entire demand of Europe for grain ; to call them forth requires but the continued confidence of the cultivators by the settlement of the question of the Government lands, and the construction of harbours to an extent equal to such increased trade. The interest of Russia in arresting these measures, is represented by Pozzo de Borgo's term in 1828.

The treasury in Turkey profits to a larger amount by exportation of produce than that of any other



country; and in Turkey, Syria is the province which affords the largest amount of profit to the treasury, in consequence of the amount of the Beylic or Government lands, upon which a double tithe is received. Suppose the present rate of progress to continue for five years: say that it then amounts to £5,000,000 value of raw exports, the direct profit on this branch of revenue alone would be equal to £1,000,000. The whole revenue at present is £300,000, which is more than absorbed in the expenditure.

When I first discovered, and having discovered it, announced, that Turkey was not dead, and was not going to die, and had means of life and endurance which no European country possessed, and so far from being a decrepitude sustained by foreign jealousies or bayonets, was the protecting shield of Europe, I was so enlightened, not only by the individual character of the Turks, but also by the absence of a public debt. When I first learnt this, I was incredulous, and conscious of my inability to judge of such weighty matters, I questioned those who ought to know. It was by the wavering of the eye, and the faltering of the tongue of such persons that I took courage to think for myself. My thoughts were these: a country without a debt is like a man without a debt. He is a free man; it is a free State. The system which keeps a country without a debt, is like the character which keeps a man without a debt. Years afterwards, in a secret

despatch of Count Nesselrode to the Archduke Constantine, written at the close of the war of 1830, I discovered that such precisely had been the process of reasoning of the Russian Government. Count Nesselrode there explained how it was undesirable to push matters further: first, because of the inability of Russia directly to hold in subjection the Christian populations; and secondly, because Turkey would now be at their mercy by reason of a debt having been imposed. Count Nesselrode was, however, mistaken on one point. He did not anticipate that self-imposed sacrifice of the Turks by which, (the Rayah population being excepted), a sum of money was raised sufficient to discharge that debt. Before that debt was paid off, and not foreseeing the possibility of their making such an effort, I had held it to be better that Turkey should have English capitalists for their creditors, and did my best to attain for them a loan. I succeeded, and was charged with the offer of a loan of three millions. On my proposing it to the then F. M. Akif Effendi, his answer was, "If I accepted this proposal I should be a base man and a false Mussulman. It is by an effort that we have to meet our difficulties, and not by a weakness. If I were to accept the offer, I should be deceiving you, and cheating those who make it, for we have no authority to impose a tax upon future generations; the contract entered into would be null and void; my successors would disavow it, and if they did not, they would be, like me,

dishonest men." This conversation shamed me. Since that time I have had the opportunity of making myself acquainted with the details of their financial system, and so to understand how they have been enabled to subsist without debt, and weather the storms from without. Exposition here is out of place ; but I will set down some results, which I do from memory, not having documents by me for reference.

The revenue entering the Treasury, at the period of the Russian war, was over £3,000,000, but did not reach to £4,000,000. The new military organization, as then projected, contemplated a new expenditure equal to the whole of the then revenue. At the time of the late Sultan's death, that organization might be said, with the exception of the camp of Arabia, to have been completed : the revenue had risen so as to meet the charge, having reached, in the year 1849, to £3,000,000. There was, however, what, in our speech, would be called an internal debt, which consisted of three branches. Anticipations of revenue in the nature of Exchequer Bonds ; outstanding debts of departments in the nature of our former navy bonds and army debentures, and obligations for money advanced. These collectively amounted very nearly to a year's revenue.

Under the present Sultan, the revenue has gone on increasing, not indeed in the same proportion ; as about that time came into operation, the English

tariff, striking with prohibitory duties the heavy exports. A parallel increase did not take place in the expenditure, so that a surplus remained, sufficient to the discharge of the internal debt in eight years, had it been so applied. It was reserved; bearing the commencement of a system, the contrary to that in Europe; namely, money in hand, instead of a debt. It is to be deplored, that during this period, the line of demarcation has been effaced between the private treasury of the Sultan and the public one.

In the reform of the system of Pashas it was attempted to make up by enormous salaries for their administrative destitution. The disposition was not, however, wanting to put things in order; the difficulty was to bring these to a head. The results obtained, however satisfactory, are to be considered only as a basis for future operations. There is lavish expenditure, which can be cut down, financial resources which have to be worked, and impediments to exportation which can be removed.

“Give me the administration of Moldavia and Wallachia, and I will beat Russia.” These are words I have spoken long ago: I say the same now as to Syria. The same may be said of any one of the provinces, or rather the kingdoms, which compose the Turkish Empire; those at least which contain extensive alluvial lands, and a neighbouring coast. By setting free the resources of any one of these, millions will be poured into the Turkish treasury, and produce poured into the European market,

so as to cause the sources of the Russian exchequer to run dry:

Those who look deeper than the surface will perceive other results. First, Europe will be thus protected from becoming, at a not remote period, tributary to Russia for grain. Secondly, India will be secured against the operations which threaten England's tenure. Our Consul at Beyrout is labouring, amongst other things, for the loss of India, which is to be effected, not by a contest to be hereafter fought upon its soil, but by the consequences of the religious rancour to be raised amongst the Christian subjects of the Porte, against the Mussulmans. This alone can bring the fall of this Empire; and by its fall alone can the supremacy of Russia over Europe and Asia be established. "Russia's gain," said Dr. Arnold in 1840, in reference to the Syrian affair, "seems to me to be a world's loss." Every movement to effect our loss, is a movement made for Russia's "gain."

To effect these changes, no new law is required, and to oppose them no class is armed. Three years would be ample space for carrying them into effect. The result would then present a picture of financial prosperity, such as has never entered into the dreams of European statesmen; viz., a revenue double the expenditure.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE ANTEDILUVIAN WORLD.—BAALBETH.

*April 27th, Zachté.*—I DID not think to have taken up the pen again for description, much less of a place worn so threadbare as this; but all I heard and all I saw was so new and strange, that I must suppose that previous travellers have been taken somewhere else by mistake.

Baalbeck is Baalbeth, or the house of Baal, by the Greeks changed to "City of the Sun," Heliopolis. It has now, like so many other places, recovered its ancient name, with the change of a final letter through the Turkoman guttural. The Greek and Roman temples did not attract me to it. I was drawn thither by the Betylia, that mystery of the ancient writers, but which I have shewn to have been the Magnets, used in the Phœnician vessels engaged in distant traffic, and which, on the return of their fleets, were conveyed in religious procession to the temple at Baalbeck, to remain there until the fleets were again sent forth.\*

On approaching the ruins the day before yester-

\* See "the Stone of Hercules," "Pillars of Hercules," Vol. I. chap. xii.

day, the block which they constitute on the plain exhibited, as it became distinct, stones in the wall of dimensions so enormous, as to shut out every other thought, and yet to fill the mind only with trouble. The impossibility of any solution paralyzed the attempt to think; and instead of impatience to get on, it was a desire to run away that I experienced. Observing on the descending slope of the Anti-Lebanon to the right, a sharp edge which seemed to indicate those famous quarries from which it had been built, I turned off to visit them, and, spurring on, reached the edge, from which I looked down into the vacant space. Ibrahim Effendi, who was again my companion, and I, simultaneously reined in, stunned by the sudden appearance of that enormous block lying in the centre, which tradition narrates as having been dropped there in consequence of a strike of the operative Janns of Solomon. I was roused from my reverie by an exclamation of Ibrahim Effendi. "What madness to cut out a stone, that no one could carry away!" I answered, "This was one left behind. The others are in the wall."

To begin such a work, and to leave it unfinished! The distance from the quarry to the building is scarcely a mile. With the thousandth part of the labour, the quarry itself could have been scarped into the edifice. Why cut out the blocks here, to carry them there? It was no architectural performance. There is Baalbeck before me; take

away the Greek and Roman temples now stuck on the top, it is nothing but a quadrangular enclosure. It is not raised on the dead levels of Mesopotamia, where the height of a wall was required for a fastness. One can conceive the hewing out of enormous blocks for the statue of a king, the ornament of a palace, or the pomp of a temple, but here there is no such object; there is no conceivable object by which such an effort can be explained. The great statue of Memnon, the shafts of the obelisks, those of the granite columns which the Phœnicians brought from Egypt, and of which the fragments are strewed all over these coasts, astonish by their own magnitude, and perplex by the variety of excellence which constituted the grandeur to which they testify. But what are these to the blocks of Baalbeck? Here is one thrice the size of that required for the statue of Memnon, and from which five or six obelisks might have been cut, merely used to put in a wall. It is cut out here to be built in yonder, and is wheeled there like a tumbril of bricks. Tyrens to this is a prentice experiment, Stonehenge a nursery toy.

If we cannot discover the object of this work, still less can we conceive how such a work, whatever its object, could have been placed here. Pre-eminent structures invariably belong to seats of dominion. Geography has fixed the positions of capitals, and its decisions are absolute and irrevocable. A central point in reference to cultivable space, a connecting point in reference to communications,



security from attack, convenience for intercourse, access to the river, or the sea, in connection with hold upon the land; all these are wanting here. The Bkkaa is, as its name indicates, not a waddy or gorge, but a valley of meadows, of about 150 square miles; it is separated from the sea by the Lebanon, and shut out from the east by the Anti-Lebanon, is remote from the rich districts of Syria, both north and south, has no water communication whatever, and, however defensible the neighbouring mountains, is entirely destitute of military strength. There was here, therefore, not one of the elements combined at Memphis, Babylon, Nineveh, or any of the seats of empire, of the ancient or modern world. And yet here are ruins, surpassing in their indications and evidences of greatness anything to be found in those ancient capitals, to an extent which defies all calculation, leaving the imagination itself stranded on a bank of mud.

On the top of this comes a third riddle; how these works were interrupted. They are not merely not concluded, but they are stopped at the very beginning. Was it a panic in the money-market? Was it a bubble speculation? Was it a revolution in the streets? Was it a foreign invasion? Was it an irruption of savages? Was it a "confusion of tongues?" What could it have been? The mysteries of finance were not then invented; those who could plan such a structure, would not be likely capriciously to abandon it. With a people so

powerful on the face of the earth, it is hard to suppose another more powerful still; far less, that rude hordes should overpower them. All is again bewilderment.

Now we have a fourth riddle. This structure is alone; there is nothing upon earth in the remotest degree resembling it. We do not say "the Pyramid," but "the Pyramids;" nor is the peculiar group alone in the world; they belong to a system of which we can trace the progressive rise. Neither is Stonehenge a solitary structure; that of Salisbury plain may be pre-eminent, but it has its counterpart; there are many of them, and they are spread all over the world. Besides, monuments like the Pyramids, and like Stonehenge, are liable to destruction. The stones of Baalbeck are like the primeval rocks themselves; they could not be pulled down, nor could they waste away; nor again could they be covered over, as the palaces of Nimroud. Wherever erected, there must they stand, and they stand nowhere else. Again, for the fourth time, have we to give it up. It is like a troubled dream, and would be disposed of as such, only that there is that stone lying before me.

At length I descended into the quarry, where Ibrahim Effendi had been for some time very busy, taking measurements with my hunting-whip, about three yards long, and according to which he made out the stone to be 72 feet  $\times$  18  $\times$  15; in round numbers, 20,000 cubic feet. Let any one stand in a room 24 feet by 18, and 15 feet high, and imagine

a stone of the same size. Let him then imagine one, equal to three such rooms! On its top 500 men could have been drawn up.

We had yet two hours of daylight, which we spent wandering and wondering amongst the ruins; and after that received hospitable entertainment from Emir Hangar and his tribe, making a numerous assembly, nearly all of whom were clothed in scarlet. The Emir himself was a magnificent old man of more than ninety, with a long flowing white beard, a white turban, and enveloped in ample and majestic folds of the brightest Tyrian dye, overflowing with affability, replete with traditions, and traditions such as belonged to the spot. I spent there a charming evening, notwithstanding my bodily pain; for I was suffering from one of those dreadful boils of the country, seated in the thigh, which rendered it impossible for me to walk.

Expecting to hear the story of Solomon and his Janns, universally reported as the local tradition, I put to Emir Hangar the question, who built Baalbeck? His answer was—"There have been three builders; the first was Sanoud, the second was (I have forgotten the name), and *then came the Deluge*; after that it was repaired by Solomon."

My first exclamation, on looking down into the quarry, had been "There were giants in the earth in those days." But the curious part of the affair is, that the ancient portion of Baalbeck, that portion which ascends beyond the earliest Cyclopic

thousands of years, consists itself of two most distinct eras. The first work, in which the stones of 70 feet are used, of which there are but four, is continued by walls, of which the stones are 30, to 50 feet; so that these two eras of the primeval period are correctly represented in the two antediluvian builders of Emir Haugar.

As to the tradition which refers it to Solomon—the books of Kings and Chronicles seem to say so, and that he held Baalath of such importance as to keep there one-third of his regular army—my answer is, *the Jews never were builders*: the family of Jacob, before it went to Egypt, did not build: there they were shepherds, and they did not learn then to build, but only to make bricks. Even the knowledge of bricks must have died out in the wilderness. They came to Judea as the Arab comes to-day, with tent and Tabernacle: when they set up stones “no iron was raised on them.” They found Judea filled with cities, “walled up to heaven;” there they became for the first time dwellers in houses. They reared two great and lasting works, which the foundations of Moriah and the walls of Hebron still attest; but there is no proof that Hebrews were the architects. They never had a style of their own, as the whole course of their architectural remains evince, from the tomb of Abraham to that of Zechariah; using in the one period the massive forms of the early Canaanites; copying in the other the embellishments of Greece.

In the golden days of the Hebrews, Solomon had to borrow from Tyre "all sorts of workmen," cutters of stone and hewers of timber, workers in brass and gold and precious stones; and thus was constructed their great, their only work of magnificence, the Temple. The building, therefore, of Baalath could be nothing more than the reparation of its *walls*, in the same way that he is said to have built Hamath. Besides, if Solomon had built the *Temple* of Baalbeck, would he have expended on it labours to which there was nothing to compare at Jerusalem, and did Solomon raise the "House of Baal?" The Hebrews cannot, therefore, claim the glory of this edifice, or rob the sons of Gebel Souria of their title to be the first and most daring of architects.

Old as we hold the Hebrews, they came but late, and disappeared early: they occupied but a passing station in this valley during the reign of one king, and we might have doubted whether one of them had penetrated into the Mountain itself but for the descriptive passages of Ezekiel.

The builders of Baalbeck must have been a people who had attained to the highest pinnacle of power and science; and this region must have been the centre of their dominion. We are perfectly acquainted with the nations who have flourished here or around, and their works; they are the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Medes, Persians, Egyptians, Canaanites, and Jews. These complete the catalogue of ancient empires, and this work is none of theirs. Can it be referred

to the sons of Anak? This is equally inadmissible, for many similar must, in that case, have been found.

It was only on my way back, and when the tomb of Noah was pointed out to me by the wayside, that it occurred to me that there might be something in Emir Hangar's story, and that the stones of Baalbeck had to be considered as some of "those sturdy fellows that the Deluge could not sweep away." This, then, was a remnant of that pride and presumption, which had brought the waters over the face of the earth.

The supposition may appear extravagant. Let any one try and assign to these ruins a date or parentage. If he can succeed, well and good; but as this has not happened, my supposition is less extravagant than any other, seeing that no other has been offered. Besides, such a tradition as that conveyed to me by Emir Hangar is positive evidence, deserving of consideration even in the face of conflicting testimony; but when it stands not merely uncontradicted, but supplies a solution for a mystery without it unsolvable, what have we to do but to welcome it as a new and enlivening gift to our worn-out and fatiguing systems of reasoning and science? The old patriarchal man was ready with the names of these Antediluvian kings, not mentioned in the Pentateuch, just as if he had been telling me the names of his own children.

We are ourselves an Antediluvian race. Canaan

is an Antediluvian name. When the human race left the Ark, they did not go roaming about pasturing herds and flocks. The first thing we hear of is, planting of vineyards. An olive leaf is brought into the Ark itself; they therefore at once commenced polished life.

Before the Deluge the whole course of human society had been run. Even in the time of Cain a city, Enoch, was built. Then in progress of time we have those "that handle the harp and the organ;" then the "artificers in brass and iron;" and there were "mighty men, which were of old, men of renown." It was the wickedness of these men that brought the vengeance of heaven. It would seem that during this Antediluvian period, there had been no confusion of tongues and no division of the earth, the distinction between Noah and the rest being of a spiritual kind. The Antediluvian records were known to Moses: he interpreted in the Genesis their hieroglyphics. The progress of art and science is recorded in the Ark itself. A vessel 450 feet long, 75 broad, and 45 deep, pitched, and no doubt caulked, and fitted to carry 10 months' provisions and water for its ship's company, is constructed by Noah. He therefore shared in the knowledge of these men of renown, and navigation must have attained in these Antediluvian times to an extraordinary degree of perfection. For the building of the Ark, we have only the authority of the Bible. The dimensions and other

details which establish the character of the vessel, and the state of naval architecture, will be received with confidence only by those who place implicit reliance on the words of Scripture. They will be prepared to admit at least an equal degree of excellence in architecture. The sceptic, on the other hand, who visits Baalbeck, will cease to doubt that the men who could build into walls, stones of the weight of a three-decker with its guns on board, could construct a vessel of the dimensions recorded by Moses. I assume that the Antediluvian origin of the one can be no more contested by the critic, than that of the other by the believer.

Immediately after the flood we find the human race going building mad. In the third generation from Noah, besides Babel, Nimrod is said to have built Erech, Accad and Calneh; and Asshur built Nineveh, Rehoboth and Calah, and "Resen between Nineveh and Calah, the same is a great city."\*

If the Antediluvian hypothesis explains the cessation of the work, it also explains the disappearance of similar structures, and allows us to imagine that Baalbeck was only a specimen of the then manner of building. The Deluge, in passing over the surface of the earth with a pressure of water which would sweep away the mightiest monoliths like straws, when in the rush of its current, would pass harmless over this spot; being, as it is, in the depths of Cœlo-

\* Gen. x. 10—12.



Syria, and protected against the force of the retiring waters by the parallel ridges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon.

I had six hours more before returning, and should have wished to have had as many days. Out of the hill of marble, in a ravine, a mile from Baalbeck, gushes out El Shemsh, or the Fountain of the Sun, which I commenced the day by visiting, the morning cup of coffee being served to us on its brink. There are two semicircular basins, the one half the size of the other, which may date back to Sabæan times and represent the sun and the moon. Baal has the same meaning as Shemsh; it was then called "House of the Sun." Afterwards by the Greeks it was called "City of the Sun" (Heliopolis), a name which it preserved during the Greek and Roman domination; that is, from Alexander to Constantine IV. At an interval of 1000 years it resumed, in ruins, the name belonging to the ancient edifice, on the foundations of which the Greek and Roman temples were reared. During that interval Judæa, Samaria, the land of the Philistines, the ancient kingdoms of Basan and of Haran, had been swept with the besom; and not once only, but again and again, had devastation repeated her visit, until all traces of the original people had been effaced, till the name of Jerusalem had been as forgotten as that of Jebus or Ariel, and only revived by the inquiries of pilgrims from the West.

I have seen it stated in some descriptions of these

ruins that the stone in the quarry is of larger dimensions than any of those in the wall; but this is a mistake: it is larger than the three of the same shape which are placed in the fifth tier of the wall; but the angle stone of the layer below them, though not so high, is larger, for it is nearly as long, and considerably wider. It is bevelled, and the bevelling appears to have been executed after being placed in the wall. The measurement I obtained was 70 feet in length, 26 in width, and in height it is very near that of the layer above it, that is, 14 feet, which would give 25,000 cubic feet or about 2000 tons. The great statue of Memnon, the largest transported by the "ancients," is less than a third of this weight (749,000 killos.) The wall on the north meeting this one, is but of four layers; the upper stones run from 35 to 50 feet in length, and about 15 square; there are 8 or 9 of them, but I cannot claim accuracy for these measurements, not being able to take them myself. The angle formed by these two fragments of wall, is the wonderful part of Baalbeck. There are no towers; it does not bear the aspect of a military structure; the surfaces are smooth, the lines are chiselled out and ornamented, as if the material had been mahogany.

There are in Baalbeck seven eras of architecture, the last is that of the Saracens; through these you approach the ruins, and indeed, from the side of the village, the mass, as it appears, is of their workmanship. It has its own splendour and magnificence,

and exhibits no small mechanical proficiency, in the masses they have moved and placed. They have blocked up the intervals of the columns, and otherwise made it a place of much strength, erecting great towers, and encircling it with a wall.

On reaching the platform, you come among the Greek and Roman ruins, which here, under the influence of the genius of the spot, have assumed larger forms than are to be found in the native site of either.

The fifth period, the one which preceded the Greek and Roman, was the Phœnician. Where were its records? Where the temple that held the Betylia? It has disappeared; it must have stood upon the platform, and was probably pulled down to make way for the temples of the Greeks. My disappointment was, however, in part, subsequently compensated by a subterranean discovery.

The four anterior epochs which I thought I could trace, are to be found in the substance of the platform. I shall begin with these according to their order.

The plan of the building, as already stated, was a square enclosure. A small portion only of this has been completed in the old work, namely, the angle of the north-west, and the adjoining walls. It is there that may be seen the 70 feet stones built into the walls in tiers, and hoisted up 20 feet, and placed on several layers of smaller stones. The remainder of the space is filled up with piles of stones,

entirely of another order. Through these, two vaults are open, leading to the inference, that it is all vaulted below: these again may be divided into two orders; one may be called Cyclopic, the stones being irregular, the sides varying from 5 to 6 and 7 feet. The other is more systematic, and combines something of the Etruscan and the Egyptian, an arch being traceable in the one style, and a portal in the other.

Thus this spot contains, besides the two earlier epochs which I call Antediluvian, and which stand alone in the world, rudiments or records of every known order of architecture, with the exception of the Gothic. This reminds me of that other Temple of the Sun, known by the name of Curru Pandu, placed in the Vale of Cashmere, and rated the most ancient of Indian structures: every order of architecture is combined in it, including even the Norman and the Gothic.

I now come to my discovery. In one of the vaults, about eight feet from the ground, a stone has, by some accident, been removed, and my attention having been called to it by traces of fodder, I had myself lifted up, and got into a crypt beyond. Having been used for a storehouse of Indian corn, the husks lay around; so a blaze was easily made, and I proceeded to its examination. I could not doubt that I stood in a Phœnician Temple, perhaps the only one that still exists; but the whole, with the exception of a projecting pediment, has been carefully

defaced and mutilated, shewing a conflict of religions, as we see at a later period, by a similar mutilation of the Greek remains by the Arabs.\*

But the Phœnician crypt was not my only discovery. In a gap opening a few feet into the masonry, I found mortar, hard as stone where exposed to the air, but soft within. Yet it was unlike other mortar; it was dark grey, with particles of charcoal: when I brought some out, it was recognized at once, and called *Kissermil*, or ashes from the bath. Those ashes are still used in this country for mortar, which with this addition becomes as hard as stone.† According to the old construction the baths were heated as an oven is, brushwood and dung being used as well as wood. The combustion not being complete there remain various chemical compounds, alkali, ammonia, sulphate and carbonate of lime, and carbon, which by entering into new combinations bind the mortar into a distinct substance. But still the matter presents great difficulties. Being always careful in observing mortar, I could not fail to remark a new variety such as this, and yet I had seen nothing like it. The Phœnician mortar concrete, with which I have been so familiarized, has no resemblance to it; there are no stones embedded

\* The cuneiform inscriptions throw light on this conflict, a mutual desecration appearing to have been carried on between the Assyrian and the Khita.

† Vitruvius says that mortar should be mixed of three parts; one lime, one sand, and one ashes.

in it; and for this building and these stones no mortar was required. Whatever be the solution of the enigma in reference to the mortar, at all events one thing is clear; there were baths at Baalbeck. In the elaborately finished bath of Emir Beshir at Ibtdeen, one peculiarity struck me as evidencing their high antiquity in this land. It was the absence of cocks; instead of which simple plugs or clots of cloth were used for the pipes which brought the water into the basins. As the Romans and Greeks used cocks, the art of the bath had not been derived from them, but traced beyond them. Still it was curious to observe these ashes in the midst of Cyclopic blocks. And yet why should not the bath have belonged to the very earliest period of human society? it is sufficiently excellent to be from the beginning.

It was only after I could no longer satisfy myself experimentally, that I remembered that in opening up the pavement of an ancient bath on the western coast of Africa, I had come upon a somewhat similar deposit in large quantities under the floor. This was *Gazul*, the product of a certain mountain in Morocco, resembling soap-stone, but composed of an admixture of silex, alumine, magnesia and lime, and which has the peculiar property of polishing the skin when rubbed upon it, and so cleaning off the dead epidermis. Being used for this purpose largely in the baths, the grey deposit under the ruin in question was easily accounted for.

Might not this same Gazul, mixed with the Kissermil, have been the deposit which I took for mortar at Baalbeck? Supposing this conjecture to be correct, as I think it likely to be, it opens a new inquiry.

A man is not born into the world with clothes, nor are ready made hatters, hosiers and tailors, natural products. Man is born in his skin, and is, so to say, his own clothier; it is that skin that has to sustain the wear and tear of the world, and being endowed with that faculty, it is needful to it to undergo that wear and tear. It is in this sense that I say man is his own clothier; as instead of having to go for a new suit of skin, he is from within constantly repairing that which he has. Now if he puts a covering over that skin, the wear and tear no longer takes place; and the impenetrable varnish so supplied by nature not being worn off, the body becomes suffocated and the man is afflicted, just as a plant would be, when taken out of light and air. Thus it is that from the moment that the verdant and partial covering of Adam and Eve was replaced by textile and general clothing, the first necessity of man came to be the removal of his dead skin.

For this purpose four processes have been adopted throughout the families of the human race, and in successive times. The simple, the natural, the first hit upon, was the rubbing down with the ball of the hand, which is still the process used in this country for currying horses of high breed. The three others of a more refined, and, I may say, his-

torical character, are scraping, rolling and polishing. The scraping was with the strigel, which we know of from the Romans and Greeks, but which is figured on the tombs of Lycia, and the Roman name of which is derived from Mauritania. The rolling is that which we see to-day practised by the Turks. The polishing is with the Gazul, and practised by the Moors, to whom it is confined, and who alone possess the admirable substance which is used for it. Now if Gazul was used by the early inhabitants of Baalbeck, their bathing process belonged to the last of these systems, and they carried on a traffic with Morocco.

In the vegetable world this district has given us in the Cedars a marvel and a miracle. It affords us the same in the human world. The Cedar is primeval and alone, and is unproduceable from the seeds of its own growth. So is Baalbeck. The seed from which it sprung when it did arise, was man: but man to-day no more produces Baalbecks, than the cones to-day reproduce Cedars.

The men, who see reflected in Regent Street their faculties and tastes, their arts and civilization, cannot be expected equally to see a reflection of themselves in Baalbeck. Indeed it is something else they look at when they see it; it is the Greek and Roman works that fire their imagination, employ their pencils, and exhaust their science. If passing attention is called to the real structure, "how wonderful!" breaks out, and all is said.



The exclamation instead of an end, ought to have been a beginning; instead of a conclusion, it is a point of departure; instead of a thing to be looked at, it is a scaffolding upon which to stand, and from which to survey men as they have been, men as they are. If we cannot so much as comprehend the mere mechanical branch of the subject, are we at the summit of science and civilization? And what here is the mechanical branch? Architecture implies everything else. Where there are noble buildings there is excellence of taste, there is greatness of power, there is splendour of dominion, numbers, and wealth. Here no intellectual process is needed, no inductive reasoning; the stones themselves speak to our eyes, and the sermon these stones preach to us is, "Ye are pigmies." The improvement upon the text, "Ye are insolent pigmies."

There is but one Baalbeck, and that Baalbeck is but four stones. Still these four vertebræ, like those of the *Ichthyosaurus* of Conybeare, do enable the comparative anatomist to impersonate the society, and exclaim, in the words of Scripture, "There were giants on the earth in those days." But when those days were, who can tell?

I had intended to proceed from Baalbeck to Damascus, but was prevented by a bodily infliction, which made me consider myself very lucky to be able to get on horseback to return, with the best expedition I could make, to Beyrout. Boils are the malady of this country: the Aleppo button has made itself

a far-famed celebrity ; it spares no stranger, and generally leaves its indelible impress on the face. Of course, all illnesses end with a boil ; and invalids are peculiarly exposed to them. I had just recovered before starting, from one on the knee, which had kept me a prisoner for two months. The evening of my arrival at Baalbeck I had been admonished by certain unmistakable sensations of the reappearance of my enemy in the thigh. During the night it had advanced so as to deprive me of rest ; in the morning, there was an extensive swelling, and the prospect before me of confinement for an indefinite period without medical aid, or any kind of relief or comfort, at Baalbeck. The bath was in ruins ; by its aid I might have been able to escape, or by a vigorous application of leeches ; but of these there were none to be had : so, as a last resource, I tried a firm bandage from toe to hip-joint, and it was in this condition, and carried between two men, that I visited the ruins. I did not start until I had left myself but bare time to reach Zachlé that night, and it was with equal relief to the spirit and torture to the flesh, that I found myself placed on horseback about 2 P. M. My companions exerted themselves to afford me distraction, by turning Messalogi, or story-tellers ; and they ought indeed to have succeeded. At length I obtained rest, if not relief, under the hospitable roof of the Greek Bishop of Zachlé.

## NOTE ON BAALBECK.

## Extract from letter :

“ Having been struck with your observations on the ruins of Baalbeck, I have compared them with those of other travellers. The subjoined are the measurements of the stone left in the quarry :—

“ Pocock . . . . .	<sup>feet.</sup>	68 × 17 — 8 × 13 — 10
“ Wood and Dawkins . . . . .		70 × 14 × 14 — 5
“ Dr. Wilson . . . . .		69 × 17 — 1 × 14 to 16

“ Wood and Dawkins estimate the contents of this one stone at 14,128 cubic feet.

“ But no writer ventures to deal with the manner of men who executed these works, when they lived, and what the nature and source of their wonderful command of mechanical power of which no other vestige is preserved. Travellers speak of these things as if they were a production of nature. Dr. Wilson is the only one in whom they prompt any sort of reflection: he says, ‘ This stone is left nearly ready cut in the quarry, to challenge posterity to come up to the deeds of ancestry by removing it from its position.’

“ The greatest stone moved in modern times is that used for the base of the statue of Peter the Great at St. Petersburg. It was 42 feet long at the base, 26 at the top, 21 thick, and 17 high. The greatest weight raised perpendicularly by hydraulic pressure is one of the tubes of the Britannia Bridge, which amounted to 2089 tons.”

## CHAPTER XX.

## AN EMIR BESHIR.

*April 29th, Brumana.*—By my delay yesterday at Zachlé my plans were disarranged. I was to have been last night in the Shouf, to meet some Sheiks of the Druzes, and gone thence to-day to Emir Beshir's, at Brumana. I now made for the latter place, if only as being the shortest stage I could make; which, in my crippled condition, was the first object. The distance in time was seven hours, and I could not expect to do it in less; indeed, it took me nine. We struck off to the right from the Beyrout road at Khan Murad, three hours from Zachlé, and in half an hour crossed the crest of the Lebanon, and once again took leave of the Bkkaa; looking down upon it from this spot it has all the appearance of being lower than the Mediterranean.

I suppose this is to be my last glimpse of this stream of earth. I have not noted the strange mounds scattered over it, on which the villages are built: these must be what Strabo calls the *χώματα* of Semiramis (l. xvi. c. 1), and mentions as scattered over the whole of the ancient Assyrian Empire, attesting the greatness of the works of that Queen.

That such was the sense which he gave to this word, is clear from his mentioning Tyana and Zeile as built on them. Diodorus Siculus (l. ii. § 14) equally describes them, and attributes them to Semiramis. Ollivier speaks of them in Mesopotamia, and of dimensions such as to be scarcely supposed to be the work of man; and Volney describes one near Aleppo. The object was to secure cities against inundation; but as they are found where not so exposed, it is likely that the same process was adopted for other purposes, such as defence, for the salubrity of the habitations, or the enjoyment of the view. The same writer, enumerating the other works of Semiramis, such as roads, bridges, canals of irrigation, and for draining marshes and lakes, speaks of *κλίμακες*, a word which has puzzled commentators; but if they had visited the Lebanon, they would have had the difficulty solved. "Staircases" is the name which properly belongs to many of the roads, and some of them, even in unfrequented places, are constructed with materials of durability and dimensions worthy of claiming so remote and so distinguished a source.

We looked along the edges of the snow for the *Ribès*, a plant which grows only in the snow, and a bit of the stalk of which I had eaten the day before at Zachlé. It was like a stalk of rhubarb, of a bright green, soft, succulent, and acidulous. One of the plants was to have been brought to me this morning, but it never came; it was described as

three or four feet high, and with flowers. They make a confection from it (Ribès Sherob), which is much esteemed, at once as a sweetmeat and a purgative. Our guides told us it was only to be found in the district of Baalbeck, and that two jars of the confection was formerly the quit-rent paid by the Emir to the Sultan.

After crossing the ridge, we saw Brumana before us, but separated from us all the depth of the mountain. It stands on a projecting spur, half the height of the Lebanon: the extremity is occupied by the ruins of Deir el Kalah. To keep our elevation, we had to take a sweep to the right, along the face of this mountain theatre; but it was not without a deep descent and steep ascent that we reached our destination. About a couple of hours from Brumana, when scrambling down a rugged hill-side, I came in sight of a mansion of a novel description: it was a cluster of towers, which looked like pigeon-houses, by reason of rows of small square holes with which they seemed to be ornamented. The ground was scarped and levelled around; there was a parapeted esplanade, with magnificent oaks, and other signs of feudal state. As I approached I perceived ornamental work in arabesque, and soon after saw that it was untenanted and ruined. Not the ruin of time, but as if the week before it had been harried and burnt; the embers had cooled, but the inhabitants, if any survived, had not yet ventured forth from the caverns to re-occupy it. We passed round

and below it to the eastern side, to find the entrance. The door was open, for there was none: some of the apartments were, however, tenanted by people of the village. A dyer had established himself on one of the upper terraces, which was festooned with English long cloth, just drawn from an indigo vat: by means of ladders and planks, we ascended to a porch like that on the top of the palace of Emir Sadeddeen at Hashbaya, about a third of its dimension, but of more elaborate workmanship. Then the peasants hastened to bring us cushions, carpets, flowers and water. Our servants supplied pipes, nargillés, and coffee, and we sat down to take a little rest.

I asked to whom this old castle belonged, and had to repeat my question before I could credit the reply, 'to *Emir Hydar*!' not only belonged to him, but was his residence, the residence and the only one of the Beit Bellamy, until he set about constructing the monstrosity I have described at Bekfaya. What a picture of the country. The name of the place is Salima, the seraï was built 250 years ago, by the Beit Souof, which preceded the Beit Bellamy. (Emir Beshir says 120 years ago, and by the Bellamy.) There was a small bath, which appendage has been forgotten in the new civilized edifice, which Emir Hydar has raised for himself at Bekfaya. When I asked why it was not repaired, the answer was—"The Emir is rather weak in the brains." The place had been set on fire recently, the beams

of the roofs are still standing, though charred; the spoilers had evidently not repeated their visit. The occasion was as follows:—

About five years ago, one morning the Kiaya of Emir Hydar sallied forth with the inhabitants of the village all armed, and fell upon a neighbouring Druze village. The people fled; they pillaged it and set it on fire. In a few hours, the war-cry of both parties had echoed from cliff to cliff. A large force on either side assembled, when a body of Turkish troops interposed, and prevailed on them severally to retire. To this amounted the operations of this “war.” But in the mean time, the inhabitants of each village started as for a boar hunt, making a dash for some village of their antagonists, which they had learnt to be deserted, pillaging and firing it, and then retiring with their booty, to find their own homes pillaged, and in flames. Thus, without a purpose, a leader, or a conflict, the whole country was a scene of frenzy and desolation. The narrator said that he could only compare it to the cholera. The Kiaya in question is Kiaya up to the present hour.

The same individual was the immediate cause of the outbreak in 1841. The Sheiks have been in the habit of farming villages in the plain of the Bkkaa, which belong to Damascus, and which are, in a great measure, Vacouf. These Vacoufs were granted at trifling sums, the plain being open to the depre-



dations of the mountaineers: the chiefs had distributed these villages amongst themselves, as if it had been private property, none seeking at Damascus to outbid the other. These farms had been a means of existence to some of the families after Emir Beshir had put an end to their authority as Sheiks. After the events of the autumn of 1840, this Kiaya being at Damascus, when the farms were as usual put up for sale, outbid the Sheiks of the Talhouk and Abdulmalek for some villages opposite Zachlé, and the proprietors, thinking now that the rule of the Sheiks was over, hesitated not to grant them to the highest bidder. Finding, however, that the speculation was not so safe as he at first apprehended, the Kiaya got them passed under the name of Emir Melkem, the stupid fat Emir whom I visited at Hadeth. The Sheiks were vehement in their remonstrances, but having worked himself into the confidence of Emir Beshir (that one set up by the Powers), he obtained the sanction of that weak and obnoxious prince. The Druze Sheiks assembled hastily and in secret, and marched upon Deir el Cammar to expel Emir Beshir. The Kiaya, who had notice of their proceedings, represented the movement to the inhabitants as directed against the Emir, because he was a Christian, and said that it was their intention to set up a Druze. The people of Deir el Cammar were silly enough to believe him, and to take up arms in defence of the Emir, and the

war instantly became a religious one; the first in the Lebanon.\*

At Selima I observed an arch with the key-stones curiously dissected, and in three parts; the arches in the house of the Sheik at Eden were of a similar form.

As I reached the ridge of the hog's-back on which Brumana stands, the sun was dipping into his western bed. Richness, variety, and grandeur are combined in the landscape rolled out below, or piled

\* The Blue Book of 1843 expounds this war, placing the Turkish Government at the bottom of it!

“Disputes about the possession of land, and trivial matters were the causes of quarrel between the two sects, whose mutual animosity is proverbial. On the present occasion the Druses appear to have been the aggressors. It is reasonably enough supposed, that their late negotiations with the Turkish authorities, who have sought to strengthen themselves by a connection with them, and the encouragement which they have received from them, have induced the Druses to avail themselves of so favourable an occasion for seizing disputed land, and gratifying their feelings of dislike toward the Christians.” (Colonel Rose, August 10, 1841.)

“Although they can hardly be said to have committed themselves by any direct act, *yet the instinctive conclusion* into which all are forced by the mass of concurrent circumstances *is, that the whole of their* (the Turkish Government) *procedure is the result of design*, and that the few steps which they have taken for the purpose of averting the course of events, were intended to conceal the support which in secret they were giving to the Druses, with a view to weaken the Maronites.” (Colonel Rose, November 19, 1841.)

up behind. This and the prolongation of the ridge to Beit Meri are the places chosen by the Consuls and Europeans to retire to in the hot months; Brumana being the head-quarters of the British consulate, Beit Meri of its rival. Here the hiring of a house is, like everything else, a political affair. Colonel Rose has been in the habit of occupying that of Emir Beshir Bellamy, nephew of Emir Hydar, who is consequently considered his present creature, and future candidate for the Caimacanship. He has been at the head of the movements against Emir Hydar. Emir Beshir might be content to wait for the succession from the ordinary course of nature, but the option was not left to him. At the end of last year, on the occasion of a general demand for the removal of the Caimacan, the English Consul took up his defence, followed by the French. The extraordinary spectacle was thus exhibited of the two working together; but it was to crush popular complaints. The words of a dispatch from the English Ambassador, just received by Mr. Moore, are reported thus:—"The Porte has despatched orders not to listen to any complaints against the Caimacans."

"No complaints to be listened to." Behold the maxim of Government laid down by the Powers. How indeed attend to complaints, which, by repressing, they have rendered universal? The Consuls went so far as to require the Pasha to seize Emir Beshir, and send him to Constantinople. This was

explained by the necessity of supporting "the system of Chekib Effendi." That system had made the administration of the Lebanon independent of the Pasha, except in certain specified cases, none of which had here arisen. Their support of the system consisted in constraining the Pasha to seize, exile, and displace persons and functionaries, without even trial, and by his own arbitrary act.

The well-defined positions were: the patronage of Emir Hydar by the French Consul; of Emir Beshir by the English Consul. Mr. Moore's junction with the French Consul against Emir Beshir was therefore a surprise and an enigma, and it is explained by Mr. Moore having been made to believe that the French Consul was acting in concert with Emir Beshir. Colonel Rose has now written to hire again the house of Emir Beshir, who is much embarrassed by the proposal. Colonel Rose, before his departure, had put a deadly affront on Emir Hydar, turning him out of doors when he called, because he had first visited the French Consul. But he has since written a letter of excuses and reconciliation. The Emir has been most urgent for my present visit; I know not whether in reference to the negotiations or the price he may get for his house. A European quarrel is always ready in a box: the British Minister can any day charge the Porte with infraction of stipulations, and, even without getting up an insurrection, demand in an insulting tone some outrageous reparation.

An angry correspondence is at present going on about me, between the English Consul and the Turkish authorities. The communications were made through the interpreter, but the Pasha required them to be put on paper, when it was reduced at last to this : that I had received an official letter of introduction to Sheik Nasif. The English Consul knew equally well that I had also a letter of introduction from the French Consul ; but a Consul may give a letter of introduction, though a Pasha may not. At the same time they were officiously given to understand that "the English embassy was very busy in obtaining from the Porte the abolition of the system of Chekib Effendi. That the Lebanon would owe this great benefit to the British, and that the Firman would be expedited in 15 days." Of course then it was needless to take any further steps ; short as was the promised interval, I, in the meantime, would have been shipped on board the French steamer. The English consulate has been awakened to what is in progress, and has seen its utter powerlessness to prevent, except indeed by the expedients, which belong to Mr. Moore's "Crooked Path."

The house at Brumana was an hospital. The whole family were laid up ; the Emir himself had been unwell at Beyrout, and had come up in order to receive me, but was now in bed. He got up, however, for a little, but retired again when we went to supper. Excepting the Shaab, Emir Faris, he is

the only one of the class I have met with, that, in manner and conversation, evinces signs of ordinary capacity. Nothing could exceed his cordiality, except his humility.

I had to struggle with a fit of laughter, whenever I looked at my host. He, simple-minded man, thought his name was Emir Beshir Bellamy. He did not know that in the English Blue Books he was an *Emir Beshir*. What would a denizen of England say, if in reading Consular Reports in a Turkish Blue Book, he came upon such a passage as this:—

“The Lord John expresses his regret that he had accepted Her Majesty’s offer to become Lord John.”

It being the Turkish Consul’s intention to convey the following sense:—

“Lord John Russell expresses his regret that he had accepted Her Majesty’s offer to become Prime Minister.”

The letters of Mrs. Malaprop about a country may be very amusing; not so the governing of a country on the principle of that gentlewoman. Here is a sentence penned by Colonel Rose, whose landlord is an Emir Beshir.

“*The Emir Beshir* expresses his regret that he had accepted the offer of Her Majesty’s servants to become *Emir Beshir*.”

I reached Beyrout by sunset, and found the Pasha just sitting down to dinner, with a portly and uninviting functionary, just arrived from Constanti-

nople for Damascus, where he is to preside over the Megilis. As soon as I had got my answers, in which the Pasha shewed a knowledge of the detail of business which surprised me, I went to the bath, having sent on in the morning to have it kept open. I experienced its power in discussing tumours, which I had never had occasion before to try. My leg had been from Baalbeck under a tight bandage, from toe to hip joint. A large space around the spot of the original tumour, was in hard lumps, and an extensive suppuration threatened. I subjected myself to the greatest heat, until I was brought out fainting. After being revived, by dashing cold water over me, a profuse perspiration again followed, and at the end of three hours, my leg was no longer recognizable; and could I have laid up next day, it would have been well.

This is the second of the kind which I have experienced. The former one kept me laid up for two months. I now know that I should have escaped all the consequent tortures and danger, had I gone then to the bath, instead of sending for a doctor.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## AGONY OF TEN YEARS.

WHEN first taken ill, the tumult of an official residence being too much for me, I was removed in a sedan chair to a residence without the walls, in the house of the engineer of the Constantinople steamer, where, as I was not excluded from receiving guests, sufficient knowledge of the culinary art was attained, to enable them afterwards to convert the place into a hotel; and there I found it more convenient to alight during my excursions. I was thus thrown into intercourse with various European travellers. The experience has not been without its use in bracing me to my task. The utter deadness in reference to all that is going on 'as business in the world; the vacuity of idle talk; the misery of the general propositions which forms their conversation; the hopelessness of conveying to them, even if they desired it, the faintest idea of the country they have come to visit, or what is going on in it, impress me as I never have felt before with the utter powerlessness of European society, to recover any command over its own fate. The difference with the people of this country, can only be felt in passing immediately from the one to the other. Troubles



and convulsions, not speculative and theoretic, have their attractions. There is that contempt of death, that love of life, that affection for friends, and that hatred for foes, which we call up only from antiquity, and personate only on the stage.

I have already more than once drawn the contrast between the working classes of the two regions. How I have understated the case! Infidelity—not that of the New Testament, wickedness—but the verbal profession of the disbelief of the soul, proselytism, political speculation, drunkenness and prostitution, are unknown. The man who proposed to rid any European country of these curses would be held to be ignorant of human nature, yet they are unknown in this very Lebanon, which Europeans undertake to teach and correct.

Amongst these travellers I found one with whom it was possible to converse. He one day said to me; “You are constantly assuming a distinction between the Eastern and the Western mind: in what does that distinction consist?” So questioned, I put the case thus: The European speaks without thinking; the Eastern never does. The European tells you for conversation or argument what you already know; the Eastern never does so. The European assumes that the man he speaks to is a fool; the Eastern assumes that he is speaking to a wise man. The European meets a statement by a preliminary objection; the Eastern attends to what you say. The European is offended if you shew

him that he is wrong; the Eastern is grateful. The European's enjoyments consist in appearing to others to enjoy; the Eastern in enjoying himself. The European's conversation consists in replying by something else to what has been said; the Eastern's in replying to what has been said. The whole mind of the one is engaged during the conversation with himself; that of the other with his interlocutor. Self-love is the disease of old states; and self-love strikes a man, however young, with decrepitude. We have gone through many changes—they through few. We are an old people—they a young one.

This person's curiosity being awakened, he got from me so much of the matter in hand, as to make him say, "You are then single-handed, engaged against all the Powers of Europe." The words set me upon thinking how I should present the case to one who commenced with this Lebanon. The expedient which suggested itself was, to place before such a person the Blue Books. On my side, I say, there are two evils to be got rid of: the Blue Books are occupied with the introduction of two benefits. The evils and the benefits imply the same things: the means for introducing them, or for expelling them, are the same—human speech. Let us open the Blue Books.

1. DIVISION OF THE DRUZES AND MARONITES. When I saw the villages partly Druze and partly Maronite, I was bewildered by the monstrosity of this scheme. Any one may make the case his own

by supposing a division of Ireland between two Lord Lieutenants, one Roman Catholic and one Protestant.

When I asked how long these troubles had subsisted, I learnt that the first religious war had occurred only within eight years. When I asked, Who had devised this scheme? I was answered, "*The Turkish Government!*"

A conference was held on the 27th May, 1842, at which the Representatives of the Powers insisted upon the restoration of the Shaab family; the ministers of the Porte refused, on the ground that an insurrection would be the inevitable result: thereupon—" *It was asked whether the Sublime Porte would be opposed to a combination by which the Druzes and the Maronites should be placed under two separate chiefs, selected respectively in each nation.*"

Then follows—"The Turkish Ministers reply, that this MEASURE IS IMPRACTICABLE, because the DRUZES AND THE MARONITES LIVE MIXED TOGETHER IN THE SAME VILLAGES."

It is not stated who put this question. The Ambassador of England is mentioned by name where he makes a statement, the Chargé d'Affaires of Austria when he reads a despatch. The five could not have asked the question together; some one voice must have spoken. Did the others see nothing in it? Did they too, like the poor Turkish Ministers, fancy it was a mere hap-hazard suggestion of the

moment? So much we obtain at the first glance: in a conference conducted on the part of the five Powers, by the English Ambassador, in reference to enforcing a scheme for the government of the Lebanon, based upon its Union, he is crossed by a proposal for its division from one of his colleagues; and, in reporting the same, he suppresses, by using an impersonal form of speech, the name of that colleague.\*

It could not be the French Ambassador who asked the question; he knew as well as the Turkish Ministers that the proposition was monstrous, and France has throughout treated it as such. It was not the Representative of Austria, for the report states his view of the matter. It was not the representative of Prussia: it does not belong to a fifth Power to ask questions. Who, then, was it? The name of the Representative of Russia does not so much as once occur, except in an enumeration, in this elaborate Report, consisting of 39 paragraphs.

If the proposal did not come from the Porte, it could have come only from England or from Russia: we fix it on the one, if we succeed in exonerating the other. The Representative of the Government which had made the first move in so important a matter, would not lose an hour in communicating it,

\* The Report of the Conference is in French, and is unsigned. The Report was, therefore, prepared for the British Ambassador, not drawn up by him.

and would have to explain the fortunate dead-lock into which the affair had been brought, so as to enable him to propound it. Sir S. Canning, in the Despatch inclosing the Report, makes not the slightest reference to it; he is entirely occupied with the restoration of the Shaab family, and the "conflict between adverse impressions and irreconcilable testimony." He writes only on the 9th of June, or 13 days after the conference!

The Syrian Blue Book commences in May, 1841, and ends in January, 1843. But to facilitate the comprehension of its contents it is bound up in two separate volumes, one of which contains the correspondence with the Lebanon, the other the correspondence with Constantinople. So that the evidence being in the one, and the reasonings in the other, you are reciprocally discharged from a superfluous encumbrance. The Syrian news you can take up as a romance, the diplomatic discussions as a discipline. The two currents are so parallel that they never meet, and embarked on the one, you of necessity lose sight of the other. Therefore when I say that the first diplomatic enunciation of the scheme was on the 27th of May, 1842, it is without prejudice to what may be discovered in the consular stream flowing from Beyrout. Opening up this source, we find the whole matter prejudged and settled, just one year and two days before Sir S. Canning enclosed to Lord Aberdeen the Report of the Conference. On the 7th of June, 1841, Colonel

Rose also "asked" something: it was "whether the appointment of Emir Hydar to be Lieutenant (Caimacan) of the Mountain, or of its Christian population under the Emir Beshir, might not be productive of good?" It is to Emir Hydar himself that the question is put. The good man is described as very much pleased with it; upon which Colonel Rose, in conjunction with Mr. Moore, engages to bring it about. Having thus settled the matter, Colonel Rose proceeds to offer arguments in favour of the fitness of the arrangement, "because the Emir Beshir, with a view of securing the *allegiance* of the Druzes, is about to give a similar appointment over them to their Chief, Sheik Naaman, the rich and powerful representative of the ROYAL FAMILY, the SHEIKS BESHIR." (!) This is "the Misters John" to which I have already referred; for Sheik is a title equivalent to Mister, and Beshir a name as common as John.\* The catastrophe may be Tragedy, but the dialogue is Farce.

I must pause to tell the story of this "Mr. John."

"During the war Mehemet Ali created him a Bey, and invested him with the government of Mount Lebanon, provided he could wrest it from the hands of the Turkish generals. With this object he joined

\* The Beyrout Consul had so well indoctrinated his people of the Constantinople Embassy, that they positively speak of this one or that one being made "Sheik Beshir," and "Emir Beshir." The whole of Frankhood consequently speaks of "the Emir Beshir" and "the Sheik Beshir."

the Egyptian forces at Gaza, but the war coming to a close, he demanded and obtained permission to return to his home, provided he abstained from interfering in the affairs of Lebanon.

“His first act, however, was to assassinate with his own hands, at his own house, his cousin, Sheik Negim, and his brother, for some property, and it was with difficulty they saved the children of the deceased from his vengeance, whom he endeavoured to kill also: and his second act, that of exciting secretly both the Druzes and the Christians against the present Government. His cousin, Sheik Negim, was the first Druze noble who declared in favour of the Sultan, and who took up arms in defence of his cause.”

This is authentic and official; it is penned by Mr. Consul Wood, and addressed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Minister, on its receipt, sends a message to the “Mr. John,” expressing in “the strongest terms, the extreme disappointment felt by Her Majesty’s Government at such an instance of his disregard of the assurances which he has so repeatedly given of his desire to comply with the wishes of the British Government.” It is hard work copying sentences like these. “The disregard of his assurances repeatedly given of his desire to comply,” could have reference neither to Sheik Negim, nor to his brother, since he had killed them; it must be to the little children whom he had not yet killed; for when a British Minister addresses an assassin, it

can surely only be with reference to the assassination.

The Foreign Minister, however, goes on to tell him that he (the assassin), is "well aware that the first wish of the British Government is, that the different sects inhabiting the Lebanon should live at peace with each other, and"—(I really cannot copy the frightful sentences, they are Lord Aberdeen's. I must give the substance), and he is to expect the patronage of England, only by keeping quiet and obeying the Sultan.

This message was to be conveyed by a Consul. That Consul is an officer and a gentleman. It is not to be expected that he would convey it, and he does not convey it. That an English gentleman at the head of a department, should send messages to the subjects of a foreign power, (putting the stains of blood and infamy aside), suffices to explain all that has been or can be done. Colonel Rose declines to deliver the message ; not because the office is disgraceful, but because the message is improper. He says, "with respect to the message which your Lordship is pleased to direct me to deliver to Sheik Naaman, I feel somewhat embarrassed." He is not the least embarrassed about it. He does not take the trouble of noticing Lord Aberdeen's instructions, until two months after their receipt. Sheik Naaman is Colonel Rose's Caimacan, and Colonel Rose is not the servant of Lord Aberdeen. Thus it is that the scheme of Caimacanship was prepared for in the Lebanon



by the English Consul before the suggestion of it was risked at Constantinople by the Russian Minister. It was therefore not an English scheme but a Russian, and an English only because a Russian.

At this time the Five Powers laboured under serious inconvenience in regard to the Lebanon ; it was in a state of tranquillity, and it was administered by a Turkish Pasha.\*

Sir S. Canning on the 9th of June, had written a second despatch on the affairs of the Lebanon, in which he speaks of the "forced tranquillity which now subsists in Mount Lebanon," and which otherwise reveals his passion for the restoration of the Shaabs ; in it he calls upon the Five-Powers for authorization to employ "*stronger language*" to enforce it. He explains the motives of the Porte for refusing to reinstate the Shaabs, not by the plain reasons they had assigned without contradiction at the time on his part,† but by insinuating a treache-

\* "The appearances of support by a considerable portion of the Sheiks and Emirs, though obtained in favour of a Turkish Governor, by corrupt means, are, to a certain degree embarrassing ; especially when many who have signed the petitions on that side, declare their readiness to come up to Constantinople, and confirm their signatures by personal testimony."—Sir S. Canning to Lord Aberdeen, June 27, 1842.

† "Mr. Consul Wood stated on his arrival here from Constantinople, that Her Majesty's ambassador *had obtained a promise from the Sublime Porte, that the ex-Emir Beshir should never return to Syria.*"—Colonel Rose, 1st Oct. 1841.

"The restoration to power of the ex-Emir Beshir, would inflict misery on the Lebanon."—Colonel Rose, 1st Oct. 1841.

rous purpose; namely, its "policy to exclude the Christians from any participation in the government of the country."

After this he introduces a perfectly new idea, which possibly might be found "not wholly undeserving of attention;" it is to have the whole of Syria placed under a single Pasha, with inferior officers placed over each district, "a Maronite for the Maronites, and a Druze for the Druzes." On the 27th of the same month there is another long despatch of trouble, confusion and perplexity, an extract from which fills three folio pages. In it he directly contradicts, without retracting, his malevolent calumny in the former one against the Turkish Government, saying, "it would be almost impossible to unite the Druzes and Maronites under a Maronite chief." So then the Shaab scheme is given up!

He further says, "the separation of the two communities under different chiefs would also have its *difficulties, inconveniencies, and DANGERS.*" So then the Caimacan scheme is given up!

He then goes on: "the Turks have succeeded in dividing the *Christians* into two parties, and arousing the passions of both against each other." The process by which they have done this is, "by reviving those feudal rights which had merged in the ascendancy of the Shaab family, and by sanctioning claims of property long since confiscated." In other words, the bringing back of the Sheiks, whom England, not the Porte, had brought back, whom

England was at that moment patronising ; the chief of whom, Sheik Naaman, the assassin of his cousin and his brother, is, according to Colonel Rose, the representative of the "Royal Family," and to whom Lord Aberdeen sends friendly messages. From whom then does Sir S. Canning receive his information? Not certainly from Colonel Rose. He must have had his information from the person who asked the question of the 27th of May. Lord Aberdeen, in replying to this despatch (July 21st) supplies Sir S. Canning with a vast deal of information on the state of the Lebanon, flatly contradicting all that Sir S. Canning has told him, namely, that "the Sheiks Beshir were local Druze Governors, and that their authority had been annihilated by the tyranny of the Emirs Beshir." But he does not on this point out to Sir S. Canning, that he has fallen into any mistake in saying that the Turks had succeeded in dividing the Christians ; he passes on to inform him, that "it had *always* appeared to him (Lord Aberdeen) that the most natural and judicious course for the Porte was to select a native chief among each of these people ;" so that, each "should never be brought into immediate contact with the people of either persuasion,"—where both are living side by side !

What must be the effect upon any honourable mind of these secret calumnies, insinuations, misstatements, contradictions, confusion and bewilderment ! But here at last we have the scheme of the division

as an original and primitive conception of Lord Aberdeen! And no wonder. Lord Aberdeen, on entering office, received within three days, dispatches on the Lebanon, amounting to 300 pages!

On the 24th of October the plan of Caimacanship becomes "the demand of Her Majesty's Government," resting "on the *pledge given to the British Ambassador* by the Porte in the year 1840," that the "*ancient rights and privileges of the Syrians should be respected.*" I must give the whole of the following passage:—

Her Majesty's Government, relying upon the sincerity of the Porte, *communicated, through its agents, that pledge to the people of Syria; and they have therefore become morally responsible for its fulfilment.* And as it is one of the ancient rights and privileges of the Syrians of Mount Lebanon that they should be governed directly by rulers selected from among themselves, and *not by Mahometan officers*, Her Majesty's Government must continue to insist, &c.

On this, Sir S. Canning (Nov. 26th) charges the Turkish Ministers with seeking "to divide the Powers"! having a week before (Nov. 8) written to Colonel Rose in these terms:—

As it appears that the spirit of active resistance now manifested by many of the Druze and Maronite Chiefs is in part attributable to their despair of obtaining redress *by means of our negotiations* here, I am anxious to inform you, with the least practicable delay, that the instructions recently received, as well by myself as by my several colleagues, that we shall succeed before long in overcom-

ing the obstinacy of the Turkish Government, and obtaining for the inhabitants of the Mountain the form of local administration to which they are *so habitually attached*.

In December, the several original conceptions of Sir S. Canning, Lord Aberdeen and Colonel Rose are crowned with success. The former makes the announcement to his chief in these terms :—

I have much satisfaction in stating to your Lordship that, in compliance with the advice of the Allied Powers and the urgent solicitations (menaces) of their respective representatives, the Turkish Government has at length announced its intention of *restoring Mount Lebanon to the benefits of a local native administration*.

Meanwhile, in anticipation of the two Caimacans, the English Government has conferred upon the Mountain two Consuls: whilst Colonel Rose operates from Beyrout, Mr. Wood operates from Damascus; whilst the former is settling the Caimacanship and selecting his nominees as the respective candidates, the latter is pointing out the inevitable consequences of a scheme, which he attributes to the perfidy of the Turkish Government.

Mr. Wood writes to the Maronite Patriarch, September 1, 1841 :—

To prevent a fatal result, or, more plainly speaking, a civil war between the Druzes and Christians, the inevitable consequence of any attempt to divide the Government of Mount Lebanon—

Twenty-three days before the fatal conference, he wrote to Sir Stratford Canning (May 4, 1842) :—

I hasten to acquaint your Excellency with a private communication made to me by a high authority, that the ultimate intentions of the Porte are to appoint a Christian and a Druse chief to the government of Lebanon, in case that the commissioner, Selim Beg, fails in his attempt to persuade the Maronites to accept a Turkish Pasha.

I may be permitted respectfully to observe that the division of the authority in a country constituted like Mount Lebanon, with the feelings that appear to predominate in the minds of its population, is likely to lead to future contests for supremacy between them, and consequently to bloodshed and disorder.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is to be presumed that the Porte intends by dividing the government of Lebanon, that each sect should reside under the more immediate authority of its respective chief; but this is scarcely practicable in a country where not only the population, but the landed property is mixed. Another great difficulty, if not insurmountable, offers itself to the accomplishment of this plan; namely, the pretended feudal rights of the Druse and Christian chiefs over some of the Monkatas or districts, and of which both are very tenacious. For instance, the feudal lords of the district of Meten are Christians, and yet the peasants are mostly Druses; to the south, the lords of the manor are mostly Druses, but a great portion of the peasants are Christians. In both cases many of the peasants have landed property, and hold tenements which it cannot be expected they will either abandon or transfer.

These objections will always occur to the execution of such an intention on the part of the Porte; but it may be that the Porte, either unconscious of these serious difficulties, or unwilling to give them the consideration due to them, may decide upon the appointment of a Christian

and a Druse authority ; thus creating thereby fresh causes of trouble to itself, to the inhabitants, and matter for unpleasant discussions to others.

If it be the serious intention of the Porte to appoint two Governors, the same policy will naturally lead it to separate the Metualis from the rest, and appoint a third over them (and the Greeks?). The chiefs of these people have already presented a memorial to the Seraskier relative to the old right of having a Governor of their own ; and the Pasha of Tripoli has also claimed the administration of the northern districts of Lebanon, which he pretends form a part of his Pashalic. In this manner, by the separation and subdivision of the Christians, the Porte will obtain its principal aim, the destruction of their influence and power ; whereas, on the other hand, the advantages that will be gained by the Druses will be very considerable. But it may be that the Porte, in rearing a new power in the heart of Syria, is unconscious of its own inability to control it hereafter.

What must have been the paroxysms of Sir S. Canning on perusing this despatch? Could he write back to Mr. Wood, and tell him that the proposal was not that of the Porte, who had scouted it, but of the Russian Minister, from whom he had accepted it? Could he tell Mr. Wood that it was an excellent scheme? No ; he could not venture to write to Mr. Wood, and does not do so. Mr. Wood remains to the last in ignorance that it is an English scheme, and is suffered to go on denouncing it to his superiors, reviling it to the people, and quoting it as an instance of Turkish stupidity and perfidy.

We now see by these documents how the intrigue was managed. But was it seen at the time by the people? Russia nowhere appears, save as one of the Five Powers led by England. When Mr. Wood only saw the hand of the Porte, what else could the people see? And why is Mr. Wood kept under this delusion, if not that he might spread it amongst the people? So completely is this idea established that the Patriarch of the Maronites is induced to "entreat the mediation of Great Britain between the Porte and themselves." (Colonel Rose, August 10th, 1841.)

In conclusion, the terms used by the Turkish Ministers when they do yield, are too remarkable not to be preserved. Sarim Effendi thus writes to Sir C. Canning:—

Mustapha Pasha declared himself fully convinced, that the plan of the nomination by the Mushir of Saida of two Kaimacans, one for the Druses, and the other for the Maronites, which had previously been determined upon, with the hope of securing the tranquillity of the Mountain, which is so unanimously desired, could not effect that object, *unless these Kaimacans were chosen amongst strangers*; at the same time that he asserted, in a formal and positive manner, that that tranquillity could not be attained if, on the contrary, it was decided to select the said Kaimacans from amongst the Druses and Maronites.

The Turkish Ministry regret deeply to observe that this point of the question has given rise during the last year to so many discussions and arguments; and that, notwithstanding the good government which it has succeeded in



re-establishing in the Mountain, and the convincing proofs of its assertion, which it has in its power to produce, the High Powers, its friends and allies, have never changed their opinions in this respect.

The Sublime Porte, however, actuated by those sentiments of respect which she never ceases for a moment to entertain towards the Five Great Powers, her dearest friends and allies, has, in order to arrive at the solution of a question so delicate, and which at the same time is one of her own internal affairs, preferred to conform to those wishes, rather than to meet those wishes with a refusal.

It is, however, evident, that the views of the Sublime Porte, and those of the Great Powers, having both the same object—the re-establishment of order in the Mountain—whichever of the systems proposed by the two parties was adopted, it could be considered at first only as an experiment. If this result can be obtained by this system, the wishes of the Sublime Porte will be accomplished, and she can only be grateful for it; but if, as she has reason to fear, from the information continually received up to this time, tranquillity should not be restored in Syria, in that case the justice of the objections hitherto raised by the Porte, must plainly be acknowledged, and the government of His Highness would, by common consent, have been in the right.

So determined a resistance of the Porte, so clear an enunciation of the grounds of her refusal to divide the Lebanon, and such accurate prognostications of the consequences, were revelations for which I was unprepared. But unhappily the Turkish Ministers thought to escape by accepting the plan as an “experiment.” I have not the Blue

Books of a later period to refer to at present, but find amongst my papers one extract which says everything. Lord Cowley writes to M. Guizot, July, 1844:—

The system of the Caimacans was the work of the Five Powers, who from the origin did not disguise to themselves the difficulties of the plan *created* by the repugnance of the Porte for the Cheab (Shaab) . . . .

But if the present system proved after such trial impracticable, the English Cabinet would be found quite disposed to act in concert with the other Powers, interested in perfecting the actual plan, or in substituting another for it.

Nevertheless, it might be inconvenient and even dangerous to reverse a decision adopted with solemnity by the Powers, and to which the Druzes and the Maronites had adhered with the exception of a faction, and as for England she had no interested views, and sought only the tranquillity of the Lebanon and the peaceful supremacy of the Porte.

But an explanation of the failure of the experiment had been prepared for beforehand; when Sir S. Canning writes to Lord Aberdeen, enclosing his reply to the letter of the Reis Effendi, and informing him that a “despatch announcing the important intelligence to Colonel Rose went on from Smyrna, without an hour’s delay,” he says:—

Your Lordship will observe, that in my own reply to Sarim Effendi, I have endeavoured to reconcile the silence which is requisite to avoid that danger, with the eventual disappointment of our present hopes, by recording the actual disturbed state of Mount Lebanon, as a point of

departure for the experiment, as Sarim Effendi describes it, of a recurrence to the old principles of government in that district; and intimating that we are neither blind to the source of the present disorders, *nor inclined to be passive spectators of any insidious attempt to render the measure now adopted practically abortive.*

To Colonel Rose, when announcing it, he says:—  
“It is manifest, at the same time, that the result of the Porte’s decision will principally depend upon the manner and spirit in which it is carried into effect.”

Here is the key note for the Consuls. Whatever happens, the Turkish Government is to be at the bottom of it; and whatever it does, or is said to do, is to be the result of the design to render the Caimacan system impossible! Thus it is that that “uniformity of the consular reports,” which was the “strong ground” of the Ambassadors, was provided.

Thus the first evil against which I am contending is removable only by triumphing over the “Five Powers,” it being their work. Were the French or Austrian Governments endowed with sense to see the danger to their own future security involved in the conspiracy here carrying on, they, Governments as they are, would be powerless to resist; for the means of counteraction are to be found only in moving the Turkish Government to an effort of independence, through the spontaneous action of its people.

**THE ENGLISH TREATY OF COMMERCE.** Here the name alone tells the story. To this treaty the other Powers have adhered, so that here again we have the "Five Powers." The Blue Books shew the English officials to have been perfectly aware of the consequences of enforcing it; they prevented its relaxation by the Turkish Government, and intercepted the petitions of the people appealing for relief.

A word first as to its nature. Imagine duties varying from 25 to 90 per cent placed upon the staple manufactures of England. Imagine these same duties equally levied upon the cottons sent from Manchester to London, on the woollens from Leeds to Manchester, on the hardware from Birmingham to Leeds, and on the linens from Belfast to Birmingham!—then will be understood "The English Treaty of Commerce."\* To have the case

\* Note of Prince Metternich.—"They (the Turkish Government) would see themselves no longer exposed to the reproach of having contributed, by the Convention of the year 1838, to the ruin of several branches of the industry of the country, and to the misery of a portion of the manufacturing class."

Reply of Mr. Gladstone.—"Her Majesty's Government shares entirely the opinion that the considerable charges imposed on exportation are impolitic, and that they place the productions of Turkey on a footing very disadvantageous with respect to their competitors in the market of the world."

Mr. Alison, Secretary of Embassy.—"The indiscriminate *ad valorem* taxation at present enforced has had the effect, which might have been surely anticipated, of putting an end to, or else

complete, imagine, concurrently with this measure, another imposed by the Ambassadors in London, for dividing Ireland between a Roman Catholic and a Protestant Lord-Lieutenant; then you will have the process to be applied at a future day for securing the "Rights and Liberties of the English," as now exemplified in the Lebanon.

This treaty came into operation in 1839, but was not applied to the Lebanon. The mere announcement of the intention of inflicting it, opened the epoch of agony for the Lebanon. The commotion furnishes the "point of departure" required by the Ambassadors for their schemes, namely "disturbance." The Russian Minister "asked" his question only on the 27th of May, 1842. The Tariff was proposed at Beyrout on the 10th of April, 1841. The members of the Divan of that place, *who had been first made to take an oath of secrecy*, were "alarmed," and assert "that this tax, in addition to 1 per cent port charges, would amount to 25 per cent." Colonel Rose upon this makes a philosophical reflection:—"The Maronites in the present day are a difficult people to deal with. They are extremely alive to their own interests."

Thereupon he proceeds to convey to the Pasha, "that the amount of taxation demanded from the

checking in an important degree, the exportation of many kinds of merchandise to foreign states, whilst in the home trade it has led the consumer to substitute for native manufactures, cheaper and more lightly taxed foreign goods."

Mountain was beyond what it could pay." The Pasha is amenable to reason, and the matter is to be referred back to the Porte and to the English Ambassador. Lord Palmerston hastens, on the receipt of the despatch to convey to Colonel Rose, "the entire approval of Her Majesty's Government." On the 3rd of May, a new meeting is held in the Pine-wood to announce to the Governors and Deputies the new taxes. They expressed themselves in language somewhat energetic, saying, "You may take our bones, but we will never pay these taxes." Colonel Rose considers "the demeanour of the people as threatening;" and again urges that the new taxes be not demanded for the present, "*with the exception of the tariff, WHICH IS LAW.*"

On this Colonel Rose makes "confidential" communications to the secretary of the Emir, and which he is, "as if from himself," to bring to the notice of the Chiefs and the people: namely that the Turks propose to exterminate them; but as they (the Turks) "would infallibly be defeated" if they attempted to do so by open attack; they would have recourse to starving them, and setting them against each other.\* He then says to his chief, "I do not

\* When afterwards the Turkish Government, on learning this and similar perfidies, proposed to bring charges against Colonel Rose, Lord Aberdeen declares he will not listen to any, saying, "The Porte cannot have forgotten how much was due to the exhortations of Colonel Rose when the question of the tribute to be raised in Mount Lebanon for the service of the Porte was in agitation; how steadily he discountenanced all proceedings which

think there will be an armed outbreak, certainly not for the present. *The Mountaineers will await the result of a reference of their complaints to the Sublime Porte.*"

These complaints were embodied in a memorial, by an assembly convened on the 22nd of May at Ainoub, 800 persons being present, representing all the religions, classes and families of the Lebanon. "The meeting," says Colonel Rose, "was unanimous in favour of the abolition of the Tariff." The petition itself says, "Injurious taxes have lately been imposed upon us, of which the one most important and the most mischievous, is the Tariff." The document is most remarkable, alike as an exposition of the case and an evidence of the unanimity of the people when left to themselves.

#### THIS PETITION NEVER REACHES THE PORTE.

Colonel Rose (2nd of June, 1841) says of himself and Mr. Moore :—

We felt that it would be the wish of Her Majesty's Government that we should counsel the Pasha in this

would bear the appearance of disrespect for the sovereign authority of the Sultan; how earnestly he laboured to reconcile the contending parties," &c. He then recommends to the Queen that "Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to nominate him to be a Companion of the Order of the Bath." This recompense is granted only when the value of his services is established by the complaints of the Porte. Yet this same Colonel Rose, when afterwards Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, had to be removed by the English Government, in order to render the Russian occupation of Wallachia and Moldavia practicable in 1853.—Note, 1860.

matter, because the present state of the Mountain is chiefly to be attributed to the proposed introduction of the Tariff, which is framed (*sic*) in a Treaty concluded between Her Majesty's Government and the Sublime Porte. \* \* \* Having then agreed to give our advice to the Seraskier, we attentively considered the Petition, and came to the conclusion that it was deficient in three essential qualities, *because*—

1. The Petition states that it is addressed to the Prime Minister of the Sublime Porte, by the inhabitants of Mount Lebanon assembled at Ainoub; and yet, although these inhabitants so assembled were convoked and presided by the Prince of Mount Lebanon, the Emir Beshir, yet their petition was not forwarded through, or by, his Highness, nor *did it receive the sanction of his signature.*

2. The Petition rests on false grounds, because it assumes that the taxes *were demanded* from, whereas they were only *proposed to*, the inhabitants of the Mountain.

3. The language of the petitioners is such as *no subject should use towards his Sovereign*; and above all, towards one who has given so many proofs of his desire to be the best friend, as well as Ruler, of his people.

The two English agents then succeed in getting the Pasha to suppress the petition, and further to write a letter to the Emir, adopting their reasons for declining to forward it. "*The letter, of course, comes from his Excellency as his own act.*" They thus conclude:—

We venture to anticipate *good results* from this mode of proceeding; IT WILL PROBABLY HAVE THE EFFECT OF DIVIDING THE MOUNTAIN.\*

\* Affairs of Syria, part ii. p. 14.



On the 23rd of July, Colonel Rose, who had stopped the petition of the people, because the taxes were "not demanded from them," goes to the Pasha to dissuade him "from the attempt to collect the Tariff, against which the Mountaineers, with arms in their hands, are united to a man." And further adds that the modification of the Tariff "was to be anticipated, alike from Lord Ponsonby's knowledge of its unpopularity, and from his further knowledge of the promise that had been made, to exempt that province from all taxes during three years, on which it was now intended to enforce the payment of the Tariff."

Lord Ponsonby despatches Mr. Wood to settle the matter: he is armed with two means of negotiation: 1. "A considerable sum of money, and a supply of watches and ornaments;" 2. "A discretionary power granted to him by the Sublime Porte to modify the Tariff, the main cause of discontent."

Mr. Wood employed with ability the first means of negotiation: as to the second, Colonel Rose says "he did not make the deputies acquainted with his discretionary powers."

Mr. Wood writes: "I must declare *openly* my *inability* to *obtain* other concessions than those already granted." These words are addressed to the Patriarch, who had already, six weeks before, expressed himself in these terms: "If the *Turkish Government* should attempt to enforce the Tariff, *the consequences will be fatal*." The result, therefore,

of Mr. Wood's mission is to achieve that "good" to which Her Majesty's servants are always looking. He conceals the intention of the Turkish Government to modify the Tariff, and prevents it being modified (as he was himself charged with the commission) and so the pecuniary means, the complementary measure to the modification, being employed alone, become bribes to induce the chiefs to desert the people. What better method to "divide the mountaineers?" The object of Mr. Wood's mission by Lord Ponsonby was the averting of a civil war: he executes it so as to ensure that war.

This occurs on the 1st of October: the insurrection breaks out on the 13th! It has been doubly insured; by the "division of the Mountain," and "the Tariff." The whole system falls to the ground, the Emir (Beshir) is driven away, the fall of the Shaabs opens the way to the Caimacanships, and the mutual exhaustion to the Tariff. It is a singular coincidence, that at this very moment, a new administration comes in, in England, to be instantly overwhelmed with 300 office pages of despatches on the Lebanon. Poor Lord Aberdeen!

There is in each of the proceedings of England, something that may be called its peculiarity. The peculiarity in this instance is, that we have two Consuls: each has his scheme; each looks with horror at the scheme of the other, warns his superiors that it must plunge the country in bloodshed and ruin, and attributes it to the Turkish Govern-

ment. The scheme of each succeeds against the opposition of the other ; the remonstrance of each fails against the scheme of the other. Consul Wood goes on charging the Turkish Government with perfidy, in devising the scheme of the Caimacanships; Consul Rose goes on charging it with perfidy, for enforcing the Tariff. Both are kept in ignorance that the scheme which they oppose is that of their own Government, and are left severally to expound to the people, the villany of the Porte in having devised it. How surprised they must be when they read the Blue Book ; for at least Consul Wood and Consul Rose will read the Blue Book.

“ With such measure as ye mete, the same shall be meted unto you again.” When that prediction is in our respect accomplished, there will not be a man throughout the land able to say “ this is a righteous judgment.” They will see in what happens to them then, no more than what they now see in what they do to others—the work of the stars.

This is the testimony of the Blue Books : First, the Five Powers are engaged in convulsing the country ; Secondly, any attempt to restore tranquillity involves a struggle with the Five Powers ; Thirdly, the means by which such a struggle may be successful, or even exist is, by inducing the people to represent their grievances with effect and unanimity.

Our proceedings in the Lebanon are to us simple and natural, in consequence of the progress we have

made in civilization ; they appear strange and unnatural to this people, because they have not yet attained to the distinction between public and private morality. Not having as yet learnt that public affairs are only contrivances to afford amusement to the public, they are at a loss to comprehend how such acts remain beneath the notice of the eminent and practical men who adorn and instruct Europe in morals and philanthropy.

Unless the English had found some section of the people to patronize, none of these operations could have been carried on ; and yet to a common mind there was no section available. The French could patronize the Maronites as Ultramontanes ; the Russians the Greeks as Starovirtze ; the Chinese could alone patronize the Druzes, as heterodox Buddhists. On what twig the English dove of peace could perch did not appear, and yet the patronage could begin only on religious grounds. In this, therefore, the source of it will be sought ; there must have been religious sympathy. In looking closer into the matter a connection may be found. An English religious writer, who never heard of the Druzes, used these words : " England is divided into Infidelity and Fanaticism ; " \* that is to say, that some profess the faith of infidelity, and some the faith of fanaticism ; whereas, amongst the Druzes, the two faiths are combined in each. It matters not whether the characters really apply to the Druzes,

\* Bosanquet, " Perils of the Nation."

the supposition is enough for the association, and failing this there is nothing else to account for it. We could not take grounds as supporting their independence, for two reasons. First, that they do not want our help; secondly, that England does not support independence in any people. If such were her disposition, the Circassians afford her a field, but no English consulate spreads its benign influence from Anapa.

One concluding observation suggests itself. It has been a labour of care and anxiety to find and form Woods and Stratford Cannings, Moores and Roses. Such men were rare incidents in the nation. But the time will come when they will not be rare incidents. The whole British nation cannot be Ambassadors, Consuls, and Companions of the Bath, yet the whole British nation will become Woods and Cannings, Moores and Roses. Then some Sheik Beshir, Consul at Manchester, in furnishing his quota to a Turkish Blue Book on the "rights and privileges of the Roman Catholics and Dissenters of Great Britain," may have the regret to express himself in these terms:—

"I must consider the moral condition of England as very low."\*

\* Reply of Mr. Moore in Dr. Bowring's Report.

## CHAPTER XXII.

## CHRISTIANITY OF THE LEBANON.

THE scheme above detailed rests entirely on the maxim, that a *Mussulman shall not rule in this Province of the Sultan*. This maxim has been established as a corollary to another; namely, that the Lebanon is the *stronghold of Christianity in the East*. The argument is thus stated :

I know of no individual in this country who unites the qualities requisite for the office of a Prince of Mount Lebanon. If he is a Maronite, the Druses will not bear his rule, and if he is a Druse, he will not be tolerated by the Maronites, *and it would not be desirable that a Mahometan Prince should rule over a country which is the stronghold of Christianity in the East.\**

Again :

The very peculiar circumstances of the Mountain population, whose industry, poverty, and impatience of restraint are alike known to all Europe, and amongst whom the religion of Christ has found for ages a precarious, yet noble asylum, *towards which the hopes of the good and the devout of more than one country have of late been turned with peculiar zeal.†*

\* Colonel Rose to Lord Aberdeen. Syrian Papers, Part II. p. 108.

† Sir S. Canning to Lord Aberdeen. Syrian Papers, Part I. p. 53.

Here is the introduction of an international maxim alarming to the world ; and peculiarly terrible in its application to Great Britain. The Maltese are Maronites, and France is their protector. The Canadians are Roman Catholics ; so are the Irish. The Ionians are Greeks, and Russia is their Protector. The Cingalese are Buddhists, and China is their Protector. Thirty millions of Indians are Mussulmans, and the Sultan is their Protector. The Hindus will find a Protector, as cognate as are the English to the Druzes. This maxim admitted, the human race becomes a society of wild beasts, preying upon each other, not by satiable, but by insatiable lusts.

The Christianity put forward for such ends by the English Government, is not the established religion of Great Britain ; the patronage afforded by that Government is at this very time, to the rival sect of this so-called "Christianity."

This Christianity is not a germ planted in the East by England, or by the other Powers. It has been found there, existing under the Turkish sway ; and peaceably existing up to the moment of their interference.

Now let us see what this Christianity is. The Blue Books contain a specimen.

"The Catholic Bishop of Zachlé, to the Christians of the same place.

"We have exceedingly and extremely praised

your activity, but you have been backward in your not burning the village of Merepté. The proper mode was to have burnt it. Hereafter, take good care, when you obtain a victory, turn not back from burning and destroying to the end. Only, we command you, beloved children and honoured brethren, to abstain from touching the females. But everything else, such as burning, murdering, plundering, you can do, and do not spare anything. . . . Continue your prayers and confessions, for this is a holy war.”\*

Sir Stratford Canning may not err in saying that “the good and devout of many countries” have been turned to such Christianity with “peculiar zeal,” and those countries also call themselves Christians. It is an awful charge to make, but Sir Stratford Canning is justified in making it. I quote the document, not in reprobation of the Maronites, but of those who have made the Maronites what they now are. For 800 years religious rivalry, and religious rancour were unknown; these have been introduced by the European Governments, not through fanaticism, but putting on the mask of fanaticism to veil their designs.

When the letter of the Maronite Bishop was transmitted by Colonel Rose to Lord Aberdeen, it gave rise to no comment, not a word in reprobation, and no induction as to the task of the rulers of such

\* Syrian Papers, Part II. p. 113.



a people. It is in the very letter transmitting it, that the remarkable words "instinctive conclusion" occur. This "instinctive conclusion" being, that the acts of the Turkish Government spring from a design to oppress the Maronites!

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## PUBLIC MEETING.

*Beyrout, May 2nd.*—I HAD been asked, last night, if I would attend a meeting of the chief merchants of the different tribes, to report to them what I had been saying to several by themselves, respecting their trade. I consented to do so. To-day, I was sent for about 3 P. M. I was conducted up a great many flights of stairs, to a sort of barn, which had been fitted all round with rich sofas for the occasion, and a goodly array of nargillés and pipes. Soldiers were posted at the door to give, I suppose, formality to the assembly. I found a large party assembled round the room, the Mussulmans occupying the upper part, the Rayahs the sides. They wished me to plunge at once in *media res*, and I had some difficulty in making them apprehend that I had nothing to say; that they had invited me, and I had come, and unless they had some question to put to me, I must go away again. I was then asked if I thought it possible that the Porte would relax the heavy duties, and if so, what steps they could take to promote that object? Before, however, we got into the subject, a preliminary question was raised: they said they had long suffered from this new tax,

but had never remonstrated against it, conceiving that, being settled with foreign Powers, their Government had no power to grant them relief. This I soon disposed of by citing the instances in which the Porte had already relaxed these duties, viz., at Aleppo for manufactured silks, reduced to 7 per cent.; at Constantinople for carpets, on which the duty is wholly remitted; in Roumelia, on Valonea, where it has been reduced 25 per cent. Also, that the treaty gave to Turkey the faculty of exacting 12 per cent. on foreign trade, instead of 3; but Turkey was not on that account forced to take this larger sum: and finally, that the 12 per cent of the treaty was for goods exported to Europe, whilst that sum had been imposed on all their internal traffic. These reasons were admitted as conclusive, and they signalized several monstrosities such as this. Foreign sugar imported at Beyrout pays three per cent.; passing into the interior it pays two per cent. more. The people have the habit of crushing it, and ramming it into bottles. Oh, says the customer, it has changed its nature; it is now a native manufacture, and must pay twelve per cent. So cloth, by being made into clothes changes its nature, and becomes native manufacture. The wearer is stopped at the gate and charged twelve per cent. for what he wears on his back; so leather, when made into shoes, iron made into nails, &c.

The following are the heads of my answers to their questions:—You may apply to the Porte for

this change on two grounds. 1st. The general interests of the country. 2ndly. The peculiar rights of Syria. You can make out in regard to the first the most triumphant case ever submitted to a Government; then put that aside, and supposing the treaty to be as beneficial as it is injurious, you can make out for Syria an irrefragable case for exemption from its operation.

In regard to the first point I shewed, first, That to exact more than five per cent. was contrary to the fundamental and religious laws of the empire. 2nd, That it was an imitation of those fiscal regulations of Europe which were the origin of its present convulsions; but that it was a mistaken imitation—in Europe we tax importation, but leave exportation free. That the treaty destroys, by the distinction, at once the sale of raw produce, and the manufacture of native goods. 3rd, That the Turkish Government draws its revenue from the land, of which this treaty destroys the value. That the Government, receiving its taxes in kind, prohibited the sale, by this *tax on its own property*. I illustrated these positions by what had occurred in Roumelia, in 1846. The price of grain was there about 45 piastres the kilo. The duty carries it above 50, which brings it just over the price, with charges, at Odessa. In that year the prices rose to 80 and 100, so that the 12 per cent. was virtually overpassed. Immediately the grain poured on all the ports. From the walls of Varna might be seen double strings of waggons

along the plain to the very horizon, night and day, week after week, month after month, uninterrupted; the one coming full, the other departing empty. In ten months about 2000 vessels were laden, 20,000,000 of kilos exported, and above £10,000,000 introduced into the country.

It was at once admitted by all, that, with the tranquillity at present enjoyed, and especially under the operation of the new firman, granting its full possession to the occupiers of land, and reducing the charges, if it were not for the 12 per cent., thousands of vessels would be lading with grain on its coasts, and that the trade with oil, sesame, and all other products, would greatly increase. Beyrout, in ten years, they said, would rival Marseilles.

A difficulty then arose to whether the Porte would sacrifice for the moment, its revenue. I was able to answer that that difficulty was already provided for; as one of the first persons in the country was ready to take the customs at the actual rate, if the Government would grant them for five years, and reduce the rates to 5 per cent.

The right of Syria to exclusion from the operation of the treaty. This I placed on two grounds. 1. The treaty stipulated the additional nine per cent. as an equivalent for monopolies and internal duties: here there was no equivalent. In Syria there were no internal duties, and no monopolies, and consequently there was no claim for the additional nine per cent. The English merchants had already urged this right,

and even the English Government, which had imposed the treaty, did not pretend that the claim was groundless ; it merely answered—" monopolies may be imposed some day." When Syria was restored to the Porte, the Sultan bound himself to reduce the taxes one third ; and consequently the Miri and the Firdeh had been so reduced. The twelve per cent. ought equally to have been reduced, had it existed, but it was not then in operation. The customs duties were not reduced, only because they were so trivial. That on silk amounting to but 20 paras the oke (or less than one farthing the pound), immediately afterwards the new duties were introduced, laying on silk instead of 20 paras, 14 piastres and 16 paras, or increasing the duty 60-fold. Tobacco, in like manner, was charged 50, 100, and even up to 1000 per cent. The firman of the Sultan was, therefore, an absolute bar to the introduction of the tariff for Syria, and gave to that province a special right to appeal against it, which no other province could claim ; so that the Porte in granting to them this concession, was not bound to grant it to the rest of the empire ; though it was clear that the like favour would be granted to the whole, if they succeeded in making the Porte understand the evil inflicted on the people and on the treasury. These two points, and especially the last, were a new light to them : they now passed to expressions of sanguine confidence. Before the evil was felt, the idea of struggling against it did not exist, conceiving it to be irremediable. It

now seemed to appear to them that the thing was done, and I had to apprehend their confidence as much as before I did their despondency. I had, therefore, to tell them that not a single individual connected with the Turkish Government had the remotest idea on the subject : they had got the notion that they had overreached England by getting twelve instead of three per cent., and in a word, that it had cost me four months' labour with Emin Effendi before getting him to see the matter in this light, as he had himself told one of them the night before. They now asked what measures they ought to take. I explained to them that it was an evil imported from Europe, and they must adopt the means which we had invented to combat the like : that they, being the heads of the various communities should now appoint a committee of three to draw up their petition ; then have another meeting like the present to consider it ; then call a meeting of the whole community, under the Pines or elsewhere ; then send round the petition in separate sheets for signature ; then despatch envoys to Damascus, Aleppo, and the principal towns, to do the same ; and, finally, send up a deputation to Constantinople, the bearers of the united appeal of the whole of Syria. The plan was adopted by acclamation, and I withdrew amid benedictions.

It being known that I was to sail by the French steamer in two days, some of them came afterwards to represent that they could not venture on begin-

ning unless I promised to stay for the following packet; and, considering that I might labour for ten years in England without being able to effect the tenth part of the benefit for the trade of England that this change would bring, I consented to remain the ten days required; the more so that the measures taking in thē Lebanon were actually paralysed by the knowledge of my departure, and might be ultimately frustrated if not brought into shape before I left.

During this conversation, there was an incidental but interesting allusion to the Megilis. One of them quoted these bodies as instance of the disposition of the Porte to do everything beneficial for the people. I accepted the instance as regards intention, but rejected it as regards effect. These bodies, in evincing the good intentions, shewed the incapacity of the Porte; for mixing them up in the administration of the country, they were a cloak to abuse, not a check upon it. The opinion was re-echoed by all; nor did two members of the body who were present dissent. I told them that a meeting such as this was worth a thousand Megilis, independently of the object for which they were assembled, and that they were now taking the first step towards affording to the Porte what it sought and required for the Government of the country, and that was the help of the people.

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“System of the Lebanon,” and the prohibitory duties. These evils were themselves consequences of the mutual misjudgment and distrust of people and Government. I now close these remarks, after having to announce a measure of the Porte which puts an end to the first, and a movement commenced among the people with the probable consequence of removing the other two. Henceforth I trust that foreign intrigue, if not banished from the land will be mitigated. I feel the irresistible satisfaction that attends the successful issue of a course adopted with care, pursued undeviatingly and through difficulties and finally crowned with success; for whether or not the last two points will be obtained at once, at least this is obtained—that the people of this country entertain altered sentiments towards a sovereign who has shewn himself not slow to respond to kindness; and last, though not least, it is something to labour for a people who do not reply by contempt and calumny.

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IN the foregoing Diary, the march of a Drama is associated with the incidents of a journey. Had it extended but to one day later, the Catastrophe, from fortunate would have changed to unfortunate. All that appeared accomplished on the 2nd of May was reversed on the 3rd. The cry of the people of Syria, about to be articulated, was stifled in its throat, by the sudden revulsion of the Pasha, all whose maleficent powers revived when obeying a foreign and inimical interest. The intimation to me of the change was not in words. No explanation was offered, no wavering exhibited, no reasons of State alleged. A person employed by me, and placed at my disposal by the Pasha himself, was suddenly imprisoned, and by the act and with the velocity of a telegraphic communication, the hearts of all were smitten with terror, their hands fell powerless, and those who had been most active and most zealous dispersed and hid themselves. The Pasha also hid himself; his doors were closed and barricaded against me, as if I had been a foreign invasion. There remained nothing further for me to do than to embark, and endeavour from Constantinople to restore the operation broken in the Lebanon.

Cruising, shortly afterwards, in the Archipelago, I encountered the squadron which bore the Sultan. Receiving an intimation that His Highness would receive me at Scio, I proceeded thither, and being accompanied into his tent by three of the Ministers of the Porte, and being, at the close of the audience, about to withdraw, one of those Ministers said to me, "Now is the moment for the Lebanon." I consequently stated the case, and afterwards received an invitation to return with him to Constantinople, in order that continuation should be given to the matters opened at this audience.

In communications with the Ministers of the Porte at that capital, I had to listen to no single expression intimating either doubt or irresolution. They were filled with surprise and gladness at the prospect of escape through the dispositions of the people from the dangers which they saw to be impending over the Empire from that quarter. In terms not less ambiguous, and still more energetic, was conveyed their reprobation of the conduct of Vamic Pasha; which conduct was at once attributed to that sole motor of every intrigue, and source of every danger—the patronage of Foreign Powers, always ready for a faithless administrator, and the persecution of Foreign Powers, ever suspended over the head of an upright servant of the Sultan.

A council on the affairs of Syria was held, the results of which, it was intimated to me, were in the same sense. I was requested to find some trust-

worthy friend to send to Syria, in order to ascertain really the dispositions of the people, and to watch events. I was so fortunate as to meet at Constantinople a gentleman who undertook this office, and whose report will be found subjoined.

Notwithstanding these favourable appearances, I doubted the possibility of the maintenance by the Porte of the resolution it had formed, so long as its action was hampered, and its sense of independence crushed, by the presence of the Russian Army of Occupation in the Danubian Provinces, under the Treaty of the previous year. It was, therefore, to the removal of this army that my attention was, if not exclusively, principally directed. After two months of unceasing efforts by day and night, this was at last effected, and the Porte, in the intoxication of its delight, dared not to look too closely at the terms of the arrangement, so that the door was left ajar for their return in June, 1853, without the countervailing presence of a Turkish force. In this transaction the Lebanon was lost sight of, and I was prevented from resuming it, as upon the settlement for the evacuation of the province, the Porte requested me instantly to leave Constantinople, that they might be relieved from the recriminations entailed upon them by my presence. In fact, the Porte had sacrificed what might have been done in the Lebanon, as against the freedom they expected to obtain on the Danube.

Possessed of the knowledge of these criminal and

dangerous proceedings in the Lebanon, it was incumbent upon me to use every means to expose and counteract them. If the laws require such effort in case of danger to the life of a single individual, how much more is it incumbent, when the property, the liberties, and the lives of millions, as in this case, are involved. To appeal to the European public was useless; it would not listen: if it did listen, it could not comprehend; if it listened and comprehended, what could it do? To appeal to the English Government was useless; it knew but too well what it was about. Indeed, during these operations I had been in the habit of detailed correspondence with two members of the then Cabinet, whose replies evinced a perfect concurrence with me, in that in which I was engaged; this concurrence, not in the slightest degree affecting the operations of that Cabinet in the East.

Shortly afterwards, a new Administration came in. Hope reviving, I made another attempt. The matter was again laid before members of the Administration, and finally the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Lord Malmesbury, afforded me the time and the attention requisite for the exposition of the case, with the Blue Books for confirmation. I feel myself justified in stating, that Lord Malmesbury did not withhold his concurrence from the allegations then made: not only by reason of his not adducing objections, but furthermore by his calling upon me for an explanation of that, which on the

face of it appeared inexplicable. His words were (they have been consigned in a subsequent correspondence), "Can you explain to me the ulterior objects of England, for such acts there must have been an ulterior object?"

Had I had the like opportunity with Lord Aberdeen, when he came into office in 1841, he might probably have put to me a similar question. No Foreign Minister, in coming into office, has the least conception of what the policy of England is; and it is because England's Ministers know nothing of her policy, that it is possible to predict with certainty, what, in any given case, she will do. So far back as the year 1835, in pointing out to the Duke of Wellington, the invariable injury to Great Britain, as the result of a system pursued by Great Britain, His Grace replied, "England has no system, and if it had, and however noxious it might be, it would not matter. Nothing has been well done by England, save by an act of insubordination." The period of insubordination has now passed by; that is to say, insubordination by instruction, takes its place amongst the elements of systematic deception.

Lord Malmesbury requested me to reduce to writing the case I had verbally stated to him. On the fall of that Administration from office, without having done anything for the Lebanon, I printed the Memoir. It will thus be seen that I left no means untried to avert the consequences, and to exonerate myself from criminal connivance.



Subjoined is an extract from the Report from the Lebanon, to which I have already referred.

“ *Beyrout, September 24th, 1850.* — I must give you an account of my interview with the Archbishop. I went to his house accompanied by the Padre Giorgio, the same who acted as interpreter for you. He received me very well, and after he had examined my credentials, and subjugated me to the cleverest cross-examination I ever heard, regarding my own person, I mentioned the subject of my visit, and to remove all further suspicion, I said, ‘ I will now recount to you all that has passed since Mr. Urquhart left Syria, ready to answer all questions which you may put to me, if I do not make the matter sufficiently clear.’ I began with the letter of Ali Pasha, mentioned your interview with the Sultan at Scio, and the consequent invitation to go to Constantinople, the various communications you had had with the Ministers ; finally, the Council held on the affairs of Syria, and the promised reprimand to the Pasha. I added that I had come to this country to see if things were still as you had left them, with explicit directions to follow in all things his advice, should I find him in the same mind as before. All this was attentively listened to ; I dwelt upon all the points that I thought likely to make him feel the importance of the moment, when you are at Constantinople, ready to second any efforts made here.

“After I had done, he said, ‘As a Christian, and a priest, I answer you,’ laying his hand on his heart. ‘When Daoud Bey first opened his views to me, I represented the difficulties that stood in the way. But all these he set aside, arguing that the will alone was required to make the execution easy. Still, however, I refused to do anything until I had received the assurance of the Pasha’s approval from his own mouth, as well as that of Emin Effendi. This was not alone for my own justification, but also because I knew that without it, I could not bring the Druze chiefs to concur in anything. From the Pasha I heard solemn words of approval, laying his hand upon his heart, as he spoke them. I then went to Sheik Hussein Talhouk, and Sheik Nasif Abou Nicket. They also wished to have the Pasha’s word, and Sheik Hussein received it. They returned to their country, and began to sound many people, when suddenly they heard that the Pasha had completely changed; and then they not only desisted, but hearing that he had quarrelled with Daoud Bey, hid themselves. The matter was never very easy, now it is more difficult.’ The Archbishop added, ‘I answer you with all sincerity and freedom, but if you go to the others, you will not receive from them plain words. They fear, but, for my part, I am not afraid, but unless the Pasha changes, or is changed, I can do nothing more. I am still as much persuaded as ever that a Mussulman Prince can alone

rule the Mountain ; but all I can do is to assist the Government of the Porte by every means in my power, should it make clear its wishes.'

"Then came the chapter of griefs. We hear that Daoud Bey is at Constantinople, and yet the Pasha from Ferik is made Muchir, with a present of 300 purses. It is thus that his quarrel with Daoud Bey has ended. The people heard long ago of the letter to Ali Pasha and the accusation against Vamic, of being concerned in the Customs. They say the accusation was examined and found to be without grounds. He then said he had heard of your intimacy at Constantinople with Colonel Rose, and how you were everywhere together. I said this was untrue. That you had met him once or twice accidentally, and that the only time you had a long conversation with him, was in the Arsenal, when you talked of machines and geology.

"I asked him how it was that every one seemed prepared for a change ; whether he had spoken about the matter, for I have hardly seen a person here who has not said more or less, indicating the hope of a new order of things. He answered, No ; but that all are discontented with things as they are.— This conversation continued for four hours, interrupted only by dinner, which lasted but a short time, as the Archbishop did not himself partake.

"I am going, as soon as I am well enough to travel, to see Emin Effendi, when I shall tell him the substance of my conversation with the Arch-

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bishop. I have had a long conversation with the Vakil of the Patriarch and of the Caimacan. He is quite prepared to join in any movement, likely to procure one Governor, and that a Mussulman, for the Mountain.

“ There have come letters from Constantinople to Emin Effendi, not exactly blaming him for what he has done, but saying that complaints have been made by *one of the Ambassadors*, of his stirring up the people to ask for a Turkish Governor, which, the letter continues, they are sure must, unless from some grave necessity, from his well-known prudence, be untrue. Since this has come the confirmation of a proposal to erect a mixed Megilis, to assist Emin Effendi in carrying out the Messaa. Colonel Rose wrote a very insolent letter to the Pasha, complaining of this, as a violation of the Constitution, and Emir Hydar refuses his assent.

“ I heard here a curious fact, illustrative of the working of the present system. The entire produce of the south of Asia Minor is sent by land to Samsoun for exportation, in consequence of the facilities afforded by the farmers of the Customs at that port.”

From the period of my quitting Syria, I have not read a line of what has been published in Newspapers or printed in Blue Books respecting the Lebanon, until this very moment. I have now read two passages; one of these is about the seizure of a

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Stock of goats by the French because they were Druze goats, which proved to be joint-stock, Maronite and Druze. If human ingenuity could have devised a *reductio ad absurdum* of the operations of the "Five" great European Powers, he would have required a vivid imagination to arrive at an invention like this. But while the public is paralyzed before such a result, because of its ridicule and monstrosity, Governments are only obtaining what they work for. That they knew that the two people were so intimately interwoven that they could not be separated is shewn by a proposal of Colonel Rose. Referring to a former communication, he says, on the 3rd of June, 1845: "I earnestly recommended last year, emigration of the Christians to the Christian country, and *vice versa*."\* Imagine, in the parallel proposal for the pacification of Ireland by the establishment of a Protestant and Roman Catholic Lord-Lieutenant, the self-love of the foreign schemers who devised it, earnestly recommending in the interest of its success, that the Protestants and Catholics should be made reciprocally to emigrate!

The other passage is: "General Beaufort de Hautpool has militarily occupied Deir el Cammar, after establishing there a municipality."

The recollection fell upon me as a blow, of my having, in November 1849, in this very Deir el Cammar, announced to them, that the day was not distant, when they would be treated as another

\* Syrian Papers, Part ii. 1843-4-5, p. 170.

Algeria; and this too at a moment when the French Government had no more conception of what it would do, than the people had of what they were about to suffer. The very agent of France, when I said to him the same thing, answered me, "Do you take us for lunatics?"

In conclusion I have to remark, that whereas formerly, evil designs had to be carefully concealed until they were executed, they are now published beforehand in Blue Books.

THE END.



