

Medical, geographical, and agricultural report of a committee appointed by the Madras Government to inquire into the causes of the epidemic fever which prevailed in the provinces of Coimbatore, Madura, Dindigul, & Tinnivelly, during the years 1809, 1810, and 1811, of which W. Ainslie was president.

Contributors

Madras (Presidency) Medical Committee to Inquire into the Causes of the Epidemic Fever.

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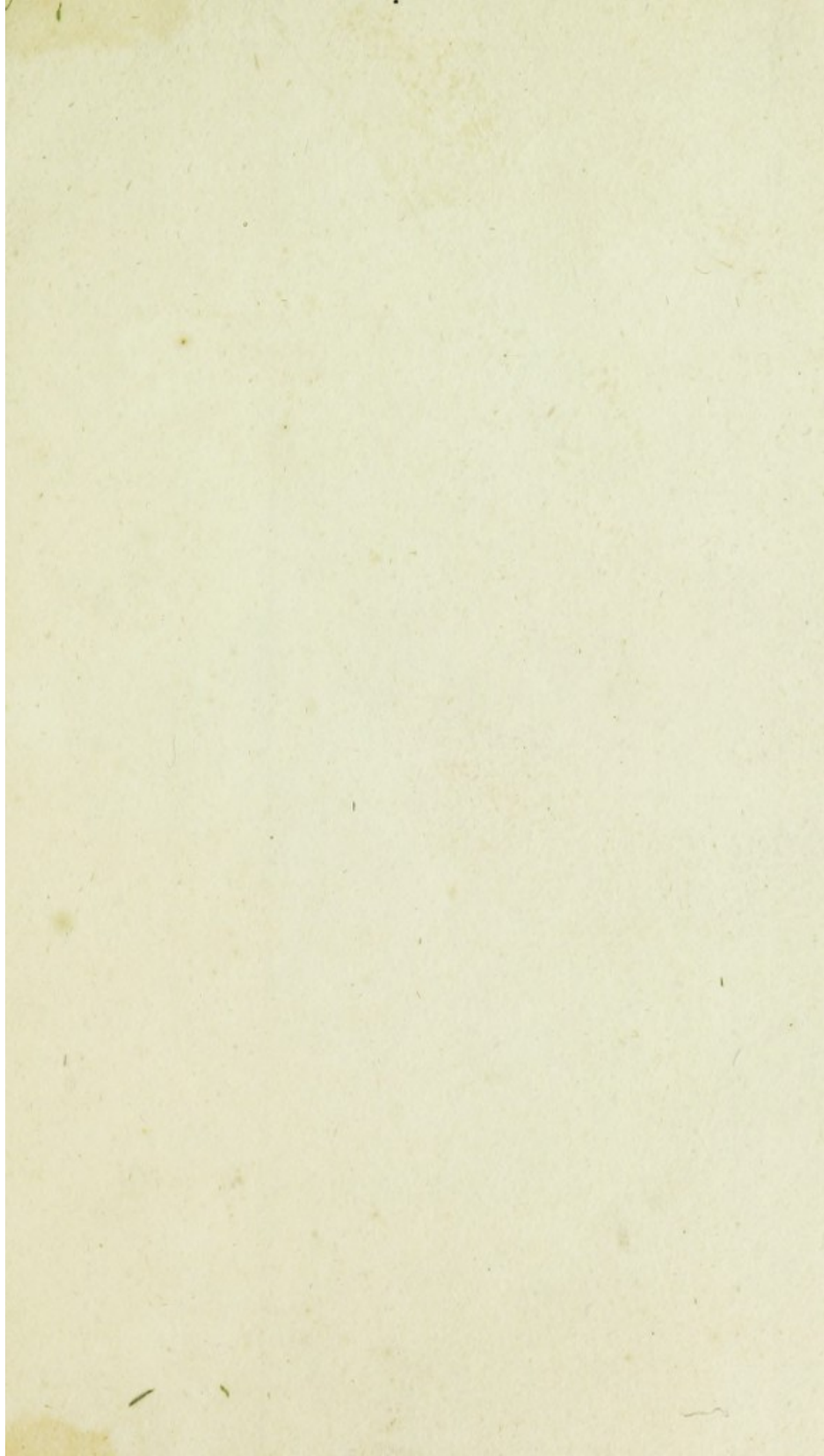
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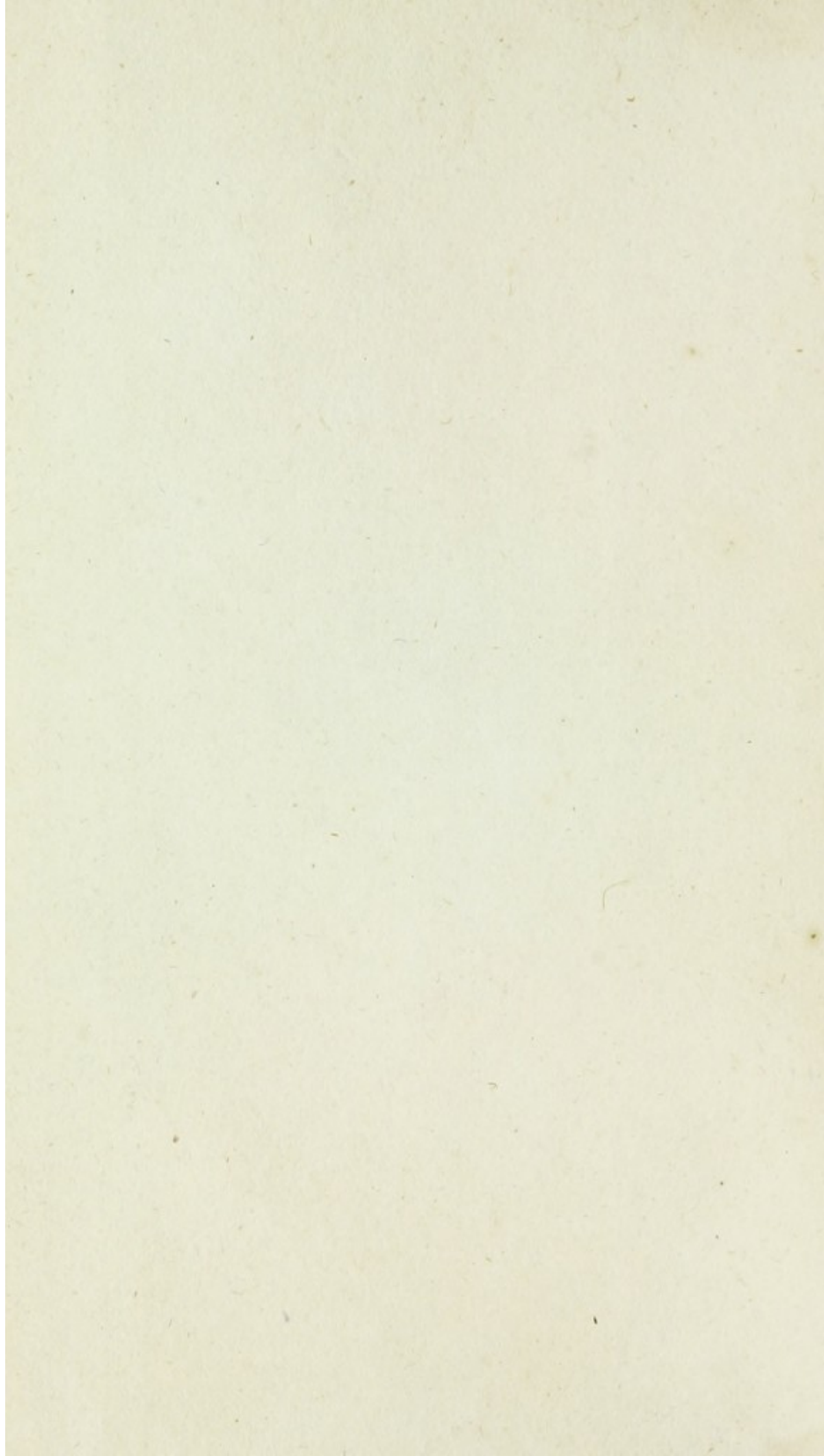
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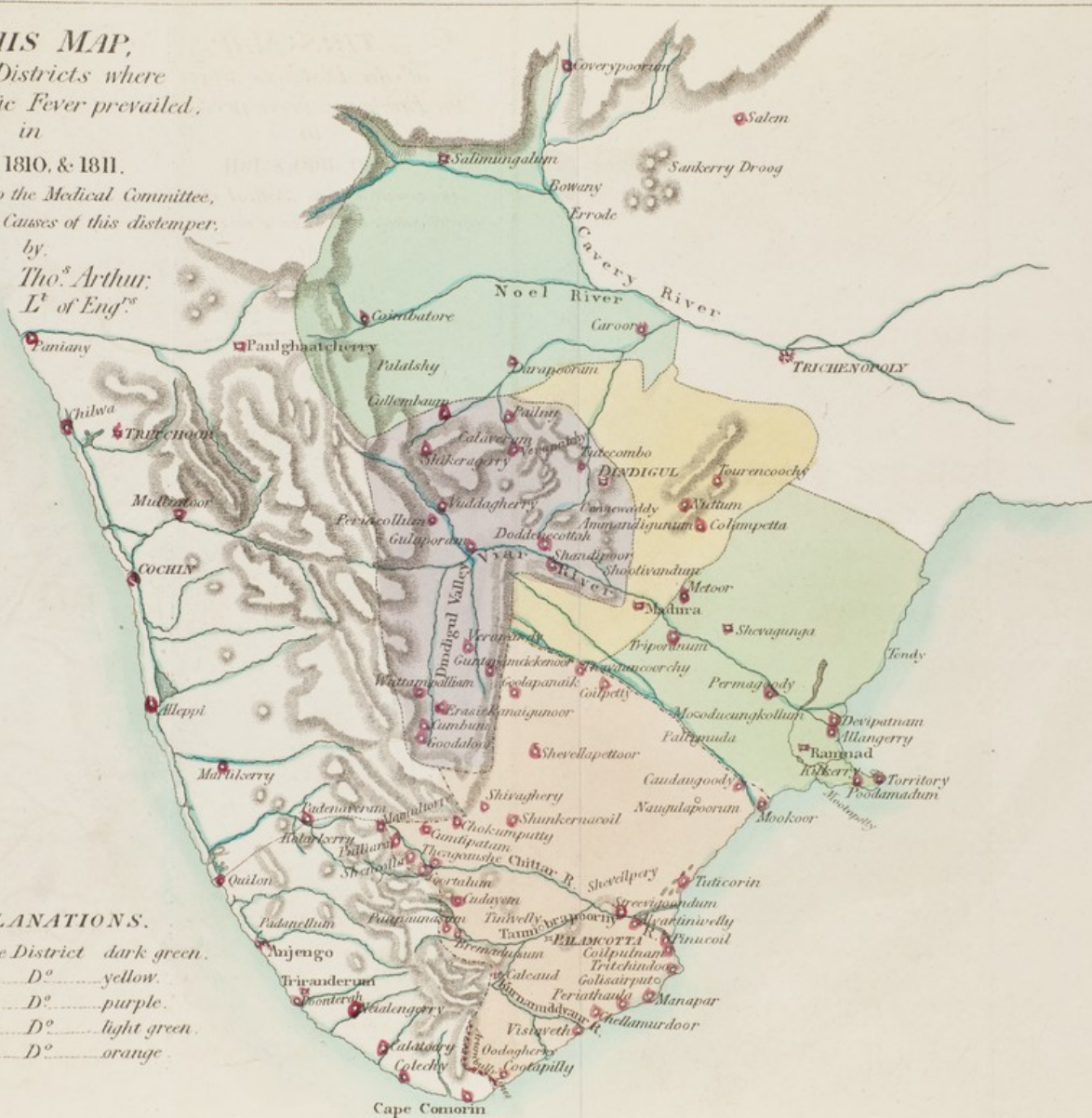
THIS MAP,
of the Districts where
the Epidemic Fever prevailed,
in

1809, 1810, & 1811.

is presented to the Medical Committee,
investigating the Causes of this distemper.

by

Thos. Arthur,
Lt of Eng^s.



EXPLANATIONS.

Coimbatore District dark green.
Madura D^o yellow.
Dindigul D^o purple.
Ramnad D^o light green.
Tinnevely D^o orange.

MEDICAL,
GEOGRAPHICAL, AND AGRICULTURAL
R E P O R T
OF A
COMMITTEE
APPOINTED BY
THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT
TO INQUIRE INTO THE CAUSES
OF THE
Epidemic Fever
WHICH PREVAILED
IN THE PROVINCES
OF
COIMBATORE, MADURA, DINDIGUL, & TINNIVELLY,
DURING THE YEARS 1809, 1810, AND 1811:
OF WHICH
Dr. W. AINSLIE *was President;*
Mr. A. SMITH, *Second Member;*
Dr. M. CHRISTY, *Third Member.*

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MEDICAL

GEOGRAPHICAL AND JOURNAL

REPORT

COMMITTEE

APPOINTED BY

THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT

TO ENQUIRE INTO THE CAUSES

OF THE

Epizootic Fever

WHICH PREVAILED

IN THE PROVINCE

Hist.

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Dr. W. MENZIES, Secy. to Govt.

Mr. J. SMITH, Secy. to Govt.

Dr. M. CHRISTY, Secy. to Govt.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR BLACK, PEARSON, AND SONS

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1882

1882

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THE notice which this Report attracted amongst many of the most-respectable Servants of the EAST-INDIA COMPANY, of the Madras Establishment, and the flattering manner in which it was received by the Honourable the COURT of DIRECTORS, have induced the authors¹ to publish it. The subject is a melancholy one,—an inquiry into the nature of an Epidemic Fever, which was of several years' duration, occasioning the death of no less than 106,789 persons, and ruining the constitutions of many thousands.

Such epidemics, as that treated of in this Report, are not uncommon in our Indian dominions; and, as will be seen, have at

(1) Doctors *Ainslie* and *Christy* are the only Members of the Committee now living. Mr. *Smith* died two years ago.

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different times been attended with the most unhappy consequences. While, therefore, the authors were led, by their immediate instructions, to make themselves acquainted with the particular state of the air, climate, countries, and inhabitants, which preceded and accompanied the calamity in question, they also, and of their own accord, added a Section, embracing what they conceived to be the most proper Medical Treatment for the epidemic in its various forms; and a subsequent one, containing observations respecting the measures that might be adopted, to obviate, as much as possible, the recurrence of so great a mortality. These divisions of a Paper now respectfully submitted to the Public, Doctors Ainslie and Christy are of opinion, may be useful to Gentlemen of their own profession, on their first arrival in India; and may perhaps prevent some of those errors in practice, too frequently committed by the young and inexperienced.

EDINBURGH,

June 1, 1816.

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AN INQUIRY
INTO THE
CAUSES
OF
THE EPIDEMIC FEVER,
&c. &c.

SECTION I.

A Geographical Description of the Provinces in which the Epidemic Fever prevailed; with some Account of their Climate in Healthy Seasons; of their Agricultural Products; and of the relative Condition of their Native Inhabitants.

THE districts to which the attention of the Medical Committee has been particularly called, as those that have suffered most from the ravages of fever, are, Coimbatore, Dindigul, Madura, and Tinnivelly; comprehending an extent of country, in latitude about $3^{\circ}.30'$, and in longitude, at some parts, nearly $1^{\circ}.35'$; a tract stretching in length, from north to south, from the base

of the great southern ghauts of Mysore to the farthest extremity of the Peninsula; and, in its greatest width, from the vast chain of mountains which divides the two coasts, to Tondy on the Coromandel shore.

The Coimbatore province, under which are now included in one Collectorate, the divisions of Caroor, Sattimungulum, and Daraporam, may with safety be called an open country, when compared with many of those of our lower Indian dominions, although it is not without its woods¹ and partial wastes. It is bounded on the north and west by immense mountains; on the east by the countries of Salem and Trichinopoly; and on the south by the district of Dindigul. In extent, it may be reckoned, from north to south, about fifty miles; from east to west, nearly forty-five. Contiguous to the southern extremity of Mysore, it in

(1) The Annimally woods, celebrated as being the haunts of wild elephants, lie towards the most southern and western parts of the Coimbatore country.

some degree partakes of its altitude, over all those lands which lie to the eastward and southward of it in the Peninsula; the average height of the plain being about nine hundred feet above the level of the sea, according to Major Lambton's measurement.

Coimbatore is watered by several rivers. The most considerable are the Cavery and Bawanie: the first of these has its source amongst the Courgh Mountains, which form a part of the western barrier of Mysore; and it joins the second at Bawanie. The Noel and Amberabady, with many rivulets, are also tributary streams to the Cavery; so that by the time the great conflux of water reaches Trichinopoly, this river has become one of the finest in India; and, as far as regards the purposes of cultivation, it has this advantage, that it is filled by both monsoons; by the s. w. in the months of June, July, and August; and by the n. e. in October, November, and December.

From its elevation, it may naturally be supposed that the soil of Coimbatore is in general dry; it is on this account particularly well suited for pasture-lands, and the rearing of the different dry grains; though there is, at the same time, no want of extensive tanks. In the vicinity of the hills¹, and in some other estates lying near to the Dindigul province, there is much low marshy ground.

About forty miles due west from Daraporam, there is an opening in the great mountains which run south; it is well known, by the name of the Paulcaudcherry Pass; and is in width, at its eastern extremity, about seven miles; and in length, at least thirty-one. This pass is shaped like a funnel, being much wider at the end which opens towards the Malabar coast, than it is at that by which it communicates with the district of Coimbatore: it is nearly on a level with the lands on

(1) Many of the villages of the Chuckragherry talook (division) lie close to the hills, in the neighbourhood of extensive marshes, and are proverbially unhealthy.

either side of the ghauts ; so that there is a free passage left for whatever wind may blow from Malabar, in a direction from N.W. to S.W. The distance from the eastern opening of this pass to the sea, at the nearest point, is about seventy miles.

The towns in the Coimbatore province are, in general, well built, and some of them are very large and populous. Four of the most noted are, Daraporam, Coimbatore, Bawanie, and Carroor. Daraporam stands in a fine, high, open country : the houses are, for the most part, well constructed ; and it has the river Amberabady within about half a mile of it : it is nearly forty miles distant from the great mountains which run south, but is not more than fifteen from the Verapatchy, or Pilney Hills, in the Dindigul province.

Coimbatore² also stands high and dry, but is much nearer than Daraporam to the

(2) Coimbatore is in latitude $11^{\circ}.3'$. N. and longitude $77^{\circ}.6'$. E.

mountains which divide the Peninsula : it is, however, situated so far north, as to be clear of the Paulcaudcherry opening ; which gives it a great advantage, with regard to climate and comfort, over the last-mentioned town, as we shall more particularly notice at a future period. It is neatly built ; but its well water is bad, being brackish ; and supposed, on that account, by the natives, to be the cause of cutaneous affections, which are common amongst the poorer inhabitants, who cannot afford to get supplied from the Noel, distant about a mile.

Bawanie stands at the conflux of the Cavery and Bawanie ; and is, from this peculiarity of situation, much resorted to by the Hindoos, who consider it as a place of great sanctity. To the s.e. towards Sankerrydroog, there is a good deal of jungle (underwood), and rocky ground : to the southward, along the banks of the Cavery, lies a fine extensive, flat country ; and to the n.w. are the rich and picturesque banks of the Bawanie. The town

is not so large as Coimbatore, but is well built, and, notwithstanding its peninsular situation, dry and comfortable.

Carroor is a large, handsome town, with wide regular streets: it is situated upon a gently rising ground, in a fine, dry, open country, and not far from the banks of the Cavery: it is very populous: its latitude is $10^{\circ}. 54'$. north; and it is at the great distance of seventy-four miles from the western ghauts, and thirty from the Pilney Mountains.

The Dindigul and Madura districts, together with the zemindaries of Sheva-gunga and Ramnad, being now comprehended in one Collectorate, we shall speak of them, with regard to certain particulars, conjointly. They occupy a space of territory of nearly one degree in latitude, and in longitude about one and three quarters; from the northern base of the Pilney Mountains to Verdapetty, in a southerly direction, and from the great ghauts to

Tondy (in the Ramnad division), from west to east: their most western tract is the Dindigul Valley, which extends from Dindigul, in latitude $10^{\circ}. 12'$. to Goodalooore, in latitude $9^{\circ}. 35'$. This valley is formed by the great mass of Pilney Mountains towards the north; by those which make the boundary of Travancore towards the west; and on the east, by a lower range of hills, which extend from Dindigul south to the bottom of the valley¹ near Shevagherry, where they unite with the great western ghauts. A projection from this range, commonly known by the name of the Aligherry Hills, stretches eastward, within about fourteen miles of the garrison of Madura. These hills are the nearest high lands to that fortress, and are washed along their northern base by the Vyar River, which is formed by several streams that have their sources in those hills bounding the Dindigul Valley, and which unite at Goolapooram, towards

(1) The Dindigul Valley is in length about seventy-five miles; in breadth, twenty.

the mouth of the valley. The Vyar² then taking a s.e. direction, passes close to Madura; and after traversing the Shevagunga and Ramnad zemindaries, loses itself in a large tank, near Attangurry, twenty miles south of Tondy. There are other streams which run across the Madura district, and flow into the ocean betwixt Valiacondum and Vembar, in the gulf of Manar.

The Dindigul country may justly be called mountainous and woody, encompassed, as it nearly is, by high lands, all more or less covered with jungle, and which extend to the western ghauts. The villages are, in general, not so well built as those of Coimbatore: the floors of the houses are not sufficiently raised above the level of the ground; and the houses themselves, especially those situated amongst

(2) This river, which, on passing Madura, is of considerable size, is afterwards so diverted by artificial means, for the purposes of cultivation, that its bed at Ramnad is generally dry for the greatest part of the year.

the mountains, are often low, miserable, and badly thatched.

The principal towns of the Dindigul province are, Dindigul, Vedaſunder, Pilney, and Perryacotah; but it will be enough for our preſent purpoſe to take ſome notice of that of Dindigul. This is ſituated towards the weſtern extremity of an extenſive plain, which, from eaſt to weſt, is about thirty miles long; its greateſt width, from north to ſouth, twenty-five; and it is almoſt entirely ſurrounded by very high mountains. The town itſelf lies extremely low, within about ſix miles of the hills, which are directly ſouth from it: the fort and fortified rock are cloſe to it, towards the weſt; and the latter has at its baſe a large weedy tank. Dindigul is by no means ſo well built as ſome of the towns in Coimbatore. Before the fatal Epidemic, it was computed to contain upwards of ſeven thouſand inhabitants; but now we do not ſuppoſe that the population amounts to half that number.

Those lands farthest from the hills in this district are invariably higher, and dryer, than others lying near their base; and many large morasses are to be found, particularly in the talook of Toddycomboo.

The general plain of the country is considerably lower than that of Coimbatore, though higher than those of Madura and Tinnivelly, and is about four hundred feet above the level of the ocean.

The Madura district is more open than that which we have just noticed; as it lies, in some measure, between the high Dindigul mountains and the sea, and has east of its meridian only the insulated hills of Towerincourchie and Cottampetty¹, which approach it within about sixteen miles, in a N. E. direction. We have observed, both

(1) This particularly applies to such situations as lie near the base of that projection of lower hills (before noticed) which advance from the Dindigul mass till within fourteen miles of Madura; for instance, the divisions Maudacolum and Aunyoor.

in this district and in that of Tinnivelly, that, at the distance of eight, ten, or fourteen miles from the mountains, the country is much higher, and drier, than it is farther west; where are often to be met with, marshy tracts, lying within a short distance of the hills, and rendering the villages in their vicinity extremely damp and unhealthy: there is much jungle in some parts, particularly in those nearest to the boundaries of Tondymans country. The high lands, which surround Towerincourchie, and, to a certain degree, Cottampetty, are covered with thick woods; and there is a great deal of low, fenny ground betwixt these two villages.

The general character of the Shevagunga zemindary is that of a dry country, having a light soil: it is much overrun with jungle; but, though flat, there is no cotton ground in it. The paddy lands are confined to the left bank of the Vyar, which is finely cultivated. Few tanks are to be met with, and scarcely any hills.

The zemindary of Ramnad has not a hill in it; it is by no means so dry as the last mentioned; and has, of late years, suffered much from the inundations of the Vyar, which are very unusual in common seasons. There are here and there tracts of cotton ground; and in the vicinity of Kilkerry, there are salt marshes, which communicate with the sea.

The towns and villages of the Madura district, though perhaps, upon the whole, better built than those of Dindigul, are many of them, particularly in remote situations, near the mountains, miserably constructed, and the houses badly thatched.

The four largest towns are, Madura, Trimungalum, Cholavandum, and Nuttum.

The following description of Madura is taken from a Paper of the Third Number of this Committee, which was laid before Government by the Medical Board :—

“ Its site is low, compared with the country adjoining: it is surrounded with a wet ditch, which, with several tanks within the fort, is filled from the river: in the immediate vicinity there are many tanks and rice-grounds, also supplied with water from the river. The fort is three and three quarters English miles in circumference: it was some years ago supposed to have contained forty thousand inhabitants; although now, from various causes, I imagine twenty thousand to be the utmost extent of its population: the inhabitants are, with a few exceptions, extremely poor, and their houses the most low and mean description of huts: the streets are narrow, filled with dirt and rubbish; and the old drains having been long since choked up, the rain-water stands everywhere in stagnating pools: thousands of cattle are kept within the walls, nor is there any regard paid to cleaning out the various description of filth, which is allowed to accumulate.

“ The fort is also much crowded with trees, which, besides the bad effects re-

sulting from their decayed leaves, greatly retard evaporation; and the water in the tanks within the fort, being seldom renewed, is often putrid, and exhaling fetid vapours."

The Tinnivelly province is considerably lower than any of the others in which the Epidemic has prevailed; it extends, in latitude, from Verdapetty, in $9^{\circ}.41'$, to Cookapootie, near the southern extremity of the Peninsula, in $8^{\circ}.7'$; and in longitude, at its greatest width (from Collatore on the east coast, to Pooliery, at the opening of the Ariangowel Pass) about $1^{\circ}.15'$. Its western barrier is the great range of Travancore mountains.¹ To the east and south it is bounded by the ocean, and to the north by the district of Madura. With regard to its elevation, it possesses the same variation as

(1) It may here be observed, that these immense ghauts are deeper, that is to say, broader in width, from w. to e. opposite to Palamcotah, than opposite to any other part of this district; a piece of information which we owe to Major Lambton.

is found to be general throughout the lower districts of India, increasing or decreasing as the lands lie farther from, or nearer to, the sea. The fort of Palamcotah, about three miles distant from Tinnivelly, has been ascertained to be about two hundred feet above the level of the ocean.

The district of Tinnivelly may, in the strictest sense, be called an open country, as few hills are to be found in it, and those insulated or detached: it however contains several waste and jungly tracts, especially towards the east, in the neighbourhood of Tutocorine; and in the Calcaud and Punj-mahl divisions, there are numerous palmyra-trees, growing in a sandy soil, and interspersed with patches of dry grain cultivation: there are also here and there extensive low and marshy lands, particularly in the vicinity of the mountains, and in the talooks of Bramadashum, Tencoushie, and Calcaud.

The same peculiarity is to be observed

in this, as in the Madura province; viz. that all situations lying at a certain distance from the hills are much higher and drier than those which are nearer to them;—a fact we had occasion, in several instances, to remark, on our journey from Madura to Courtalum (*viâ* Strivulputtore), as well as to note the consequences of it, but particularly with regard to the villages of Tewancootsie and Culpettie, in the northern part of the Streevulputtoor talook. The latter, standing in a fine elevated country, was comparatively comfortable, and the inhabitants healthy; whilst the other, due west from it, and close to the high lands, was found nearly surrounded with wet ground-damp, ruinous, and almost depopulated.

The principal rivers which water this province are, the Tambarapournie and Sytar. The first of these rises from a singular shaped mountain, amongst the Travancore ghauts, situated in latitude $8^{\circ} . 35'$; in which hill, Major Arthur of the Engineers informs us, no less than three other con-

siderable streams have their source, and run towards the west. The Tambarapournie¹, about twelve miles N. E. from its source, forms, by its fall, the well-known and famous Papanassum Cataract; after which traversing a rich and finely-cultivated country, it passes within a mile north of Palamcotah; where, pursuing its way in a N. E. direction, it is joined, at the distance of nine miles, by the Sytar: after which junction, changing its course to the S. E. it flows towards the ocean, into which it falls at Pinnacoil.

Previous to the conflux of the Tambarapournie and Sytar, the former is joined by several tributary streams. The latter, which is the smallest of the two, rises amongst the hills immediately north of Pooliery, at the eastern opening of the Airangowel Pass. Soon afterwards, it is united with several rivulets: the most remarkable of these is that which, by its Falls, creates the celebrated

(1) The Tambarapournie is about the size of the river Esk in Scotland.

Courtalum¹ Cataracts, and which rises in the mountains that form the southern side of a kind of recess, here produced by the retiring of the great ghauts, and distinguished for the singularity of its climate, particularly to be described in another part of this work: this recess is in width about twenty miles, and at its greatest depth, from its eastern opening, to the Ariangowel Pass into the Travancore country, about half that distance. The pass itself through the hills is very narrow, and may be reckoned in length, in a direct line, about ten miles: from its eastern extremity, to the western ocean, it is nearly forty.

Courtalum is not only the name of the Falls², but of a beautiful Sheva Pagoda, situated close to them, at the foot of the mountains. The Recess, or Valley, as it is

(1) Courtalum is in latitude 8°. 56'.

(2) The Hindoos suppose these Falls have the power of washing away their sins; and believe them to be under the immediate protection and sacred influence of Sheva,

called, has, of late years, been sufficiently cultivated; and the hills, which bound it on the north, west, and south, are grand and lofty. The scenery about the Pagoda and Falls is sublime and picturesque, and bears a strong resemblance to some of the most romantic situations in Switzerland, where wood and water, rocks and mountains, combine to aggrandize the landscape.

The greatest height of the lower fall or cataract is nearly two hundred feet. There are two others, formed by the same stream, higher up the mountains, and not less beautiful and interesting, though much more difficult of access.

Towards the southern and eastern extremity of the Peninsula there are many salt-marshes (*Turgas*): the largest of these are situated betwixt Coalsarpatnam in the Punjmahal talook, and Vesiapetty in Caulcaud; and are as follow:—

Moodoomutta, which lies about twelve

and a half miles s. w. of Manapar—Anacoodyérpoo, about ten miles s. w. of Manapar—Pootoor, about seven and a half miles s. w. of the same place; and Cunnoo, six miles s. w. of it—Vyravum, about the same distance—Soondencotah, nearly four miles west of Manapar; and Cootan, which is situated a short way from Moodoomutta. These marshes were formerly all distinct from each other; but, owing to the late inundations, four of them are now joined together; viz. Pootoor, Cunnoo, Vyravum, and Soondencotah; forming one great marsh, ten miles in circumference. They are separated from the sea by high sand-hills, have no natural communication with it, and lie at unequal distances, of four to thirteen miles from it. In common years there is not much water collected in them; but since the heavy monsoon of 1810, and more especially since the rains which fell out of season in February and March, they have been filled to a considerable depth (five, seven, or ten feet); and the water, by remaining long in a state of stagnation, has been productive

of infinite mischief. In December 1810, the inhabitants of the different villages which are contiguous to these briny swamps complained that their houses were rendered uninhabitable; that most of their cultivated lands were flooded; and that the water had risen so high on their palmyra-trees, that they were prevented from drawing toddy. To remedy these evils, Mr. Hepburn (Collector of the province) gave orders that a cut should be made from the four united marshes to the Curnyar River, which rises in the Calcaud Hills, with a view of diverting the superfluous waters from the deluged country: the cut was made, and for a time answered the purpose intended; but the subsequent rains in February and March last¹, unfortunately, by occasioning fresh floods and a new pressure, choked up the opening. Since that period, and from the time of the weather becoming drier, every exertion has been made to drain the country, and relieve the suffering inhabitants.

(1) March 1811.—See Date at the end of the Report.

Towards the extremity of the Peninsula, there is another pass into the Travancore country, known by the name of the Arumboolie Pass, and which, till lately, was the only one frequented by Europeans: it is about two miles in width, and not much more in length, through the hills, which here become very narrow. The eastern opening of this pass lies exactly in the meridian of Cape Comorin, and at the distance of twelve miles from it.

There are many large, flourishing, well-built towns in the Tinnivelly province; the chief of which are situated on the fertile banks of the Tambarapournie; such as, Tinnivelly, Alwar-Tinnivelly, and Cullada-courchy.

Tinnivelly is an extensive, handsome, populous city, situated in latitude $8^{\circ}.43'$. N. and about twenty-five miles east of the great mountains: it is in the Nelumbalum talook, about three miles west of Palamcotah, and is the capital of the pro-

vince: it is surrounded on three sides by extensive paddy lands, watered from the river, and on the west by dry rocky high lands.

Such, then, as we have described them, or nearly so, are the geographical boundaries and strongest features of the different provinces to which our attention has, on this occasion, been directed. We shall now proceed to say something of their climate, in common years.

Coimbatore¹, as might naturally be expected from its elevation, is colder and drier than some of the neighbouring countries: we have already remarked that the general plain of it is about 900 feet above the level of the sea; so that, if the theory of Dr. Black² be just, that for every two hundred feet of elevation we may reckon one

(1) It is to be kept in remembrance, that the district of Coimbatore now includes the divisions of Caroor, Coimbatore, Daraporam, and Satimungalum.

(2) See Dr. Black's Lectures on Chemistry, vol. I. p. 103.

degree of reduced temperature, the district in question ought to have a great advantage, in this respect, over all those that lie lower and nearer the ocean.

The N.E. monsoon commonly commences soon after the calms are over, which takes place about the period when the sun crosses³ the equator and enters on his southern declination (in other words, about the middle of October), and first pours its torrents over the Coromandel coast, in the vicinity of Madras, about the beginning of November⁴. This monsoon is evidently produced by the junction of the perennial east wind, and the cold air from the frost-bound regions of Thibet, rushing towards the south-west, to supply the place of that which has been rarified and sent upwards, by the influence of the sun on the east coast of Africa and the Indian Ocean.

(3) The sun crosses the Line about the 22d of September.

(4) The rainy influence of the N.E. monsoon is observed gradually to extend from the north towards the south: it seldom reaches Tinnivelly before the end of November.

The rainy influence of the N.E. monsoon, which almost invariably attends the shifting of the wind to the N.E., seems, as far as regards the most southern part of the Peninsula, to be in a great measure confined to the districts lying east of the Balaghat mountains; which, from their great height and depth, attract and arrest many of those clouds, which might otherwise have been carried to the Malabar side of India by the N.E. wind. In such countries as are situated towards the north, as far as Cuttack, this monsoon would appear to be in like manner bounded, in some degree, by the great range of high lands which run south in the Peninsula, and at the unequal distances of twenty-five, twenty-eight, or fifty miles from the sea; in fact, the rainy influence of the N.E. monsoon may be said to be nearly confined to such territories as belong to the Madras Establishment.

In Coimbatore, the rains at this season (the N.E. monsoon) swell the rivers Noel,

Bawanie, and Amberabady, as also the Cavery (which, we have before remarked, is also filled by the s.w. monsoon); and at this period, too, the tanks and low grounds of the district receive their great annual supply of water.

The end of December, when the N.E. monsoon rains are over, and the sun has gained his most southern declination, may be considered as the coldest season of the year, in all those countries situated north of the Equator. In Coimbatore, at this period, the range of the thermometer, in the shade, is from 62° , to 80° , or 81° : the climate is then delightful; and the N.E. wind proves enlivening and bracing to weakly constitutions. Towards the end of January, and in February, the dews fall heavily; and the fogs in the morning, especially in situations near the mountains, continue sometimes till nine o'clock in the forenoon, occasioning simple intermittent fevers and catarrhs amongst the native inhabitants.

The N. E. wind prevails, with little variation, till the beginning of March; though it generally becomes weaker, the further the season advances. After this period, as the sun approaches the vernal¹ equinox, the winds are somewhat variable; and occasional calms ensue till he has gained about the seventh² degree of northern declination; when what is called the s. w. monsoon may be said to commence; and which appears to be occasioned, according to the notions of the Chevalier de Coudraye³ and others, by the comparatively colder air, from the Continent of Africa and the Indian Ocean (which at this time have felt the absence of the sun), taking its course towards those extensive tracts lying in the N. E. of Asia, over which the air has become heated and displaced by the powerful influence of the solar rays. The early period of the s. w. monsoon is a season of great drought

(1) The sun crosses the Line about the 21st of March, on his northern declination.

(2) Which he does about the 7th of April.

(3) See his Theory of the Winds.

on the Coromandel coast; though partial rains are then experienced in Malabar, and amongst the western ghauts.

It must here be observed, that by the terms s.w. and n.e. monsoon, are not so much to be understood the rains which come from those points, as the particular winds which propel those rains: for we know that the n. e. monsoon, properly so called, continues long after its torrents have ceased to fall; and that the s. w. wind often ensues before the rains commence from the same quarter.

From the time that the sun passes the seventh degree, in his northern declination, the southerly⁴ and south-east winds begin to prevail on the Coromandel coast, and continue till about the middle of May: in Coimbatore, and in other inland tracts, they are weaker and less unpleasant than at

(4) These winds are commonly called, on the Coromandel coast, *Long-shore winds*.

places closer to the sea, where, particularly near the period of their cessation, they are often warm¹, and to some constitutions extremely enervating. In the month of March, at Coimbatore, rain is very uncommon; the wind, though in the morning it still blows gently from the N. E, comes usually round to S. E, in the evening; and towards the end of the month, the N. E. wind, for the most part, dies away altogether; and with it, in regular seasons, those dews in a great measure disappear, which had fallen heavily during the two preceding months.

The sky in Coimbatore, in the month of April, is frequently overcast, but rain is not very common; at least, not to a greater extent than a few showers from the S. and S. W. The weather gets daily hotter, the average range of the thermometer for the

(1) We must except, however, all situations south of Tanitary, or indeed Point Calamyre, where, by the training of the coast towards the west, the southerly wind is rendered less drying and unpleasant than it is farther north.

month being from 76° , to 93° . The wind continues to blow from the same direction as in the end of March, but oppressive lulls are often experienced. In May, the thermometer rises sometimes as high as 96° , and 98° , in the shade, and seldom falls lower than 79° ; the sky is often overcast, and there are frequent disagreeable whirlwinds, which are quickly followed by pelting showers, accompanied with thunder and lightning.

The southerly, or what is called the *Long-shore wind*, generally terminates about the middle of May; when, owing to this part of the Peninsula having been so powerfully heated by the vertical² rays of the sun, a change takes place in the direction of the wind; which becomes general nearly all over India, and which brings on, before the rains begin to fall in June, by far the hottest season of the year.

(2) The sun is vertical over Coimbatore about the 18th of April.

We have observed, that the sun crosses the equator about the 21st of March, at which period he commences his northern declination ; and that, soon after, the wind begins to blow from the south : so that by the end of May he has been vertical over all those districts lying betwixt the southern extremity of the Peninsula and Coimbatore, which have of course been much heated : the consequence of this is, that the air which takes its direction from the now comparatively cooler regions on the eastern and southern coasts of Africa, rushes towards the tracts where the greatest rarefaction has taken place ; and which, as we have seen, must, at this time, be the arid plains of the Carnatic. But this wind, passing over a great extent of heated country, will naturally partake of its temperature ; and in this way is produced the hot west-wind, which continues to blow pretty regularly till towards the end of August ; when frequent calms ensue, and light breezes from different quarters, the

evident consequences of the sun's again approaching the equator.

Soon after the setting in of the hot westerly winds on the coast of Coromandel, the rainy influence of the south-west monsoon is first experienced on the other side of the Peninsula, pouring its floods over Malabar and the Mysore country, and amongst the immense Balaghaut and western mountains; but it is but partially felt in the provinces lying east of these high lands. In situations near the hills, indeed, there are at this time frequent heavy showers, especially in the more western and southern parts of the Tinnivelly¹ and Madura districts; but excepting the Valley of Courtalum, no place that we know, on the east side of the mountains, can be said to be under the regular influence of the s. w. monsoon; and even here the expectations of the cultivators are, in this respect, often greatly disappointed.

(1) What is called the first burst of the s. w. monsoon often occasions heavy rains in Tinnivelly.

After the torrents, which distinguish this monsoon, have begun to fall in Malabar, the heat of the west wind on the Coromandel coast is usually a little moderated; but in the Carnatic by no means to that degree that we might expect: there, its temperature may be nearly calculated by the distance from the great western ghauts; as, the farther east we go, the greater becomes the heat of the air; the natural consequence of the wind having blown over a greater tract of arid land. In situations near the sea, however, much relief from the extreme heat is almost daily experienced, from the sea-breeze; yet we have known twenty successive days at Madras, during the land-wind season, without this great comfort, and which produced a state of the atmosphere almost insupportable.

After what we have said, it can easily be supposed that the west wind in Coimbatore, in May, June, July, and August, is by no means so distressingly hot as in situations lying farther east; but it is, at

least in some parts, fully as unpleasant from another cause—its immoderate strength. In speaking of the general appearance of this district, we mentioned the Paulcaud-cherry Pass into the Travancore country, which is in a direct line with Daraporam and Trichinopoly: this opening is of considerable width, and, being shaped like a funnel, with its narrowest end towards the east, allows a free and full passage to the west wind, from the time that it begins to prevail: for the first fortnight, this is comparatively weak, and a little warm; but from the commencement of June, till near the end of August, when the rains are falling on the Malabar coast, it becomes cooler, particularly near the hills, and sweeps over the tracts and in the line we have above mentioned, with great violence; so much so, indeed, at Daraporam, as to prove extremely unpleasant to Europeans, who are, during the time that it lasts, in a great measure prevented from taking exercise in the open air.

In the other parts of this district, out of the strong current of wind, the climate at this time is much more pleasant ; such as at Coimbatore and Bavanie ; the first of which stands clear of the pass, the other a great way to the westward and northward of it.

Were the great western mountains as near to the ocean, in this province, as they are in Tinnivelly, we have no doubt but that the rainy influence of the s. w. monsoon would prove considerable at the opening of the Paulcaudcherry Pass into the Coimbatore country ; but as it is, there are only here experienced frequent scudding showers, which, however, have the effect of making the climate perfectly cool and agreeable.

The west wind, so refreshing near the opening of the pass, by the time that it reaches the eastern boundary of the Coimbatore country, is somewhat warm ; and at Trichinopoly, where it blows with great

force, it would be almost as hot as at Madras, were it not for the extensive flooded paddy lands lying towards the west of that city, and the swoln river Cavery, over both of which it passes.

A good deal of rain usually falls in the eastern part of Coimbatore in the month of June; but in the more western tracts, near the hills, the quantity at the same period is much more considerable: there are scarcely any dews, the sky is often overcast, and the temperature of the air towards the end of the month is somewhat lower than in the preceding one: the nights are pleasant, and the Cavery, for the most part, fills about the 12th or 15th, from the s. w. monsoon torrents in the upper countries. In July, nearly the same kind of weather prevails as in June; only that, in the first mentioned month, there is a little more rain than in the last. The range of the thermometer is commonly betwixt 75° and 91° .

About the middle of August, in this

province, the west wind becomes much more moderate, and there are frequent heavy showers and occasional thunder-storms : soon after this, most oppressive lulls are experienced, and the evenings and nights become hot and close. Towards the end of the month the river almost invariably fills, and gentle airs now and then blow from the southward.

In September, the wind is variable, but the westerly still predominates. That sultry and close weather, which constantly, in inland situations in India, takes place as the sun draws near to the equator, is now felt : the evenings are most unpleasant, and the insects very troublesome. There are occasional showers from different quarters.

The weather in October, in Coimbatore, is for the most part similar to that of the month preceding ; and though rain occasionally fall, the air is often close and sultry : the winds are light and variable, and the insects very troublesome.

It has already been observed, that about the middle of this month the N. E. monsoon commences, and that at the same time its rainy influence is first felt in the northern tracts of the Coromandel coast; but the rains do not usually reach Coimbatore sooner than towards the 6th or 8th of November, and are generally over by the end of December, about which time the delightful cool weather begins, with heavy dews.

We have said before, that this province was, from its nature, peculiarly well suited for dry grain cultivation: the proportion of which, over that of rice, is so great as 97 to 3. The different grains, pulses, &c. here produced, are the following:—
 Rice (*Oryza*); Cumboo¹ (*Holcus spicatus*); Chōlum (*Holcus saccharatus*); Natchenny (*Cynosurus coracanus*); Warragoo (*Paspalum frumentaceum*); Ténny (*Panicum Italicum*); Sāmay (*Panicum miliaceum*); Wheat

(1) Except that of rice and wheat, the common names given here to the grains are the Tāmool names, by which they are usually sought after by the English.

(*Triticum*); Ulandoo (*Phaseolus Mungo*); Carp or Black Ulandoo (*Phaseolus Max*); Coolloo (*Glycine tomentosa*); Towary (*Cytisus Cajan*); Caramunnay (*Dolichos Catjan*); Panny pyre (*Phaseolus radiatus*, var.); Totta pyre (*Dolichos Lablab*); Cádáláy (*Cicer arietinum*); Muchacottay (*Dolichos Lablab*, var.); and Coodraywalie Samay (*Panicum semiverticillatum*, spec. nov. Rottler).

Great general comfort appears to be enjoyed by the native inhabitants of this district; which was witnessed by us in our visit to it, during the months of May and June last. The houses are, for the most part, well raised; and their roofs being made to slope much, they are little liable to suffer from heavy rains.

We found, as was noticed in our letter to the Medical Board of date the 17th of May 1811, that the cultivators in general lived¹ well; that most of them slept on

(1) As might be supposed, from the nature of the cultivation of this province, the most common food of the labouring people

cuttles (truckle-beds), and had *cumblies* ² to cover them; comforts which seem to have existed from the time that the Coimbatore territory was under the dominion of Tippoo Sultan, who was extremely particular regarding such matters, owing to the bleak air and dampness, of the greater part of the countries over which he reigned, having frequently proved prejudicial to his people.

Upon the whole, Coimbatore may well be called healthy; though there is, no doubt, (as there must be in all such provinces of the Peninsula as are in any degree mountainous,

people is dry grain, of some kind or other; or pulses, of which there is a great variety; and many of them have been long ascertained to be extremely nutritious. The affluent, of course, eat more rice and *ghee* (clarified butter), and, as in other parts of the world, enjoy those comforts and luxuries, in respect to diet, which the poorer inhabitants cannot afford, and who are sometimes, on this account, led to prepare for themselves crude and unsalutary mixtures, with some of the worst kinds of greens or fruits, and butter-milk.

(2) Coarse blankets.—The sheep of Coimbatore, unlike those of other parts of lower India, have a kind of coarse wool upon them, from which these blankets are made.

or bounded by mountainous tracts) danger attendant on going amongst the high lands at certain periods of the year, where fever is known to be endemic¹.

The climate of the Dindigul district, in common seasons, is reckoned one of the finest in India; so much so, indeed, as to have become proverbial. The temperature during the months of December and January is not in general quite so low as it is in the more northern parts of Coimbatore; the thermometer seldom falling below 64° in the shade. In February, the dews are heavy, and the morning fogs extremely dense: the southerly and s. e. wind, which blows towards the end of March and in April, is here by no means so unpleasant as it is nearer to the coast; and is sometimes pretty strong about the middle of the last-mentioned month, by which time the dews are nearly over, and the sun² vertical over

(1) Such as it is amongst the mountains near Satimungulum, in March and April.

(2) The sun is vertical at Dindigul about the 17th of April.

Dindigul : oppressive lulls³ are occasionally felt.

It seldom rains in March and April. May may be considered as the hottest month of the year; though the thermometer does not usually rise so high here as in the Coimbatore and Madura districts: and the air is now and then refreshed with showers, attended with thunder; by which means the west wind, when it begins to blow, is rendered much less scorching than at many other places. But it is in June, July, and August, that the superiority of the climate of Dindigul in regular seasons is chiefly experienced. Owing to the number of detached hills which are scattered over, and distinguish this province, much rain falls during these months; the natural consequence of the clouds they attract,

(3) These lulls are peculiarly distressing at this season of the year, in what is called the Dindigul Valley; which, from its situation, has a climate much resembling the "Vallais" in Switzerland, bounded on one side by the Alps of Savoy, and on the other by the most mountainous tracts of the Canton of Berne.

and the frequent and rapid interchange of the electric fluid: in this way the sky is often overcast, and the temperature of the air rendered cool and pleasant. During the remainder of the year, the climate of Dindigul does not materially differ from that of Coimbatore. Several of the pulses we have mentioned, as growing in the last-mentioned province, we could not find in the Dindigul country, which leads us to think that they are not common; neither did the Wullawahs (labourers) in this district, who are chiefly Pullars, seem to be so comfortable in some respects, chiefly in regard to lodging. Their houses, unless in a few of the largest towns, such as Vedasundoor and Pariacolum, are frequently small, badly built, carelessly thatched, and but little raised from the level of the ground; especially those of the villages near the hills, in which there is often an appearance of misery and squalid poverty to be met with; in a great measure, perhaps, owing to their unhealthiness, and the uncomfortable nature of their situations.

Cuttles are less used here than in Coimbatore; indeed they are seldom seen, unless in the dwellings of those in rank above the labourers; such as, the Marasidars, and superior sort of inhabitants; although timber is by no means scarce. *Cumblies* are, however, almost in general use; indeed we believe that they are manufactured in some of the eastern estates, and are certainly a great source of comfort in a hilly country, where the dews fall heavily, and the fogs last long.

The number of *cawnies* cultivated with *punjeh*, or dry grain of all kinds, in the province we now speak of, is 123,259 *cawnies*, $5\frac{3}{4}$ *as*. Those under Nunjeh or Paddy¹ cultivation amount to 28,063 *cawnies*, $14\frac{1}{2}$ *as*; which gives a difference in favour of *punjeh* or dry grain, of 95,195 *cawnies*, $7\frac{1}{4}$ *as*; the particular food of the inhabitants will of course depend much on the situation of the village they inhabit, whether connected with a dry or a wet culture; a part of

(1) Rice.

the produce of which is given to the husbandmen as a price of labour, together with a small sum of money for clothing.

The climate of the Madura province differs in some respects from that of Dindigul; the country is lower in the Peninsula, is a little farther south, and is not so mountainous: the natural consequence is, that it is hotter in the hot season, and not quite so cold in the months of December and January. In April and May, the extreme degrees of temperature betwixt the morning and noon are 79° and 98° . In January the thermometer seldom falls below 66° at sunrise. Rain is rarely seen in February; but a few showers occasionally descend towards the end of March, with whirlwinds, clouds of dust, and thunder; about which time the N. E. wind becomes very faint, and there are gentle airs from the south and S. W. In April, the same kind of weather prevails that we have mentioned to be then prevalent in Coimbatore; with this exception,

that showers are here a little more common, and come from the w.¹ and s. w.

The s. e. winds now and then lull², and the most oppressive calms ensue, with frequently a smart thunder-storm in the evening, accompanied with rain from the n. w. This is by far the most unpleasant time of the year in the province, especially within the Fort³ of Madura, which lies extremely low, crowded with houses, and nearly choked up with trees. Towards the

(1) About the full moon of the month of April, the river Vyaar, the bed of which has previously been dry, is invariably partially filled by rains which have fallen amongst the western mountains, from the period that the s. w. monsoon had commenced; and on this circumstance the natives calculate, with certainty, for the replenishing of their tanks, and enabling them to perform their various ablutions at the festival of the Aligherry God; which is annually held, on the banks of the river, at this season of the year.

(2) These oppressive and unhealthy lulls are particularly experienced in that valley in which Towerincourchie stands; and which is nearly surrounded with hills, covered with trees and jungle, and distinguished by its rank vegetation.

(3) The sun is vertical at Madura about the 16th of April.

end of March, the inhabitants of Madura are in the habit of visiting the sea-coast at Mootapetty, in the Ramnad zemindary, which, from its peculiar situation, proves at this season of the year a cool residence¹. By its having the ocean towards the south, the southerly wind is rendered a sea-breeze; and by having the Bay of Kilkerry lying due west of it, the west, or Land-wind, as it is commonly called, must also become a sea-breeze. The sea-port of Daviapotam, which is nearly opposite to Mootapetty, on the other side of the peninsular neck of land, becomes, from its position, a more desirable retreat during the N. E. monsoon.

(1) The second Member of this Committee, having been under the necessity of proceeding to Mootiapetty from Madura, about the end of June, for the recovery of his health, which had suffered much from an attack of the epidemic fever caught during travelling through the unhealthy districts, wrote as follows to Dr. Christy:—

“ We have not felt a single hot hour in our tents since
 “ our arrival at Mootapetty, where a sea-breeze blows night
 “ and day. I look upon this as one of the best points of
 “ the coast for any person to come to, either for the recovery
 “ of health, or the enjoyment of every thing of or belonging
 “ to the sea.”

In the beginning of May, the west wind in the Madura province, though by no means so hot as in the Carnatic, is somewhat warmer than at Dindigul. In June, July, and August, there are frequent refreshing showers, particularly in the two first-mentioned months; the consequence, as well of those clouds which have been attracted by the Aligherry and Nuttam hills, and may be considered as the certain offspring of Coromandel exhalations, as of others which may have been driven by strong west winds from the great western ghauts, and which are as certainly the produce of the s. w. monsoon.

September and October differ but little from the same months, in other parts of the eastern coast of the Peninsula; being, almost invariably, close, sultry, and unpleasant.

The N. E. monsoon extends to the Madura district in common with other parts of the Coromandel side of India; but in

inland situations the rains fall more gently than they do near the sea, and are not accompanied by such strong winds : about the middle of November the tanks are generally full, and the Vyaar is impassable at Madura for many days.

Every thing considered, the climate of this district cannot, in common seasons, by any means be called unhealthy ; though the fort itself has certainly been so for several years past, even before¹ the present epidemic prevailed ; a misfortune which we conceive may be entirely attributed to those causes and localities pointed out by the 3d Member of this Committee (in his Paper addressed to the Medical Board), and which are certainly sufficient to produce fever in any quarter of the world, and in the finest seasons.

(1) In March 1801, an army, at that time under the command of Colonel Agnew, amounting to 5000 men, were encamped on the glacis of the Fort of Madura, and were remarkably healthy, while the inhabitants within the garrison were dying at the rate of fifteen and twenty daily.

In the district of Madura, as in every mountainous country of the torrid zone, there are situations where fever never fails, at certain seasons, to be endemic : but then, at such places, in common years, it is simply so, and extends not its malign influence beyond their particular range. An intelligent native of Madura informed the President of this Committee, that, to his certain knowledge, there were villages close to, and others amongst the hills lying in the most western parts of the province, in which, in the months of March and April, scarcely any person, particularly a stranger, could pass a single night, without suffering, in a few hours after, from an attack of fever.

The relative condition of the native inhabitants does not appear materially to differ from that of the cultivators of the Dindigul district.—Along the banks of the Vyaar, and in the Shevagunga zemindary, there is a great deal of paddy² land ; and, of

(2) Rice in the husk is called Paddy.—The number of
cawnies

course, in such tracts rice is commonly eaten. In other quarters, the dry grains are the usual food, especially Wárragoo, Cumboo, Cholum, Natchenny, and Sāmay. We found the pulses not so much cultivated here as in Coimbatore: indeed, several of those before enumerated, in treating of that district, were not to be seen in the Madura province.

The Marrawas do not seem to be at all conspicuous for neatness or comfort in their dwellings; unless it be in some of the large towns, such as Sholavandum and Nuttum. Their houses are but indifferently built, little raised above the level of the ground; and the thatch is often of a bad kind, and carelessly put on. *Cumblies*, which are much used in Dindigul, are in this province scarcely known; and *Cuttles* (truckle-beds), among the lower orders, are rarely met with; so that a bleak and moist season here exerts its unsalutary influence most severely,

cawnies under paddy cultivation, in the Madura district, is 34881 *cawnies*, 11½ *as*: the number under that of dry grain, 102,658 *cawnies*, 13 *as*: which gives a difference, in favour of the dry grain culture, of 67,777 *cawnies*, 1½ *as*.

especially on the poor, whose meagre and haggard looks are at such times so many testimonies of the mischief that certainly springs from an exposure to cold and damp; and afford a sad warning of the still more serious evils that would certainly arise, under such circumstances, from the supervention of an epidemic condition of the atmosphere.

The climate of the northern part of the Tinnivelly province has a great resemblance to that of Madura; whilst towards the centre, on the fertile banks of the Tambarapournie, and in its more southern tracts, it assumes a somewhat different character.

The N. E. monsoon seldom reaches Tinnivelly before the end of November, and is, in general, by no means so heavy as in the Carnatic. The rains are over about the latter end of December; but are not succeeded by so cold a state of the atmosphere as is experienced in the Coimbatore and Dindigul territories; the thermometer seldom falling below 69° , or 70° , at sun-rise.

The Tinnivelly country is peculiar in this respect, that a fall of rain is always looked for late in January, in quantity sufficient to bring down the rivers and replenish the tanks.¹

Towards the end of February, the weather begins to get warm; and in March may be reckoned sultry, with a great deal of clear sun-shine. Rain is seldom known to fall in these months; and, in the latter, the thermometer occasionally rises as high as 93° or 94°. About the beginning of April, which is also a hot month, the southerly wind commences, and continues till late in May; during which period rain is not very common, though there is now and then a smart shower, attended with thunder. About the end of May, or early in June, the south wind ceases; and the first burst of the southwest monsoon usually breaks with violence, pouring its torrents amongst and over the great ghauts, bringing down the rivers, and

(1) These, in Tinnevelly, are generally small.

deluging the low country. June, in consequence of these rains, is a cool cloudy month. In July, August, and September, the west wind blows with great force, and there are occasional showers from the same quarter: this wind becomes warm when there are many successive days without rain; but by no means to so great a degree as in situations lying farther north in the Peninsula, where the land from sea to sea is much wider, and where, of course, the west wind must naturally be more heated.

October is almost invariably sultry: it is true that showers now and then fall, but they have not the effect of cooling the atmosphere; and towards the end of the month there are occasional light airs from the N. E.; though the rainy influence of the N. E. monsoon is seldom felt till towards the end of the succeeding month.

The cool retreats of this province are Courtalum and Trichindore. Early in June, after the heavy rains of Malabar have

commenced, is the proper time to visit the former: the climate is then truly delightful to the feelings of Europeans, and continues so till the middle of October.

Owing to the great depth¹ of the Courtalum Valley, as already described, it approaches so much nearer to the Malabar coast than other situations along the course of the hills, that those clouds, which under other circumstances would have expended their waters amongst the immense mountains, here pour a great part of their rains; extending to this recess, in a considerable degree, the climate of Malabar: with this favourable exception, that it is not at this time by any means so damp², notwithstanding the very luxuriant vegetation which is

(1) See the geographical description of this recess or valley, in a former part of this Paper.

(2) It is a curious and singular fact, that, in this valley, though rains are falling, there is no feeling of dampness within doors, such as we experience in the Carnatic during the N. E. monsoon; and iron and steel remain without rusting, for a very long period.

seen in every direction, and the showers that fall daily, attended with a strong, cool west wind.

The difference of the thermometer betwixt Courtalum and Palamcotah is, in general, about 10° ; that is to say, while in June or July the temperature at the former is 75° at 7 A.M. and 79° at 2 P.M. it is at Palamcotah, at the same hours, 85° and 89° : so that, during the hot weather at the last-mentioned station, the feeling of comfort experienced on quitting it, and visiting this charming retreat, is wonderful. Such is the bracing effect of the cool air here, that exercise can be taken without doors at any time of the day, and amusements pursued with as much pleasure as in England, as the sky is almost constantly overcast; and if a person does by chance get wet in a shower, there is no danger of his taking cold in consequence, so great is the natural dryness of the atmosphere.

What conduces much to the restoration

of invalids at this singular abode, is the little water-fall, under which most of the Europeans daily bathe. This cataract is, by a division in the rock above, separated from the greater one ; and is not more than thirteen or fourteen feet high. The falling of the water, after the first shock is over, gives an undescribable feeling¹ of pleasure : by its constant beating, it quickens the circulation, and produces a fine glow all over the body ; and has, besides, the further good effects, of dispelling languor, raising the spirits, exciting appetite, and promoting digestion, in a superior degree to any other kind of bathing that we are acquainted with. It has, in consequence of these virtues, together with the delightful climate of the valley itself, been the happy means of rapidly restoring many to health and comfort, who, previous to their visit to Courtalum, appeared to be hastening to their graves.

(1) The average temperature of the water of the Fall, at 8 A.M. during the bathing season, is from 72° to 75°.

But it will be necessary to remark, before taking leave of this wonderful recess, that, however excellent may be the climate here in the months of June, July, August, and September, it is far otherwise during those of February, March, April, and May. Partaking as it does of both monsoons, there is much rank vegetation in it; but, from its singular topographical position, it is altogether, or in a great measure, deprived of the salutary influence of the southerly winds, which alone, at this season, could purify the air, distempered as it then becomes by much moisture and unventilated jungle: the consequence of this is, that, in the last-mentioned months, the valley is hot and sultry to the greatest degree, and never fails to be most unhealthy: indeed, endemic fever, at such times, is as certainly met with here as at Gambia or Senegal.

This peculiarity in the climate of the Valley of Courtalum we particularly beg leave to impress upon the minds of our

readers, as it bears an exact resemblance to that which shed its malign influence over the southern provinces of the Peninsula about the end of 1810, and during the first months of 1811; when unusual rains occasioned inordinate moisture, and the deficiency of the southerly wind produced stagnation and morbidic miasma.

Trichindore is a situation on the sea-side, about thirty miles east of Palamcotah: it is resorted to in the months of March and April, for the benefit of the sea-breeze, and change of air; but it is inferior to Mootapetty, in many respects; which may easily be discovered, on referring to the singular advantage of that place, already noticed.

The district of Tinnivelly has certainly many things to recommend it, in point of climate. The N. E. monsoon is here mild: in March, April, and May, the only unpleasant months of the year, the sea is near to resort to: and for the sick and

infirm, who may not find Palamcotah suited to their feelings or constitutions, in June, July, and August, there is Courtalum, at no great distance, to fly to for relief.

The natives in this province seem, in general, to enjoy greater comforts than in some others that we have mentioned: their dwellings are, for the most part, well raised, and neatly built, particularly in such towns as lie along the fertile banks of the Tambarapournie river; where tiled houses are common, and the streets wide, regular, and clean.

In the northern and western tracts of the Streevulputtoor talook, however, especially in those estates lying nearest to the hills, hamlets of a very inferior order, both as to building and thatching, are often met with: situated in low and moist bottoms, they cannot be otherwise than damp and unhealthy; and the houses in such places being neither built in regular streets, nor joined together so that each man might

in some degree partake of the drying influence of his neighbour's fire, they, like others similarly circumstanced in the Madura province, are but too often the abodes of a gaunt and meagre race.

Cumblies are little known in this part of India; and *cuttles* are only used by the more affluent.—From the Paddy¹ cultivation being so much greater than that of the dry grain in Tinnivelly, it follows that the inhabitants eat more rice than in some other districts. In the rich and beautiful villages situated in many parts of this country, a great variety of valuable fruits, roots, and greens, is produced: though there are a few of the pulses common in the Carnatic that do not appear to be much known; such as, *Carp Ulandoo*, and *Malay Towary*.

(1) The revenue annually received from rice, or Nunjeh cultivation, in the Tinnivelly province, is 285,000 star-pagodas. That from dry grain, or Punjeh cultivation, is 95,000 star-pagodas;—making a difference, in favour of rice cultivation, of 190,000 star-pagodas.

SECTION II.

The Climate that has been experienced in these Provinces since November 1808, up to the present Period, contrasted with that above mentioned—Its Effects on the Cultivation of the Soil.

WE shall now proceed to say something of the climate that has prevailed in the districts in which the fever has raged for three years past; and, on comparing it with that of common years, we shall find, in the result, that irregularity of season, and that unnatural state of the atmosphere at certain periods, which we conceive to have been the general cause of all those ills which have occurred.

The years 1804, 1805, and 1807, were remarkable over the Coimbatore, Dindigul, Madura, and Tinnivelly districts, for their dryness; but they were very healthy. In 1808, much more rain fell in the three first-mentioned districts than there had

done for several seasons before: but in the Tinnivelly province, the monsoon of that year was unusually heavy, and was succeeded by a more than common cold wind, in January and February 1809.

The monsoon of 1809 was of more than usual severity; but less so in Tinnivelly than in the northern tracts of our prescribed range. It began very early, and at first mildly, in the Coimbatore, Dindigul, and Madura districts; that is to say, little rain fell in those countries early in November: but when the month was farther advanced, and in December, the fall of several days was heavy and incessant; and the Cavery and Vyaar rivers rose to a prodigious height, particularly the first, which overflowed its banks to a greater extent than it had ever been known to do.

January and February, 1810, in Madura and Dindigul, were pleasant months; and the air, during the former, cold and bracing: but in Tinnivelly it proved neither. In the

northern districts of our range, there were occasional showers about the end of March, in April, and in the beginning of May, with their usual attendants at this season—clouds of dust, thunder, and whirlwinds; but the southerly winds were much weaker than usual, and must on that account have but *partially ventilated* many tracts situated amongst the hills, as well as others which border on them. No rain fell in Tinnivelly till late in May, when the s.w. monsoon burst over the western ghauts, but not with more than common violence. The west wind in 1810 was observed in the northern districts, as well as in Tinnivelly, not only to be less strong than usual, but, in place of continuing to blow till the end of August or middle of September, it lulled early in July. Heavy rain fell in August and September. October and November were excessively close and sultry. Late in the latter month, the N.E. monsoon commenced in the Dindigul and Madura countries, and poured over them absolute floods, bursting their banks, laying all the low

lands under water. Torrents rushed down the sides of the mountains in the first-mentioned district with such violence, that several hamlets were swept away in the Toddy Comboo division. The Vyaar river at Madura was impassable, even by elephants, for many days, and flooded the country, east of that capital, for miles.

“ The great tank at Ramnad, in which
 “ this river terminates its course, and usu-
 “ ally is not filled for seven years together,
 “ burst its banks, and ran into the sea :
 “ reservoirs of water, that had been under
 “ dry cultivation or pasture fields, have,
 “ since these unusual rains, contained more
 “ or less water ; and the ditch surrounding
 “ the Fort of Madura particularly, which for
 “ years had been dry, has been constantly
 “ kept full of water. The level of the water
 “ in the wells within the Fort, which in 1806
 “ had been twenty feet from the surface, has
 “ risen at times within three feet of it¹. ”

(1) See the Paper of the 3d Number of this Committee, which has lately been laid before Government by the Medical Board of Madras.

In the Tinnivelly district, the rainy influence of the N.E. monsoon, which we have observed, in common years, is not so considerable as in those situations lying farther north, was this season severely felt. At first the rains were trifling in quantity; but on the 5th of December they commenced, falling in torrents; and continued so to do till the evening of the 8th, when the Sytar and Tambarapournie came down in vast and sweeping floods, destroying several villages², causing the loss of many lives, carrying away hundreds of sheep and cattle, overflowing the country for miles, and rendering insular the habitations of most of the Europeans belonging to the stations of Palamcotah and Tinnivelly.

The same rains brought a great accession³ of water into the salt marshes, which

(2) And a still greater number of detached huts, particularly those of the toddy men, in the neighbourhood of Caulcaud.

(3) To such an extent did the water then rise in some parts, that it reached half way up the palmyra-trees.

was kept up by the subsequent torrents falling out of season, in February, March, and April; the consequence was, that, in place of the vapours from these swamps being quickly exhaled by the dry weather which usually ensues after the monsoon, they continued for a period of nearly four months, and to a season of the year when they could not fail of proving most injurious, by being converted, through the superagency of a close and sultry heat, from a simple saline exhalation, into putrid salt-marsh miasmata;—the fatal effects of which have been but too severely felt, as may be seen by referring to the account of deaths in the talook of Punjmahal, in the third section of this Report.

The inundation in December 1810 did not produce, as might have been expected, that cool state of the atmosphere which commonly follows the N. E. monsoon rains: a singularity which was not confined to Tinnivelly, but also distinguished this season in Madura, Dindigul, and Coimbatore; in

which provinces the months of January and February were remarkable for a very faint north wind, and a hot and clear sunshine. February, March, and April, which in proper seasons are proverbially dry on the Coromandel coast, this year exhibited, all over the southern territories, a rare, unnatural, and extraordinary variation, by heavy rains¹, accompanied by the still more uncommon phænomena of an occasional N.E. wind, and much thunder and lightning.

In speaking of the climate of these provinces in regular seasons, we observed, that during the months of March, April, and part of May, strong ventilating and warm winds prevail: but such was not the case in 1811; on the contrary, the southerly

(1) These rains, truly called unseasonable, began early in February, and continued more or less for the greater part of it: about the beginning of March they fell very heavily for days together, and were frequent during the rest of the month. In April there was much rain, and the sun was generally obscured by clouds: May was drier, though by no means so much so as in common seasons.

wind was languid and wavering; the most oppressive lulls were frequent, quickly alternating with sudden gusts of bleak air, and accompanied with heavy showers from the N. and N.E. But if this feeble state of the southerly wind was so conspicuous in the open country, what must it have been in situations near to or altogether amongst the mountains, where, at this season, a dry ventilation is essentially necessary! What was peculiarly observable in the state of the atmosphere at this time, the period too at which the epidemic raged with the greatest violence¹, was a certain denseness in it, sometimes almost creating a difficulty of breathing,—a feeling we had occasion to experience about the middle of April at Dindigul: and we learn, from Mr. Hepburn, that at Tinnivelly it was equally remarkable, and as distressing. There was besides, during these months, a singularly oppressive, hot, and steamy vapour, which

(1) From every account we have received, it appears that the most unhealthy period, in all the four districts, was from towards the end of February to the beginning of May 1811.

rose from the ground, and which gave a sensation not unlike what is occasionally experienced from a crowded assemblage of people in hot weather: added to all this, the dews, which in common seasons are pretty well over by the middle of March, continued to fall heavily so late as the 19th and 20th of May, and could not fail, by chilling the body after the relaxation of a hot night, to prove productive of infinite mischief.

The west wind did not begin to blow so early as usual this season, and was by no means so strong as it commonly is, through the whole extent of the four districts: after having commenced, it ceased again for several days towards the end of May, giving place to gentle airs from the E. and S.E. In June, and early in July, it was everywhere observed not to be so powerful as usual; and in the Streevulputtoor talook, of the Tinnivelly district, there were great complaints of its inefficacy; though it has since blown with greater force; and *now* (the end

of August) the climate not only appears to be nearly what it ought to be, with regard to winds¹, but to have in a great measure gratified the hopes and expectations of thousands, by changing the constitution of the atmosphere, and almost entirely banishing the epidemic fever.

From the account which we have given of the climate of Coimbatore, Dindigul, Madura, and Tinnivelly, for the last three years, it will readily be allowed, that the different seasons, during that period, have varied much from their usual course; inordinate rains have succeeded to uncommon drought; the N. E. wind and Land-wind have been weak, as well as of unusual duration; the most distressing lulls have

(1) From a due degree of strength in the drying and purifying west wind, we ever conceived that much benefit was to be looked for. In the Carnatic, where such winds are always dry, epidemic fevers are absolutely not known;—a fact noticed by Dr. LIND, many years ago. Zimmerman, in his "*Experience*," dwells much on the advantages often derived from strong winds, by purifying the air from noxious vapours.—See *Zimmerman's Experience*, vol. II. p. 15. English Translation.

alternated with sudden and chill blasts from various directions;—and, last of all, and what appears to have brought the mischief to a crisis, heavy rains and close sultry weather have been seen to take place at those times which are usually distinguished by dryness, and those ventilating breezes, which exhale the superfluous waters from low and marshy situations, and dispel the dews and vapours which are sure to prevail after the ceasing of the N. E. monsoon. Thus there has been constituted an extraordinary and unnatural state of the atmosphere, everywhere unsalutary, in the tracts in which it was produced, or into which distempered miasmata may have been carried by particular currents of air.

The stagnation, vegetable putrefaction, dampness, filth, and offensive effluvia, the natural consequences of what we have just stated, have proved evils of no small consideration, particularly in low or ill-ventilated situations.

The second Member of this Committee, in travelling from Daraporam to Dindigul in the beginning of June, and on passing along the banks of several marshy tanks, as well on the western frontier of the first-mentioned district as in the Toddy-Combootalook of the second, was assailed by a noxious and sickening exhalation, which somewhat resembled bilge-water: and the President and third Member experienced exactly the same effect, from similar causes, towards the end of the same month, in passing from Towerincourchie to Cottampetty in the Madura province; and again, for several miles, on the road leading through, and on the north side of, the large and beautiful town of Streevulputtoor in the Tinnivelly country.

It can be easily supposed that a continuance of unseasonable weather, for several years together, must, with other bad consequences, have proved injurious to the cultivation of the soil. In Coimbatore,

however, which is chiefly a dry grain country, in which superfluous water is quickly carried off into rivers and *nullahs*, this has not been conspicuous; and, by Mr. Garrow's returns, it does not appear that any particular sickness has prevailed amongst the cattle of that district, of which he is the Collector.

With regard to the Dindigul country, we had occasion, while there, to observe, in the month of April last, that so general was the sickness, and so great had been the mortality, that the *sumbāh* crop of Paddy was actually, in some places, rotting on the ground, from want of hands to cut it down: and Mr. Peter (Collector of the Madura and Dindigul districts) informs us, that many thousands of cattle have died in the different divisions under his management, since the epidemic first commenced; as much, we are inclined to think, in consequence of the unnatural state of the air, as from a scarcity of hands to feed and take care of them.

In Tinnivelly we understand, from Mr. Hepburn, that not fewer than 44,273 bullocks have died since the beginning of February last; not so much from any particular disease, as from an excess of moisture in the air, and a want of people to take care of them. Mr. Hepburn has further informed us, that the great *pésshanum* or *sumbāh* crop, which is gathered in February and March, was got up in a much less perfect condition than usual, from its being so frequently wetted, and from the inhabitants being under the necessity of cutting it down before it was quite ripe; owing to the dread they entertained, that if they allowed it to stand longer, they would lose great part of it, from the violence of the rains. Such stunted and immature grain, when stacked, was apt partially to ferment and get heated, which rendered it a much less wholesome food than if it had been cured in a better state: and he further informs us, that so general has this calamity proved in the Tinnivelly district, that the greatest diffi-

culty has been experienced in procuring the small quantity of sound grain required for seed for the cultivation of the present year. The dry grains, from the same cause, have also suffered much, and must, in consequence, have been rendered less nutritious.

Having deemed it proper, at this part of our Report, to notice the circumstance of the crops of these countries having suffered much from unseasonable rains, and that the quality of the edible products had been thereby injured, we must here observe, that though the necessity thus induced, of eating somewhat less wholesome grain than usual, cannot be considered otherwise than as a great misfortune, yet we conceive that it must not be included amongst the causes of the epidemic fever, which had commenced at a period antecedent to the failure of the harvest: it certainly, however, may, by inducing debility, have contributed much to render the disease more frequently fatal.

SECTION III.

Rise and Progress of the Epidemic in the different Districts
 —Numbers who have died of the Disease within certain
 Periods, compared, in some instances, with those in
 common Years—At what time the Fever appears to have
 raged with the greatest violence.

WHEN it is considered, that one great cause has prevailed in producing a distempered state of the atmosphere in the Southern Provinces of the Indian Peninsula, we are much inclined to think, that although, in some of these countries, the effect may at first have been but trifling, and therefore little noticed, they must all have suffered, in a greater or less degree, nearly about the same time; with this difference, that such tracts as, from their situation or peculiar nature, were most fitted for nourishing or increasing the operation of the evil, would of course feel its influence to a more alarming extent. After several years of unusual drought, we have observed, that

heavy monsoons and irregularity of climate became conspicuous in 1808, and have continued to be so up to the present period; and it is from the commencement of this deviation from natural order that we can trace the earliest approaches of that sickness which has since proved so fatal.

The first public notice we have of the epidemic fever, except Dr. Christy's official communication to the Superintending Surgeon of the Southern Division, in 1808, is that of Mr. Garrow, in a communication to the Revenue Board, of date the 25th of October 1809; about which time, he speaks of its having raged severely in his Collectorate, in the Chukragherry talook, at places called Columbam, Cullaporam, and Como-ralingum, and which, he adds, are close to the hills, marshy, and proverbially unhealthy: it soon after extended to many other villages in a northerly direction; thence eastward, to others in the vicinity of Daraporam; and in October last, it made its way still further towards the north. But, by Mr. Garrow's account, it

received a check in January 1811; not, however, before it had committed great havoc, especially from the month of January 1810, to June of the same year; during which period 8924 persons died of it, in the Coimbatore Division only.

The favourable hopes that were entertained, at the beginning of the year 1811, we are sorry to say, were but too soon blasted; for, after the untimely rains in February, the disease recommenced its work of destruction with great severity; and spread not only amongst those villages the most liable, from their low situation, to be visited by such maladies, but to others lying much farther east, high, dry, and, in common seasons, healthy.

Mr. Garrow has informed the Committee, that the almost universal opinion in Coimbatore is, that the epidemic fever first entered that district from the direction of the Pylney Mountains; and, according to his own observation of the malady, its course has been from south to north, inclining

towards the east,—and from the hills, near to which it first shewed itself, after the most unseasonable of all the irregular weather we have mentioned; we mean that occasioned by the falling of heavy rains in February, March, and April.

Although the statement we have of deaths, from the Collector of the Dindigul district, does not extend farther back than to the 1st of April 1810, yet we are well aware that the epidemic had been prevalent there before that time; nay, by information we received on the spot, we know that many had sunk under it at a period antecedent to that above mentioned, especially in the sequestered zemindaries of Neelocotah and Sundypoor, and in the Toddy-Comboo division.

There is in this province, also, a general belief that the Pylney mountains gave birth to the evil. It certainly evinced the same peculiarity here that we observed in Coimbatore; viz. that it was felt in situations

near the hills; and afterwards, as the general cause extended its baneful influence, spread to tracts naturally drier and more healthy.

We see, by Dr. Christy's Paper, that a fever had prevailed, in certain parts of the Madura district, as early as 1809; and, more or less, in the Fort itself, about the same period. It would seem, at that time, however, to have been chiefly confined to the poor, who occupied the lowest huts; and seldom attacked the better sort of people, who lived in elevated houses of brick or stone, and slept on couches; nor was any European that year affected by it.

In 1810, the disease became more general and alarming than in the former season, as well in the city of Madura, as at other places of the province. It now neither spared Europeans nor the more wealthy natives, and proved fatal in many instances: but, as in the other territories we have mentioned, the months of February, March,

and April, 1811, appear to have been by far the most calamitous era ; no doubt from the causes already assigned.

In this district, like the others within our range, the Pylney mountains are considered by the natives as the great cause of all their misfortunes. But here we find an extension of the epidemic, not, as in Coimbatore, from south to north, but from north to south. Here it has also been invariably remarked, that it was in low situations, close to the hills, such as at Towerincourchie and Sholavandum, that the fever first attracted notice, and that the rains and close weather, in February, March, and April, had the unhappy effect of diffusing the morbidic miasmata over tracts farther east than they had before reached, and comparatively high and dry. Divisions, however, nearer to the sea, or, rather, farther from the range of mountains in this Collectorate, such as those of Shevagunga and Ramnad',

(1) Kilkerry, and its neighbourhood, must here be excepted ; where, from the vicinity of a salt marsh, the fever has been prevalent for some months past.

have, in a great measure, escaped the disease altogether; as was witnessed by the second and third Members of this Committee, during an excursion they lately made through the zemindary.

The Collectorate of Tinnivelly seemed, for a time, as if kind Providence had averted from it the mischief which was destroying so many thousands in countries lying but a short distance from it; but it soon appeared that the evil was only retarded. It is true, that in the months of March, April, and May, 1810, as we are informed by Mr. Hepburn, fever had attracted notice in the northern and western parts of the district: it was however trifling, and but of short duration; and no more was heard of it till the month of February¹ 1811, when it shewed itself very generally in the talook

(1) It was at this period that many pilgrims returned from a feast at Pylney, where the fever then was, and had been for many months. These pilgrims had left their own villages about the end of January 1811, at which time there was no fever in them. Shortly after they had returned to their homes, however, they were almost to a man attacked with fever; and, we are sorry to add, scarcely one of them is now living.

of Streevulputtoor (which is contiguous to the Madura province), and in Tencoushie, both of which lie near the mountains. Soon after this, it broke out in the vicinity of the sea and salt marshes, and committed great ravages in the Punjmahal² and Calcaud³ talooks: and, lastly, it extended itself from Tencoushie to the more southern tracts, including the Pollams, and kept on its course all the way to the sea, but invariably proving most destructive in those villages situated nearest to the hills.

From the above account, there will be observed this singularity, that, in the neighbourhood of the salt marshes, the disease made its appearance at a period prior to that at which it first began in places lying betwixt them and Tencoushie;—a circumstance which leads us to conclude, that, in these briny swamps of the Tinnivelly

(2) This talook stretches from Shengulotum to the southern extremity of the Peninsula.

(3) This stretches from Trichindore to Manapore, along the sea-side. Twelve villages in it have suffered dreadfully.

district, a separate source of the disease is to be looked for, from that which occasioned the sufferings of those inhabiting the more northern divisions of the same province.

The malady, on its way south from Tencoushie, would appear to have got first into the Bramadashum¹ talook, in an alarming degree, about the beginning of March, especially in the village of Veeramasingaporum, near the Pápánásu Cataract; in which so great a mortality soon ensued, that it was with difficulty sufficient hands could be procured to burn the dead. In Sheermadévy, the epidemic was felt somewhat later—not before the beginning of April; and then, though numbers died of it, it neither was, nor has since been, so severe as in some other divisions; owing perhaps to its having the Polygar countries betwixt it and the western mountains.

(1) Most of the villages in Bramadashum lie near the hills, and are surrounded by much low and marshy ground.

In Nelleumbalum, in which talook the city of Tinnivelly stands, the disease (if the city itself is excepted) did not commence so early as in situations nearer to the hills. In the month of April, however, it appears to have been very prevalent; as most of the inhabitants were then sick, and many died, particularly in the town of Caddium. In the talooks of Vedoogramum, Stryvygoontum, Gāingoondum, and Alivar Tinnivelly, the disease has been much less destructive than in the other parts of the province, although in them there has also been more sickness than in common years; and this peculiarity in their favour we can only account for from their lying at a considerable distance from the great Ghauts, and from their standing higher above the level of the sea: to which causes also is in a great measure to be ascribed the comparative healthiness of Shenkernacoil, which extends to the hills only at one corner, being at other points separated from them by the pollams of Shevagherry and Chokumpetty.

From what we have said of the rise and progress of the malady in the province of Tinnivelly, it will be concluded that the general direction of the morbid influence has been here opposite to what it was in Coimbatore, which was from south to north, and a little east; and that it corresponds with that which it took in the Madura district, which was from north to south. We have moreover observed, that, the closer to the hills, the more certain was the danger; and that in some tracts in the vicinity of the salt marshes, along the sea-side, there appears to have been altogether a separate spring of epidemic influence.

With regard to the two opposite directions in which the distempered exhalations seem to have extended themselves in different parts of the Peninsula, and the cause or causes of these varying courses, we confess that we give our sentiments with great hesitation; as the subject not only involves in itself considerable difficulty, but naturally leads to some yet undecided points,

and to the theories and opinions of certain ingenious men, respecting the propagation and diffusion of miasmata and contagion.

We have repeatedly noticed, that great irregularity of seasons had taken place, throughout the whole of the southern provinces; and it is certainly allowable from a universal cause to look for a general result: but while the same description of unusual climate may have prevailed in all these territories, yet the lands themselves may have had localities or peculiarities, of such a nature, as, although under a common influence, to have proved productive of effects differing much in degree. Thus it is that a long-continued unnatural state of the air, operating upon the close and overgrown woods of the Pylney mountains, upon their unventilated valleys and stagnant marshes, could not fail to engender a more rapid and dangerous condition of the atmosphere than that brought about by the operation of the same causes on the drier and less woody plains of the eastern ranges

of the Peninsula. In the same manner, and for the same reason, the changed constitution of the atmosphere has been creative of ill effects in the vicinity of the salt marshes of the Tinnivelly country, differing much in degree from those experienced in other estates, which, though at no great distance from them, are otherwise circumstanced with respect to nature and situation.

The fever, which has occasioned so great a mortality on the Coromandel coast, was first purely endemic; and, in all probability, had the irregularity of seasons been of short duration, it would not have been much heard of beyond the sources from which it sprang: although we find, and that from high authority¹, that even the causes of endemic fever are sometimes carried, by particular currents of air, to a considerable distance: but on the disease

(1) See Dr. Jackson's *Remarks on the Constitution of the Medical Department of the British Army*, p. 212. See also Zimmerman's "*Experience*," vol. II. p. 155. English Translation.

having been rendered epidemic, by the same means² which bring about this change in every quarter of the world, its nature, as usual, became in some respects altered. “ Fevers of this sort” (says Dr. Jackson) “ arise in particular countries, or districts of a country. They travel in certain tracts: “ sometimes confined to narrow bounds; at “ other times they are more widely dif- “ fused.”

We have seen this epidemic of India spreading its poisonous breath from south to north, and a little east, in the Coimbatore province; as much, perhaps, owing to the extension of moisture, combined with heat, as it may have been assisted in its course from what the natives suppose to be the grand endemic source (the Pylney mountains), by the s.w. winds in the months

(2) Hoffman tells us, that intermittent fevers are most common in autumn and spring, and that they are endemic in low marshy situations; but that, when rainy, variable seasons succeed hot summers, they frequently become *epidemic*.—*Vide Med. Rat. Syst.* pars I. cap. 1.

of March, April, and May. In the Dindigul territory, this mischief, if carried by the winds, had not far to travel from the same unwholesome spring : independent of which, however, the Dindigul district had, in itself, other localities, extremely likely, from their nature, to have generated endemic fever ; such as the low Toddy-Comboo division, the valley, and that singular mountainous amphitheatre which surrounds Towerincourchie and its marshy neighbourhood.

The garrison of Madura, and other places situated nearer to the hills, in this district, became absolute hot-beds for fever, in the seasons we have had occasion to lament ; and must, if the notion be just, that the morbidic miasmata can be conveyed from place to place by particular currents of air, have been of extent sufficient to have affected the whole province.

Tinnivelly, we have seen, did not suffer much before the heavy rains in 1811 ; and,

at that time, there are two ways in which we may suppose the evil to have been produced ; viz. either as originating and spreading, from endemic sources, within the district itself, or as it may have been conveyed thither by the N. E. monsoon winds, which continue to prevail in the month of February ; and perhaps both of these may have had their share in bringing about the general calamity' ; though, we confess, we are inclined to think, that if the extension of the disease was as much occasioned by miasmata being carried by the breeze, as it is dependent on a peculiar and general state of the air in certain places, we should occasionally see it spread itself wide of those tracts it has been universally observed

(1) However singular the coincidence of the pilgrims having brought the epidemic fever with them on their return to Tinnivelly from Pylney in February 1811, we cannot allow (at all events, we deem it not probable) that the malady was in any degree propagated in this district by means of contagion : and Dr. Jackson has told us, that no medical fact is better established, than that diseases of this nature are not contagious.

chiefly to prevail in ; and which are ever found to be those nearest to, and in the direction of, the great endemic sources.

We regret that the account of deaths which we have received from the different Collectors are not all for equal periods, nor made out according to one prescribed form ;—circumstances which will prevent us from rendering such exact comparative statements as we otherwise might have done. We trust, however, that they will not be unsatisfactory, as they will shew the varied extent of the mischief in the different districts.

The return of deaths transmitted to us by Mr. Garrow, for the Coimbatore Collectorate, is for sixteen months ; that is, from the 1st of January 1810, to the 30th of April 1811 ; during which time there died in the different talooks (12 in number) 12,458 males, and 9,993 females ; making a total of 22,451. The population of the Collectorate, in Fusili 1219, amounted to

596,606; so that, on the whole population, we may reckon that, in the sixteen months, there have died about $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

To shew the centage of deaths in the different talooks of this province, compared with their varying population, we have constructed the following Table; by which it will appear, that in the Pillauchie and Satimungulum divisions, both contiguous to the mountains, the fever has been the most destructive; the first having lost, during the period above mentioned, $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of its whole inhabitants; the other, $5\frac{1}{8}$ per cent.

<i>Talooks.</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>Deaths.</i>	<i>Per Centage.</i>
Coimbatore	83,882	3,588	$4\frac{1}{4}$
Checoor and Coorumundoor .	50,413	1,896	$3\frac{3}{4}$
Parindoril	53,193	1,503	$2\frac{1}{16}$
Erroad	32,326	861	$2\frac{5}{8}$
Andoor	44,306	1,955	$4\frac{3}{8}$
Satimungulum	50,326	2,567	$5\frac{1}{16}$
Colingall	44,426	1,712	$3\frac{1}{16}$
Caroor	54,015	1,691	$3\frac{1}{8}$
Daraporam	59,047	1,461	$2\frac{7}{16}$
Pillauchie	41,438	2,878	$6\frac{1}{2}$
Chukragherry	44,478	1,260	$2\frac{1}{16}$
Pulladum	38,756	1,109	$2\frac{1}{16}$
Total	596,606	22,451	$3\frac{3}{4}$

The statement which we have received from Mr. Peter, the Collector of the Dindigul district, shews the number of people who have died in it during a period of twelve months; that is, from the 1st of April 1810, to the 31st of March 1811, contrasted with the deaths in common years.

In the four divisions of Toddy Comboo, Syempilly, Thenkerry, and Wootampolam, and in the minor and sequestered zemindaries, there have died, of males and females together, within the twelve months, 21,510. In healthy years, the mortality is said to be annually about 3,438, which makes a difference of 18,072. The population of the divisions and zemindaries, in Fusili 1212, amounted to 295,654; so that, in the twelve unhealthy months, there has died about $7\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the whole inhabitants.

The different divisions in this district have suffered in the following proportions:

Where 100 men would have died, in common years, in the sequestered zemindaries, there have died, within the period above stated		832
Ditto,	Ditto, in the minor zemindaries	733
Ditto,	Ditto, in the Wootampolam division	675
Ditto,	Ditto, in Toddy Comboo	591
Ditto,	Ditto, in Thenkerry	513
Ditto,	Ditto, in Syempilly	484

So we find that the sequestered zemindaries have been the most unhealthy, and the division of Syempilly the least so.

The statement which we have received from Mr. Peter, Collector of the Madura district, is also for twelve months, up to May 1810; by which it appears, that in the seven talooks of Maudakolum, Sholavandum, Teramungalum, Aungoor, Thooramboor, Mellal, and Nuttum, there have died, males and females together, 24,626. In a healthy season, the number of deaths is said to be about 3,933 annually, which makes the great difference of 20,693. The population of the province (in Fusili 1212) amounted to 245,654; so that, in the sickly months, there died about the proportion

of 10 per cent. of the whole inhabitants. The divisions of the Madura district have suffered in the following proportions:

Where 100 men would have died, in common years,			
in the talook of Mellal, there have died, in the			
twelve sickly months			
Ditto,	Ditto, in the talook of Maudakolum . .		
Ditto,	Ditto,	Ditto,	Sholavandum .
Ditto,	Ditto,	Ditto,	Aungoor
Ditto,	Ditto,	Ditto,	Teramungalum
Ditto,	Ditto,	Ditto,	Thooramboor .
Ditto,	Ditto,	Ditto,	Nuttum
			1147
			821 $\frac{3}{8}$
			762 $\frac{3}{8}$
			601
			592
			507
			486 $\frac{5}{16}$

By the statement delivered to the Committee by Mr. Hepburn, Collector of the Tinnivelly district, it appears that, in the eleven divisions of Shermadévy, Streevulputtoor, Shenkernacoil, Stryvygoontum, Caulcaud, Alvar Tinnivelly, and Punjmahal, together with twenty-seven *pollums*, there died within five months, from the beginning of February to the 30th of June, 1811, of males and females together, 38,202. The population (as it appeared in Fusili 1211) amounted to 690,696; which gives a centage of deaths, in that period, of about 5 $\frac{1}{2}$.

The following is the centage proportion of deaths in each particular division, calculated according to the respective population :

Tencoushie	12 per cent.
Streevulputtoor . .	$6\frac{1}{2}$
Bramadashum . . .	$6\frac{1}{2}$
Punjmahal	$5\frac{3}{4}$
Calcaud	$5\frac{3}{4}$
Nelliambalum . . .	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Shermadévy	$4\frac{1}{4}$
Vedoogramum . . .	4
Shenkernacoil	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Stryvygoontum	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Alivar Tinnively	$2\frac{3}{4}$

It would therefore appear, upon the whole, that, in the district of Tinnively, the epidemic fever has raged with the greatest violence ; since, in the short period of five months, $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population have fallen a sacrifice to the disease. But, to render our account more satisfactory, we shall add a Table, shewing in some measure the comparative calamity that has befallen the respective provinces.

TABLE

Affording a Comparative View of the POPULATION, and DEATHS, in the Four following Provinces.

	Population.	Deaths.	Centage on Deaths.
Coimbatore, for 16 months . .	596,606	22,451	$3\frac{3}{4}$
Madura, for 12 months . . .	245,654	24,626	10
Dindigul, for 12 months . . .	295,654	21,510	$7\frac{1}{4}$
Tinnivelly, for 5 months . . .	690,696	38,202	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Total . . .	1,828,610	106,789	$5\frac{13}{16}$

SECTION IV.

Causes of the Epidemic, with Suggestions respecting the Circumstances that may have rendered it peculiarly fatal, in particular Situations, and to certain Descriptions of People.

CELSUS¹, one of the most accurate observers amongst the writers of antiquity, has said, that those seasons are ever the most salutary which are the most uniform, whether hot or cold; and that those which vary much are the sickliest;—principles, we believe, which have never been disputed, and which are powerfully illustrated in the instance of the evils which we have been at this time called to investigate. And in the 3d Section of this Paper, we have noticed, that so highly were the same sentiments appreciated by Hoffman, that he deduced from them his general remote cause of epidemic fever.

(1) Vide *Cels.* lib. II. cap. 1.

The actual state of the atmosphere, which engenders this malady, no one¹ has been able hitherto to detect, though much ingenuity has been displayed on the subject: and we may with safety say, that when Sydenham² ascribed such derangements to a "secret constitution of the air," he gave us as satisfactory an account of the matter as any more modern author has since done. But, although we cannot positively determine what this secret constitution is, we can pretty nearly ascertain under what circumstances it arises.

Dr. Cullen has used the words "marsh miasmata," to express what he conceives to be the remote cause of remitting and intermitting fever: and although the chemical nature of the distempered exhalations has not yet been exactly ascertained, owing perhaps to the poison being so intimately

(1) See *Dr. Jackson's Treatise on the Fevers of Jamaica*, page 78.

(2) See *Swan's Sydenham*, pp. 7, 8.

mixed and blended with the air, he expresses a firm belief in the truth of his assumption, from the circumstance of maladies of the nature in question so constantly prevailing in low and swampy situations. Many such we have taken notice of, in the First and Third Sections of this Report. This opinion, however, of the cause of fevers of the intermittent kind, has been perhaps too implicitly adopted by some modern writers; who seem to think, that a state of the atmosphere, capable of generating this disorder, can only take place in marshy countries; though it is well known that noxious vapours from woods, especially if thick and ill ventilated, are as certainly a source of the same mischief;—a fact which has been mentioned by Dr. Donald Munro³, but more particularly by Dr. S. Farr, in his ingenious Preliminary Discourse to his translation of Hippocrates' History of Epidemics. There he tells us, that wild woods, in uncultivated countries,

(3) See *Dr. D. Munro's Observations on the Diseases of the Army*.

have been observed to give birth to that peculiar condition of the air, which may be the cause of epidemic diseases. Admitting then, which we most readily do, this second source of the malady, we shall not be obliged to look far for it in the southern districts; as not only are all the mountains and intervening vales, which form the western boundary of these countries, covered with wood, so overgrown as to be in many places almost impervious; but there are, in the Dindigul and Madura provinces, many other detached hills and valleys between, thickly clothed with jungle, and much rank vegetation—to say nothing of the extensive tracts of underwood, so frequently to be met with.

There is still a third origin of morbid miasmata to be found in the Tinnivelly and Ramnad districts; that is, the salt marshes; in the neighbourhood of which we have seen, that, in the months of February, March, and April last, the fever raged with more than common severity.

Sir John Pringle¹ has told us, that there is a peculiar kind of damp which rises at low water from a beach covered with slime,—the more liable to corruption, on account of the mixture of salt and fresh water. Dr. Jackson² has, however, disputed the correctness of this opinion. He says, indeed, that it would be in vain to deny that the vicinity of lakes in which there is a mixture of salt water is often unhealthy: yet he affirms, with confidence, that it is seldom more so than when the lakes are altogether without this admixture. Which of these opinions seems most correct, we shall not venture to say.

In parts adjacent both to the briny swamps near Kilkerry, in the Ramnad country, and in those in the Punjmahal talook of the Tinnivelly district, the epidemic fever was particularly destructive; but whether this may have been owing simply to the exhaling influence of the sun upon extensive marshes

(1) See *Pringle's Observations on the Diseases of the Army*, p. 3.

(2) See *Jackson's Treatise on the Fevers of Jamaica*, pp. 81, 82.

flooded to a very considerable degree, or in any measure consequent of the salt water they contained, we cannot determine.

We have now seen that three great remote causes have been assigned for remittent and intermittent fever; all of which, we conceive, have contributed to produce the calamity which has proved so fatal in this province. But marshy situations do not appear of themselves to be sufficient to render such affections epidemic: to produce this effect, there is required the superagency of a close, moist, and sultry heat¹, and imperfect² ventilation. Hence it is, that in common years there is not produced, in many of the low situations we have particularized, a miasma of sufficient malignity to excite the general disease; because, in such cases, the exhalation of superfluous moisture takes place during the cold months of December and January, when they are

(1) See *Dr. John Clarke on the Diseases of Long Voyages*, vol. I. p. 157.

(2) See *Pringle's Diseases of the Army*, pp. 3, 4.

comparatively innocent: but rains falling out of season, and in great abundance, at periods when the weather had become hot, and when there was so distressing and unnatural a deficiency of free ventilation in the atmosphere, occasioned evaporations of a very different nature; and which, we conceive, became a positive source of mischief, by bringing on that corrupt and stagnant state of the air which is ever closely connected with the decay or decomposition of vegetable matter. Such an offensive condition of the atmosphere, we have remarked in our Third Section, was but too often experienced in several of the low tracts of these districts, during the sickly season. It was pregnant with most baneful consequences; and strongly recalled to our recollection the following paragraph of a well-written Paper, which may be found in the *Medical Repository*:—“The cool
“refreshing northerly breezes were now
“changed for oppressive calms, or for

(3) See vol. I. of the 2d *Hexade*, p. 145.

“ humid or sultry winds. Such are the
 “ changes which the state and temperature
 “ of the atmosphere undergo in the islands
 “ of the West Indies, and elsewhere, pre-
 “ vious to the breaking out of some *mortal*
 “ *epidemic!*”

Great deviations¹ from the natural order of climate, we are happy to think, do not very frequently occur in these regions: as in other tropical countries, the seasons are pretty regular and steady; and strong winds, blowing from fixed points, keep the atmosphere in an almost perpetual state of agitation, and of consequent purity². We have seen, however, in the melancholy instance before us, that the very reverse of all this has lately happened; and, as has been judiciously noticed by Mr. Hepburn, in a com-

(1) The natives themselves also ascribe epidemic distempers to these unusual deviations from natural climate; as we learn from the *Ganétamnōtum*—an astronomical Sastrum, to be found in the library of the Sheva Pagoda, at Tencoushie, in Tinnivelly.

(2) See Zimmerman's "*Experience*," vol. II. p.145. English Translation.

munication he made to the Medical Committee, we perceive that a nearly similar departure from the common course of seasons took place in the Tinnivelly province in the year 1757, as is mentioned by Mr. Orme, in his “History of Hindoostan³,” and that it was followed by a like calamity. He tells us, that, in the month of March, the south-west monsoon was so violent, as to break completely over the Western Ghauts, and descend in vast floods into the Coromandel side of the Peninsula, where the rains fell, without intermission, for two days,—destroying crops just ready to be cut,—sweeping away many of the inhabitants,—and ultimately, by creating a powerful evaporation during a sultry heat, producing an epidemic disease very fatal in its consequences.

With regard to the effects of the miasmata generated amongst woods and jungles, besides the testimonies already adduced, we

(3) See his *History*, vol. II. p. 201.

beg leave to call the attention of the Board to what has been noticed by a very able writer¹ on the diseases of the West Indies; who says, that in the uncultivated tracts of those countries, where there is much rank vegetation—where the narrow valleys between the mountains, replete with moisture, are often not sufficiently ventilated—there are produced exhalations, at any season bad, but particularly so after autumnal rains and sultry heats. He moreover adds, that mighty torrents, by washing dead matter, animal as well as vegetable, into low swampy lands, where it is left to putrify, not unfrequently prove the indirect cause of the most pernicious effluvia. And Zimmerman*, who paid much attention to the effects of air upon the human frame, is of opinion, that in woody countries much mischief may not only arise from a deficiency of ventilation, but from the noxious qualities of the trees

(1) See *Dr. Fowle's Practical Treatise on the different Fevers of the West Indies*, pp. xvii.—xxi. of the Introduction.

(2) See Zimmerman's "*Experience*," vol. II. pp. 140, 141. English Translation.

themselves ; in support of which he mentions the bad effects well known to be produced by the poisonous exhalation of the Hippomanes of Surinam.

Dr. Trotter, in his *Medicina Nautica*³, adopting in a great measure the opinions of Priestley, informs us, that growing vegetables are found, by experience, to purify the air: they add oxygen to it by decomposing the water of the atmosphere, and the hydrogen goes to the nourishment of the plant: but this process, he adds, only takes place when there is the light and heat of the sun to assist in the operation. If this notion be just (and the consequences incline us strongly to repose on it), how many thousand plants and shrubs must there be in thick woods and jungles, that, by growing totally in the shade, cannot be supposed to purify the air! On the contrary, they may, by harbouring moisture and obstructing ventilation, prove productive of the most unsalutary vapours ; requiring, perhaps, little

(3) See Trotter's *Medicina*, vol. III. p. 273.

else than the concomitants of decayed vegetable matter, and a close and steamy heat, to induce that distempered state of the atmosphere which we suppose to be the remote cause of the malady in question;—a cause too, which, there is but too much reason to believe, was most amply supplied amongst the overgrown, shady, dank, and ill-ventilated woods, valleys, and mountains of the Dindigul, Pylney¹, and Madura countries, as well as amongst those of that immense range which we have before spoken of as dividing the Peninsula.

By the experiments of the Abbé Nollet, it appears that the electric fluid has the

(1) The Pylney Mountains have repeatedly been mentioned, in this Report, as having been supposed, by a great majority of the natives, to be the positive source whence sprang the epidemic fever. But while there was one great cause (irregularity of seasons) operating so universally, and extending to all the districts, we cannot suppose that there was but a single point whence the mischief was diffused; though we think it by no means unlikely, considering the peculiarly mountainous and woody nature of the Pylney division of the Dindigul country (where the hills are of an immense height, and the range so deep as to join the Western Ghauts), that the disease there may have attracted notice at a very early period.

power of accelerating the growth of vegetables; and Dr. Wilson¹ makes no doubt but that it promotes putrefaction in animal bodies: it may, therefore, here become a question, how far this fluid, which, we have noticed, was very abundant in the atmosphere during some of the most unhealthy periods, may not have assisted in producing a distempered state of the air.

The predisposing causes of remittent and intermittent fever are well known to be those that operate by producing debility; such as poor or insufficient diet, great fatigue, frequent exposure to cold and damp without proper covering, habitual inebriety, grief, sorrow, and mental anxiety; in short, whatever exhausts or diminishes the powers of life: and hence it is, in the present instance, that we find the disease has invariably been most fatal

(1) See *Dr. A. Wilson's Observations on the Influence of Climate*, pp. 18, 19.

in such villages as stand low, or in the vicinity of marshy lands, and amongst the poor and hard-working inhabitants, who are ill fed, badly clothed', and miserably lodged: and perhaps this cannot be better exemplified, than by stating, that at Madura, in a period of sixteen months, up to the 1st of April 1811, there did not happen one casualty amongst the troops of that station, though the poor inhabitants of the garrison were very unhealthy during the same period. Again, at Dindigul, out of three companies usually stationed there, but two deaths occurred from the 1st of March, 1810, to the 30th of November of the same year; though the needy inhabitants of the town, who were comparatively worse fed and clothed, were dying by hundreds. And at Daraporam, while the epidemic was at its greatest height, the prisoners in jail there, who were well

(1) *Malthus*, in his *Essay on Population*, observes, that all epidemics make their principal ravages amongst the lower classes. Vol. II. p. 59.

fed and lodged, in a high, dry, sheltered situation, suffered but in a trifling degree.

Supposing, then, that there exists in the atmosphere the remote cause of epidemic fever, and that there has also been super-induced a predisposition to be acted upon by it, there are still another set of causes, termed *exciting*, which often hasten the approach of the pending evil: perhaps the most certain of these are, exposure to cold and damp, while the body has been relaxed by preceding heat, and the influence of ardent solar rays on an irritable frame.

The bad effects of the last are self-evident; the mal-influence of the first has been noticed by many writers of distinction, particularly by Pringle² and Bursarius³; and it appears to have proved the certain source of incalculable mischief

(2) See his *Diseases of the Army*, p. 76.

(3) See *Bursarius's Institutions of Medicine*, vol. I. p. 230.

in those provinces in which, during the months of March and April 1811, the nights were extremely sultry, and the dews, which by this time should have ceased to appear, still fell in great abundance. "The heat of the early part of the night," says Mr. Hepburn, in a letter to the Revenue Board, "induced many of the natives to "sleep in the open air; by which means "they became exposed, while perhaps still "perspiring, to the chill fogs and damps "of the morning; and which, in all probability, was the cause of the fever which "ensued."

But if such fogs and damps can be productive of consequences of so serious a nature in an open country, it is but reasonable to suppose, that in the neighbourhood of mountains, thickly clothed with wood, they must prove a still more certain cause of evil: and so it is that we have, in every instance, found the epidemic most prevalent in situations close to

the hills, where, as BONTIUS has justly observed¹ (when speaking of Batavia), there is but too often breathed, about the dawn of day, cold, noxious vapours, the more certainly dangerous, by their succeeding to the “tepid” warmth of the night.

(1) See *Bontius's Account of the East Indies*, p. 100.

SECTION V.

Nature of the Epidemic, and its various Types—The Notions of the Vytians or Tamool, Medical Practitioners, respecting it.

THE disease which has proved so fatal in the southern provinces does not differ in its nature from the common endemic fever of this country (India), which, at certain seasons¹, and in peculiar situations², may be every year met with : its having been rendered epidemic, on the present occasion, is altogether to be ascribed to the causes³ we have already mentioned.

(1) The most unhealthy season, in these districts, is from the time that the N. E. monsoon rains cease, to the middle of May.

(2) Such as amongst the hills in the Ganjam Circars, amongst those near Palavarum, in the Rajamundry district, &c.

(3) Dr. John Clark, in his *Observations on the Diseases of Long Voyages*, says, Remittent fever may occur at any time, but seldom rages epidemically, except in close, moist, and sultry weather. See vol. I. p. 157.

Pringle has told us, that intermittents are “the great endemic” of marshy countries, and that they rage most in hot summers, during a close and moist state of the air: but he might as well have added, of woody and mountainous countries; which are so well known in this part of the world to occasion the malady we now treat of, that in the more northern parts of Hindostan it is called the “Jungle fever,” and on the Coromandel coast the “Hill fever.”

This disease, as in the West Indies, is either remittent or intermittent, according to circumstances of constitution, management of the patient, or season of the year; but we are happy to say, that the second is by far the most common. Delicate people, of naturally irritable habits, or who have rendered themselves so by irregularities or want⁴

(4) Some of the worst cases of remittent fever amongst Europeans, which we have known, appeared to have been brought on by the habit of quacking, and taking frequent calomel purges; than which nothing can be more injurious to the digestive powers, nor more likely to predispose the body to receive the fever.

of care, are sometimes attacked by the disease in its remittent form, which either proves bilious, or nervous, as the constitution inclines. The same happens to those, who, with even stronger frames, and what has been termed a phlogistic diathesis, have been injudiciously treated at the commencement of the disorder; for instance, by having bark given them too freely, before proper evacuations had been procured: and it has also been observed by us, that, as the season became hotter, the fever was more apt to put on a remittent form, than at an earlier period, while rains perhaps were falling, and the atmosphere comparatively cool. In confirmation of what we have ourselves witnessed in this respect, we shall add, that this peculiarity has also been called to our attention by a well-written communication from Mr. Abercromby, surgeon of his Majesty's 34th regiment, to Mr. Boswell, Superintending Surgeon of the Hydrabad Subsidiary Force; and we find that both

Hillary¹ and Dr. Maclean², in their works on the Diseases of Barbadoes and St. Domingo, have made similar observations.

The more robust have been usually seized with fever of the intermittent kind; and, by every account we have received, it appears that males have suffered more than females, and young people and those of middle age more than old men and children.

The epidemic fever, when it assumes the remittent form, sometimes comes on very gradually: the patient, for two, or even three days before, being confined to bed, feels himself much out of sorts; his appetite fails him; he has a slight squeamishness at stomach, particularly on seeing animal food; he complains of a feeling of universal lassitude, and of alternate heats and chills;

(1) See *Hillary's Observations on the Diseases of Barbadoes*, p. 91.

(2) See *Dr. Maclean's Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Great Mortality at St. Domingo*, pp. 86, 87.

there is a stupid heaviness, if not a pain, in the head ; the eyes are clouded, the ears ring, and the bowels are invariably costive. In other cases, the approach of the enemy is more rapid ; and rigors, great prostration of strength, vertigo, sickness at stomach, or vomiting, sooner ensue, and never fail to usher in the disease.

The first paroxysm, which is often attended with delirium, and sometimes in young people is accompanied by a bleeding at the nose, after having continued for a certain period with symptoms varying according to the strength of the habit and constitution of the sufferer, terminates in a sweat ; not, however, of that profuse and fluent kind which succeeds to the hot fit of a regular ague, but clammy, and sometimes indistinct : it, however, has the effect of lowering the pulse, and cooling the body ; but neither the natural feeling of the skin, nor the proper state of the pulse, are thereby induced : the former gives a sin-

gular, dry, and uncomfortable sensation to the touch, and the other is smaller and quicker than it ought to be; the patient continues languid, and has but little appetite for food.

If proper steps are not now taken to bring on a regular intermission, or if, from the violence of the disease, it cannot be done, this first remission will not be of long duration¹; a paroxysm more severe in every respect soon ensues, usually ushered in by vomiting (in some cases of bile), and quickly followed by excessive heat of skin, delirium, great thirst, difficult respiration, and a most distressing febrile anxiety; and the tongue, which at first was only white and foul, now begins to look parched and brownish. The next remission, when it takes place, is less perfect than the first, and brings still less relief; and in this way, if a check cannot be given to the fever, or if (which they sometimes do) natural loose bilious evacua-

(1) Not usually longer than from five to eight hours.

tions do not occur to supply the place of diaphoresis, it will run its fatal course, each succeeding attack proving worse than that which preceded it, till nature, exhausted at last, begins to give way: the pulse gradually loses its strength, the countenance shrinks and looks sallow, the eyes become dim, the abdomen swells from visceral congestion, and the stomach lothes every sort of food: shortly after this period, hickup comes on, an alarming stupor succeeds to low delirium, and death quickly closes the scene. But such severe remittents have not been very frequent in these provinces; and when they did occur, were, we believe, mostly occasioned by neglect or unpardonable blunders at the beginning of the disease.

The intermittent form of the epidemic is infinitely more common, and much more tractable. Dr. Fowle¹, as well as Dr. James

(1) See his *Practical Treatise on the Diseases of the West Indies*, pp. 1, 2.

Clark², have told us, that the rigor in such cases, in the West Indies, is not so great, in proportion to the succeeding, as it is in England: we cannot say, however, that we have observed any such peculiarity in this country; the cold stage³ here is often of long continuance; and most distressing vomiting frequently takes place at the beginning of the hot fit, and is sometimes succeeded by delirium.

Agues of all kinds either commence at once with rigor, or a shaking fit; or they first shew themselves with a febrile attack, more or less continued, and usually of about two days' duration: this, on going off, by means of the usual remedies, leaves the patient, for the most part, tolerably well, and he continues so for a short time; after which the fever returns, and observes the type which is to distinguish it.

(2) See his *Treatise on the Yellow Fever of Dominica*, pp. 92, 93.

(3) Its duration is commonly from half an hour to nearly two hours.

With regard to the question, How far this epidemic ought to be considered as contagious? we have no hesitation in saying, that we believe it *not* to be so, in any of its natural forms; whatever might happen in cases which, from improper treatment, had been allowed to pass into low continued fevers, attended with the usual symptoms of putrescency; though, even then, contagion could never extend far in a country like this, where the general heat of the air seems peculiarly hostile, as well to its first production, as to its spreading; and where the free admission of fresh air could not fail quickly to break and dissipate its circle.

The types under which the intermittent has appeared, are the following:—1st, The simple tertian. 2d, The double tertian, which would seem to consist of the junction of two single tertians, that run each a separate and independent course, with similar paroxysms on alternate days. 3d, Quotidians. 4th, Quartans; and, 5th, Irre-

gulars. To shew which of these has most frequently occurred amongst the natives, during the present sickness, we cannot do better than here subjoin a report of the Sick in the Regimental Hospital of Dindigul, taken on the 1st of June 1811; the effective strength of the detachment being then 255 men.

<i>Simple Tertians.</i>	<i>Double Ditto.</i>	<i>Irregulars.</i>	<i>Quotidians.</i>	<i>Quartans.</i>	<i>Convales- cents.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
30	26	24	13	4	20	117

Of these, 53 had been in the hospital for one month, 39 for two months, 23 for three months, and 2 upwards of three months.

From the above, it will appear that the simple and double tertian types were the most common at Dindigul: and we learn from Dr. Jackson¹ and Dr. Cleghorn², that

(1) See *Dr. Jackson on the Fevers of Jamaica*, page 13.

(2) *Cleghorn's Diseases of Minorca*, page 163.

they were also those which were most frequently met with in Jamaica and Minorca.

Mr. Senac has denied that there is any such thing in nature as a regular quotidian; and Dr. James Clark¹ says, that he never saw a case of it in Dominica: we cannot, however, doubt of its existence in this country; where, on the contrary, when it does occur, it is invariably well marked, with paroxysms returning at nearly equal periods. Though the cold fit by no means continues so long as in the simple tertian, it is a distressing affection; from the circumstance of the disease, in this form, often attacking those of weak constitutions, and by leaving but little time for taking the bark: it is also, perhaps, sooner apt, on this account, to occasion visceral obstructions and œdematous swellings than any other form of the disease.

(1) See *Dr. James Clark's Treatise on the Yellow Fever of the Island of Dominica.*

The quartan type is rare, but we have invariably found it very obstinate; and it frequently, on that account, brings on a morbid state of the spleen, and consequent dropsy. Pierre Campet², in his "*Maladies Graves de la Zone Torride*," makes similar observations. He says, that, in many instances, in the West Indies, "this form of the intermittent fever succeeds a tertian, when badly treated; by which means the morbidic humour is thrown upon the abdominal viscera."

The irregular disease, by observing no exact periods, is very troublesome; and seems to us to correspond in its nature with what Hoffman has called the Semitertian. The types of fever are sometimes changed during the course of the malady: the conversion of a remittent into a tertian is favourable to the patient, as is that of a double tertian into a single one. Tertians, on the other hand, are sometimes unfortu-

(2) See *Maladies Graves de la Zone Torride*, p. 96.

nately, by mismanagement, turned into remittents, irregulars, or even continued fevers; as are tertians into double tertians, quotidians, or quartans.

The Vytians, or Tamool medical practitioners, ascribe the epidemic fever chiefly to two causes;—a superabundance of moisture in the air and earth, and the bad quality of the water which they have, in consequence, been obliged to drink, owing to unwholesome solutions. To intermittent fever they give the general name of *Sheetah jorum*, or, in more common language, *Coolloor cajil*. The most dangerous type, they are of opinion, is the quotidian, or *Woodada jorum*; but we are inclined to think that they often confound this with remittent fever, for which, however, they have a particular appellation, *Tava jorum*¹, which signifies a

(1) This name is also given, but improperly, to typhus fever, which the better informed call *Kistnah Doshum*. It is much dreaded among the Hindoos, from a supposition that it never takes place but to mark the displeasure of Heaven for the commission of some heinous crime.

fever accompanied with excessive thirst. The tertian type they distinguish by the name *Moonamooray jorum*, and the quartan by that of *Nalamooray jorum*. They allow this last to be of a most obstinate nature; and often have more faith in a change of season for its removal, than any medicine they can administer.

SECTION VI.

The Mode of treating the Disease, which has been found the most successful—with Cautions regarding the best Means of preventing Relapses.

WHEN the epidemic first shews itself, which it frequently does by a regular attack of an intermittent, we lose no time, on the body's becoming cool, in clearing out the bowels, by administering a brisk purge; which may either be, twenty-six grains of fresh-powdered jalap, and a scruple of crystals of tartar well rubbed together; a full dose of sulphate of magnesia and manna; or an ounce of castor oil. Soon after the medicine ¹ has ceased to operate, we pre-

(1) Pills composed of calomel and rhubarb, or calomel and compound extract of colocynth, may also be used for this purpose; though, when there appears to be considerable nervous irritability, we are unwilling to give mercury. The strength of the purging pills may be, for a full-grown person, five or six grains of calomel, and a scruple of rhubarb, made into six pills; or six grains of calomel, and twelve of compound extract of colocynth, made into four.

scribe the cinchona: and there is to be observed this general rule respecting it, that the nearer the time of giving the last dose of the bark for the day is brought to the period of the attack of the cold stage, the more likely will it be to accomplish the purpose intended. From six to eight drachms of the fresh-powdered bark, taken in substance, will commonly be sufficient to keep off a fit; but we have known many cases in which a drachm or two more was required: and we think, that when the whole can be given within the last five or six hours before the return of the shaking-fit is looked for, it is more likely to prevent its actual recurrence, than when taken in smaller doses, and at longer intervals. Some stomachs, particularly in native habits, cannot bear the bark in plain powder: in such cases, we have found it beneficial either to add a small portion of ginger to each dose, or to substitute the infusion or decoction for the substance; adding to it a certain quantity of the tincture, and a little aromatic confection. The whole of the fol-

lowing, taken in divided doses before the time that the fit is expected, will often prove successful:

R	Infus. cinchonæ . . .	℥x.	
	Tincturæ ejusdem . . .	℥vi.	
	Confect. arom. . . .	℥i.	Misce.

The bark in substance, although it has, in some habits, an opening quality, in others proves quite the reverse: to obviate the last, which must ever, in cases of fever, be attended with bad consequences, we generally add a few grains of rhubarb to each dose; or, what answers just as well, and without irritating the stomach, we recommend the use of laxative injections. Any purging effect from the cinchona may be easily prevented, by adding four or five drops of laudanum to each dose. At the commencement of the hot fit, benefit is often derived from thirty or forty drops of the medicine just mentioned, given in a small glass of water, in conjunction with half a drachm or more of the *alcohol am-*

moniatum aromaticum, or with half an ounce of the *aqua acetatis ammoniæ*. This appears not only to have the effect of shortening the fit, but of sustaining the strength of the patient, and enabling his stomach to bear the bark. When the perspiration begins to flow, the drink¹ ought to be taken tepid; but during the time that the skin is dry, and the temperature of the body at its greatest febrile height, cold water may not only be taken with safety, but we think with advantage.

The bark is not to be immediately left off on the fever disappearing from its use, but ought to be continued for eight or ten days, effectually to prevent or break a habit of recurrence; and for this purpose, three, four, or more doses, on the days

(1) Barley-water, rice-gruel, or, what is very pleasant, an infusion of lemon-grass (*Andropogon Spec.*), are the most proper. For old people, or those of cold and delicate constitutions, a good sustaining drink, during the sweating stage, may be made with a pound and a half of a warm infusion of sage, and a drachm of the *aqua carbonatis ammoniæ*.

the fever used to return, will be quite sufficient.

Much has been said with regard to the propriety of giving repeated purges, in cases of intermittent fever ; and there are some practitioners, in this country, who are in the habit of ordering them very freely. However necessary we deem it to be, that the bowels should in every instance be kept perfectly open, and that over-secretions of bile should be carefully worked off, we are altogether inclined to distrust the frequent use of strong remedies of this class ; not only as we have known them, from our own experience, to be productive of certain mischief, by occasioning irritation, debility, and ultimately an obstinate disease, but as we are mindful of the lesson that was taught us early in life, by the writings of the judicious Hoffman¹, who particularly recommends, that in agues the bowels should be kept open by the gentlest laxatives, given with the bark, or by clysters.

(1) Vide *Med. Rat. Syst.* Pars I. cap. 1.

Slight enlargements and indurations of the spleen will sometimes be felt, after attacks even of the most regular intermittents; and in habits otherwise sound, such affections are of little consequence, and commonly disappear rapidly, on the disease taking its final departure, without further precautions than attention to proper diet, and the state of the bowels.

We have hitherto been supposing that medical aid has been sought (as it ever ought to be) at the very commencement of the disease; when prompt recourse to the bark, after free evacuations have been procured, will often put an entire stop to the disorder: but, unfortunately, this is not always the case. The fever has perhaps been allowed to run its course² for days together, without any thing having been

(2) This, we have no doubt, has been the chief cause of the great mortality occasioned by the epidemic fever; as thousands, in remote situations, where no medical aid was at hand, must have had their constitutions ruined before they could receive the smallest relief.

done to check it: on the contrary, improper food may have been taken, bile pent up, spirituous liquors drunk; in fact, every thing done, which ought not to have been done: the consequence of which must be, that abdominal congestion, and obstruction of the greater viscera, soon take place, and an obstinate and dangerous state of the disorder is thereby most certainly induced.

In such distressing circumstances, there is often but little immediate advantage to be expected from medicine, without, at the same time, having recourse to a change of climate (as has been strongly recommended, in similar cases by Dr. John Hunter¹, in his valuable *Observations on the Diseases of the Army in Jamaica*); then calomel² will in many cases be found of great service, particularly if the habit is still pretty strong,

(1) See his work, pp. 214, 215.

(2) About four or five grains, made into two pills; one of which is to be given at night, and the other in the morning. Should these purge too much, half a grain of opium may be added to the whole, or a grain, if necessary.

and the bowels firm. On the mouth becoming affected with the medicine, some of the most unpleasant symptoms will in all probability disappear; when the bark, should it still be necessary, can be administered with more safety.

There are a description of medical men in this country, who suppose that, in hot climates, bark given for intermittent fevers has the effect of bringing on abdominal obstructions, if calomel is not at the same time daily administered; but to this opinion we cannot, from our own experience, subscribe. If full and proper evacuations are procured at the commencement of the disease, if over-secretions of bile are purged off, and if great care is at all times taken to keep the bowels open, we see no good reason why this acrid mineral should be given, however necessary it may be to alter the habit in more serious attacks;—it is an irritating and debilitating medicine; it is very apt to sicken the stomach, and produce dyspepsia; and must therefore prove

particularly objectionable at all times in delicate habits, and often in others too, when we should, as much as possible, preserve the tone of the stomach, and prevent it from rejecting the bark.—No: obstructions of the nature above mentioned, we are rather inclined to think, arise from other causes; such as, a neglect of timely and free evacuation by stool, and perhaps more certainly still from repeated, long, and severe cold stages having been allowed to take place, before the malady was checked: and hence the almost constant affection of the spleen or liver, which we see consequent of obstinate quartan agues, and which was particularly instanced in the native hospital of Dindigul. In support of what we have here advanced, we shall bring the authority of one of the most enlightened physicians of the present age, Dr. Jackson¹, who, in speaking of bark, says: “I was
“early aware of these objections; and

(1) See *Dr. Jackson's Treatise on the Fever of Jamaica*, pp. 317, 318, 336.

“ watched narrowly, that I might discover
 “ its real effects : and I am now warranted
 “ in saying, that it has every right to be
 “ considered as a *specific* in ague and fever,
 “ while it is totally free from the imputa-
 “ tion of occasioning dropsy, dysentery, or
 “ visceral obstructions : these complaints
 “ were always the most frequent when
 “ this remedy had been the most sparingly
 “ employed.”

We not unfrequently meet with very
 obstinate cases of intermittent fever, though
 apparently unaccompanied by any peculiar
 derangement of the abdominal viscera : in
 such cases, so inveterate is the habit of
 recurrence, that no quantity of bark that
 can be taken seems to have any good
 effect : against these, many remedies have
 been used with various success.

We have occasionally tried with advan-
 tage the vitriolic æther, as recommended
 by Mr. Davidson, in the 5th volume of the
 “ Medical Facts and Observations,” to the

quantity of a drachm and a half, on the approach of the cold fit; and we have also known benefit derived from a full dose of laudanum, given about an hour before the attack; a practice first taught us by the excellent Dr. Blane¹.—In favour of the use of white vitriol in agues, we cannot say much: we learn from Mr. Hastie, that he gave it a fair trial in the hospital at Dindigul, in May last; but he thought, although in a few instances it appeared to do good, that it was apt in others to produce much general uneasiness, headache, nausea, and a most disagreeable sensation at the upper part of the œsophagus.

An emetic, given a little before the cold fit was expected, has occasionally kept it off.

Arsenic, which for some years past has come much into vogue in England, has

(1) See his *Observations on the Diseases of Seamen*, page 444. Third edition.

(2) It was given in the quantity of about three grains every hour, commonly about twelve hours before the attack was expected.

been used by the Hindoo medical practitioners from time immemorial, and they have great confidence in its virtues in intermittent fevers: we have been in the habit of occasionally prescribing it in solution, as recommended by Dr. Darwin, to the extent of eight drops three times in the day; but we do not much approve of the practice; though we must add, that we have, in some instances, seen it succeed in putting an entire stop to the disease, when many other things had failed.

In recommending the use of the cold effusion during the hot fit, we can speak without hesitation, being firmly of opinion that it is a very powerful remedy; and what frequently, when judiciously used, arrests the progress of the intermittent;—nay, we have, in several instances known daily immersion in the sea prove the happy means of checking agues which had baffled every other exertion that had been made to conquer them.

A blister applied to the nape of the neck will often prevent the recurrence of the cold fit; and in cases of great debility, when the stomach rejected almost every thing, we have seen the patient saved by having a warm plaster laid over his stomach, and taking large doses of tincture of bark, each dose containing six or eight grains of ginger; or the bark, in such cases, may be given in an infusion of ginger; or, what we have occasionally found prove very beneficial, powdered ginger may be taken in an infusion of the *Creāt root*¹.

Notwithstanding all these remedies, however, the disease will sometimes prove² very

(1) *Justicia Paniculata*. See Dr. Ainslie's *Materia Medica of Hindoostan*.

(2) Mr. Tait, Garrison Surgeon of Trichinopoly, whose professional talents are well known, has informed us, that in obstinate cases of intermittent fever, when he had tried every thing else that has been had recourse to on such occasions, in vain, he had succeeded in checking the disease, by giving at bed-time a full dose of the *Elixir Sacrum*, or, as it is now called, the *Tinctura Rhei et Aloës*.

obstinate; and, if not checked, run on to coma, and death. In such cases, calomel, or the blue pill, continued till the mouth is a little affected, even when no obstruction has taken place, is often found to be of the greatest service;—not so much by putting a stop to the recurrence of the attack (for in accomplishing this end it frequently fails³), but by inducing a new action, and thereby bringing about so great a change in the habit of the patient, that the cinchona, which previously had been given in vain, will now be administered with success.

In the latter periods of long-protracted cases of intermittent fever, particularly if free evacuations had not been procured in the earlier part of the disorder, distressing and alarming bowel affections often take place, —not attended with much straining, but of an obstinate and debilitating nature. Gentle opiates, given in weak cretaceous mixtures,

(3) We know several instances of the fever continuing to recur while the mouth was affected by the mercury.

made cordial by means of some aromatic, are sometimes of service in such cases ; but attacks of this kind prove but too often fatal, particularly amongst the natives.

Œdematous swellings, and ascites also, not unfrequently supervene from pure debility. These, when no particular abdominal enlargements or obstructions have taken place, are best treated by repeated small doses¹ of tincture of squills, given in conjunction with a little ginger and tincture of bark ; having recourse, at the same time, to frequent friction with dry flannel, and proper attention to the ingesta : but should the bowels be altogether firm, and there is any reason to think that the dropsy arises rather from visceral congestion than weakness, calomel must be given, in conjunction with the powder of squills, in small repeated

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- (1) R Tincturæ scillæ, gtt. x.
 Tincturæ cinchonæ, ℥ij.
 Pulveris zingib. gr. viij.
 Aquæ fontan. ℥ifs.
 Misce. Fiat mistura, ter indies sumenda.

doses ; or, what may be safer, as less likely to bring on flux, the common mercurial pill, with the addition of the dry squill powder. The following we have ordered with advantage :—

R Pilulæ hydrarg. gr. vi.

Pulveris scillæ siccæ. gr. ij.

Misce. Fiant pilulæ duæ. Sumatur una bis indies.

These may be continued for a longer or shorter period, according to circumstances ; adding, should it be necessary, a little opium ; and, at the same time, paying the strictest attention to proper diet, and the use of dry friction.

When any person is seized with remittent or intermittent fever, who has previously suffered much from liver affections or dysentery, and who may still have diseased abdominal viscera, a most complex and dangerous morbid condition may be expected, requiring the nicest treatment, as each succeeding attack but too surely aggravates the old derangement ; and the uncer-

tain state of the bowels is as certainly discouraging to any great hopes we might entertain from the use of the bark. In such a predicament, indeed, this medicine is to be given with great caution; and the decoction or infusion, with the addition of a little of the tincture, are to be preferred to the substance. But, when there is much uneasiness or pain in the right side, even these should be desisted from: a blister, without loss of time, should be applied to the part affected, and mercury had recourse to. At such times, however, as the bowels are often much out of order, the following, persevered in for a short time, we think infinitely preferable to plain calomel, as an *alterative*,—to use a word now wearing out of fashion, for want of a better to express the effects often happily produced on the human frame, by administering this extraordinary mineral:—

R Pilulæ hydrarg. gr. vi.

Pulver. ipecac. gr. iij.—iv.

Opii, gr. fs.

Fiant pilulæ tres. Sumatur una ter indies:—

resuming the use of the cinchona, if required, after the hepatic symptoms are removed. In other cases, if the attacks of fever continue to recur, we have even given it at the same time with the pills, especially if the liver complaint was altogether chronic, and the uneasiness in the side very slight.

Sometimes, in complaints of this nature that have remained obstinate, we have known an issue in the right side of great service; together with a judicious course of bitters and gentle tonics. We say *judicious*, because we are aware that *mischief* is often done by an indiscriminate use of these remedies.

A change¹ of air we have constantly found so beneficial in promoting the re-

(1) Celsus had so high an opinion of the benefit to be derived from a change of air in many complaints, that he says, rather than not change it, it is better to go from air, ascertained to be good, to a bad climate.—Vide *Celsus*, lib. ii. cap. 1.

covery of all such as have been attacked with remittent or intermittent fever, that we never fail to recommend it to those who have it in their power to try it.

It is almost needless to add here, how much diet ought to be attended to in the cure of fever. All crude vegetables and austere fruits are to be cautiously avoided; as should also food of what is commonly called a heavy nature, or that is difficult of digestion. Light puddings, clear broths, and bread or rice, are proper: on the well days, a little tender animal food, with two or three glasses of sound Sherry¹, or (what is perhaps better) brandy and water, made weak, may be safely taken. Gentle exercise is useful: and some people, particularly such as are subject to hepatic affections, often derive much benefit from wearing flannel next the skin, which prevents any bad consequences from sudden

(1) There is an acidity in Madeira wine, which, in such cases, must be avoided.

chills, and keeps up a nearly uniform temperature on the surface of the body. Above all things, the state of the bowels is particularly to be attended to, and excess of every kind carefully shunned.

Regular intermittent fevers are not unfrequently ushered in by a febrile attack, more or less continued, and usually of one or two days' duration. In such cases, we prescribe an emetic², if the state of the stomach admits of it. After its operation has ceased, we evacuate the bowels by means of a smart purge; and for this purpose nothing answers better than a full dose of the compound powder of jalap, salts, and manna, or jalap and calomel; giving, on the evening of the same day, a

(2) This may either be of tartar emetic, or ipecacuanha: a scruple or 15 grains of the latter will be sufficient. The first is best given in small divided doses.

R Mistur. salin. lb. i.

Tart. antim. gr. iij.

Misce. Assumatur \mathfrak{z} iis. omni quadrante horæ, donec vel excitatur vomitus, vel alvus solvatur

draught prepared with half an ounce of the *aqua acetatis ammoniæ*, two drachms of common syrup, and thirty drops of laudanum ; or one composed of one drachm of antimonial wine, and as much of the *spiritus ætheris nitrosi*.

Should the patient still continue so feverish as to prevent his using the bark in the way already recommended, he may take the following, in doses of an ounce and a half, every two hours :—

R. Mistur. Salin. lb. ifs.

Tart. antim.—gr. ifs. Misce.

Or it may be prepared without the emetic tartar, adding, instead of it, half a drachm of purified nitre.

When, from the appearance of the symptoms formerly described (in Section V.), it is evident that a fever of the remittent kind is expected, the stomach is often in so irritable a state, that it would

be highly improper to give an emetic. In such cases we order at once the following pills :—

R. Calomel, gr. vi.

Pulv. Jacob. gr. vi.

Misce. Fiant pilulæ tres :—

the whole of which may be taken in the course of the twelve hours. These will produce copious evacuations ; and may also, perhaps, bring on a degree of diaphoresis ; which ought to be encouraged, by taking frequently a little tepid drink. On the second day, when the paroxysm will, in many cases, be found every way more severe¹ than on the first, no time is to be lost in having recourse to mercury ; the remedy which, at such times, can best be relied on for producing a proper intermission. Seven or eight grains of

(1) At this period of the disease, we have, in some instances, been able to check its further progress by means of the cold affusion ; while, in others, it altogether failed in producing the desired effect.

calomel, with three grains of camphor, are to be well rubbed together, and made into four pills, one of which is to be taken every three hours during the day. These will often have the desired effect, if continued² for two or three days, by producing a desirable change in the habit, and so favourable a remission or intermission of fever, that the bark can be given with safety.

Notwithstanding this mode of treatment, however, we have found that, in some instances, the epidemic fever, in its remittent form, has proved a very severe and dangerous disease. Should no positive advantage appear to have been derived from

(1) There appears to be something in the nature of camphor, which peculiarly fits it for being given in conjunction with calomel: it mitigates, in some measure, the acrimony of this mineral, tends to calm the nervous system, and gives the fluids a tendency to the skin.

(2) The length of time to continue the pills must, of course, depend upon the habit of the patient. It will be necessary to administer them till the gums are a little affected, but not the length of painful salivation.

the use of the pills just mentioned, although the gums shew evidently that the habit has been affected by the mineral, we think it advisable no longer to delay the use of the cinchona, even before a regular intermission has been obtained, as the surest means of sustaining the strength of the sufferer. The decoction, or infusion, with a small portion of the fine powder in it, and a little of the tincture, will then be the best form; giving, from time to time, what light nourishment² can be taken: or the pills of calomel and camphor may be given during the night, and the bark by day, in the way just mentioned; taking care, should nature appear to be sinking, to endeavour to raise the vital

(2) With regard to wine, we must recommend that it be given with great caution in every instance of remittent fever: and if it appears, in the *smallest degree*, to increase the febrile heat, or excite delirium, which it often does, it is altogether to be abstained from; for it will then certainly do infinite mischief: it is safer to abstain from it altogether, till the fever has totally disappeared.

energy, by means of blisters to the legs, feet, or back. Indeed, in all extreme cases of this malady, blisters are often of great service, by rousing to recollection, and exciting the *vis vitæ*. The bowels are to be kept open by mild injections, to save the stomach; and grateful, but light cordials, are to be united with the bark.

Relapses of the epidemic fever, in all its forms and types, have been extremely troublesome. These seem to be in a great measure occasioned by the habit of recurrence that has been acquired during the course of the disease: they are apt to happen, too, on any particular change of the weather, or to be brought on by irregular living, repletion, fatigue, cold bathing in damp weather, or improper exposure to the heat of the sun or dews of the night. Costiveness, pent-up bile, and indigestion, we have also known frequently to induce a return of the disorder, when it appeared to have taken its final departure.

With regard to the moon producing relapses of fever, we cannot speak with much confidence. This influence was first taken notice of in India by Dr. Lind, many years ago ; and, since his time, more particularly, by Dr. Balfour, who has written on the subject. The latter is of opinion, “ that the three days which precede and “ the three days which follow the new or “ full moon are remarkable for the in- “ vasion and relapses of fever ; that the “ day of the full moon, and the day of “ the change of the moon, are the most “ remarkable of all ; and, further, that the “ days which follow are, in general, more “ remarkable than those which precede¹. ”

It is singular, that, by Dr. Jackson's own observations in America, it appeared, that the four days preceding², not following, the full moon were more particularly distinguished for febrile attacks. These diffe-

(1) See Dr. Jackson's *Treatise on the Fevers of Jamaica*, p.95.

(2) Ibid. p. 98.

rences impress us with doubts on this point—doubts still more strongly felt, from a further knowledge of opposite opinions and conclusions, which we shall here mention.

The excellent Dr. James Clarke¹, long a most accurate observer in the West Indies, says, that he ascribes those periodical returns of intermittent fever rather to a certain habit contracted in the constitution, than to any influence of the moon on the body. On the other hand, Mr. Hastie, in a letter addressed to the President of this Committee, has these words:—"About two days before
" the change of the moon took place last
" month at Dindigul, relapses of fever were
" frequent amongst the convalescents."

But then, again, in a communication which the President of the Committee received some years ago from Mr. Currie, a young man of great medical research, and

(1) See his *Treatise on the Yellow Fever of Dominica*, p. 96.

now Surgeon to the Residency of Hyderabad, we learn, that by a correct account of attacks and relapses of fever in the Hospital of the 1st Regiment of Native Cavalry, during a period of two years in the ceded districts, Mr. Currie clearly ascertained, that, so far from a greater number of relapses or attacks happening at or near the full of the moon, they were least common at those times.

To prevent relapses of fever, we know nothing so likely to be of advantage as a change of air, particularly by a sea voyage. To effect the same happy purpose, great attention to the state of the body is absolutely necessary. Taking occasionally a little tincture of bark, together with a small quantity of that of the *Creāt-root*, will be of service; and nothing can more certainly be so, than carefully avoiding every kind of excess.

Soon after the appointment of this Committee, we had occasion to regret that

much mischief evidently arose from a deficiency of medical aid in many of the smaller villages and remote corners of the southern provinces ; and then called to the attention of the Medical Board certain short rules, which we thought could easily be followed by the natives themselves, without the immediate attendance of regular Vytians.

We were much gratified to find that what we then recommended was so much approved of by the Medical Board, and subsequently by the Honourable the Governor in Council, that the latter had lost no time in ordering the most prompt obedience to our various injunctions and cautions throughout the whole of the districts in which the fever at that time raged. And we have now the greatest satisfaction in saying, that our advice was not bestowed in vain : many natives in different quarters have acknowledged the great benefit that has been derived from the use of the medicines we brought to their notice, and confess that

they believe them to have saved many lives.

We shall conclude this section by subjoining a list of a few of the many articles which are used by the native medical practitioners in intermittent fever. But first let us testify our great joy at now having it in our power to declare, that, by every account we can obtain, we learn that the epidemic has in a great measure ceased from its work of destruction; and that the few unfortunates who still suffer are merely those who, having escaped with life from the first violence of the disease, are now lingering under the visceral derangements it is but too apt to leave behind.

1. *Vullay Pashanum*, (White Arsenic).—

Of this they are in the habit of giving about the fifteenth part of a grain twice daily, rubbed into a fine powder with coarse sugar.

2. The bark of the *Soïmédoo*, (*Swietenia febrifuga*, *Roxb.*)—This is chiefly used by the inhabitants of the Northern Circars. We have, from our own experience, found, that, when taken beyond the quantity of five or six drachms in the course of the day, it produces vertigo, and other nervous symptoms; without being by any means so valuable a medicine, in other respects, as either the *Cinchona*, or bark of the *Vaypoomarum*.
3. The bark of the *Vaypoomarum* (*Melia Azadirachta*).—This bark is very bitter, powerfully tonic, and is much used by the Tamool doctors.
4. The nut called in Bengal *Cāt Carāuja*, and by the Malabars *Cúlláchie Kāie*.—It is the produce of the *Cæsalpina Bonducella*.
5. *Chukkoo* (*Amom. Zingib.*).

6. *Womoo* (*Sison Ammi*).
7. *Sittaretti* (*Costus spicatus*, *Rottler*).
8. *Tsiragum* (*Cuminum Cyminum*).
9. The bark of the *Caroowelim* (*Acacia Arabica*).—The tree in Hindoostanee has the name of *Babul*.
10. The *Corte de Pāla*, or Tellicherry bark.—It is obtained from the *Nerium Antidysentericum*, and is much used on the Malabar coast.

SECTION VII.

Observations respecting the Measures that might be adopted, to prevent, as much as possible, the Recurrence of so great a Mortality, from a Succession of Irregular Seasons.

To correct the state of the atmosphere, when it has become noxious, from such causes as we have enumerated, it will be allowed, is not within the power of man ; but it must, at the same time, be granted, that this evil will be attended with infinitely worse consequences, under certain circumstances, than under others.

We have observed, in a former section of this Report, that in all low, marshy situations, the epidemic was found to rage with great violence. Hence the propriety becomes evident, that, wherever it can be done with

convenience in future, villages and hamlets should be built on sites that are high and dry. We have also seen, that in many places close to the mountains, which are ill ventilated, or covered with thick jungle, the disease was very prevalent;—a circumstance which leads us to express our opinion, that the greater distance towns and villages are from those high lands, the better chance will those have, who inhabit them, of escaping fever.

It is a well-established fact, that, during such calamitous periods as that which we now with sorrow contemplate, the lower¹ classes ever suffer most; the natural consequence of their not enjoying the comforts which the more affluent can command;—a fact, too, corroborated, on the present occasion, by our having, in every instance, remarked, that those individuals were the most healthy, who were best lodged, fed, and clothed.

(1) See *Malthus on Population*, vol. II. p. 59.

In the Coimbatore country, where the greater part of the inhabitants sleep on cots, and, in bleak weather, have *cumblies* to cover them, the epidemic fever was comparatively less destructive ; as also in the more central tracts of the Tinnivelly district, and particularly in those beautiful and thriving villages on the banks of the Tambarapoorne, where an active and superior race of people seem to receive the just rewards of their labour and industry. How much, then, ought it to be the study of every government, to meliorate, as much as possible, the condition of the inferior ranks ! The ample advances of money, that have been made to relieve the distresses of the cultivators in these provinces, testify how well this is understood by the supreme authority at Madras ; and we shall take the liberty of suggesting what we conceive ought to be further done, to amend the condition of the native inhabitants.

- 1st. To give them every encouragement to build their streets wide and regular.

2d. To recommend tiling, in place of thatching, the roofs of houses, to such as can afford it.

3d. To point out the benefit of sleeping on *cuttles* (truckle-beds), instead of lying on the damp ground.

4th, and lastly. To have it strongly urged, to men of all ranks and castes, the advantages that are to be derived, in moist and bleak weather, from being covered with *cumblies*.

It has been remarked by a very accurate observer, Dr. W. Fowle¹, that intermittent fevers, in the West Indies, are ever most common and dangerous in those islands which are least cultivated. Dr. S. Farr², in his translation of the *Epidemics* of Hippocrates, seems to have thought so highly of the influence of agriculture, that he has

(1) See Dr. Fowle's Treatise.

(2) See his Preliminary Discourse, from p. 38 to 43.

introduced it as one of the means by which a distempered state of the air may be remedied or prevented; and D. A. Wilson¹, in his valuable Observations on the Influence of Climate, has these words, in speaking of America: — “ The European inhabitants, “ who were transplanted to that continent, “ seemed for a time to degenerate; but the “ face of the country being by degrees “ changed, from woods and morasses, to a “ clear surface and cultivated fields, and, “ consequently, from an impregnated to a “ pure atmosphere, those appearances have “ subsided, and the natural effects have “ begun to flow from those changes, “ which there was every reason to expect “ from its cultivation and climate: and the “ more quickly it is deprived of its woody “ covering, the more rapid will its improvements be, in every thing that hath distinguished the European nations in equal “ latitudes.”

(1) See his Work, pp. 275, 276.

With such authorities, then, before us, we shall here venture to offer our opinion with some confidence, that nothing is more likely to prove advantageous to the climate of our Indian dominions than the clearing away of jungle, the draining of useless swamps, and an extensive cultivation of waste lands; and we are extremely happy to learn, that, at this very time, these objects occupy the serious attention of the Governor in Council of Fort St. George.

In a communication which we made to the Medical Board, from Bhavanie, in the month of May, we expressed a belief that many deaths had been occasioned by the ignorance of the native medical practitioners, regarding the best method of treating the epidemic fever; and we then recommended, with a view of obviating the mischief thence arising, that the Vytians should attend, for a time, to the personal instructions of such surgeons, or assistant surgeons, as might be stationed nearest to their respective villages. But we have since

thought that a much more eligible method might be adopted, to accomplish the same end,—by a concise and distinct account of the European method of treating fevers, and two or three of the other most common diseases of these countries, being translated into Malabar, and the work distributed amongst the Hindoo doctors.

In a former section, we mentioned our great joy at having had it in our power to say, that the ravages of the epidemic had ceased: and perhaps we cannot better conclude our Report, than by expressing an earnest hope, that what has been advanced by Dr. Short, in his “History of Air and Seasons,” as well as by Malthus¹, may, on this occasion, be realized; viz. “That a
“severe and mortal epidemic is generally
“succeeded by uncommon healthiness.”

COURTALUM,
August 27, 1811.

(1) See *Malthus's Essay on Population*, vol. II. p. 63.

A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
INSURRECTION IN WALLACHIA;
BY AN EYE WITNESS.
INCLUDING THE
TEXT OF THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THAT COUNTRY,
GRANTED BY THE
SULTANS BAJAZET AND SELIM;
THE
PROCLAMATION
OF THE
EMPEROR ALEXANDER TO THE WALLACHIANS
IN 1806,
AND
THE REAL MANIFESTOES OF YPSILANTI;
LITERALLY TRANSLATED BY THE AUTHOR FROM
THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

——— Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.—HOR.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY COX AND BAYLIS,
GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS;
SOLD BY G. AND W. B. WHITTAKER, AVE-MARIA LANE.

1821.

CORRIGENDA.

Page. line.

- 1 17 — *for have, read has.*
- 2 6 — *expunge the.*
- 3 13 — *for rebjool, read rebyool.*
- 5 5 — *for at, read of.*
- 5 14 — *for Sultans, read Sultan.*
- 8 12 — *for receiving, read reviewing.*
- 9 14 — *for preserve, read protect.*
- 10 5 — *for neither, read either.*
- 10 18 — *expunge such.*
- 18 8 — *for 47, read 17.*
- 25 19 — *for their, read the.*
- 33 19 — *for will, read wilt.*
- 36 18 — *expunge but, and has; for .*
read a comma
- 36 21 — *for chuses, read chose.*
- 43 18 — *expunge to.*
- 44 15 — *capital U, and sign of “*
- 47 10 — *expunge oral and.*
- 47 18 — *remove bracket, to after Alex-*
ander, line 21.
- 48 16 — *expunge for.*
- 50 13 — *for relations, read relation-*
ships.
- 52 19 — *for Europe in, read European.*
- 55 9 — *expunge was.*
- 56 15 — *for hands, read bands.*

Page. line.

- 58 21 — *insert after regards, the Inha-*
bitants of.
- 62 24 — *for Russia, read Russian; for*
of, read the.
- 63 1 — *for ; read a comma.*
- 63 8 — *for of, read the.*
- 64 13 — *after consumers, insert a comma*
- 72 10 — *after being, insert momentarily*
- 75 26 — *expunge ; and for ; insert a*
comma.
- 76 3 — *for duties, read devotion.*
- 77 18 — *for difficulty at, read hesita-*
tion in.
- 77 25 — *after caressed, insert by Franks.*
- 79 18 — *for uniform, read symbol.*
- 82 24 — *after but, insert he.*
- 84 7 — *after hourly, insert menaced.*
- 88 20 — *for Pynx, read Pnyx.*
- 88 24 — *expunge of.*
- 92 12 — *for depend, read depends.*
- 95 10 — *for national, read commercial.*
- 96 11 — *after Monarch, insert a colon.*
- 96 13 — *for undertaking, read under-*
standing.
- 96 38 — *for city, read city's.*

The manuscript sent to England was so erased, interlined and abbreviated, that the Editor is fearful many important errors of the press still remain, which, from the author's absence, it is impossible to remedy in this edition.

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P R E F A C E.

THE following pages contain the personal observations of one of a party of European travellers, necessarily traversing Wallachia, in the autumn of the year 1820, on their journey into Asia. The author incautiously delayed his departure from Buccarest until a premature fall of snow had rendered his farther advance or retreat during the winter highly dangerous, if not impracticable.

The sudden death of Prince Alexander Suzzo, having been the *immediate* cause of the troubles which ensued, the author's attention was naturally roused to the passing scenes, and he sought a relief from the oppressive dreariness of a Thracian Winter (the seat of Ovid's exile) in the collection and translation of documents illustrative of the political state of that highly interesting Turco-Christian principality. These, he has thought, may not be uninteresting to studious readers at the present moment.

Having

Having been a compulsory witness of the whole progress of the insurrection, and *the last* to quit the country, which for weeks before his departure had been evacuated by all the respectable classes of the natives, the author has ventured some impartial opinions upon general questions, which he trusts will be injurious to no party; being merely the impressions, of the facts narrated, and documents produced, upon a *plain understanding*. Each reader is as qualified as the author, to draw the same, or a different conclusion upon a perusal of the narrative.

London, Nov. 1821.

NARRATIVE,

&c. &c.

THE claims of the Greeks, as Christians, and founders of civilization in Europe, have hitherto only been enforced (if felt) by the *actual* interference of that European Christian power the least civilized and latest converted. This interest may have arisen from the more forcible effect of the benefits and comparative blessings of both upon that nation which had so recently obtained them. Much to the honour of the Sovereigns, and people of Russia, who have always seconded the views of their rulers in *this* direction with an exemplary ardour, a great portion of the Christian provinces of the Porte, east of the Carpathians (that is to say, the whole of ancient Dacia north of the Danube), have been gradually (and until the present horrors effectually) withdrawn from the paralyzing despotism of the Mahomedans: who had gradually usurped the entire sovereignty of

those districts, notwithstanding a positive treaty of alliance, and solemn confirmation of the privileges of the Christian inhabitants. The following is a literal copy of the treaty after the conquest of the country by the victorious Bajazet.

Hatee Hoomayoon of the Sultan Bajazet the First, surnamed El Derin (the Profound), in the year 1393; declaring the rights and duties of Mirza the First of Wallachia, and his Boyars, according to their Capitulation.

We decree out of our extreme indulgence to the lately surrendered country of Wallachia and its Prince, under the invincible hold of our irresistible power, that this country shall be governed by its own laws, and that the Voda (leader, viz. Prince) of Wallachia, shall have full power to wage war against his neighbours, and make peace with them at his discretion; and, above all, let him be lord of the life and death of his own subjects. Let such Christians, as should be received into the religion of Mahomet, and subsequently passing from our *subject* territories, place foot in Wallachia, and there conform to the customs of Christians, be unannoyed and unpersecuted. Let such Wallachians as pass for their own affairs into the territories

territories subject to *our dominion*, be unmolested respecting Karadj (capitation tax), and unquestioned regarding their costume.

Let the Christian Princes be elected by the Metropolitan and the Boyars. Out of our so extreme indulgence, and in consequence of our numbering this Rayah (Prince Mirza) in the list of our other subjects, so accordingly shall he be bound to pay to our imperial Merree (treasure) yearly the sum of 3,000 red aspres of the country, equivalent to 500 silver piastres of our coin.

Given at Nicopolis, in the year 805 of the Hedjire, in the month of Rabjool Evel, and copied into the imperial Kiyootook (archives).

Original Titles of Mirza.

We Mirza the great (with Christ), towards God, orthodox, religious and Philo-Christ, with the compassion of God Voivode; by the divine grace Governor, Prince and Sovereign Lord of all the Hungro Wallachian territory, and beyond the Carpathian mountains, and on the other side to the land of the Tartars (Bessarabia); Duke of Almase and Faragase; Lord of the Southern Bannat; Sovereign of both banks of the Danube as far as the Black Sea, and Lord of the fortress of Drusta, and of all the countries and cities as far

as the mountains of Adrianople ; in the year of the world 6901.

This free *election* of a Prince by the Boyars took place once in the case of Mavrocordato, so lately as the year 1730, but not since. The Porte since that period has always *nominated a Greek*, without consulting the Wallachians ; and in the firman of his nomination it is declared that, in order that the Boyars may know and obey his will in the performance and fulfilment of the imperial commands, he is nominated as their Prince : therefore let him be saluted as such by the Boyars and the Rayahs, and report to the Sublime Government those who dare refuse submission.

Every article of the treaty has been set at nought. Not only the Princedom, but all the dignities of Wallachia were soon held by foreigners (Greeks), and the Wallachs were considered exactly upon a footing with the Bulgarians. The consequences were the almost total evacuation of the country by the original Wallachian nobles. At length, after several bloody struggles, the Empress Catharine obtained by treaty a solemn recognition and execution of the *chartered rights* of those provinces ; which, however, were violated almost before the Russian armies were out of sight of
of

of their capital, by the murders of the *Christian Princes*, occasioned by the struggles of various Greek families of Constantinople for their nomination to the succession. In 1803, fresh privileges were granted. At length the peace at Buccarest in 1812 was signed, confirming and setting forth all the preceding rights, and remedying all the then grievances of the Rayahs or Christian subjects of the Porte in Dacia. The following are the terms of that treaty, and this document is most important: it is a recognition not only of the right of Russia to interfere, but of the absolute *necessity* for such interference, from the acknowledged impotence of the Sultans to prevent the excesses of his great functionaries.

Like all such productions in the Levant, it is full of words derived from all the languages of Asia: I have therefore left some of the original phrases, where a literal interpretation is impossible.

Hattee-Hoo-ma-yoon (imperial, sacred, autographical signature) respecting Wallachia and Moldavia, by Sultan Selim IV., under the reign of Constantine Ypsilanti.

At the epoch of confirmation of peace and harmony between my Sublime and Eternal Court and
the

the Court of Germany ; then my Court compassionating the situation of many Rayahs (Christian subjects) of Wallachia, suffering greatly by the effects of war, I published a sacred order of exemption from the capitation tax and gifts, delivery of stores and forage ; also about the middle of the month Mukarrem, in the year of the Hedjire 1200 (1786), I graciously condescended to re-issue my sacred order, containing a positive declaration that my poor Rayahs should not be tormented unjustly. Subsequent to this arrived a petition in Greek and Turkish, on the part of the Metropolitan of Wallachia, the bishops, the princes, the monks, and priests of all the convents and churches ; the nobles, the Franks, and all the Sabites ; informing me that many Rayahs, several years before the war, from various irruptions and violences, had deserted their country and removed themselves entirely therefrom, and in consequence thereof the province of Wallachia was wasted, and the remaining inhabitants were in the most lamentable situation ; preserving, nevertheless, in their hearts, the most extreme submission and devotion to my powerful government ; and founding their hopes in the mercy and pity of my Sublime Court ; prayed a renewal of the before-mentioned high command,

containing

containing the statutes respecting the good order of the province, and other rights. And searching in the well guarded archives of my imperial Divan, amongst the various decrees, issued from time to time since, it is found amongst them that in the year 1188 (1774), about the middle of Shoowal, sublime decrees were issued respecting those principalities, decorated with the sacred Hattee Hoomayoon, containing the following matters. Let the Rayahs of the two principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, existing as places of *entrepôt* of my Sublime Court, paying according to their fortunes the yearly retribution, or poll-tax, be no wise molested, by the various outstanding accounts, of what nature soever ; or by any sort of measured money ; and should a petition or process happen, whether between a true believer and a Rayah, or between two Rayahs, let the Prince of Wallachia for the time being, examining with justice the plaintiff and defendant in the said cause, dispense the requisite justice ; and in order to shorten the accidental differences between true believers and Rayahs, let the Prince of Wallachia for the time being request the mediation of his *attaché*, the Divan Kiatab (Turkish secretary of the province), and other true believers ; and should this mediation

tion of the Divan Kiatab and the other true believers be inefficacious, and it should appear manifest that the object of the plaintiff or defendant believer is merely to injure and annoy the poor Rayah, let the Prince of Wallachia for the time being by no means suffer that the poor Rayahs be tormented and injured by such false and illegal processes and petitions; but let the prosecution of these doubtful differences take place in the presence of the Kadi (Judge) of *Gieurgevo* (a Turkish fortress on the Danube), he receiving these matters according to equity; and let the Kadis of *Gieurgevo* for the time being be constrained, when any such petition is referred to them on the part of the Prince of Wallachia for the time being, to take heed that they commit no act contrary to justice and law; particularly paying attention that they proceed strictly according to equity, and that the poor Rayahs be not tormented unjustly; and let not the Rayahs of Wallachia be tormented and molested by citations and compulsions to appear as defendants to suits in *other* places. Since a law has been issued, establishing that *the testimony of a Rayah against that of a true believer is receivable*, and agreeable in suits of *wills* and *powers of attorney*, let this law be
acted

acted upon according to the letter of the fetfas. And should any Turkish soldier, or other true believer, commit a crime in the Wallachian territory, let such delinquent be sent to the frontier fortress, and be there punished under the authority of his own superior officers. And notwithstanding various Sublime Decrees have been issued, that no artilleryman of the fortresses of the Danube, or others of the countries of the Danube, should dare, in opposition to the before-mentioned order, to *enter into* Wallachia, and their houses were commanded to be destroyed which formerly existed in the province of Wallachia, in order to preserve the natives, and to chase away and arrest those unoccupied, useless, and wicked vagrants: it is, however, *extremely probable* that such have endeavoured to return, and afterwards, upon disputes arising between themselves, murders have been committed in order to extort the *price of blood*; employing frauds and false processes, demanding (under false pretexts) effects and money, to vex and injure the poor Rayahs of Wallachia; therefore, for the future, except the appointed and designated number of merchants, let no one presume to enter from the fortresses into the territory of Wallachia; and

when even *such* intend to arrive, let them present the necessary certificate to the Prince himself, or to his deputy, and there traffic without demanding from the counties, *where they travel for their own affairs of commerce*, neither to *build them* separate houses, or to cultivate their fields, or to sow them, or otherwise torment the Rayahs, neither exacting salutation money : all which matters being specified exactly in the before-mentioned Sublime Decrees, are now *confirmed* : let them therefore be put in practice. And for the purpose of supporting these false processes, let no one presume to appoint in Wallachia, Turkish commissioners on the part of the Viziers, Kadis, and Zabites, to the vexation of the poor Rayahs. And let such estates and buildings, whether belonging to monasteries or other persons, be restored to their right owners, which have been forcibly and unjustly occupied by such abandoned and wicked men, hitherto falsely denominated by the appellation of Rayahs, after an exact research and examination, and proofs that they are so unjustly possessed. And should necessity require the restoration and former service of the identical ancient ports in Wallachia called Arasi and Hotsi, for the more advantageous and easy transport of the products of Wallachia from
that

that country to foreign parts, or from foreign parts into Wallachia, let the inhabitants of Wallachia be permitted to restore and remake any of those ports in a manner innocuous to my Sublime Government; and let it neither be permitted in future that true believing merchants keep houses or farms, or even pasture their cattle in Wallachia or Moldavia. And since it is prohibited that my high Viziers (Pashas with three tails) and honourable Miri Miramis (Pashas of two tails), in travelling to or from their governments, by deviating from the straight road in their ingress or regress, enter Wallachia, and *take gratis from the Rayahs* the necessary provisions for their followers and cattle; take horses from the post-houses, and commit other exactions, and torment the poor Rayahs: therefore my Imperial Majesty is by no means pleased that the Rayahs of the province of Wallachia be thus injured, either by the Viziers or the Miri Miramis, or by their suites deviating from the straight road and entering into Wallachia. In the like manner let not the Tartars, or others travelling to and from upon indispensable affairs ~~to the~~ various parts of the frontiers, deviate from the straight road, nor enter into Wallachia, nor demand more post-horses than the number specified in the Men-

zil firman (courier's pass) which they hold in their possession. In the same manner let not the travelling Maymoori (newly nominated officers on stations) for the time being, in the above-mentioned province of Wallachia, commit molestations, by exacting more than the number of horses stipulated in the Menzil firman. And should any negligence have been manifested in the execution of the above-mentioned Sublime Decrees, henceforth, however, the greatest diligence must be shewn in the observance of all the said rights; and should any one dare to make the smallest movement in opposition to this Sublime Order, the greatest diligence must be used in his chastisement, without the minutest delay. And inasmuch as sovereign orders have been issued commanding as follows: When the Rayahs of Wallachia arrive at the cities, villages, and markets beyond the Danube, upon affairs of their own commerce, let them not be tormented by the tax-gatherers and police-officers of those places, whether upon fraudulent poll-tax or other pretexts; neither let the tax-gatherers, nor the guards of outposts, enter the principality of Wallachia, and, under pretext of searching after foreign Rayahs, travel here and there about the country;

country ; therefore the present high decrees are imposed, according to the necessity, and such individuals are prohibited from the like measures. And let not the Rayahs and inhabitants of Wallachia be molested by whomsoever, contrary to the privileges and freedom of the country, by reason of their dresses and robes. And respecting those inhabitants of Wallachia who should wish to be received into Islamism and embrace the true belief (the Mussulman religion), such cannot demand their portion of the inheritance of their parents or relations. And having been requested a legal decision respecting the laws upon this subject, already four sacred fetfas have been issued : containing, firstly, if the Christian A. B., after having embraced Islamism, should die, C. D. (father of A. B.), being a Christian, cannot inherit from his son. Secondly, if A. B., husband of E. F., a Christian, be received into Islamism, E. F. dies, remaining in the Christian religion, A. B. having become a Mahomedan, cannot inherit from his Christian wife. Thirdly, if A. B. a Christian, son of C. D. a Christian, is received into Islamism, and C. D. dies a Christian, A. B. cannot inherit from his father. And, fourthly, if A. B. a Mussulman, emancipates his slave C. D. a Christian,

a Christian, if C. D., after his emancipation, should die without being received into Islamism, A. B. cannot inherit from his emancipated Christian C. D. These fetfas therefore existing, it is necessary that the object of them should be *acted upon*, according to the exigency. And inasmuch as a custom was allowed and permitted to exist, *viz.* that every year a certain quantity of sheep might be brought from the province of Wallachia by Sublime Orders, by the absolute authority of the imperial Kassab Bashee (arch-butcher) for the time being, at a *fixed price* : as it is incontrovertible and most necessary, that sheep ought to be brought from my imperial provinces for the provisionment of my empire, and the nourishment of the citizens of my metropolis ; therefore the Rayahs of the province of Wallachia must not conceal the sheep they have for sale, but. sell them for *the current market price* to the merchants and Turkish contractors, and this under the inspection of the Prince of Wallachia for the time being; who is responsible that no mistake happens in the expedition of all such vendible sheep to the metropolis; and let the inhabitants of Wallachia sell these vendible sheep to *none others* than the *Turkish* merchants and collectors, whose intention

is

is to expedite them to my metropolis, and not elsewhere. And inasmuch as the province of Wallachia exists in fact as the magazine of my empire, and the demand for and transport of such quantity of provisions is incessant, particularly in the two provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia: instead of the former *fixed price* issued for *all sorts* of grain seeds which the Rayahs of Wallachia may cultivate and sow, let them bring down diligently in sufficient quantity to the ports of the Danube, and sell them, according to the *market price*, to the Mussulman captains of the ships of the imperial storehouses; but selling their grain *only to those captains* who intend to sail *directly* to my *metropolis*, and not elsewhere: without, however, deserting their agricultural labours, and sowing; paying, however, no attention to the variation in the price of provisions, in the vent of these articles in their possession for sale; which they must *not hide*, with the view of exorbitant profit. Thus the inhabitants of Wallachia will be benefited and gain, and the inhabitants of my metropolis will suffer no straight for provisions; therefore the Bey of Wallachia and the Boyars will immediately evince the requisite industry upon this subject. Whatever offences the Boyars and

Rayahs

Rayahs of Wallachia and Moldavia may have been compelled to commit during the late war, all such hitherto accidental acts and measures are *pardoned*, with the completest amnesty on the part of my Sublime Government ; and my Majesty will never remember them in any time whatever, nor prefer nor reject any individual by reason of passed events. And henceforth, as long as they continue in the centre of submission, and devoted to my puissant Empire, and exert themselves as becomes good subjects, without exceeding the limits of due subordination, they have nothing before their eyes on the part of my Empire but mercy, pity, and pardon.

And concerning the difference between the Prince of Wallachia and the Inspector General of Silistria, respecting the mountains of the Upper Toona (Danube), let the last of the two published commands be obeyed with attention, according to the tenor of precedent Sublime Orders published in the year 77. And since the high offices of Wallachia and Moldavia ought to be distributed amongst the *choicest* of the *Greeks and Natives* capable of well filling them and trusty ; upon the heads of offices, therefore it is remitted to the Prince of Wallachia and Moldavia for the time
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being, to employ in their service, according to necessity, trusty and worthy Greeks as well as natives : preferring, however, the *most estimable* of the *native Boyars* to those offices which are held by *natives*. And when timbers are wanted for the repairs or construction of the forts in Roomelia, let them be cut from the mountains in Wallachia and Moldavia, and transported to the places where they are required, taking sealed certificates from the Bina Emini (chief Turkish architect); and let the price of the cutting and transport be paid instantly out of the yearly tribute of Wallachia and Moldavia, without deducting an obole. And the cattle of the huts under the government of the Mangalia Oostasee, and found in Mangalia, are prohibited from pasturing in that place, whether summer or winter; and thus the poor Rayahs will be protected from such damage. *To this effect* already many written articles have been found in the archives of the Divan; and to these are added the following articles, for their safeguard and protection, according to my imperial clemency and pity. In order, therefore, that they may pay attention, and conduct themselves with due submission, without deviating in the least from the path of rectitude and

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subjection,

subjection, according to their bounden duty, by offering the most firm devotion and submission to their Prince for the time being, let them be industrious and attentive in the fulfilment of the imperial services, avoiding with the most scrupulous care the minutest ill-humour. The articles are as follow: For the future, let no more than 619 purses (of 500 piastres, £47,) be required from Wallachia; and from Moldavia 135 purses and 445 piastres, upon the head of yearly contributions; to be paid by each province separately and at once, at the end of each year, and not by instalments. Let Wallachia, *moreover*, pay in money and goods, for presents, 180 purses, and for first-fruits 80 purses. Moldavia presents in money and goods 180 purses, and for first-fruits 50 purses, and no more. And let no claim be made on the Princes for a yearly Ip-ka-yáa, or expenses for a Mookararee (solemn procession or public entry); and as long as no fault is committed and proved with *certainty*, let them not be superseded. And for the future let no presents or offerings, beyond the accustomed amount, be exacted from the newly appointed Princes for the time being. And let not those accustomed presents and offerings be taken from the Rayahs, but from the appointed income of the Princes; that

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is to say, customs on salt duties proceeding from the mines. And let not the Pachas, Kadis, and other Sabites on the frontiers of the two principalities, make out and deliver imperial requisitions, upon their nomination, for offerings, whence damages arise to the poor Rayahs ; and let them not send, purely and simply from want of money, from their *own* Governments, Moobasheers (Turkish commissioners), except those who actually are expedited on the part of my Sublime Empire. And in the event of dismissal and appointment of those filling the *great offices* of my *Sublime Empire*, no present or offering whatsoever need *in future* be given. And let the grains and other provisions, required from the two principalities, be exacted *with measure*, so as not to straighten the poor Rayahs. And when the Empire *purchases* provisions from the said two principalities, let the price of the said provisions be paid in *ready money*, and let not the transport be borne by the poor Rayahs. And when the Mussulman merchants purchase provisions, let them pay the current price with money in hand. And as often as timbers are required from the two provinces, and other necessaries for construction, firstly, let information of the requisite quantity be given to the

Prince for the time being ; and let then the requisite be transported to the frontiers of the two principalities, and their value and handwork be paid to the Rayahs by the proper officers in such fortresses, in order to give a lift to the Rayahs, and this payment in measured money. Let not, however, the Rayahs be forced to transport these requisite articles, whether timbers or other, from their own mountains. And as often as cows or waggons are required from the two principalities, let them be paid for without the deduction of an obole from the accustomed price for transporting, and without delay in the payment. And let none be suffered to enter the said two principalities, (except the firmaned merchants) of the foreign inhabitants beyond the Danube, and the artillerymen of the forts, with intent to injure and damage the Rayahs, nor permitted to travel about the country, nor to cultivate or sow the lands belonging to the Rayahs ; neither to drive in their cattle for pasture or forage ; and let whosoever dares conduct himself in opposition to this regulation be punished severely. And let the estates of the Rayahs, which have been usurped since the peace, be restored to their owners. And let no commissioner, on the part of my Sublime Court, be sent into the said provinces,

provinces, except in case of very necessary and urgent affairs; and when such are sent, let them not extort their *foot labour* from the Rayahs, or invent pretexts and reasons to prolong their residence; which privileges were passed in order for the future to be always *acted upon* and guarded in these lands. And in case of necessity, the protocols of each of the matters are to be examined, and what they may require be strictly executed. Whoever shall dare to act in opposition to these articles, be he who he may, let him be reported to my Sublime Porte for chastisement, and be punished accordingly. And since an order has been issued, stating that many Rayahs have faithfully served the Sublime Empire, and have subjected themselves to their Princes, let them be rewarded with ranks and dignities which they have merited before the war, and let their estates remain in their possession.

Moreover, in order that industry and exertion be maintained, together with a voluntary disposition for the eternal preservation of the said articles; and in order that the estates of the *Boyars* may be re-established and exempted from *all taxes*, upon which estates they may maintain themselves; and in order that they may enjoy, according to ancient custom, the benefits accruing to them, and the

the ranks of their *family offices* ; with a view that they may not neglect, even to a hair, to put in practice their bounden duty and unlimited submission to the orders and wishes of their Princes, and docility towards them : when such is manifested, let industry be used in what may fortify their repose and their tranquillity in the enjoyment of their privileges. This industry on the part of the Prince causing the steady authority of the country, it becomes the Boyars to abstain from extravagant demands (*viz.* upon their peasants), and especially from such propositions and excessive exactions, which the Rayahs are incapable of supporting, by reason of the state of exhaustion into which the country has fallen through the war. Should any one of these Boyars refuse to listen to this order, and, contrary to my imperial will, should injure and torment the poor Rayahs, and should interfere in matters not concerning him, or should dare to undertake absurdities and exact offerings beyond their proper limits (all which cause confusion of the regulation, and disorders and exceptions), and should oppose himself to the execution of those good measures which the Prince should commence for the defence of the authority of the country, and for the restoration and consolation

tion of the Rayahs, and should dare to take any step *against the opinion of the Prince* : the officers chosen by and on the part of my Sublime Government, and the Prince appointed, have the full power to chastise such disorders with fit punishment. Therefore let all due diligence be used in the punishment, and according to the said mode of such disorders), and in the restoration of the well-being of the Rayahs, and preservation of the Nizam (good order) of the country. And let the yearly tribute, which belongs to the *whole mass* of the Rayahs, be collected from ALL, and according to justice let *each* bear *his portion* of the general burthen ; and let not certain of the Rayahs be exempted from the tribute, by certain pretexts and absurd quibbles, so that their portions go to augment the burthens of the other Rayahs.

Upon the whole, let care be taken that justice be guarded for ever. And since besides all these articles was issued a sacred command, full of compassion, in the year 1198 (1784), in the month of Rabyool'Evel, in the reign of my never-to-be-forgotten and most puissant illustrious uncle Sultan Hamid, (upon whom be mercy and pardon), and as it is found written in the archives all these numerous articles were the causes of the re-establishment and exemption

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tion from taxes of the said country of Wallachia and its population, and moreover the salvation of the oppressed inhabitants ; therefore, according to my imperial compassion towards all miserable and wretched, which is one of the illustrious grand qualities of my most just, imperial person, and particularly from my imperial pity towards the Rayahs as depositary of the holy God, Sovereign of the Universe, was published in the year 1206 (1792) a sublime command, adorned with a Hatee Hoomayoon, containing the above-mentioned two decrees, and the sacred Hati Hoomayoon of the year 1188, of which it has been already spoken ; *that* also, consonant with the issued decree of the year 1198, sealed by my Imperial Majesty, and in the just days of my reign. Let, therefore, the articles contained in the before-mentioned published decrees be exactly enforced, and let the welfare of the poor Rayahs be accomplished ; and particularly let the measures for the re-establishment and exemption from taxes of the country be executed ; acting upon the illustrious wish contained in the other Sublime Decree respecting the biennial exemption from arrear of the Rayahs ; and, after the fulfilment of the said biennial exemption, let the articles respecting the payable presents and
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first-fruits of the great officers of state, and other exactions consonant with the above-mentioned articles, be also put in vigour.

The above recited Sublime Command cut short those evils ; but since the course of time has caused *confusion* and *abuses to exist* in the execution of the above-mentioned articles, and ACCORDING TO THE EXISTING ARTICLES OF THE ACTINAMAY *between my Sublime Court and the Court of Russia ; THE COURT OF RUSSIA HAS THE RIGHT TO MEDIATE RESPECTING THE PROVINCES OF WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA.* Consequently, in order to *enforce the performance* of the above-mentioned articles, the Russian Ambassador in my capital has declared to my Sublime Court, by a note as from his Court, that he requested, in addition to those above-mentioned articles, statutes of the following nature.

Let, therefore, the term of the reign of their Princes be established for *seven years*, counted from the day of their nomination ; and as long as no fault is *proved* against them, let not the Princes be removed before the appointed term is expired. Nevertheless, if in the interim of the above-mentioned seven years any fault is committed, and information should be given on the part of my Sub-

lime Government to the Ambassador of Russia, and it should be proved and ascertained that he is actually in contempt and guilty of a fault ; at that period, his expulsion is allowed. Let the newly introduced taxes of the year 1198 (1784), impositions and extortions, be abstained from, and let the Prince of Wallachia with the Boyars establish and constitute the yearly taxes, and distribute them in an equitable manner upon *the same footing* ; and on the fortuitous contravention of this, the Princes of Wallachia are scrupulously to take care to *shew respect* to the *reports and informations* which the *Ambassador of Russia* may present from *time to time*, as well upon the head of *taxes* as upon that of the *privileges of the country*, and particularly upon the maintenance of the *rights* contained in these *present Sublime Commands*. Let the offices of the country be given to *natives* ; but let it be in the hands of the Government for the time being also to elect and appoint to those offices, even honourable and accomplished Greeks, if worthy of these dignities ; and should extortion happen on the part of such Greeks in the above-mentioned offices, let the Prince, for the time being, oust and chastise even them as well as the native Nobles ; and let him force them to restore what they

they may have so iniquitously obtained. Let the Prince for the time being arrange and fix every year the necessary expenses of the yearly economy of the post houses, with the Boyars of the Divan, and let him take no more than the appointed amount upon any pretext whatever. Let the Prince for the time being, after consulting with the Boyars, arrange the expenses for the original guards (police) of the country in order that the intermediate irregularities upon the subject of those peculiar Rayahs, exempted from all taxes, that is to say, the so called Sokotelnicks (domestic servants of the nobles), may be removed and cease. And let the burthen be so distributed, that no Rayah remain exempted from contribution, except the number in the treasury rolls, according to the ancient already-entered Sokotelnicks ; but let all others bear in common the burthen of this duty. And let all hinderance, annoyance and vexation whatsoever towards the Rayahs, on the part of the collectors of the taxes, be prevented positively. And since, for the accomplishment of the monthly pay and allowances of the armies in Wallachia, it is absolutely necessary that certain aid should be given on the part of Moldavia, by the levying of some extra taxes ; let

the measures upon this subject be directed with justice, and according to the above-mentioned published Sublime Decree; and particularly let the Prince, with the Boyars of Wallachia, give orders concerning the evacuation of the country by these armies, as soon as possible. And concerning the direction of the above-mentioned monthly pay, and since the exigency of the said pay renders it compulsory to collect that supply, let the Prince of Wallachia, after performing upon this subject his bounden duty, graciously dispense towards the Rayahs of Wallachia one full year's exemption from taxes. As many occasions of levy as should happen on the part of my Sublime Government of grain, butter, sheep, and in a word the various productions of the country, let a requisition be made out, and let it specify and enumerate the amount thereof, and the above mentioned Sublime Order. Let the said command be referred to the Boyars, and be read in their presence in the Divan of Wallachia; and since it is proper that a discussion should take place with the Boyars, whether such demand, whatever it may be, can possibly be collected entirely, or in part, from the country, therefore let such discussion *be listened to* respecting this question, which
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should be made them by their Prince. And let the price of the said levies, or order for waggons, be paid on the part of the Empire, without delay, according to the *current price* ; and moreover let there be no more arbitrary levies of sheep by the grand butcher.

The Prince for the time being will faithfully exert himself, in order to expedite the transport of the provisions to the port corresponding with the hand work. Let the Sublime Commands, published from time to time, relating to the principality of Wallachia, be read in the presence of the Divan of Wallachia, and, after the lecture, deposited in the archives of the province.

For the government of the hospitals, and the schools, and new roads, and such affairs absolutely concerning the province only, let orders be given by the Prince of Wallachia for the time being, in conjunction with the Boyars of the country ; and in case of the deaths of monks not attached to monasteries and of the metropolitan, let their residuary effects be claimed by no individual ; but let them be collected by the activity of the Prince for the time being, as the revenue of the fund for the relief of the poor and orphans, and the like good works. But should any of the monks at-

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tached to monasteries die, let *their* residuary property fall to the monasteries to which they are respectively attached ; and let the Prince for the time being arrange with the Boyars, after consultation, the appointment of police-officers ; and concerning such places in Wallachia and Moldavia, situated in parts known by Rayah appellations, as have been usurped by Mussulman officers ; (in Wallachia, in the environs of Gieurgevo, Ibrail and Koolay, and beyond the Oltoo ; in Moldavia, near the fortress of Kotin.) Let such usurped Moldavian and Wallachian places be restored ; and let a period be fixed, by those to whom it appertains, for the execution of the present Sublime Decree upon this matter. And it is the particular will of my Majesty, and let attention be paid as above specified, that excepting only the firmaned merchants, all other inhabitants of the Trans-Danubian provinces, Yamacks and others, who should seek to intrude themselves into the said two principalities, and there settle themselves, to the injury of the Rayahs, be prevented, and summarily ejected. And let every measure and means be employed to perfect the organization, authority, well-being, and perfect tranquillity of the

the country, remaining peacefully under my imperial Sublime Porte; and let no step be taken contrary to the privileges which I have *poured* upon the country by my present Sublime Command; therefore is proclaimed the present Sublime Decree, commanding as well *thee*, said Prince of Wallachia, according to thy innate fidelity and devotion and zeal, for my satisfaction and inclinations; as also ye Boyars, and inhabitants of the country, manifesting the due gratitude for those privileges with which ye have been already honoured, and exerting yourselves in the perfection of the levies, contained in these Sublime Decrees, consonant with the above-mentioned written articles; in the execution of which, always employ due diligence and force, in order to manifest the duties of submission and subordination, and to perform the requisite with regularity and fidelity. And let attention be paid to avoid the taking, even by accident, the smallest step, even an atom, contrary to the present Sublime Decree, and contrary to my imperial will: therefore have I sent these presents. I therefore command *thee*, said Prince of Wallachia, to read the present Sublime Decree in the presence of the Metropolitan, Bishops, Archimandrites, Monks, Abbots, and all
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the Boyars, and inhabiting Rayahs, and to publish this my imperial act of justice ; and to explain its meaning, and to assure all, that as long as the Boyars and inhabiting Rayahs of Wallachia depart not from the becoming path of rectitude, exercising the virtues of submission and devotion, and evincing the due subordination to the above-mentioned Sublime Decrees, they will be, during the just days of my Majesty, in every way favoured, and abundantly sprinkled with my imperial compassion towards all weak and impotent Rayahs, as well as all other feeble and infirm subjects of my imperial Majesty : and will receive immediately, and for ever, their welfare and unexampled repose. And thou, said Prince, and thy successors, as long as ye evince the duties of submission and gratitude for our imperial illustrious benefits, and accomplish and fulfil whatever our above imperial decree exacts, be assured that unless some fault shall appear, and manifestly, and openly, and piercingly require your expulsion or change, ye need not fear dismissal or exile ; and as long as ye remain in your known and aforesaid fidelity and devotion to us, ye will remain in the territory of Wallachia, and not only preserve eternally the above specified privileges,

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but diligence will be used to put in execution, as well on the part of my Imperial Majesty as on the part of my great Viziers, and the honourable commissioners of my government, the identical privileges which have been granted to the Rayahs of the country for their well-being, in the just days of my brilliant predecessor Sultan Mahmoud Kan (upon whom may the Lord sprinkle a copious shower of absolution); and it is sure and certain that such of the military of the Trans-Danubian settlements, the Serhats, and others, great or little, who shall dare to take a step against this promulgated arrangement, such transgressors, as soon as the news of the disorders shall have reached us, will be punished with all fit chastisement. Thou, Prince of Wallachia, convinced therefore, and informing all the Boyars, and Rayahs, and natives of the country, of the true interpretation of my present Sublime Decree, will command and arrange so, that the wished-for state of tranquillity and animation of my Empire may be restored, to the support of our splendour and magnificence; paying the greatest attention to all subjects relating to my present Sublime Decree.

Given in the month of Dshemadshool ahir, in the year of the Hedjire 1217 (1803).

By one article in the peace of Buccarest, in 1812, this Hattee Hoomayoon is *generally revived*.

Upon the retreat of Admiral Tchichagoff, Prince Karadja was nominated (he having caused the murder of *his predecessor* the grand Dragoman Demeter Mourozi, by alleging that he had *betrayed the Turks*, in signing *that* treaty ; when he might, by their *joining the French*, have obtained the restoration of the Crimea, and the territory of the Don Cossacks) : this Prince, by bribing the Russian Consul-General (Kirrigoff, an Armenian) to silence, committed with impunity the most horrible excesses, in order to obtain money to feed the greedy Turkish nobles of the seraglio : which arriving at length, and by *circuitous means*, in the year 1818, to the ear of the Emperor Alexander, that Sovereign defended the oppressed Rayahs, punished ignominiously his then Consul-General, and nominated the present Consul-General (Pini) ; whose firmness on one hand, added to the successive attempts at assassination from the Turks (urged by the Greeks of Fanari) on the other, induced *that* Prince to take refuge in Italy, where he now resides, having amassed immense sums by his contempt for the existing privileges of the inhabitants. The Greek Prince
Alexander

Alexander Suzzo, who had lately been recalled from a long exile at Rhodes, arrived with a debilitated constitution, and in a state of mind so completely enervated by misfortunes, that he soon sunk under the united effects of his complicated political embarrassments, and the ignorant, crass superstition of the modern Greeks. The Archbishop and Bishops of Wallachia drove away his physician, who had endeavoured to check an incipient gangrene in the issue on his arm (the effects of an extreme exhaustion) by tonics and antiseptics; and resolved in full conclave to cure his wounds by the solemn application of the hand of a mummy, supposed by them to have been that of St. Nicholas; and actually carried it in grand procession (all the bells of all the churches ringing in chorus) from the metropolitan church to the palace; and seemed greatly astonished that this medicine proved inoperative. His death was the signal for a general insurrection, which began the very day after, and has not yet been extinguished. Instead of the liberties and properties ensured by these treaties, the Turkish armies now ravage Wallachia; the fugitive inhabitants invoke the solemn promises of the legitimate guardian of their territory, according to treaties, and it must

be confessed, the present situation of the Emperor Alexander is indeed embarrassing; for by *his proclamations* in 1806 to the Christian inhabitants of ancient Dacia, he, invoking the remembrance of the glorious examples of his ancestors, has *individually* urged them to a system of manly independence against the thentofore absolute despotism of the Vaivodes (the formerly submissive slaves of the ruling Turkish faction at Constantinople), who were set up and deposed at pleasure. But in granting them a charter which, at the same time it rendered the power of the Prince more efficient (as less dependant upon the state of factions in Constantinople), limited his power of oppression upon the native Wallachians, above all, restrained the extortions of those Viceroy, by fixing the thentofore arbitrary amount of the annual contributions. But by so doing he has also laid their lives and fortunes prostrate at the mercy of the first hardy adventurer, rebel Albanian, or chief of banditti, who chuses to appear in arms against the existing Government. Upon the sudden death of Alexander Suzzo, the whole country burst out into a general insurrection. No sufficient effective force remained at the disposal of the Cai-makams (Lieutenants) of the succeeding Prince Callimachi.

Callimachi. These Lieutenants only arrived some days after the death of Alexander Suzzo, and the insurrection, headed by a Wallachian named Theodore Wladimiresko, lately a menial servant of a Wallachian nobleman of the first class, Constantine Ghyka, a general and counsellor of state in the Russian service. A certain quantity of Albanians had been in the service of the deceased Prince, Alexander Suzzo, but these mercenary troops of foreigners, having no *permanent interest* in the country, mutinied for arrears of pay, and threatened even to *join Theodore*, unless the Regency (consisting of Boyars nominated by the dying Prince) paid them up, not only the arrears, but *an advance of three months' double pay*, and allowance (called Loofety). This would have been gladly complied with by those nobles for *their own* sakes ; who would also have accepted Theodore's proposals for laying down his arms upon a promise of pardon : but *their power* was limited, and a law was requisite, not only to obtain this sum upon the Exchange from the merchants by loan, in order to perfect the security, but the authority of Prince Callimachi himself, to *accept the conditions of surrender and amnesty* for the rebel chief and his adherents. The Russian Consul General, who

who saw and felt the danger of delay, and the importance of an immediate arrangement, before blood had been shed or serious injury inflicted, offered every facility, and his own responsibility and guarantee ; and even undertook, if permitted so to do, to effect the pacification of the country without their interference (seeing their timidity), but exacting their aid towards obtaining the confirmation of the Prince Callimachi, upon his arrival, to his mediation, in order that his treaty should be inviolably executed : but without effect. The Boyars proposed sending for the Turks, a measure to which General Pini strongly objected, as contrary to existing treaties. In a like insurrection (eighteen months previous) of an Albanian Chief, who had retired to a monastery on Mount Sinai, the summit of the Carpathian mountains, and commanding the defile leading from Cronstadt, General Pini had shewn he possessed the will and the power to quell such insurrections in Wallachia ; and had Prince Callimachi been, as Suzzo was, at Buccarest in person, and thus in a situation to form a *correct view* of the state of the country at the moment, and of the loyalty of General Pini, there is not the slightest doubt but peace would have been speedily restored without any serious misfortunes ; but, unhappily

happily for the cause of humanity, and for the repose of Europe, Prince Callimachi was then employed as plenipotentiary for the Porte in the Russian negociations at Constantinople, and received partial and (as presumed) *erroneous* reports, from interested quarters, of the characters and intentions of the native Boyars and the Russian Consul ; and instead of sending orders to the Vistiar (treasurer) to use the credit of his department for the restoration of order, by payment of arrears and advances, and giving authority to the Russian Consul to accept of his mediation, he sent one of his Greek Lieutenants to Crayova (the capital of Little Wallachia, then the scene of the insurrection), who immediately superseded the Wallachian plenipotentiary, whose negociations were already upon the eve of being crowned with success ; Theodore having testified the most becoming respect for the authority of the Boyars and General Pini. The Caimakam at the same moment published a vehemently vituperative letter against those Boyars, accusing them of being the secret agents of the insurrection, at the instigation of the Russian Consul General Pini ; though what interest the Boyars or the Russian Consul could have in an action which they all felt must inevitably bring a Turkish army into the country, the fatal effects of
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which they had so often felt, and by which they were sure to be the first sufferers, would be difficult to point out ; (A) declaring most expressly, that the Prince would never recognize the application of *one para* toward the quelling of (what he called) a pretended insurrection, which he asserted had no existence except in the exaggerated reports of the native Divan (although confirmed by the Russian Consul General, who by no means sought to conceal the extent of the menaced danger); and instead of soothing a licentious armed band of 6,000 desperate and ignorant peasants by fair words, the Caimakam most *inexpediently* published the fixed determination of his Highness Prince Callimachi to *punish*, as well Theodore and his daring *companions*, as even the authors and abettors of such absurd *rumours* of dissatisfaction and rebellion, in a province where, he said, every one was satisfied and happy, under the just and mild dominion of the Sublime Porte. Unfortunately, about *the same hour* arrived intelligence from Galatz of the rising of the Rayahs of that town upon the Turkish garrison, which terminated in the destruction of about one-third of the houses, and the murder of every *Turkish* subject, inhabitant, or visitor, not only in the town but in the vicinity : a revenge purchased
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dearly by a dreadful slaughter of the Christians, particularly females and infants, as well by the sword of the Turks as by miserably perishing in the open fields from the effects of cold and hunger, (the temperature of the atmosphere being then 15 degrees of Reaumur below zero). This event seemed to open the eyes of the Caimakam, who began to *suspect* that the Wallachians were not so pleased with the Greeks and Turks as he fondly flattered himself. But this symptom of dissatisfaction was soon followed by another still less equivocal. General Ypsilanti arrived at Jassy, attended only by his *valet de chambre* ; he immediately declared his intention of overturning the Turkish dynasty in Europe. This was the theme of all the Saloon conversation of Yassy and Buccorest, for several days before he had thought it necessary to arm a single man, or even to augment his retinue for his personal safety. But when he found every man, woman, and child, of the same mind, he commenced his operations (by publishing his crudely conceived manifestoes to the Greeks and Wallachians), and by degrees assembled about three hundred young merchants and students, with whom he compelled the young Prince Michael Suzzo to act a part which greatly increased his

means of delusion (as the terms of Suzzo's being permitted to remain in the province). This unfortunate Prince (who had no forces, from the reasons I have stated, to oppose the first military adventurer or bandit, who should, like Theodore, put himself at the head of an insurrection,) therefore, ceding to necessity, consented in an evil hour to command and accompany himself in person in procession, all the richest Boyars of Moldavia to the metropolitan church, and join in solemn prayer for the happy termination of the scheme, *viz.* of *throwing off the Turkish yoke*, and placing her European *provinces* under the protection of a *mighty power*. This act of Michael Suzzo's, and the apparent alacrity with which he allowed himself to be drawn into so serious an act of rebellion and treason to his Sovereign and benefactor, had a very bad effect upon the cause of the Greeks throughout Europe, from the conviction which was naturally stamped on the minds of all strangers that Suzzo acted under the *authority* of the *Emperor Alexander*. Those unacquainted with the peculiar organization of the Dacian principalities, and the miserable state of debility in which they are compulsorily held; from the jealousy of the Turks on the one hand, and the economical arrangements

ments of the Russian Government on the other, *in favour of the Rayahs*; which places it out of the *power* of a *Prince* to maintain on foot any, even *moderate armed force*, sufficient to enforce the most *salutary laws*; as was evinced during the reign of Callimachi in Moldavia, who nearly lost his life by his care to prevent the plague entering into his states whilst it raged in the neighbourhood;—to such uninformed minds this *sudden acquiescence*, and apparently blind obedience of Michael Suzzo to the wishes of Ypsilanti, appeared the result of a *combined plan*, and the pledge of a *guarantee on the part of that powerful northern Sovereign* to effect a revolution in Turkey from *political motives of his own*, which, as will be shewn hereafter, *must* have been foreign to the great cause of the Christian religion, particularly to such interference at the moment in favour of *the Greeks* as Christians: an interference which subsequent events in Constantinople have now, indeed, rendered not only justifiable, but one may almost say, an imperious and solemn duty in that virtuous Monarch. This suspicion was (quasi) confirmed by the incomprehensibly rash, impudent, and fatal proclamation of Ypsilanti, couched in the following terms:

To the Greek Inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia.

After so many centuries of tribulation, lo! the phoenix of Greece majestically unfolds her wings, and invites under their shadow her genuine and submissive children. Behold! our cherished mother Greece triumphantly elevates her primæval standard. The Peloponnesus, Albania, Thessaly, Servia, Bulgaria, the islands of the Archipelago: all Greece, in a word, has armed herself to shake off the *ponderous barbarian yoke* ;(B) and, contemplating the only conquest-bearing weapon of the orthodox, I say the honourable and revivifying cross, proclaims aloud, *under the protection of a great and mighty power, under this sign*, let us conquer! let liberty flourish! A numerous armed body of Patriots is forming in these two friendly provinces, to burst upon the sacred soil of our beloved country. Let those, therefore, who are ambitious of the title of Saviours of Greece, and are scattered over the different districts, fly towards the path over which this corps is about to direct its march, and unite with their brethren. But should there exist native Greeks able to bear arms, and who, nevertheless, remain indifferent, let

let them be told that they will draw upon their heads, the greatest ignominy, and that our country will consider them as bastards, unworthy of the Grecian name.

ALEXANDER YPSILANTI.

Yassy, 24th Feb. 1821.

II. To the Hetairists (Secret Societies).

Brethren of the Society of Grecian Friends,
The so long desired and glorious moment is at length arrived ; behold the aim of so many years of toils and struggles this day accomplished ; the Society of Friends is this day, and will for ever remain, the only sacred source of our felicity. Ye have proved, my brethren of the society, what can be effected by a pure and ardent patriotism. From you Greece hopes at the present moment still more towards her resurgence, and justly ; for if ye have accomplished so much, animated by *hopes alone*, what will ye not now effect, when the radiant star of liberty glares before your eyes? *Strike, then*, my brethren ! Co-operate, for the last time, and each of ye exhaust your means in soldiers, arms, provisions, and national

tional clothing; your unborn posterity will bless your names, and proclaim them as the original causes of their felicity.

ALEXANDER YPSILANTI,

Representing General of its Foundation.

Yassy, 24th Feb. 1821.

What minister, resident, or friend of a foreign state at Buccarest, could hesitate to believe that the plan of Ypsilanti was a mere *political demonstration*, and the Greeks were to be merely what they had been *twice* before (under Orloff and Siniavin), stalking horses, for the purpose of masking the *real point of attack* of the Russian Emperor, in some *other* remote and more vulnerable quarter of the Turkish Empire. In such a case, Russia would probably have remained to continue the war, if without positive opposition, certainly without the *general sympathy* her present devotion inspires throughout Europe. Men argued to themselves, is it credible, can it be possible, for such a young man as Michael Suzzo, an individual of the most brilliant talent (proved by his raising himself, at the age of twenty-six, to the rank of a Sovereign Prince), who has given so many
proofs

proofs of acuteness and *worldly wisdom*, with a name respected in the capitals of all the States of Europe ; could *he* thus suddenly forfeit all that merited respect, and cover himself with infamy, by treacherously betraying the important trust placed in him by the open-hearted unsuspecting Sultan, who had raised him from *nothing* to the very pinnacle of favour, riches, and power ? Would Suzzo have taken *such* a step, unless he was *certain* (and he was too clever to trust to mere *oral* and *verbal* assurances) of obtaining indemnity, from a source as *rich* and *powerful* as that whence he had derived his actual greatness ? And how could any man in the uniform of a *Russian General* (in which he had the effrontery to appear at Yassy, where he was received *in the house* of the *Russian Consul*, and entertained, *subsequent to his proclamation*, with all the insignia of his rank), and which may account for the timidity of Michael Suzzo, in neglecting to have him instantly arrested, in the name of the Emperor Alexander, not only dare employ the name of his Sovereign in *society*, but publish a *manifesto*, couched in language of *authority*, which could not admit of two interpretations, without the *sanction* of his Sovereign or his *ministers* for foreign *affairs* ? There was, however, one argument
against

against this conviction, and which is, to be sure, a *cogent one*, but which was only in the minds of those who personally knew those illustrious individuals. The Emperor of Russia's noble sentiments are well known; and as he is too powerful to need, so his soul is too proud to descend to such an artifice against so weak a foe; and his Ministers for Foreign Affairs are by no means inferior, in point of *prudence* and *sagacity*, to those of the other great Potentates of the Continent, in whose hands, therefore, the *commonest rules* of *diplomacy* would not have been violated in so *awkward* a manner, nor those of morality so *inhumanly*, by an *open avowal* of *such an object*. And it has been proved to demonstration by subsequent facts, that Ypsilanti had not the *slightest authority* for, or even *encouragement*, to embark in such a wild and wicked scheme as to proclaim *a crusade*, without an armed man to back him, without any *recent plausible pretext*, against the mighty Ottoman Emperor; in whose *capital* alone were to be found, under the *scimitars of the Janissaries*, more than 100,000 innocent Christian *hostages*, of helpless sex and tender age, ready for *instant immolation*; still less to act thus, without having previously afforded such *hecatombs* the *slightest information* or means of
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escaping the general slaughter; but least of all for the *insane policy* of adopting the conduct of Karavias at Galatz (who murdered *all his Turkish prisoners in cold blood*), as *the acts of his Lieutenant* by writing him a *congratulatory letter*, which was instantly *published and sent to Constantinople* by his *own soldiers*. What might not have been the consequences to Europe, as well as to the Rayahs, had it not been *proved to demonstration*, that the whole plan and proceedings were the *mere coinages of the brain* of Ypsilanti?—an enthusiastic, high-minded, brave, and in private life highly estimable, but desperate young man, surrounded and assisted *only* by those as *inexperienced* in the *language of diplomacy*, as incapable of adapting his means to his ends;—of a young soldier of fortune, with a mind and heart too deeply wounded by the recollection of personal wrongs to endure the calm arguments, much less adopt the language of reason; absolutely incapable of supporting the inevitable delays, the checks and vicissitudes of good and ill fortune attendant upon such great and hazardous enterprizes; who conceived that the world in general would partake of *his* absurd feelings of *vengeance* against crimes, occasioned by the fortune of war and the revolutions of ages; and was prepared, at *his*

request, to exterminate a *whole nation*, without alleging *any immediate* recent *vexations*, but trusting to the simple fact, that amongst their political rulers, might be found the *perhaps virtuous* descendants of the cruel companions of Amurath and Solyman; that Europe could look with *interest* upon the enterprize of *ever so brave* a man, although bearing the sacred emblems of the *Lamb of God*, whose companions had commenced their so-called *Christian war* against *intoleration*, by a warwhoop of *vengeance* and *counter-persecution* of infidels to isolated *parts* of *their own* creed, without distinction of the *political relations* of their *victims*, treating the haughty Turk and crouching Hebrew with the same remorseless severity; whose first military exploit was *burning the Christian town of Galatz*, and *murdering* indiscriminately *every Turkish mechanic* in the *middle of the night*, in the *depth of a Thracian winter*; and whose first *counter-march* was for the purpose of *intercepting a caravan of fugitive Jewish traders*, whom, after plundering, they, as pitilessly, *killed in detail*, with the mock solemnity of a *legal execution*, as enemies of the cross; in utter defiance of that great Christian axiom, “Vengeance belongeth not to man:” regardless of the divine example of the Redeemer,

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in his *last words upon that cross*, being a *prayer for the Jews*, and the most decisive evidence in *their favour*: “*Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.*” These fanatical Greeks appear ignorant of this important fact, *viz.* that the Jews, in their *whole conduct towards our Saviour*, did no more than what *had been long written*; that they were but *blind instruments* in the hands of *Omni-potence*, for *effecting a sacrifice ordained by infinite goodness and wisdom*, clearly *announced centuries before* in the Christian Scriptures by the *divine prescience*, and upon the *completion of which depended the salvation of the world*. The condemnation of Christ by *the Jewish hierarchy*, at the *artful instigation of a Pagan ruler*, was clearly in *opposition to the general wish*, as proved by his *triumphal entry into Jerusalem*, and *his death*, destruction to their *fondest hopes of the future political independance of the Jewish nation*; yet these *modern preachers of Christianity*, invokers of the virtues and duties of *Christian princes*, (the first of which are *religious toleration, peace, and good-will towards all men*) would now tread in the steps of the prophesied avenger of the crucifixion, *the Pagan Titus*; and, were it permitted, exercise *from bigotry* a greater severity towards *the Jews*,

than the rigid principles of *political* wisdom towards hardened *rebels*, perhaps rendered *necessary* on the part of the Roman Government; and now exterminate the descendants of those whom even the irritated Roman Emperor had spared; offering, by *such conduct*, the most forcible answer to their own clamorous appeals to the Sovereigns of Europe, for *protection against those who persecute them* with the *sword* for *their difference* of faith, and firmness in the religion of *their progenitors*; and the most irrefragable proofs of the utter incapacity of the *Greek Rayahs* of the *present day* to wield the *temporal* sword, without bringing slaughter upon the heads of millions of unoffending families, now as much oppressed as themselves; or peaceable and innocent descendants of those, whose crimes, however heinous, have been *for centuries* beyond the reach of *human retribution*. The Turks and Jews of Europe in Turkey could expect no choice between exile and misery, if not assassination, under such dangerous fanatics, by whom Christianity itself might be brought into disgrace. This astonishing *manifesto* of Ypsilanti, whether we consider the *facts advanced*, or the *object avowed*, sufficed to *paralyze* all *thinking minds*, has been *hitherto* fatal to himself and *his* friends,

friends, and might have been equally so to *all the Christians of European Turkey* ; for if acted upon according to the *letter*, and its *principles supported* by the Emperor Alexander, it would have proved to the whole civilized world that the Turks, who, with the *power in their hands*, have for four centuries *abstained from murdering the Christians*, were *better Christians* than the *Russians*. This manifesto being an incitement to *murder all enemies of the cross*, that is to say, all *Infidels* to any of the *dogmas* of the *Turko-Greek Catholic legends*, believed *only* amongst those forlorn and ignorant slaves as a *desperate resource*, affording some *solace*, to their miserable state by the very extent of the hyperbole. (C.) The crimes *committed* “ *en masse*” by the savage crew of Karavias (an inhabitant of Cerigo, consequently an *Ionian* subject, formerly an *officer* in the Russian Navy, but then in the service of Michael Suzzo) ; the detestable conduct of *that individual* himself, who *commenced the affray* by cutting off the *hand of a Turkish lad* with his dagger, in order to obtain possession of a letter from Prince Michael Suzzo to the chief Turkish officer at Galatz, inspired *every man of humanity in Dacia*, of what nation soever, with indignation and horror ; and although the

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Russian Consul at *Yassy* greatly contributed to the *temporary success* of *Ypsilanti*, by receiving him *at his table after the publication of his Manifesto*, the Russian Consul-General at *Buccorest* (to do that upright functionary justice) exerted himself with the utmost ardour to *absolve his Sovereign and nation* from the slightest suspicion of connection with the enterprize of *Ypsilanti*, the massacres of *Karavias*, or the insurrection of *Theodore*. General *Pini* never *for an instant*, by deed or word, openly countenanced either ; on the contrary, he tore the assumed emblems of his Russian Majesty's service from the insurgents in the public streets, reviled them in the most opprobrious terms, styling them *impostors and liars* : and, to prove his sincerity, even *struck* one of their pretended Russian officers ; an act which, doubtless, satisfied the minds of *great numbers* of those misguided and deluded individuals of the light in which he viewed the *whole enterprize*. And to complete and crown all, to avoid the possibility of any suspicion of implied assent, he instantly issued *circular orders* to all *Russo-Wallachian subjects* to quit the country without delay ; a step which, it is supposed, materially contributed to the subsequent *general* desertion of *Ypsilanti's* army. *Ypsilanti*
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has *since*, it appears, unequivocally taken upon *himself* the whole blame of this rash scheme ; which, as might easily have been predicted, has been fatal in its consequences to the purest blood of his country. The last of the Mooroozys (Alexander) a man unique for talent and *moral* courage, the venerable Patriarch of Constantinople, together with numbers of the highest dignitaries of the Christian Hierarchy, amongst whom was the so celebrated Bishop of Ephesus, all equally distinguished for piety and zealous attachment to the person and interests of his Imperial Russian Majesty ; these, together with hundreds and thousands of innocent Greeks, Armenians, and other Christians, although denizens of *foreign nations*, without the slightest respect for the most formal and solemn *letters patent*, constituting them (by virtue of treaties) subjects of France, Italy, Austria, or even England, have been butchered, without *form of trial*, in the public streets ; and the Priests, even Archbishops, nay the Patriarch himself, indecently *suspended* by the *neck*, in their full canonical robes at the *doors of the Christian churches*. Greek denizens of the *western States* of Europe have suffered *partially* ; but such of the hapless Rayahs as had at *any time* taken advantage

vantage of the *long-enjoyed facility of obtaining the protection of his Imperial Russian Majesty*, have been, *nearly all*, murdered without notice or delay ; “ unannointed, unannealed, no reckoning “ made, but sent to their account, with all their “ imperfections on their heads.” Yet this system, however cruel and barbarous, was not more so than *the war Ypsilanti had proclaimed against the Turks*, and Karavias had actually *commenced* against the *infidel Jews* ; not more inhuman and wicked than the *treatment* the poor Turkish *fishermen* (quietly descending the Danube in their small punts, near Galatz, towards Ibrail, with the produce of their morning’s toil, without the slightest suspicion of danger) received from the vile hands of Karavias : they were drawn one by one to the shore, and their heads cut off in the presence of hundreds of exulting Greeks. This example has been *given by the Greeks*, and will *never* be forgotten by the *Turks*. This horrible system of public assassination has continued, though Moldavia and Wallachia have *long since* been evacuated by the *Greek insurgents* ; and murder is *still an occupation*, on *all sides*, in *this enlightened age*, in the *fairest part* of the *only enlightened quarter* of the globe ; not at the command of the *Sultan*, who is personally

personally good, generous and clement, nor incited by the *higher orders* of the Turks, who know the *value* of their Greek slaves, and feel about the same interest in their preservation, as an English gentleman in that of his horses and dogs ; but in Constantinople, the Sultan himself and all the members of his Divan are (at the present moment) absolutely at the mercy of the first *bold Mussulman enthusiast*, who asserts that his *Sovereign* is *not a good Kardash* (brother, *i. e.* believer). The annals of the Seraglio are fruitful in such examples ; the Sultan, although omnipotent in *all things else*, is powerless *in this*. His Highness may *promise* and *decree*, but he can neither fulfil nor enforce upon his subjects his contracts with a Giaour (infidel), where the dispute is upon the religion of Mahomet. His Viziers can only clasp their hands, at the representations of foreign Ambassadors against *these murders*, and thank God (mentally) that neither they nor their master have, *as yet*, been exposed to the same fate. This system having *once begun*, must inevitably continue, at any rate, as long as the Greek Fleet maintains its superiority at the mouth of the Hellespont. Every Turkish individual who ar-

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rives from that quarter, will fill the coffee-houses and baths of Constantinople with his clamours and exaggerated accounts of the Grecian vengeance. The Turks will sally and *murder the Christians*, wherever they can find them, isolated or in masses : the guards may in time *restore order*, Ambassadors may *complain* of the increasing number of Christian victims ; the Porte will *issue fresh firmans of protection*, with the same facility and condescension with which it always tacks a complimentary letter and a *pelisse of honour* to the *firman for execution* delivered to a *Capidgee Bashee* (Musulman Lord of the Bedchamber and executioner), who stabs or strangles the new dignitary at the *moment of investiture*. And thus will affairs proceed, until one or other be exterminated, or *both* are taken under the protection of Russia, in conjunction with the other great sovereigns of Christendom.

Upon a synopsis of the present situation of Russia (as far as regards the northern principalities of European Turkey, Moldavia, and Wallachia), we find that in the year 1806 the Russian Emperor solemnly pledged himself by the following proclamation, through his generalissimo Michelson,

never

never to abandon their interests, and to ensure them a full and free enjoyment of all their liberties and properties.

The following is a literal translation of that document.

UKASE.

We Alexander the First, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c. &c., to the Princes, Archbishops, Bishops, Clergy, Monks of all Churches and Monasteries, Nobles, Gentry, Military and all Inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia,—security! The paternal solicitude and unceasing care which our ancestors have evinced, under all circumstances, for the safety and liberty of the Clergy, Nobles, and all the Inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia, and the solicitude with which they decreed, and legally assured your welfare in their ratified treaties, have justly confirmed the monarchs of Russia as the guardians of your territories. From the hour we ascended the throne, we have not ceased to follow the traces of our predecessors; watching over the preservation of your tranquillity, exercising our already established rights, or furthering in practice, those which were suggested by that ardour for your happiness, ye have inspired in our bosom.

No individual amongst you is ignorant, that all those privileges concerning your properties and persons (as far as was compatible with the nature of the authority under which ye were submitted) are the results of those vigilant cares of our ancestors and ourself. But the conduct which since a certain period has been manifested by the Ottoman Porte, the arbitrary acts by it committed, and the refusal to fulfil its engagements, have forced the advance of our armies into Moldavia and Wallachia. Hence the presence of our armies will protect ye from all those evils to which your native lands would have been exposed, and will co-operate for the free exercise of your religion, and the enjoyment of your rights. The unity of divine worship and national manners, the remembrance of so many mutual services rendered, and finally the ardent wish of so many centuries, will cause you to consider our brave soldiers as members of your own body.

We have employed all our industry, in order to prevent those partial abuses which might proceed from the insolence of the military : our Generals, and other agents appointed for the accomplishment of this command, will not fail to preserve the most exact discipline ; to consult
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with the landed proprietors, and give you daily proofs that this expedition (unaccompanied by any disorders of foreign warfare) has no other motive than to further and defend our common interests; our object is that all functionaries remain in the exercise of the duties of their respective posts, according to the former custom; supposing that these on their part will facilitate the march of our armies, and the re-establishment and the accomplishment of those operations, for which they are appointed, which regard only the preservation of the provinces, and the entire and permanent enjoyment of their rights. Whatever may be the ultimate issue of this expedition, we promise ye the *permanent enjoyment* of our *exalted protection*; and trust that, in the exercise of our sovereign means and authority of every description, in order to co-operate with us in the assurance of the basis we contemplate, *viz.* the extirpation from all your frontiers of every enemy who would molest the great work of your tranquillity, you will shew yourselves worthy in every respect of those blessings we are preparing for you.

According to the literal command of his Majesty
of all the Russias. MICHELSON,

General and Commander-in-Chief of the Mol-
davian and Wallachian Armies.

Yassy, 16 Dec. 1806.

We find that notwithstanding this proclamation, after the sudden death of Alexander Suzzo, they have been left utterly defenceless by the Greek Caimakam (Lieutenant) of the succeeding Prince Callimachi; have been *plundered at discretion*, and ultimately driven out of the country altogether, by the needy associates of a *common lacquey*, leading a band of peasants *armed only with hedge stakes*, against whose depredations they were refused permission by Turkish jealousy not only to arm themselves, but even to borrow money to arm others to defend them, or even to accept the submission of the rebels. Is it their fault or that of the Emperor of Russia, that a Greek (although exalted by *actual services* to the rank of General in the Russian armies) has abused the facilities offered by his rank, usurping an authority to which he had no legal right? (a fact of which all Europe is thoroughly convinced). The question of interference in Wallachia is not now for the liberty of the Greeks,—Ypsilanti is a prisoner in Hungary, and his bands dispersed—but for the rights of the Wallachians, and, (since the massacres in Constantinople of Russia subjects), of *security of all the Christians* in Turkey; who without distinction of sect or nation have been, and *still are* murdered daily in the streets and on the high roads;

from Mount Olympus to the Pruth, and in Dacia : a country, the liberties of which are, according to *formal treaties, guaranteed by the Russian Sovereigns*. Nothing but an abhorrence of the crime of Ypsilanti could, it is conceived, have induced the Emperor Alexander to abstain so long hitherto from employing the force of arms in the restoration of *order*, in those now forlorn districts of Wallachian and Moldavian provinces, so lately blooming and happy ; whose *country scenes* filled the imagination with a picture of that ideal Arcadian abundance and tranquil pastoral delights of the earliest stages of society : and in whose capital (Buccorest) might be seen the *extreme* of modern luxury : evidences in profusion of all the advantages which society has derived during the progress of forty centuries, and the attrition of modern nations, through the discovery of magnetism ; if luxuries can with propriety be called advantages, in so *helpless a political society* as Wallachia, since *they alone* have called the spoiler on their heads, and driven those voluptuous Sybarites (the nobles of Wallachia) from their splendid mansions. The traveller, a few months ago, passed from the plains of Syria in the age of Jacob, to the streets of London in the reign of George the Fourth ; in the

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short interval of half an hour's ride from the suburbs of Buccorest. Of its hundreds of gorgeous palaces (all of which were abandoned in a few hours by their noble proprietors, the descendants of John Paleologos, Comnennos, Cantacuzenos, &c., who instantly fled with their families, servants, and *household furniture*, into Transylvania, from the *formidabe weapons* of the *footman Theodore*), many have become the residences of those peasant robbers; more have fallen a prey to the flames or have crumbled before the cannon of the Turks. But this is a trifling and temporary evil; these indolent and timid *consumers will all return like summer flies* at the first appearance of the sun from the north. Not so the shepherds and labourers of the soil; these, clothed in undressed sheepskins, or summer linen frocks, each of his own simple manufacture, and fantastic dyes (true *coats of many colours*), with sandals of bark, and unshorn sheepskin bonnets (exact living models of the statues of their ancient Dacian forefathers, as seen on Trajan's Arch at Rome, immediately opposite the Colisseum, erected in honour of his conquest and colonization of Wallachia); these *real* and *useful* representatives of those, whom to have conquered even Trajan thought himself worthy of *a triumph*; these,

these, intimidated by, or perhaps disgusted at the *precipitate flight* of all the *first nobility* (with one or two honourable exceptions only); these PRODUCERS of the *wealth of Dacia* (without whose presence *Dacia exists no longer*) imitated the example of their nobles. Each sturdy peasant charged his light wicker waggon with his family and implements of husbandry, and, where the means of transport permitted him, even the rafters of his *semi-subterranean* cottage; and drove them, together with his herds of buffaloes, oxen and goats, and flocks of sheep, over the Carpathian mountains, into Transilvania: whence it will be very difficult (if possible) ever to recall them, as they will *there* have experienced, before the permanent establishment of the Russians, the (by them hitherto unfelt) blessings of personal and political security, and the paternal administration, for which that part of the dominions of the House of Austria is so justly celebrated: whose system of government (in that principality) is admired by foreigners as a model of perfection. In a word, the ancient constitution of Transilvania (which, much to the honour of the House of Lorraine, has been most scrupulously maintained intact since its voluntary submission to the Emperors) approaches

as nearly as possible, to that of England, and those subjects are consequently, in every sense, as substantially free as Englishmen or Frenchmen.

Russia is therefore reduced to the necessity, at any rate, of keeping her faith with the Rayahs of Moldavia and Wallachia, and of enforcing by the *only* method left, *viz. by arms*, the tranquillity of the country, and guarantee them beyond the possibility of future disturbance and disaster, whether from Turks or *rebels*; which security can only be effected by a *very powerful* permanent army upon the whole left bank of the Danube, as long as the Turkish empire in Europe exists, *with the seat of its Government in the immediate vicinity of those provinces*; for owing to the peculiar habits and principles derived from the Mussulman theocratical Government, which combines the inspired and even divine nature of a *prophet* with the temporal authority of a Roman dictator, in the person of the Sultan (as Caliph, or *successor* and *lineal descendant* of Mahomet himself through Osman), by virtue of this *absolute power* over the *consciences* of his fellow Mussulmen (particularly in a religious war) he can in a few days draw the whole of his male population into a focus, directed against any spot he finds *momentarily weakened*. This is a most formidable

midable consideration for the humane disposition of the Emperor Alexander, whose ancestors (had they *well examined the subject*) would have perhaps hesitated before pledging themselves to a line of policy (dictated naturally by an exalted sense of religious duty) which has reduced their present successor to the *necessity* of either weakly and cruelly *abandoning those* who have *sacrificed themselves* through a blind reliance upon his *solemn promise of protection*, or of defending the Wallachians at an average loss of 30,000 *Russian soldiers per annum*, through the pestilential disorders incidental to the nature of that beautiful province ; of which it is necessary to say a few words. Ancient Dacia, now called Wallachia, is a vast *marsh*, formed by the alluvion of the Black Sea from the ridge of the Carpathian mountains (which doubtless, some centuries back, formed one of the continents of that immense deposition); the whole surface of the country is inundated for nearly half the year by the autumnal rains, which swell the Danube in winter into a boundless *lake*, preserved by the spring sun ceaselessly acting upon the vast accumulations of snow, under which the towns and villages of that country are absolutely *buried* in winter, and which upon the summit of the Carpathians is never

throughout the whole year *entirely decomposed*. These causes of *humidity*, added to the continual evaporations from the Danube and the Black Sea, wafted by almost every current of air towards the surrounding Carpathian mountains, and entangled and precipitated amongst those enormous elevations, are restored to their original Pontic bed by countless torrents from their romantic crags: sources of more rivers than are to be found in any other spot of Europe of the same dimensions; certainly fertilizing the soil to an extent of richness beyond all credibility; even injuring it by this excess, for the ordinary purposes of agriculture, but impregnating the atmosphere at the same time with the most deleterious azotic gasses, those pestilential germs of various chronical disorders (principally intermittent and remittent fevers of the acutest type) peculiar to that country. These causes of mortality, combined with the natural uncultivated forests of the rarest fruit trees and vines, operate most fatally, and with a dreadful rapidity, upon human beings endowed with those propensities and tastes, for which the Russian armies are celebrated. It is a fact, that the present Emperor of Russia during the last war, instead of reaping the smallest pecuniary advantages from his six years' occupation

occupation of Wallachia, actually transmitted, every year, millions of roubles for the pay and comfort of his armies; of which he lost, upon a moderate calculation, at least 150,000 soldiers through endemical disorders. Russia must therefore either calmly contemplate this long continued, if not perpetual annual waste of blood and treasure, or *advance boldly*, according to the *laws of war* and *sound policy*, and endeavour to destroy, if possible, her Mussulman foe in his *strong hold*, and strain every nerve to drive (at any rate) the Sultan personally from his *European metropolis*; an effort which will doubtless cost immense sacrifices of valuable lives, more perhaps than any intrinsic advantage Russia (or perhaps the Rayahs) may hope to derive (certainly for a generation, at least,) from his expulsion. And here it is but just and reasonable for all Europe to examine and judge candidly the solemn and imperious duties, the clearly established rights of the Emperor Alexander, confirmed to himself and his ancestors by formal treaties (fruits of the most brilliant victories, illustrating the Russian annals with the glorious names of an Orloff, a Romanzoff, and a Suwaroff.) We must consider these proud recollections, compare them with the murders of the Russian subjects,

and

and contemptuous treatment of the Russian Ambassador's representations, which have so recently *necessitated* his recall from the Turkish capital, in order to interpret and appreciate the extent of forbearance hitherto, and divine the future firmness, decision, and vigour of the Emperor Alexander : a monarch whose private character offers a model, exhibiting every striking feature dwelt upon by the ancient moralists as constituting a great and good man, καὶ ἑξοχήν, which history has handed down for the respect, admiration, and imitation of posterity ; and to whose calm, energetic, and persevering courage and profound policy as a *sovereign*, the continent of Europe is mainly indebted, under Providence, for her recent liberation from the most abject state of servitude, under her late tyrannical Military Chief, by whom her sons were decimated ; one of the few titles of which Chief to the applause of impartial minds was, his zealous opposition to all fanaticism and religious intolerance in every part of the world : and, above all, his determination of bettering the condition of the Rayahs, and rescuing them altogether from the galling tyranny of their barbarian masters. This determination of Buonaparte had, fortunately for Russia, been made known to the Turks

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in the year 1812, and was the *only* reason which induced the Turkish Plenipotentiaries (and, what is more extraordinary, at the instigation of a *Greek* Prince, the late Demeter Mooroozy, then Grand Dragoman of the Porte, who acted as their secretary at Buccorest in the year 1812,) to *sign the peace*, at that moment so *essential* to the very existence of the Russian empire in Europe; then *actually invaded* by the French, Austrian, Prussian, Italian, and Spanish armies; when, *but for this conviction* in their minds of the *ultimate object* of *that invasion*, it was manifestly for the interest of the Turks to *cross the Danube* in pursuit of the *retreating* army of Admiral Tchichagoff, and advance, if not into the *heart of Russia*, at any rate to *repossess themselves* of their *former establishments* on the *Cimmerian Bosphorus* and the *Don*. Thus both the Emperor of Russia and the Sultan, and even the *Greek nation*, through the loyal conduct of Prince Mooroozy, have almost equal claims upon the general sympathy of *civilized Europe*; which, having thus *regained its lost freedom and happiness* at the expense of the *Rayahs* (the word Rayah is a generic term, meaning Turkish subject, *not Mahometan*, and thus includes Armenians and *Jews*, as well as Greeks and Wallachians),

common

common justice, as well as humanity and gratitude towards the late estimable Mooroozy, who shortly after forfeited his life for the wisdom and loyalty of his councils, having been literally cut in pieces, during *a repast*, in the house and the presence, and by the guards of the Grand Vizier. Gratitude to *his memory*, by whose conduct, and at the price of whose existence, and *with the certainty* of his fate before *his eyes*, in the event of the *French invasion* being *successful*, civilization has been restored to Europe; ought in turn to create an *active sympathy* for the Greeks, in the united and complicated subjects of difference between the Emperor, the Sultan, and the Rayahs at the present moment, when *civilization itself* is *no longer in danger*. Supposing the present differences to be temporarily reconciled, yet fresh subjects must arise to necessitate the advance of the Russians towards Constantinople, which (it cannot be reasonably doubted, although at a dreadful loss) will ultimately necessitate the retreat of the Turkish Sultan and his court from the *former capital of the Roman empire*, into Asia-Minor, Greece, or Egypt. In the former and latter event they will retire upon their natural resources; and it is a great doubt how far the

Russian

Russian Emperor could feel the *future repose* of *Christianity* assured, by the so immediate vicinity of the Caliph, supposing him to establish himself in the *Christian provinces* of Asia-Minor, which would only be *transferring* the misfortune from *one class* of *Christians* to *another*. Certainly, in the event of the Sultan's preferring the *second alternative*, and retiring into his *Grecian provinces* of the *continent*, his retreat by *sea* being cut off by the insurgent fleet, it would be the duty of *his allies* not only to *dissuade*, but even to *prevent him*, for *his own* sake, from taking up so *unmilitary a position* as the peninsula of Greece: from which he would have *no retreat*, in which he would find *no resources*, and where the whole army of Believers would be speedily *starved*, together with the Commander of the Faithful, into an *unconditional surrender*, or, as Turks neither grant or receive quarter, be all massacred. Moreover Englishmen should, in the event of the Sultan's obstinacy, consider, that the united sentiments of *despair* and *desire of vengeance* in the *defeated Mussulmen* upon *all southern Christians*, for the injuries suffered by *them* from the *Christians of the Frigid Zone*, will fall with *accumulated force* upon the innocent and defenceless *Greek inhabitants* of

Thessaly, Livadia, Attica, the Morea, and the islands of the Archipelago. Therefore should the Turks *be able and willing* to defend themselves to the *north of Mount Olympus*, in the struggle they are now engaged, it may be the duty of England, as a neutral state, to *wait the issue*, without risking the friendship of either the Russian Emperor or the Sultan, by an interference which cannot satisfy, and may displease *both*, as the sources of dispute are so *profound and embittered*. But should the Caliph be *driven from his capital*, his only real fortress in Europe, it may be considered as a termination of his *absolute political dominion in this civilized quarter of the globe*. It will *then* be the bounden duty of the *limitrophical* Sovereigns, who *alone* appear to have any *immediate political concern* in the affair, to interfere, in order to stop the desultory conflicts of marauding bands, wholly useless in a *political light*, and only productive of infinite and irreparable injuries to the unarmed Rayahs; the innocent, helpless *objects* of contention. The Emperor of Austria will, no doubt, see the struggle in this light, and spread his shield over the provinces immediately in contact with (and, in fact, intersecting) his own possessions in the South. It may be argued, that his

Britannic

Britannic Majesty is thus liable to be eventually *compelled* to take *some* active part, in order to avoid the *possibility* of his *Ionian possessions* being exposed to the inroads and devastations of the fugitives of either belligerent; an occurrence which might involve him in the dispute as a party. At any rate prudence seems to exact a vigilant eye, and a respectable naval and military force in the vicinity of the British Ionian Islands. Should (as is most probable) France and Prussia, the German Sovereigns of the Rhine, or the King of Spain, think themselves bound as Christian Princes, although not compelled by their geographical positions (as Austria and England have been proved to be called forward) to interfere for the *immediate repose* of their *own possessions*, yet, from the circumstance of the great *contrast* between the Greek and Armenian churches *in points of discipline* (the *Armenians* all over Europe frequenting *Roman Catholic* places of worship) for the mere glory of co-operating with the Emperor Alexander in perfecting a truly *Christian work*, without limiting the care to *Greek Catholics*, by *each* undertaking to *appease and take charge* of (in the same *limited political sense*) a certain portion of *Asra-Minor*; and it would not be too much to say,

that a most inviting opportunity, and certain *temporary recompense*, seems to present itself for their generosity and Christian duties, more than sufficient to balance the immediate expenses of their *co-operation*. By thus opening an extensive, beautiful, healthy, and fertile reservoir for the present and prospective *alarming excess* of *population*, in parts of Western Europe, whereby the continued emigration of isolated families (which, during the last fifty years, have been driven to seek an asylum amongst the *unwholesome* forests of *another hemisphere*, and there mingled with the *convicts and refugees of England* and other nations, are thus lost for ever to their parent states), might be rendered unnecessary, by the *regular establishment* (under the auspices of *their own Sovereigns*) of *compact* and happy *colonies* in the *finest climate* of the habitable globe.

This leads to the discussion of a momentous question. Upon the propriety of a religious war it must be remarked, that it is one thing to endeavour to force any set of men to *adopt a peculiar mode of religious worship, per se*, and another, to *resist by the only possible effectual means* the dreadful consequences of an *intolerant faith* in a *neighbouring state* ; the pernicious effects of whose
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contact, viz. BARBARISM, it is impossible, effectually, to guard against ; a faith, the fundamental principles of which render any state of peace (except upon the payment of a fixed Haratch, or Poll Tax) with the inhabitants of any other country (not Mussulmen nor willing to convert themselves) criminal in the Sultan and his people. Eternal offensive war against infidels is inculcated as the highest merit in the sight of God, and a Mussulman killed in such a war is proclaimed a martyr ; whilst Turks are taught in their mosques to consider infidels as inferior to beasts (and all brute animals are placed by God under their especial protection), the curses of God, angels, and all mankind, are proclaimed against any infidel who shall treat a Mussulman with contempt, by deed, word, or gesture. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at if a Turk makes no difficulty at drawing his pistol and shooting a Christian who takes the wall of him ; a fact of daily occurrence. What must they now feel, and how act, after the open declaration of Ypsilanti ? The greatest monarchs are no better than the most forlorn Armenian Rayahs, in the eyes of the poorest Mahomedans. They (Turks) are courteous, when visited and caressed, from a sentiment of the duty of compassion towards such miserable objects. Alms-

giving

giving is considered as one of the three great virtues of a true believer. The inferior merit of the *object* relieved makes no difference in the estimation of the Divinity ; and they sometimes exercise their *ingenuity*, in searching out objects the *most remote* from the ordinary claimants upon human bounty, in order to illustrate their *principles*. Bohara relates an anecdote of one who *openly* distributed his *compulsory benefactions*, the amount of which is fixed by law, one morning ; first, to a frail woman, secondly to *a thief*, and lastly, to the *richest man* in the *city*. Upon being laughed at, he said, I did so, in order that the prostitute might cease her vocation, the thief turn honest man, and the rich man imitate *my example*. This story might have served for the foundation of Parnel's Hermit. Moreover, hospitality to *strangers* (which ignorant travellers construe into *generosity*, and personal *attachment* towards *them*) is as an inducement to infidels to *convert themselves* to Islamism, and Paradise is promised to him who fortunately succeeds ; but when the infidel presumes to approach to a *familiarity*, or to place himself upon *any* footing with a Mussulman, the contempt of the Turk is manifested in a mode *not to be mistaken* ; and it really is *astonishing* how *all* the Potentates of Europe have submitted

submitted to the insulting mode with which their *Ambassadors* are *treated*, according to the etiquette of a court which could not remain a week but by their *permission*. The Sultan not only never grants a *private audience* to any Ambassador, but, upon a *public audience* never *rises from his seat*, makes the *slightest obeisance*, or even *looks at the Ambassador*, or deigns to turn his eyes towards *the corner of the small room*, where only that *forlorn plenipotentiary* is allowed to *enter*, bearing *his present or tribute*, without which he is *not* admitted. Moreover, every communication from an *European Sovereign* to the Porte must be made by *officers* dressed in the *uniform of a Turkish subject*, to denote to the Turks that the foreign Sovereign is his tributary; even the Ambassador (the *representative* of his *Britannic Majesty*) dares not appear in presence of the Sultan but in a Turkish pelisse, the *uniform of a slave*. Baron Strogonoff, the late Russian Ambassador, nobly disdained to submit to this ignominious ceremony, and was, therefore, never admitted to the corner of the room, destined to receive the *homage and tribute* of the *Sovereigns of Christendom*.

War (in the name of religion) whose object is to thrust the *human intellect* between the creature
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and his Creator, and by the power of the *sword* to enforce the *reality of belief* in the consciences or understandings of *obstinate men*, whose minds, having *once* received the forcible impressions of *youth*, have attached a pride and a glory in the superiority of *their faith*, as the most certain means of obtaining the *advantages* of a *future state*: the object of such a war (as has been proved in the case of the Turks against the Greeks) would be impracticable, if attempted (and useless and absurd if practicable), at any rate for the *actual generation*; for the minds of men, like the trees of a forest, having once attained *maturity*, never thrive, if they do not perish, by so *radical* a transposition. Their early instilled and long nourished opinions, even upon men and *worldly things*, become parts of their essence; the humours and tastes of the boy at school are traced through life, and constitute the difference of (what is called) *character*, in society. At a certain more advanced period of his growth, and generally not till his youthful passions begin to ebb, the great distinctions and superiority of the *human being* over the brute, begin to occupy his thoughts; he casts his eyes about him, and *within* wonders at what he sees and *feels*, and inquires of himself, and *all around*,
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the nature, the mode, and the object of his existence. He recollects, and begins to comprehend the maxims he has learned by rote; imbibes with eagerness the elucidations he is enabled to obtain from those by whom it is his fortune to be surrounded; and as *all* systems of worship breathe *morality*, peace, and good-will towards *their brethren*, amongst each other; and *hatred*, as well as *pity* towards *infidels* (as their *natural enemies*); no other faith can shew upon *these points* any *substantial difference*; and the nature of *divine essences* is *incapable* of demonstration to *human* understanding, from its being an *axiom in all*, that God is *incomprehensible*. All *renegades* of *sober* age, must be *hypocrites*; their objects in abjuring their early instilled faith *must be mercenary*; the individuals, dangerous (as latent) enemies; in whom it would be impossible to repose any confidence as *friends*: for, however absurd a Turk's conviction in the nature of his own peculiar revelation, he has also received his conviction of the ridiculous parts (to *human reason*) of *every other*; and if he has once thoroughly believed his own religion, and *acted* upon *that* belief, he is more likely to be an *useful subject* by persevering openly and firmly in his tenets, than by *affecting* a conversion. Thus any attempt of the

Emperor of Russia to convert the Turks by conquest, would be fruitless, and a wicked waste of the valuable blood of his own subjects; any avowed *determination* of driving the Turks from Europe, or of subjecting the Caliphs under the domination of Christians, would excite that religious phrenzy of indignation, and blind headlong despair, with which their honest, though erroneous consciences have been impregnated in the event of such a crisis; and which enjoins them to sacrifice themselves, one and all, for, what *they* suppose, the honour of *God*, in order, not only to insure eternal bliss according to their peculiar notions of Paradise, but to avoid the most exquisitely varied and eternally revived torments in the infernal regions, which are *defined in their Scriptures* with the most revolting and heart-appalling *minuteness*. Should the Emperor limit himself in conjunction with the Sovereigns of the *Continent*, to an effectual *protection* of the Christians, extending *that* even to the *Turks* and *Jews*, and generally to *all human beings*, of what nation, sect, or class soever, it is to be hoped he will not only find *no difficulty* in the glorious task, and no opposition from any quarter of Europe, but will merit and receive the blessing and support of every true Christian, philosopher, and human being, capable of feeling
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the extent of this beneficent enterprize. He will cover himself, and his nation, and the *age* in which he was born, with *glory*; but he will do more for the true interests of Christianity by his *kindness* to the Turks and Jews, than by his liberation of the Christians. And doubtless his mind is penetrated with this conviction, as far as regards the Turks (although Jews are not tolerated in Russia by an edict of Peter the Great), for his provinces of Cazan and Astrachan teem with *Mussulmen*: and no individuals of any part of his vast dominions have evinced more calmness and docility than his Mahomedan subjects. The same will be observed, in the course of a *few years*, when those Turks who do not follow the Caliph to his *new metropolis* shall have experienced the advantages to *themselves*, as well as to the *Christian population*, of those delightful regions, under a more civilized government, and particularly a well-organized police; the plague will *no longer* decimate their ranks; the Rayahs will no longer assassinate them isolated in their country-houses; the continued dread of personal danger will no longer compel every Turk to appear in the streets, and in the coffee-houses of his own capital, in time of peace, armed to the teeth, as if in a besieged

city during a bombardment and assault of a breach. Their native goodness of heart, and the virtues of temperance and decorum, inculcated by their religion, will cause them to be *loved*, when they are no longer *dreaded* as wild beasts; they will no longer be *condemned* to play the parts of *slave-drivers* and assassins, when their hourly existence, from their great inferiority of numbers, no longer *exacts* this odious and *precarious line of policy* towards myriads of *more enlightened*, active, bold, vigilant, intriguing and inveterate slaves, by whom they are now kept in a perpetual state of irritation. Upon a view of the mercy, justice, generosity and magnanimity of Christian protectors, and contrasting *such* conduct with *their own abuse of authority*, they will, perhaps, in time, be convinced, by the evidence of their *own senses*, of the really divine nature of that religion, which softens the ferocity of power, tempers the pride of birth and fortune, and teaches *universal philanthropy*. But, to complete his great work for the happiness of the *human race*, Alexander must watch and correct with double severity the faults of the Turko-Greek Christians; to accomplish which, he must trace their actions to their sources; the serious *errors of their opinions* in matters

matters of their miscalled *Christian faith* ; by scrutinizing in their calendars the names of *many* of the *two hundred and forty Saints' days*, upon which it is now considered a *sin* to do any manner of *work*, and are consequently now consumed in idleness, that root of all evil, and parent of debauchery. If he would obtain a permanent repose, only to be hoped for through the industry and prosperity of the inhabitants of those regions, he must imitate the wise conduct of the *Pope and the King of Naples*, in *curtailing* this unreasonable and injurious amount of feast days. These *Roman Catholic Princes* have both, with great wisdom and true Christian piety, (viewing the moral consequences of the ruinous system of *compulsory indolence* upon the minds of the French and Italians, to the fruits of which may mainly be ascribed the late revolutions, which have for thirty years distracted and drenched Europe in blood,) most *recently* issued, not only permission, but *positive orders* to the Roman Catholic peasants of Italy, to *labour* each in his vocation on all but *Sundays*, and the *great anniversaries* of our *Saviour's advent and sufferings*. But in Turkey, at this day, as formerly in Italy, to exercise the most meritorious and sober profession is prohibited, under sentence
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of *excommunication* to the *Greek Catholics*, more than two hundred and forty days in the year. *This alone* has been *sufficient*, without any help of the *Turks*, to impoverish, demoralize, and brutify them as it has : so that if now left to govern themselves, *still less the Jews or Turks*, they would, from the pernicious effects of this *state of bigotry*, and spirit of persecution, into which has *degenerated* the *Turko-Greek Catholic discipline*, through ages of suffering, under the most *heart and mind-subduing* slavery, only increase, instead of diminishing, the *great mass of human misery* in those *now too suffering regions* ; still longer retard for themselves the blessings of civilization, and draw down upon their own heads, and perhaps upon the *divine faith* which they *profess* (but of whose true interpretation they are woefully ignorant), the same *dread and disgust* in the minds of all thinking and benevolent men, which rises at the view of the *Turkish system of intoleration*, and now draws forth the dignified and heroic interposition of the *Christian Princes of Europe*.

Lord Strangford has lately done himself much honour by his attention to the works of art at Athens ; which remain yet, proudly speaking to these remote generations of the vastness and just-
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ness of the conceptions, the exquisite skill in the execution, and taste in the distribution of the architecture and sculpture of the contemporaries of Pericles. Modern travellers have exhausted vocabularies in the lavish encomiums of these splendid trophies of those certainly highly useful arts: dazzled and hurried away by the evidence of *one* of their senses, they have, by a natural though illogical deduction, continued these praises from the mute and stupendous objects themselves to their architects, and thence to their descendants the modern Greeks, their anti-types. The impression in favour of the Athenians of old, and the delight with which the English, and almost all Europeans, contemplate the future emancipation of the modern Greeks, is always coupled (and almost *exclusively* so) with their skill in the polite arts. England (a spot where *architecture*, until the *late improvements*, may be said to be unknown and *little cared for*) has been, and *still is*, most anxious that the *Parthenon* should be no longer sullied by the presence of the barbarous Turks, from their crass *ignorance* (evinced by *their* inattention to that art which raised its majestic vestibule, Cella, Opisthodomus and Peristyle). That they, the English, should feel such respect for arts of which they were themselves

themselves so recently ignorant, and lament that the descendants of such or any men are in chains, does honour to their hearts and their understandings ; but were the Propylæum, and the rest of all its adjacent Pagan temples, to Wisdom, and the Ocean, and Victory without Wings, to become as traceless as the once gorgeous Pantheon (about the scite of which European Consuls quarrel and lampoon each other) ; were the rock of the Acropolis itself to be swallowed up by an earthquake, with the grotto of Pan, the Odeum, the theatre of Bacchus, and every other vestige of the *hand* of Greeks ; every Englishman of education would turn his eyes with reverence and gratitude to the channel where once flowed the Ilyssus, as to the cradle of *civilization*, of *learning*, of *wisdom*, and *virtue* ; to the cave in the mountain where the noble-minded Socrates was imprisoned ; to the olive grove where stood the Academy ; to the scite of the Lyceum ; to the Pynx where glowed the patriotic sentiments of the Athenian statesman, and towered the stern inflexible honesty of Aristides ; to the plain of Marathon and the gulph of Salamis. *There* lived and acted of the real *benefactors*, not only of their immediate descendants, but of *all posterity in every part of the civilized world* ; and

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most peculiarly so, of the *British nation*, the *only* one where *all* the Pagan *virtues* there *taught and practised*, may be said to be still felt and emulated to their fullest extent. Our modern code of liberty is indebted for its *principles*, to the laws of Solon. The idea of the establishment of our Peers and Representative government may have sprung from the Judges of the Areopagus, and the deliberating assemblies of the Athenian citizens. Our ambassadors have found the first precepts of diplomacy in the negotiations of the Athenians, with the Lacedemonians, and the Thebans, and the Achaian league. Xenophon has created history and the science of *war* ; without *that statesman-general*, and Miltiades and Themistocles, it is *most probable* we should never have been able to boast of a Marlborough and a Wellington ; but without Euclid it is *certain* we should never have had a *Newton* ; nor a Harvey, or a Jenner, without Hippocrates. We are indebted to Demosthenes for the *sentiments*, as well as the *language* of the Pitts, father and son : and whilst that purest of philosophy, that key to every virtue, and surest road to earthly happiness and fearlessness of death, *self-abnegation*, the main beauty of the Christian religion, afterwards developed by St. Paul in his

epistle to the Athenians and other Greeks, and which has given England alone, (of all the world), a Howard, a Penn, and a Wilberforce, had its source in the schools of Plato and Aristotle; the virtuous Socrates gave by the *cheerful sacrifice* of his *life* for his *principles* that noble example, the *emulation of which* hurried Hampden and Falkland, and Sidney, and Strafford, to equally certain, glorious and useful graves. These are the true claims of Greece to the sympathy and protection of England, now (as Greece then was) the greatest, because the freest and most virtuous nation of the globe, and as such the happiest. For her freedom, she is indebted to her goodness, the elements of which her forefathers imbibed from those streams of wisdom, written, illustrated, and fortified by the examples of the best, the wisest, and (as long as they continued virtuous) the freest, and the happiest of the nations of antiquity; although, like us, weak in numbers, powerful in talent and goodness. In their meridian they have presented us an example to follow, and one to avoid in their decline. When we contemplate the grand bases of civilized society, the *sciences of war, ethics, and legislature* (whence is derived that finest result of human wisdom, the present exalted state

state of Englishmen ; *perfect freedom under fixed laws, duly administered* ; from the execution of which none are exempted) ; the *abstract sciences* and *polite arts* and literature (however valuable, as sweetening the cup of life by filling up the dreary vacuum between the grosser calls of the senses with delightful images of *ideal beauty moral and physical*), poetry, painting, sculpture, and music, even physic and the mathematics, dwindle and fade away into *nothing*, in comparison with those *really essential sciences*. What are palaces and temples, tragedies, comedies, and epics, groves of statues, galleries of pictures, operas, observatories, laboratories, and mechanical engines, to a man who feels himself *a slave*, or *his country exposed to the invasion of a neighbouring despot*, who claims it in *fee* of his natural and legitimate Sovereign as his tributary ? Without *good laws* and *virtue* to enforce, *bravery* to defend them and *skill* to direct the people's *energies* to advantage, all those *dazzling and enchanting arts and sciences* but serve like the wreaths upon a victim, to adorn a nation for the sacrifice. As in Wallachia, its recent riches and its very sources of happiness were but crimes in the eyes of its brutal masters, or their mercenary slaves ; and each hapless proprietor lived perpetually

tually with the sensations of Damocles at the repast of Dionysius, till (more unfortunate than Damocles) the sword of the Mussulman has fallen and crushed them.

As to the great political question of the Christian Union, and the *justice* and *expediency* of the Sovereigns of Russia and Austria affording the Greeks any assistance in their War against the Turks (the solution of which embraces a variety of considerations), it is proper to premise this axiom. *All political rights are acquired in the origin, and their continuation depend upon FORCE.* Thus, by *this right* about the year 1400 the Turks entered Europe, and possessed themselves successively of Greece, Constantinople, Thrace, Dacia, Transilvania, and *Hungary*; until, at length, they fairly placed themselves before and *formally besieged* Moscow, (D) and even VIENNA. Which latter, they would certainly have *taken*, but for the providential accident of a *baker's boy* overhearing the sound of their miners' instruments. The *same political right, viz. FORCE, in civilized Europe*, has gradually driven them *back towards* their native regions, the mountains of *Kurdistan*, as far as the *Bosphorus of Thrace*; and *this same right* certainly exists in every free state to *pursue* them, if they
can,

can, even to the frontiers of the *Arabian Desert*, whence issued the fanatical myriads of Omar, to carry death and desolation over the most fertile, and *then populous* territories of South-eastern Europe, now almost deserted: whose inhabitants, then the happiest and most civilized, have so degenerated, as to become now the most ignorant, barbarous, and wretched of human beings.

In reviewing the whole of this complex and apparently inextricable state of difficulty, into which the affairs of the Porte seem to have fallen, as far as regards the Emperor of Russia (with which, as long as the seat of war is not brought into the vicinity of the Dardanelles, England is not positively compelled to interfere, from having no paramount *political interest* in the struggle), the nature of which, as *at present* developed, seems not to exact the *total* annihilation of *all* political dominion of the Sultan, in that immense territory forming what is called the Ottoman Empire in Europe, Britons are however called upon, as Christians, as men of sound understanding as well as humanity, and as subjects of a state whose proverbial good faith towards *all other nations* has been hitherto the main cause of its formidable
power,

power, and which power can *only* be upheld by the same means of *inflexible honesty* and *good sense*, to view the approaching struggle with *anxiety*, but resolution. During the last *four centuries*, since the period when the Caliphs have first resided in the capital of the Cæsars, only *one momentary act of indecision and weakness of judgment*, under *Selim*, has ever given *England*, individually, cause to complain of their *politics* or their *religious principles*. During the most critical period of the last war, when the *existence of civilization* depended upon the *forbearance of the Porte*, the *present Sultan forbore*, and the Continent was saved. The whole of European and Asiatic Turkey is *now crowded with our manufactures*: not a Turk or Rayah, whose house, family, and person, do not bear *testimony* to the immense and incalculable advantages to our commerce (upon which depends our industry and repose at home, and prosperity and greatness abroad), hourly derived from the presence of the Sultans *in Europe*, by whom *all* our products are *admitted* upon the payment of the most trifling import duties. When, on the other hand, we examine the rigid, oppressive, and almost prohibitive tariffs of other *less barbarous* States, and observe how much and fatally many of

the

the staple productions of our country are *partially* excluded or shackled by *customs*, in *foreign capitals*, in order to favour the manufactories of *continental nations*, and thus removing the fairness of competition, drive our merchants from their markets; it may be fairly urged that British Ministers, in investigating with *calmness* the real merits of *all* sides, ought not to be accused of *insensibility* to the *specious* (call them *solid*) arguments of those States, whose national and political *interests* would, instead of being deteriorated, be most manifestly *promoted* by *any change* in the present existence of Turkey. At any rate they should not, if possible, suffer the manufactures of England to be *hereafter excluded* from those districts, which have been for ages, the *reservoirs* of the products, and the founders of many branches, of English talent and industry.

N O T E S.

NOTE (A), page 40.

SOME accusations are too impudent and odious to merit any other answer than the dignified silence of the most ineffable disdain. My readers will easily conceive this was the appropriate answer of the inculpated parties to the broad assertions of the Caimakams, that the insurrection of Theodore was merely to veil their serious concussions under the late unfortunate invalid, Alexander Suzzo.

NOTE (B), page 44.

How differently and delicately organized the regular opposition of the illiterate footman Theodore. *He* dexterously protested the most unlimited devotion

devotion to the Ottoman Caliph, and forwarded to Constantinople an humble petition to his Mahometan Sovereign: a declaration of griefs and rights, praying a reform; denouncing the Greek officers, the Boyars, the European Consuls, and the Franks in general, as the real enemies of the Sultan; and declaring himself and his ragged followers as the only faithful friends of the Porte in Wallachia. Had Ypsilanti, instead of this rhodomontade display of his means and his ends, declared on his part a like attachment for the *true* interests of the Sultan, denouncing the Pashas of Albania and Negropont as tyrants and traitors, and affirming his own zeal for the legitimate exercise of the authority of the Porte, as contrasted with their system of cruelty and spoil, so opposite to the Mussulman virtues of the Monarch, although this politic inception might have excited in some minds suspicion of a maturer undertaking than his own, there is no doubt but he would have succeeded in his enterprize, at any rate until his physical force, and the provident security of the heads of his nation and religion, had rendered an open avowal of a more extensive scope for his patriotism and courage, as expedient and honorable, as his then premature declarations were shallow, ruinous, and inhuman.

NOTE (C), page 53.

The Greek Saint Spiridion is not acknowledged by the *Roman Catholics*, because he did not vote at the Council of Trent. The exclusion, upon this ground, was a harsh measure: for Spiridion was attacked on the road by miscreants, who to prevent his attendance at the Council, whither he was hurrying with a holy zeal, cut off his horse's head. The Saint replaced the amputated head, so as to be able to prosecute his journey to Trent, but it seems not so expeditiously as to render it possible to register his vote, a default which cost him the Roman canonization. The Turko-Greeks, however, think this serious impediment a valid excuse, and Spiridion is the tutelar saint of the Ionian Islands, particularly Corfu, where his mummy is still paraded, in an open sedan-chair, round the fortifications, to the sound of military music, four times a year (*me teste*), and, as I was informed by numbers, still performs miracles, by the cure of inveterate rheumatisms, and other chronic disorders.

NOTE (D), page 92.

Moscow was saved by the miraculous apparition of the Virgin, holding her infant upon the walls of the Kremlin, which struck the ferocious Nadir Shah with blindness, at the critical moment of the assault. The exact spot was pointed out to me in 1812, to convince me of that city being under her peculiar protection.

FINIS.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY COX AND BAYLIS,
GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S-INN-FIELDS.

DESCRIPTION
OF THE
EGYPTIAN TOMB.

Price One Shilling.

DESCRIPTION

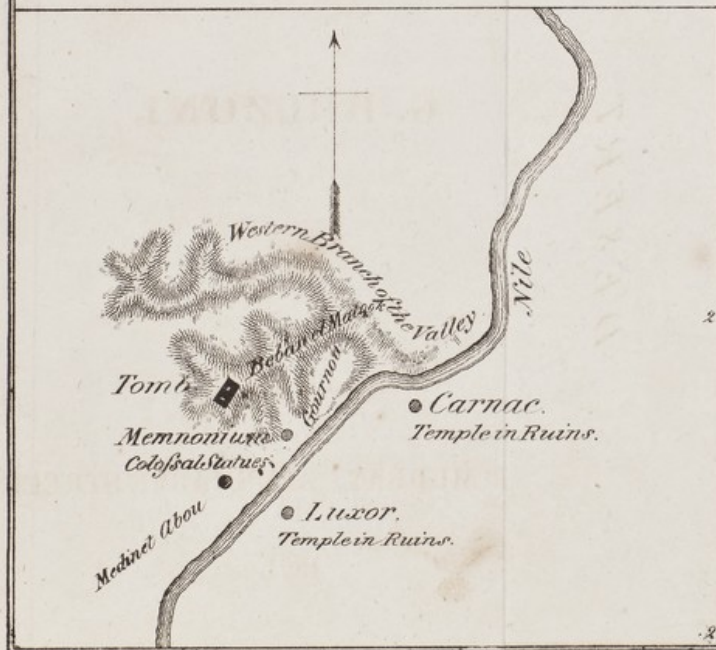
OF THE

EGYPTIAN TOMBS.

Price One Shilling.

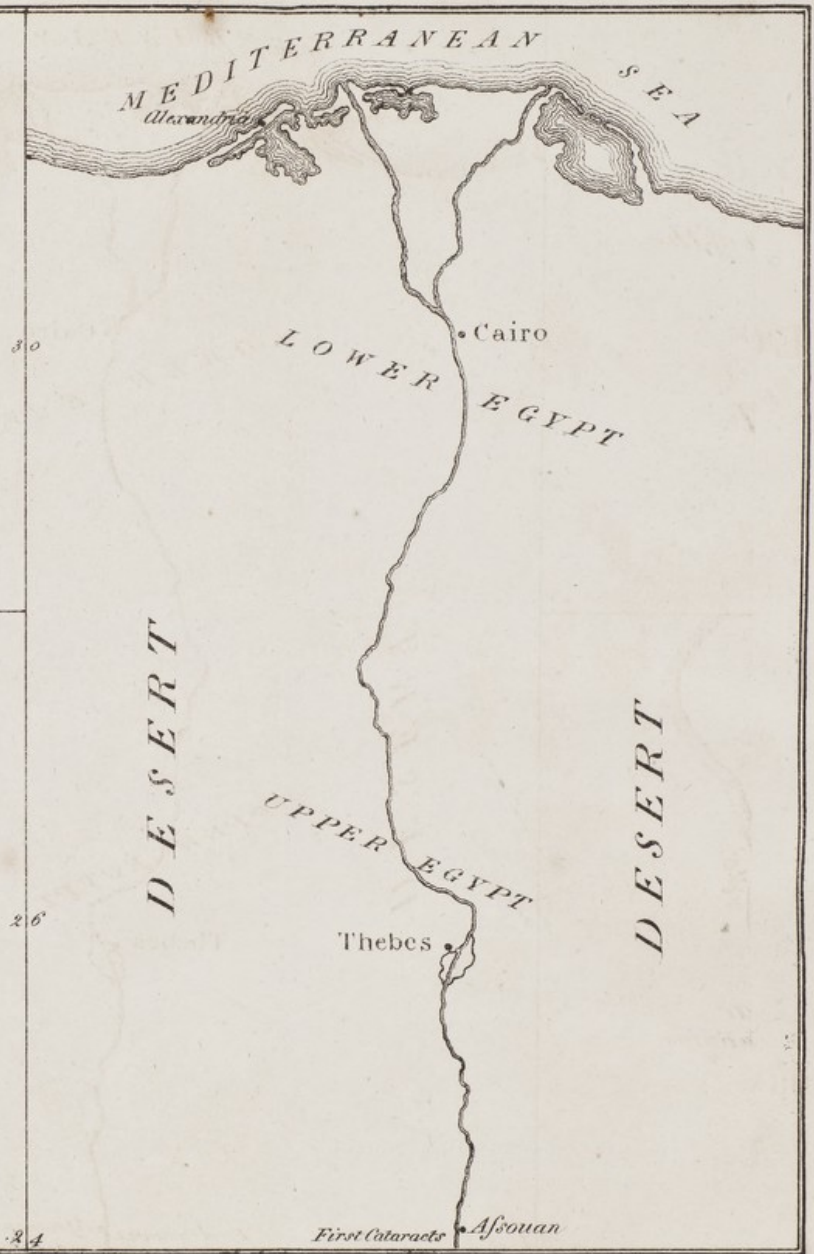
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MAP
to illustrate the Situation of the
TOMB,
discovered by
G. BELZONI.



B. R. Baker Lithog.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THEBES.



C. Hullmandel's Lithography

COURSE OF THE NILE.

DESCRIPTION
OF THE
EGYPTIAN TOMB,

DISCOVERED

BY

G. BELZONI.

LONDON :

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET

1821.

LONDON:

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES,
Northumberland-court.

SITUATION AND DISCOVERY

OF

THE TOMB.

THE sepulchre, of which these two chambers form but a small part, is a vast artificial excavation in a rock distant about three miles from the Nile, to the west of the ancient city of Thebes in Egypt. All the various passages and halls of which it consists are covered with similarly painted figures in relief, and the whole length of the tomb equals 309 feet. These two apartments are not contiguous; but they have been selected for exhibition, the one for its great beauty, and the other for the instructive character of its emblematical representations; they will, together, give some idea of the splendour of the whole sepulchre. The figures are casts in plaster of Paris, from wax impressions taken on the spot, and painted with the greatest exactness and fidelity from drawings made at the same time: on the day the tomb was opened, the colours were found as fresh and vivid as they are here represented. In examining, however, this curious monument, its high antiquity ought not for a moment to be lost sight of, as it would scarcely be just or reasonable to compare the paintings, which have decorated its walls for nearly three thousand years, with the finer specimens of modern art. But this is only one of an immense number of excavations to be found in the neighbourhood.

At the foot of the Libyan chain of mountains, is a tract of rocks, called Gournou, lying to the west of Thebes, and extending in length about two miles, which is hollowed out into chambers and galleries where the ancient inhabitants deposited their dead. No mines or catacombs in any part of the world can be compared with these astonishing places, the number and enormous extent of which, attest the vast population of a city, whose antiquity reaches far beyond all historical notice. For though the ruins of Thebes afford the most complete evidence of the genius and amazing resources of the early Egyptians, no record enables us to form the slightest conjecture as to the date of its foundation; since its temples and obelisks had already begun to decay, when Menès, the first king of the country, commenced the building of Memphis. This latter, on the establishment of monarchy, became the capital of Egypt, but of the comparative greatness of the two cities, we may judge by the simple fact that the exact position of Memphis is now a matter of dispute, which the Members of the Institute, who accompanied the French expedition, were unable to determine; while Thebes, though ruined, has resisted, in a wonderful manner, the inroads of time, of ignorance, and barbarity.

Its original inhabitants are supposed to have dwelt in caverns in the rocks ; and Osiris, who taught them the use of husbandry, and whom they afterwards worshipped as a god, was imagined to have been the founder of the city. *Carnac*, where now stand the ruins of the oldest and most extensive temple, on the eastern side of the river, was the spot first inhabited, but as the population increased, the western bank was also occupied and covered with houses, palaces, and religious edifices. Though it has been surmised that Homer spoke rather as a poet than as a geographer when he describes it as having a hundred gates ; yet Thebes, in its glory, filled the whole valley, resting on each chain of mountains, and the Nile flowed through the centre of a vast and populous city, which is estimated to have been thirty miles in circumference. And if it had greatly declined from its original splendour, long prior to the earliest notice of history, an ancient geographer* still says, that before the invasion of Cambyses, " The sun had never shone on so magnificent a city."

The Persian conqueror, however, hastened its fall ; pillaged its temples, and carried away the ornaments of gold, silver, and ivory, with which they were decorated. But even to this day, the remains of this wonderful place are so considerable, that M. Denon asserts, in his *Travels in Egypt*, it took him more than twenty minutes to ride at full gallop round the exterior of the single temple of *Carnac*.

But it is not the object of this short description to dwell on the ruins of Thebes, of which it will be sufficient to mention that the most remarkable are the temples at *Carnac* and at *Luxor*, on the east side of the Nile. On the opposite bank are the temple of *Gournou*, partly buried in the sand, the *Memnonium* where anciently was the colossal statue of *Osymandyas*, and the two sitting gigantic figures, each fifty-two feet high, which remain in their original position. It was from the *Memnonium* that Mr. *Belzoni* brought the colossal bust of the young *Memnon*, as it has been called, now deposited in the British Museum.

Such are some of the most striking monuments of the magnificence of the former inhabitants of Thebes ; but the present natives of *Gournou*, the most independent of any of the Arabs in Egypt, and greatly superior to them all in cunning and deceit, live in the entrance of the caves, or ancient sepulchres mentioned above. Here, having made some partitions with earthen walls, they form habitations for themselves, as well as for their cows, camels, buffaloes, sheep, goats, and dogs. They cultivate a small tract of land, extending from the rocks to the Nile ; but even this is in part neglected, for they prefer to the labours of agriculture, the more profitable but disgusting employment of digging for mummies. Aware of the eagerness with which these articles are purchased by strangers, they make and arrange collections of them, and Mr. *Belzoni* has frequently seen in the dwellings of the Arabs,

magazines, as it were, well stocked with mummies, the empty wooden cases in which they had been contained, large pieces of asphaltum, much used and prized by painters, and other objects of antiquity procured from these caverns.

The natives also break up the wooden cases for fuel, with which, together with the bones of mummies, the asphaltum and rags, which embalmed and enveloped them, they heat the ovens in which they bake their bread.

Every part of these rocks is cut out by art, in the form of large and small chambers, each of which has its separate entrance, and notwithstanding they are very close to each other, it is seldom that there is any interior communication between them. Some of them, though now much defaced, shew that they were originally of great magnificence, richly ornamented, and of surprising extent; but, in general, the sepulchres at Gournou are the pits where the Arabs dig for mummies.

It is scarcely possible by description to convey an adequate idea of these subterranean abodes, or of the strange and horrible figures with which they are filled. Most travellers are satisfied with entering the large hall, the gallery, and staircase; in fact, as far as they can conveniently proceed, but Mr. Belzoni frequently explored the inmost recesses of these extraordinary excavations. Of some of these tombs many persons could not withstand the suffocating air, which often occasions fainting. "On entering the narrow passage," says Mr. B., "which is roughly cut in the rock, and nearly filled up with sand and rubbish, a vast quantity of dust rises, so fine that it fills the throat and nostrils, and, together with the strong smell of the mummies, threatens suffocation. In some places there is not more than the vacancy of a foot left, which you must contrive to pass through in a creeping posture, on pointed and keen stones, that cut like fragments of glass. After getting through these passages, some of them 200 or 300 yards long, you generally find a more commodious spot, perhaps high enough to allow a sitting posture. But what a place of rest! surrounded by bodies, by heaps of mummies on every side, which, previous to my being accustomed to the sight, impressed me with horror. The blackness of the walls, the faint light given by the candles or torches for want of air, the different objects that surrounded me, looking at, and seeming to converse with each other, and the Arab guides, naked and covered with dust, themselves resembling living mummies, absolutely formed a scene that cannot be described. In such a situation I found myself several times, and when exhausted, fainting and nearly overcome, I sought a resting-place, and found one, my weight bore on the body of an Egyptian, and it crushed like a band-box. I naturally had recourse to my hands to sustain my weight, but they found no better support: so that I sunk altogether among the broken mummies, with a crash of bones, rags, and wooden cases, which raised such a dust as kept me motionless for a quarter of an hour, waiting till it subsided again.

"Thus I proceeded from one cave to another, all full of mummies,

piled up in various ways, some standing, some lying, and some on their heads. The purpose of my researches was to rob the Egyptians of their *papyri*, of which I found a few hidden in their breasts, under their arms, in the space above the knees, or on the legs, and covered by the numerous folds of cloth, that envelop the mummy."

The above description applies to most of the tombs of Gournou; though, as has been said before, there are some among them of a more splendid construction; but the sepulchres of the kings are in the sacred valley of Beban-el-Malook, which, beginning at Gournou, runs towards the west, and gradually turns due south. Another branch of the same valley runs two miles further to the westward, making five miles from the Nile to its extremity. At the bottom of the narrow valley of Beban-el-Malook, are openings cut in the solid rock; which is a calcareous stone, of an extremely white colour. These entrances are generally surmounted with a bas relief, representing an oval, in which are sculptured, a scarabæus, or beetle, and the figure of a man with the head of a hawk. On each side of this emblem, are two figures in the act of adoration.



Usual Entrance of a Tomb.

In the time of Strabo, 47 such openings are said to have existed; which were considered as so many entrances to the tombs of Egyptian kings. But there must be some mistake in this assertion, for it is not possible that so many could have been formed in this confined

valley : probably some of the sepulchres of the kings were situated at Gournou ; at all events, eight entrances only were open, before the discoveries Mr. Belzoni made.

“ On the 16th October, 1817,” says the traveller, “ I set a number of *Fellahs*, or labouring Arabs, to work, and caused the earth to be opened at the foot of a steep hill, and under the bed of a torrent which, when it rains, pours a great quantity of water over the spot in which they were digging. No one could imagine that the ancient Egyptians would make the entrance into such an immense and superb excavation, just under a torrent of water : but I had strong reasons to suppose, that there was a tomb in that place, from indications I had previously observed in my search of other sepulchres. The Arabs, who were accustomed to dig, were all of opinion, that nothing was to be found there ; but I persisted in carrying on the work, and on the evening of the following day, we perceived the part of the rock that had been hewn and cut away. On the 18th, early in the morning, the task was resumed ; and about noon the workmen reached the opening, which was 18 feet below the surface of the ground. When there was room enough for me to creep through a passage, that the earth had left under the ceiling of the first corridor, I perceived immediately, by the painting on the roof, and by the hieroglyphics in basso-relievo, that I had at length reached the entrance of a large and magnificent tomb. I hastily passed along this corridor, and came to a staircase 23 feet long ; at the foot of which, I entered another gallery, 37 feet 3 inches long, where my progress was suddenly arrested by a large pit, 30 feet deep, and 14 feet by 12 feet 3 inches wide. On the other side, and in front of me, I observed a small aperture, 2 feet wide, and 2 feet 6 inches high ; and at the bottom of the pit, a quantity of rubbish. A rope, fastened to a piece of wood that was laid across the passage against the projections which formed a kind of door-way, appeared to have been used formerly for descending into the pit ; and from the small aperture on the opposite side, hung another, which reached the bottom, no doubt for the purpose of ascending. The wood, and rope fastened to it, crumbled to dust on being touched. At the bottom of the pit, were several pieces of wood, placed against the side of it, so as to assist the person who was to ascend, by means of the rope, into the aperture. It was not till the following day, that we contrived to make a bridge of two beams, and crossed the pit, when we discovered the little aperture to be an opening forced through a wall, that had entirely closed, what we afterwards found to be the entrance into magnificent halls and corridors beyond. The ancient Egyptians had closely shut it up, plastered the wall over, and painted it like the rest of the sides of the pit ; so that but for the aperture, it would have been impossible to suppose that there was any further proceeding. Any one would have concluded, that the tomb ended with the pit. Besides, the pit served the purpose of receiving the rain-water, which might occasionally fall in the mountain, and thus kept out the damp from the

inner part of the tomb. We passed through the small aperture, and then made the full discovery of the whole sepulchre.

“An inspection of the model will exhibit the numerous galleries and halls through which we wandered; and the vivid colours and extraordinary figures, on the walls and ceilings, which every where met our view, will convey an idea of the astonishment we must have felt at every step. In one apartment we found the carcase of a bull embalmed; and also, scattered in various places, wooden figures of mummies, covered with asphaltum, to preserve them. In some of the rooms were lying about, statues of fine earth, baked, coloured blue, and strongly varnished; in another part, were four wooden figures, standing erect, four feet high, with a circular hollow inside, as if intended to contain a roll of papyrus. The sarcophagus of oriental alabaster, was found in the centre of the hall, to which I gave the name of the Saloon, without a cover, which had been removed and broken, and the body that had once occupied this superb coffin, had been carried away. We were not, therefore, the first who had profanely entered this mysterious mansion of the dead; though there is no doubt it had remained undisturbed since the time of the invasion of the Persians*.”

* I can never, however, be persuaded, continues the author, that the invading Persians, strangers as they must have been to the customs of the country, could have succeeded in opening it, unless they had been assisted by the treachery of some native guide, informed, probably by tradition, of the plan of its construction, and of the existence of the corridors and splendid halls beyond its apparent termination. That there was much mystery among the architects of Egypt, and that secrets of this nature were handed down from father to son, and used for the purposes of deception and private emolument, we learn from the following amusing story related by Herodotus:

“Rhampsinitus,” says the historian, “heaped together a far greater quantity of silver than any of the succeeding kings are said to have possessed, and being desirous to secure his treasures, built an apartment of stone, which had one wall on the outside of the palace. This situation the architect made use of to deceive the king, and placed one of the stones in so loose a manner, that a man might easily take it out. Some time after the building was finished, and the king had lodged his riches in the place, the architect, lying upon his death-bed, called his two sons, and acquainted them that he had contrived the king’s treasury in such a manner, that they might always furnish themselves with the means of living plentifully; directing them to the place, and explaining all the particulars they were to observe in taking out and putting in the stone; in a word, he told them, if they would follow his instructions, they might be the treasurers of all the king’s riches. The sons waited not long after the death of their father to put his counsel in execution, and went by night to the palace; where, having found the place, they removed the stone without difficulty, and carried off a great quantity of silver. Rhampsinitus entering one day into the treasury, and seeing his heaps much diminished, fell into a great surprise: in regard he knew not whom to blame, having found all entire, and the apartment, in appearance, well secured. But after the king had two or three times successively visited his treasures, and always found them diminished, he ordered nets to be made, and spread about the vessels that contained his money. The thieves coming as before, one of them entered, and going to a vessel filled with silver, was presently taken in the snare. Finding himself in this extremity, he immediately called his brother, and acquainting him with his misfortune, desired him to come in, and cut off his head, lest the whole intrigue should be discovered, and neither of them escape with life. The brother, comprehending the reason of his

request, did as he desired, and having put the stone in its proper place, returned home with the head. Early in the morning, the king coming to the treasury, was not a little astonished to find the body of the thief taken in the net without a head, and the whole edifice entire, without the least sign of any person going out or coming in. In this perplexity he went away, and commanded the body to be hanged on the wall; appointing a guard, with strict orders, if they should see any one weeping at the spectacle, or pitying the person, to bring him immediately before the king. But no sooner was the body thus exposed, than the mother fell into a great passion, and commanded her surviving son, by any means he could contrive, to take down and bring away the corpse of his brother; threatening, if he refused, to go to the king and let him know that he was the thief who had robbed the treasury."

Herodotus goes on to relate how the brother succeeded, having made the guards drunk, in taking down the body in the dead of the night; and having, in derision, shaved all the guard on the right cheek, he laid the corpse upon one of his asses, and brought it home to his mother, according to her desire. The remainder of the story is still more curious, though perhaps a little improbable.—HERODOTUS. *Euterpe*.

EXPLANATION OF SOME OF THE HIEROGLYPHICS, THE MODEL, &c. &c.

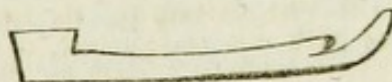
It would have been desirable, that the model of the whole Tomb should have been the first object to present itself to the eye of the spectator; but since the local circumstances are such as to render that arrangement impracticable, it is recommended to begin with the examination of the farthest of the two chambers. This was the room in which Mr. B. found himself, after he had passed through the small aperture in the painted wall, spoken of before; and to this apartment he gave the name of the *Entrance Hall*. Its dimensions are 27 feet, 6 inches, by 25 feet, 10 inches; and the pillars are 4 feet square. Immediately in front of the door, as you enter, is the finest painted group of the whole sepulchre, consisting of four figures, and representing the reception of some distinguished personage, by Osiris, the great divinity of the Egyptians. An explanation of the subject of this group, will serve as a specimen of the manner in which these curious pictures have been interpreted by the eminent scholar to whom he is indebted for the Appendix to the second edition of his Travels:—

Osiris is seated on his throne of state, supported by pillars, or feet; he holds a hook in each hand, and in the left the flail also: King Psammis, with his name on his belt,



is presented to him by the Egyptian Apollo, Arueris, who has the head of a hawk. Behind Osiris, is a female figure, probably the Goddess Buto, with a cage and a bird over her head: according to the Egyptian mythology, she was the nurse of the children of Osiris and Isis. The dress of Osiris is almost entirely white, which, Plutarch says, was the usual colour of his attire, though sometimes it was black.

The whole tablet is surmounted by the winged globe, accompanied by the inscription which is scarcely ever wanting when this tutelary genius is introduced, whose name seems to be indicated by a bent bar, with a hand,



The other characters appear to mean, the *sacred father of the protecting powers, living unalterable, reigning, and ministering.*

But the most remarkable feature of the whole embellishments of the catacomb, consists of a procession of captives; which will be seen on the left, immediately as you enter the chamber on the lower tier, or compartment of the wall:—Before a hawk-headed divinity, are four red men, with white kirtles; then four white men, with thick black beards, and with a simple white fillet round their black hair, wearing striped and fringed kirtles; before these are four negroes, with hair of different colours, wearing large circular ear-rings, having white petticoats, supported by a belt over the shoulder; and next in order, march four white men, with smaller beards and curled whiskers, bearing double spreading plumes in their heads, tattooed, and wearing robes, or mantles, spotted like the skins of wild beasts. Now Mr. B. is disposed to consider the red men as Egyptians, the black-bearded men as Jews, and the tattooed as Persians; and these conjectures seem to accord remarkably well with the history of the times concerned: for Necho, the father of Psammis, whose tomb this is supposed to be, is known both from sacred history, and from Herodotus, to have had wars with the Jews, and with the Babylonians; and Herodotus mentions his expedition against the Ethiopians. So that this procession may very naturally be considered as consisting of captives made in his wars.—The passages in scripture, which illustrate this portion of history, will be found in the II. Chronicles, chap. xxxv., ver. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24; and chap. xxxvi., ver. 1, 2, 3, 4; and in Jeremiah, chap. xxxvi. See also the 2d Book of Herodotus.—It is impossible to conceive any thing more striking than this agreement of sacred and profane history, with this remarkable representation in the catacomb.

There is ample room for curiosity to indulge itself in conjecture, as to the import of the other pictures which adorn the pillars and the walls of the Entrance Hall.

Hall of Beauties.—Returning into this chamber, where are two statues of granite, with lions' heads, which Mr. B. brought from the temple situated behind the two colossi, in the plains of Gournou; the chief subjects of the representations on its walls will be found to be the reception of Psammis by the principal divinities of the Egyptian mythology: he appears to be generally attended by the hawk-headed deity, Arueris; and, in some places, is presenting offerings to Isis, or other female divinities; and is ultimately received by Osiris, clothed in white.

Passage.—The principal tablets in the passage, are thus explained:—

On the left, No. 1, is Isis, in the form of a cow, adored by groups of figures.

No. 2, King Psammis is represented doing homage to a deity, considered to be a personification of *Stability*; a pair of weeping eyes are inserted between the two lower plates, or bust, and the hands hold the hook and flail. Over the King, the hieroglyphics are interpreted, *King Osiris, Dispenser of comforts to the Countries—Psammis the Powerful.*

Nos. 3 and 4. In these two tablets, the Goddess Buto is exhibited: she holds the King's right hand with her left, and with her right she presents to him a breastplate, which hangs round her neck, and which seems to be the *Alethia*, or Truth of Diodorus.

No. 5. Psammis is represented embracing a singular deity; over the King, is his name, followed by the epithet, *Vulcanian*, or devoted to Phthah.

No. 6. King Psammis, who is the principal figure of the catacomb, is represented sitting on a throne, or chair of state; his belt, or apron, is marked with his name. The vulture soaring over the King seems to represent some tutelary genius: it holds a ring, which, in other cases, serves for the support of plumes, or other honorary trophies. The altar before the figure is loaded with an offering of some substance, cut into slices, and standing in a compact mass.

UP STAIRS.

THE MODEL.

WITHOUT enumerating the various dimensions of the different Halls and Passages of the Tomb, it will be sufficient to observe that the Model is constructed on a scale of one-sixth of the size of the original Sepulchre.

No. 1. First Corridor.

No. 2. Staircase.

No. 3. Second Corridor.

No. 4. Pit or Well; the position of the ancient ropes which were found, and the bridge of two beams that was constructed, as well as the aperture which was enlarged and forced through the wall, will be observed.

No. 5. The Entrance-hall; this is the farthest chamber represented below of its original dimensions.

No. 6. The Room called the Drawing-room. From this apartment were taken the outlined figures to be seen opposite the cases containing the Egyptian Curiosities. From the Entrance-hall on the left, a large staircase descends into a corridor, and farther on is the other Chamber

No. 7, represented below, called the Hall of Beauties. When standing in the centre of this Chamber, the traveller is surrounded by an assembly of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses.

No. 8. Hall of Pillars.

No. 9. Saloon, in the centre of which is the Sarcophagus of Oriental Alabaster, nine feet five inches long, and three feet seven inches wide; its thickness is only two inches, and it is semi-transparent when a light is placed in the inside. It is minutely sculptured within and without, with several hundred figures, which do not exceed two inches in height, and represent, it may be supposed, the whole of the funeral procession and ceremonies, relating to the deceased, united with several emblems, &c.

The substance of the Sarcophagus, is a stalactitical carbonate of lime, approaching in its nature to arragonite, but of inferior hardness, and slightly differing also in some other of its characters.

It stands over a staircase, which communicates with a subterraneous passage, leading downwards 300 feet in length.

On the right of the Saloon, is a small Chamber

No. 10, roughly cut out of the rock, as if unfinished, and without painting.

On the left of the Saloon is another Chamber

No. 11, with two square Pillars.

On the wall opposite the Model, are placed some casts from different parts of the Tomb.

CASES OF EGYPTIAN CURIOSITIES, &c.

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