

de Lusignan (the king of Jerusalem and successor of Baldwin), with his brother and Renaud de Châtillon. The number of prisoners is almost incredible; and the massacre of many of them is an indelible stain on the glory of the generally merciful Saladin. Tiberias, Ptolemais (Acre), Nâbulus, Jericho, Ramleh, Casarea, Arsoor, Joppa, Beyroot, and many other places successively fell into the hands of the conqueror. Tyre resisted his attacks; but Ascalon surrendered on favourable terms, and the fall of Jerusalem crowned these victories. The great clemency of Saladin on this occasion is chronicled by Christian historians, though it is but slightly mentioned by the Muslims, who took offence at the mercy shown to the enemies of their faith.

After these events Tyre was again besieged, and when about to capitulate was relieved by the arrival of Conrad, son of the marquis of Montserrat. The valiant defence of the town wearied Saladin, who turned his arms against Tripoli; but here he met with no better success. Bohemond, prince of Antioch, and at that time possessor of Tripoli also, was, however, glad to obtain a truce of eight months; and some strongholds (among others Karak) were taken. But now the fortune of war turned against the sultan. The ever-memorable siege of Acre, maintained with equal constancy by both Christians and Muslims, lasted upwards of two years, and attracted the attention of the whole western world. At length the immense reinforcements received by the besiegers, and the presence of Richard Cœur de Lion of England and of Philip II. of France, enabled them to overcome all resistance, and the standards of the Cross floated on the ramparts of the city (A.D. 1191). A horrible act of barbarity was here perpetrated: 2700 Muslim captives were massacred in cold blood, in consequence of Saladin's having failed to fulfil the terms of the capitulation; and the palliative plea of the heat of an assault cannot be urged in extenuation of this enormity. Richard has been accused of being its author; but Michaud believes with reason that it was decided on in a council of the chiefs of the Crusade. On another occasion, however, that king was certainly guilty of similar cruelty.

After a period of repose and debauchery, the army of the Crusaders, commanded by Richard, directed its march towards Jerusalem. Saladin harassed his advance on every point, rendered the cities and strongholds defenceless, and ravaged the country. Richard, nevertheless, was ever victorious; his personal bravery struck terror into the Muslims, and he gained a signal victory over the sultan in the battle of Arsoor. But dissensions among the chiefs of his army and the uncertain temper of the commander himself debarred the Crusaders from the attainment of their great object, the deliverance of the Holy City; and when all the coast from Joppa to Tyre was in the hands of the Christians, and the army of Saladin was threatened with disorganization, a treaty was concluded, and Richard set sail on his return to England. The glory acquired by Saladin, and the famous campaigns of Cœur de Lion, have rendered the Third Crusade the most memorable in history, and shed a lustre on the arms of both Muslims and Christians greater than they ever attained in those wars, either before or afterwards.

Saladin died about a year after the conclusion of this peace (A.H. 589 or 1193 of our Era) at Damascus, at the age of fifty-seven years. Ambition and religious zeal appear to have been his ruling passions; he was courageous, magnanimous, and merciful, possessed of remarkable military talents and great control over himself. His generosity to the vanquished and his faithful observance of his passed word are lauded by the historians of the Crusades; the former brought on him much obloquy among his own fierce soldiers, and is a trait in his character which is worthy of note in the annals of a time when this

virtue was extremely rare. While engaged in the conduct of his continual wars, he was not unmindful of the welfare of Egypt, and during his reign many public works were executed. Of these we may mention especially the citadel of Cairo, with the magnificent buildings which, until very recently, it contained; the third wall of the city; and the repair of the great canal called the Bahr Yousof, a very important and useful work. From the year 578 until the period of his death he had not entered Egypt; but his brother El-Melik El-'Adil Seyf-ed-deen (Saphedin) and other princes of his family successively governed that country, and the eunuch Karakoosh, who also defended Acre, held a large share of authority.

On the death of Saladin, his extensive dominions were divided chiefly among his sons, and Egypt fell to the lot of one of them, El-Melik El-Azeez Imâd-ed-Deen 'Othmân. The grandees supported his claim to the throne, and he proved himself worthy of their choice. In conjunction with El-'Adil, we find him warring against the leaders of the Fourth Crusade. He reigned nearly six years, and was succeeded (in 593) by his son El-Mansoor Mohamad, whose uncle El-Afdal was compelled to relinquish the government of Damascus and assume the regency of Egypt. Disagreement among the sons of Saladin had occurred soon after that monarch's death, and now hastened the rise of El-'Adil, who, by his military talents and other remarkable qualities, had excited the fears of even his brother. With the view of checking his growing ascendancy, El-Afdal formed an alliance against him with Edh-Dhâhir, another son of Saladin and lord of Aleppo, and besieged him in Damascus; but coming to strife, they raised the siege in 597. This attempt proved fatal to the power of El-Afdal. He was pursued to Egypt, in his turn besieged in El-Kâhreh, and forced to flee, and El-'Adil was proclaimed sultan. Having dethroned El-Mansoor, he speedily recovered Damascus from the hands of the confederate brothers, and Syria with Egypt acknowledged his supremacy. El-'Adil (as Saphedin) is especially known by his opposition to the Fourth and Sixth Crusades, the former of which took place before his accession to the throne. He repulsed the Christians near Nâbulus, captured Joppa, and encountered the enemy between Tyre and Sidon. He was there defeated with heavy loss, and Sidon, Laodicea, Gibleh, and Beyroot were taken. But the Crusaders wasted their strength before the fortress of Thoron. El-'Adil raised the siege of that place, and although afterwards he met with a reverse near Joppa, his adversaries bought a dear victory; and, having come to terms of peace, they returned to Europe. In the year 600 (A.D. 1204) he departed to Syria with the object of securing Jerusalem against threatened attacks, and concluded a truce which he offered to renew when about to expire; and to prove his good faith, he strengthened that offer by promising to cede ten castles to the Christians. These overtures were refused, and the Muslim army drove the newly arrived king of Jerusalem, Jean de Brienne, back to Europe. Those who remained then professed their willingness to accede to conditions of peace, and we do not again hear of El-'Adil in Palestine until 614 (A.D. 1217), when he was once more called thither to oppose the Crusaders; but a serious invasion of Egypt by these troublesome adventurers hastily recalled its king, and he died of grief, it is said, on hearing of the advantages gained by them.

El-Kâmil immediately (615) came to the throne, and took the most energetic measures for the protection of his kingdom. In the meantime, the Franks had besieged Damietta both by sea and land; and, notwithstanding every effort for the relief of the place, its garrison was forced to capitulate. El-Kâmil summoned to his aid the princes of his family, and with every available man watched the enemy's movements. Flushed with success, Jean de Brienne commenced his march on the capital; and with the characteristic carelessness of the Crusaders he took no measures to secure supplies. His advance was stopped at the junction of the canal of Ashmoon with the Nile, where he found El-Kâmil in a very strong position. Encamped on the opposite shore, the invaders depended for supplies on Damietta and its immediate district; but the inundation of the Nile gradually obstructed land-carriage, and El-Kâmil, skilfully availing himself of this natural ally, caused boats to be carried overland to the enemy's rear, and, thus cut off by land and water, they were compelled to attempt a retreat. At Beyramoon, however, all further progress was found to be impossible, the inundation had covered the level country, and the sultan's boats blockaded the Nile. The Franks surrendered, and evacuated Damietta, but not before Egypt had suffered severely from the ravages they committed. The town of El-Mansoorah was founded on the site of El-Kâmil's camp, and commemorates his energy and sagacity. The Seventh Crusade was invited by the same sultan who had thus suffered by an invasion of the Franks. In A.D. 1228, El-Kâmil invoked the aid of Frederick II. against his brother El-Moadhdham, lord of

Damascus, and, in consequence of this alliance, Jerusalem, with Bethlehem and the places between it and Joppa and Acre, Nazareth and the territory of Thoron and Sidon, with its dependencies, was ceded to Frederick on the 20th of Feb. 1229. Between these two monarchs existed the most friendly relations, presenting a curious spectacle in the midst of the intrigues and hatred of their subjects for each other, and endangering their popularity and even their lives. After various expeditions against his brother and his successors, El-Kâmil gained possession of Damascus, and died there in the year 635 (A.D. 1238). He was distinguished by military talents and rare moderation, and was also a learned man, a patron of the arts, and a good king.

His son, El-Melik El-'Adil the Younger, was declared sultan of Egypt and Syria, with the consent of the nobles, and he speedily banished those ministers whose counsels he feared, and appointed creatures of his own. Oppressed by his tyranny, and impoverished by his extravagance, the people called his brother Es-Sâlih Negm-ed-Deen Eiyoub to the throne; and he deposed and imprisoned El-'Adil in the year 637, and to replenish his exhausted treasury, ordered all who had received presents from the late sultan to restore them to his successor. In the next year serious disturbances broke out in Syria; Imâd-ed-Deen, who had taken Damascus in the reign of El-'Adil, formed an alliance with the Franks, and purposed the conquest of Egypt; the hostile armies met at Acre, and the Muslim soldiers of Imâd-ed-Deen deserting to the banner of Es-Sâlih Eiyoub, the Franks were routed. Negotiations for peace were then attempted, but these failing, the Franks were again induced to take the field by the cession of Jerusalem and other places. The king of Egypt, on his part, called to his assistance the Tatars of Kharesm, who took Jerusalem and overran Syria. In the next campaign (642) they were joined by the army of Es-Sâlih, under the command of his favourite slave Beybars, or Eibars, who was destined to play a conspicuous part in Egyptian history. At Gaza the allied army met the Franks, eager to avenge themselves on the Khâreesms for the horrible atrocities of which they had been guilty in the preceding campaign, and willingly joined by the Muslim princes of Damascus, Hims, and Karak; on the first day the battle raged with unabated fury from daybreak to sunset, and was continued on the morrow until the prince of Hims, having lost 2000 men, gave way and fled towards Damascus. The Christians maintained the unequal fight with great constancy, and were only vanquished after the greater number had fallen. In these encounters 30,000 men (Christians and Muslims) were either killed or taken prisoners. Various successes followed this victory, Jerusalem was taken by the Egyptians, and Es-Sâlih laid siege to Damascus in person. The city having capitulated on favourable conditions, his fierce allies, enraged at the loss of pillage, quarrelled with him, and soon after joined his rebellious subjects. Damascus was reduced to the direst straits, but again fortune favoured Es-Sâlih. He hastened from Egypt, whither he had returned, and totally defeated the enemy. Other advantages were gained by his commander Fakhr-ed-Deen over the Franks in 645.

Although attacked by illness, the sultan was once more called to Syria to quell fresh troubles; but at Damascus news reached him of the threatened invasion of Egypt by the Crusaders under St Louis, and he travelled back in great suffering from his malady. Damietta, which he rightly judged would be the first point of attack, was strengthened and well stored, and its defence was intrusted to Fakhr-ed-Deen. On Friday, June 4, A.D. 1249, the French anchored before the place, and the next day landed opposite the camp of the Egyptian general, who offered but slight opposition, and in the course of the next night betrayed his trust and retreated southwards. His army was precipitately followed by the entire population of Damietta, and this important town with its stores fell into the hands of the invaders without a blow. Fakhr-ed-Deen nearly lost his life for this act of cowardice, and fifty-four of his principal officers were put to death. In the meantime the sultan's illness gradually increased, but nevertheless he caused himself to be removed to the town of El-Mansoorah, which he fortified, and there he expired on Nov. 21, at the age of forty-four, and after a reign of ten years. He it was who introduced the Bahree Memlooks, a body of Turkish slaves, who composed his body-guard, and eventually usurped the supreme power. Their name *Bahrees* (or "of the river") originated in their being trained and quartered on the island of Er-Rôdah, where the sultan had built a palace.

The French were advancing southwards, and, notwithstanding the precautions of Sheger-ed-Durr (the widow of Es-Sâlih, who assumed the regency), were apprised of the death of the sultan. Many partial actions took place on the march, and on Dec. 19, their army appeared before El-Mansoorah, the scene of the disaster of Jean de Brienne. Skirmishing continued until Shrove Tuesday, when, a traitor having shown the enemy a ford over the canal of Ashmoon, they surprised the camp and town. Very severe fighting ensued, Fakhr-ed-Deen fell early in the struggle, and the place was nearly lost, when the Bahree Memlooks led by Beybars furiously charged the assailants, and completely turned the fortune of the day. The morrow witnessed another battle, also disastrous to the

Crusaders, and a succession of misfortunes followed. Tooran-Shâh, on hearing of the death of his father, travelled in all haste from Mesopotamia to Egypt, and having reached the camp assumed the command. He had recourse to the stratagem which had proved so successful under the direction of El-Kâmil, and cut off the supplies of the enemy. This, coupled with disease, soon reduced St Louis to great straits, and he sent to propose a truce, but not coming to terms he resolved on retreating to Damietta. A memorable conflict took place by land and water, and St Louis with his troops surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

Tooran-Shâh now gave himself up to debauchery, offended his nobles by bestowing his favours only on certain creatures whom he had brought with him from Mesopotamia, and alarmed the queen by forcing her to render him an account of his father's wealth. Sheger-ed-Durr appealed to the Memlooks, a conspiracy was formed, and the sultan was attacked in his palace. He fled to a pleasure-tower built on the banks of the Nile, which was set on fire in the presence of his army, the wretched king, from the summit, in vain promising to abdicate. He perished miserably, and his corpse lay unburied for many days on the bank. On his accession he had strangled a brother, and his fate deserves no pity.

Sheger-ed-Durr (vulgarly called Shegeret-ed-Durr), herself a slave, and the first of the Dynasty of the Bahree, or Turkish Memlooks, succeeded to the throne; and 'Izz-ed-Deen Eybek was appointed commander of the forces. After many delays, St Louis agreed to pay 400,000 livres as a ransom for himself and his army, 200,000 to be paid in Egypt, and the remainder on the fulfilment of certain stipulations at Acre: Damietta was surrendered and Egypt evacuated. Thus ended the last invasion of Egypt by the Crusaders. Sheger-ed-Durr, in order to strengthen herself on the throne, shortly after married the emeer Eybek, and caused him to be proclaimed sultan, with the title of El-Melik El-Mo'izz, in the year 648. The followers of the late Es-Sâlih, however, obliged Eybek to associate with himself in the sovereignty a young prince of the family of Eiyoub, El-Melik El-Ashraf Mudhaffar-ed-Deen Moosa. En-Nâsir, a son of El-Azeez, invaded Egypt, and after many combats was driven back to Syria, but the country continued in a very unsettled state. The chief of the adherents of the fallen dynasty was arrested by Eybek; and Beybars and other leading men having repaired to the citadel to demand satisfaction, his bloody head was thrown to them from the ramparts, and in terror they fled to Syria. El-Ashraf was then cast into prison, and there he died. But Eybek soon roused the jealousy of his beautiful and ambitious wife; and he was assassinated by her orders (655, A.D. 1257). In her turn she was beaten to death, not many days after, by the wooden clogs of the female slaves of another wife of Eybek, and her corpse was exposed for three days in the moat of the citadel.

El-Melik El-Mansoor Noor-ed-Deen 'Alee, son of Eybek, was now raised to the throne, and Beybars being apprised of the death of his rival attempted to regain his power in Egypt; but Kutz, the viceroy of Eybek and also of his son, attacked and routed him; and he soon after (657) desposed El-Mansoor, and declared himself sultan. El-Melik El-Mudhaffar Kutz began his reign by putting to death El-Mansoor and Sharaf-ed-Deen, the able minister of the last Eiyobee kings and of the first of this dynasty. A reign thus cruelly commenced ended tragically. Kutz was diverted from these severe measures by the advance of Hoolagoo, grandson of Genghis-Khân, who, with a formidable army, overran El-'Irâk and Syria. By great efforts Kutz raised a considerable force and marched to meet him. The intelligence of the death of the Moghul emperor had, however, in the meantime recalled Hoolagoo, who left Ketbooghâ to encounter the Egyptian sultan. The battle declared in favour of the latter, and Syria was restored to his rule. Returning in triumph to Egypt, he was assassinated on the frontier by Beybars in the year 658, and this Memlook (who had but recently fought under his banner against the Tatars) was forthwith chosen by the emeers to be his successor.

The brilliant reign of El-Melik Edh-Dhâhir Beybars El-Burdukdree is so perplexed and full of incident as to render a concise account of it very difficult. It began with the reduction of a revolt in Syria. The rebels were supported by a Tatar army under Hoolagoo, but Beybars was everywhere victorious, and Damascus surrendered at discretion. Having subdued all opposition in this quarter, he endeavoured to improve the condition of Egypt, abolished the exorbitant imposts under which the people groaned, and welcomed to the court Ahmad, son of the caliph Edh-Dhâhir, who was declared Prince of the Faithful with the title of El-Mustansir bi-lâh, and furnished with a small force, by which he hoped to establish himself in Baghdad. He was, however, repulsed by the Tatars and put to death. The succeeding line of caliphs, possessed of spiritual, but no temporal authority, remained at the court of the Memlook sultans until the Turkish conquest. From this time, Beybars continued to extend and confirm his rule. His first expedition was to Syria against the Christians, and the Church of the Nativity at Nazareth was destroyed. Thence he went to the fortified town of Karak, which had more than once resisted the attacks of Saladin, but opened its gates to the Memlook conqueror,

and its territory was added to his dominions. A great scarcity afflicted Cairo in 662, and Beybars threw open the Government stores, and strove in every way to alleviate the sufferings of his subjects.

In 663 he again entered Syria, and took Casarea and Ursoof; and in the next year he commenced a series of campaigns against the Christians, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of the kings of France, of Aragon, and of Armenia. To raise the necessary funds for the expenses of the war, he took occasion from the occurrence of many incendiary fires in Cairo, during his absence, to mulct their co-religionists of the sum of 500,000 *deenars*, ostensibly to repair the damage caused by these fires. He threatened Acre, and took Safad; and relieved from the apprehensions caused by the advance of the Tatars by the death of Hoolágoos and the retreat of his army, Beybars despatched a force which effected the conquest of Armenia, and penetrated to the borders of Anatolia, a transient success which was speedily annulled by the advent of Abáká Khán, the son of Hoolágoos. In the next war, Beybars again attacked the Christians, burning their churches and enslaving the people. He took Antioch, with horrible carnage, advanced to Hims and Hamáh, and thence returned to Cairo. After a campaign against the Tatars, he ravaged the country around Acre (the constant object of his attacks), and the "Assassins," so long the terror of dynasties, submitted to his power. About this time the Tatars renewed their inroads and besieged Beyrah; and in the year 671 Beybars took the field against them with two armies, one commanded by himself in person, the other by Kalá-oon El-Elfee. In the battle of Beyrah the sultan was completely victorious, and the Tatars fled to the mountains of Kurdistan. In consequence of this victory, Armenia again fell into his hands, and was given up to pillage. Abáká Khán afterwards was again repulsed at Beyrah. Nubia also about this time acknowledged the authority of Beybars. He died at Damascus in the year 676, after another expedition against Anatolia, attended with various success, in which the Tatars were leagued against him. Great military talents, coupled with the most indefatigable activity, Beybars certainly possessed, but he used his conquests unmercifully; on many occasions he ravaged whole provinces, and sacked many towns, putting great numbers of the inhabitants to the sword. The melancholy annals of the Crusades bear ample testimony to this fact; and while the example of other monarchs, and of the Franks themselves, may be urged as some palliation, nevertheless his barbarity remains an indelible blot on his character. In Egypt he endeavoured to reform abuses and suppress vice; and numerous public works were executed by his orders. Damietta was razed and rebuilt farther inland; and the mouth of the Nile was protected by a boom against sudden invasion. He repaired the fortifications of Alexandria and the Pharos, the mosque El-Azhar in Cairo, and the walls of the citadel, and built the great mosque known by his name to the north of the city.

The son and successor of Beybars, El-Melik Es-Sa'eed Barakeh Khán, was exiled after a short reign of two years, and a younger brother El-Adil Selámish, raised to the throne, Kalá-oon El-Elfee acting as regent. This Memlook had married a daughter of Beybars, and was consequently nearly allied to the sultan. He nevertheless conspired against him, and was soon proclaimed king by the title of El-Melik El-Mansoor. Distinguished in former wars, he achieved many successes during his reign of ten years. On his accession he despatched an army to reduce disturbances in Syria, and took Damascus. Peace was thus established in that province; and in the year 680 he in person defeated a very superior force of Tatars and raised the siege of Rahabeh. Later in his reign (in the year 688) he besieged Tripoli, which for nearly two centuries had been in the possession of the Christians and was very rich and flourishing. The town was sacked and its unfortunate inhabitants put to the sword. His memory is still preserved in Cairo by his hospital and mad-house adjoining his fine mosque in the principal street of the city. This charitable institution he is said to have founded as an expiation for great severity towards the citizens in enforcing an obnoxious edict. His son, El-Ashraf Khaleel, rendered himself famous by the siege and capture (in the year 690) of Acre, the last stronghold of the Crusaders in Syria. Many thousands of its inhabitants were massacred; and 10,000 who presented themselves before the sultan and demanded quarter were slaughtered in cold blood. He also took Erzeroum in 691, and two years after was assassinated in Egypt (A. D. 1294).

El-Melik En-Násir Mohammad, another son of Kalá-oon, succeeded him at the age of nine years. The regent Ketbooghá, however, followed the example of Kalá-oon, and usurped the sovereignty, with the title El-Melik El-Adil. Pestilence and famine were followed by war with the Tatars, who again ravaged Syria. Ketbooghá despatched an army against them, but the valour of his troops was unable to withstand overpowering numbers, and Lágeen, Kalá-oon's governor in Syria, was driven into Egypt with an immense crowd of fugitives. Ketbooghá was deposed on the allegation that he had not commanded in person, and El-Melik El-Mansoor Lágeen was elevated in his stead. In little more than

two years this king was deposed in a conspiracy. His character was amiable, and he deserved a better return for the equity and kindness he showed to his subjects.

A short period of confusion then ensued, during which an emeer was proclaimed king. En-Násir Mohammad, however, was at length recalled from his exile at Karak, and restored in the year 698. Having firmly established himself in Egypt, he led an army against the Tatars, but met with a severe reverse in the plains of Hims; a second expedition proved more fortunate, and En-Násir, then only nineteen years of age, gained a bloody and decisive victory over the enemy near Damascus, in the year 702. The battle lasted three days; during the first two the result was not decisive, although En-Násir held the field; on the third day the Tatars were utterly routed and pursued for many hours. The sultan on his entry into Cairo after this achievement was preceded by 1600 prisoners, each one carrying the head of a comrade slain in the combat, and 1000 other heads were borne on lances in the procession. En-Násir reigned until the year 707, when he went to Karak and voluntarily abdicated. He had long struggled against the control of two powerful emeers, Beybars and Sílár; and in despair of throwing off their ascendancy, he then openly yielded the reins of government to those who had long really held them. Since this prince's accession the Christians and Jews of Egypt suffered the most severe persecution (excepting that of El-Hákím) which had yet befallen them. In the year 700, they were ordered to wear blue and yellow turbans respectively, and forbidden to ride on horses or mules, or to receive any Government employment. The people took advantage of these measures to destroy many churches and synagogues. The churches continued shut for about a year; but some of those which had been destroyed were afterwards rebuilt at the request of Lascaris and other princes. Another event of this period was a great earthquake which half ruined Cairo, giving it the appearance of a city demolished by a siege; Alexandria and other towns of Egypt, as well as Syria, also suffered from it considerably.

On the abdication of En-Násir, El-Melik El-Mudhaffar Rukn-ed-Deen Beybars II. was saluted sultan; but ere long En-Násir recovered his courage, and having collected an army marched to Damascus, where he was acknowledged, and thence to Egypt, entering Cairo without opposition. El-Mudhaffar had fled at his approach, and never a favourite of the people, he was attacked on his exit from the metropolis, by a crowd of the citizens, who loaded him with abuse, and pelted him with stones. El-Násir now for the third time ascended the throne of Egypt, and took the entire authority into his own hands. The remainder of his life was a period of profound peace, during which he occupied himself in improving his dominions, and in embellishing Cairo. But another persecution of the Christians occurred in 721, and all the principal churches in Egypt were destroyed by certain fanatical Moslems. The sultan threatened a general massacre of the inhabitants of Cairo and El-Fustát; the Christians, however, took revenge themselves by setting fire to very many mosques and houses in the metropolis; much tumult ensued, and many Christians and Muslims were executed. The threats of the mob induced En-Násir to permit the people to murder and plunder any Christian whom they might meet in the streets; and the oppressive rules before enacted were rigorously enforced, and made even more degrading.

The sons of En-Násir followed him in succession, but the reigns of most of them were short and troublous. El-Mansoor Seyf-ed-Deen Aboo-Bekr, El-Ashraf 'Alá-ed-Deen Koojook, En-Násir Shiháb-ed-Deen Ahmad, Es-Sálih 'Imád-ed-Deen Ismá'eel, El-Kámil Zeyn-ed-Deen Sháábán, and El-Mudhaffar Zeyn-ed-Deen Hággee were only raised to the throne to be either exiled or put to death. After these, the sultan Hasan deserves notice. He was deposed by his brother, Es-Sálih Saláh-ed-Deen, whose minister was Sheykhoon, a man well known to students of Egyptian subjects; but he soon regained his authority, reigned seven years, and at length fell by the swords of his memlooks in the splendid mosque which he built in the open space beneath the citadel of Cairo. Four more Memlook kings bring the history to the accession of a new dynasty. These were El-Mansoor Násir-ed-Deen Hággee (son of El-Mudhaffar), deposed in six months; El-Ashraf Sháábán (son of Hasan), an unfortunate prince, whose reign passed away amid the intrigues of the *fainant* caliphs and the struggles of the now too powerful emeers, by whom he was ultimately strangled; his son, El-Mansoor 'Alá-ed-Deen, the victim of similar troubles, in whose time the celebrated Barkook rose to the regency; and Es-Sálih Hággee, a brother of the last king. Exiled by Barkook, who was proclaimed sultan, he unsuccessfully endeavoured to recover his throne in the year 784; in 790 (A. D. 1388) he was restored, but he was soon once more de throne, this time with the loss of his life.

The sultan Edh-Dháhir Seyf-ed-Deen Aboo-Sa'eed Barkook was

¹ See *Modern Egyptians*, supplement; El-Makreessou, *Hist. des Sultans Memlooks*, tr. Quatremère, tom. II., livr. II. 177, seqq.; and for further information on the persecutions of the Christians, Quatremère's *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, tom. II. 220-266.

now undisputed master of Egypt. He was the first prince of the Dynasty of Burgee or Circassian Memlooks. As the preceding dynasty was founded by the Turkish Memlooks of Es-Sálih Eiyoub, so this dynasty was composed of the Circassian slaves whom those kings from time to time bought with the view of strengthening their power. They were originally placed in garrison-towns, and hence their name *Burgee*, signifying "of a tower or castle." It is worthy of remark that, while many of the sultans of both these dynasties held an insecure tenure of power, many of the former met with a violent death, but few of the latter. The reign of Barkook is memorable for his war with Teemoor, or Teemoor-leng, commonly called by us Tamerlane, who had extended his conquests towards his dominions, but found him not unprepared, for he had foreseen the threatened danger. In the year 795, Kará-Yoosuf, lord of El-Medeeyeh, and Ahmad Ibn-Uweys, sultan of Baghdád, fled to his court for succour. The inhabitants of Edessa had been put to the sword, and Aleppo was menaced with a similar catastrophe, when Barkook at the head of his army came to its relief. Ahmad was reinstated in Baghdád, as a vassal of Barkook; and soon after the 'Othmánlee Báyzeed, commonly called by us Bajazet, concluded a treaty with the sultan of Egypt. His designs against India diverted Teemoor from his projects in Syria, but Barkook continued vigilant and by every means sought to insure the safety of his kingdom. He died suddenly in 801, much beloved by his subjects and regarded by less powerful chiefs as their strongest bulwark against the Tatar monarch. He was called "Sheykh" for his wisdom and learning, and combined with these qualities those of a skilful general and a good king. He was active, wary, and provident, and possessed the military talents of Eeybars without his severity. He seems to have been fond of riches and display, and he certainly left his treasury in a very flourishing condition, besides much wealth in stores, slaves, horses, and the like.

His son, El-Melik En-Násir Abu-s-Sa'ádat Farag, fell a prey to intestine troubles and the inroads of the invader. He had overcome a revolt of the governor of Syria, when Teemoor again threatened that province. Kará-Yoosuf and Ahmad sought refuge with the son of their former protector, and Farag's refusing to betray his guests gave occasion to the enemy to continue the war; a battle was fought, Farag was defeated, Aleppo and Hims fell into the hands of the victor, and the Egyptian forces returned and were concentrated in Egypt. Intimidated, however, by the fall of his ally Bajazet, Farag sent an embassy to Teemoor with presents and offers of amity, and at length concluded a peace at the sacrifice of territory. Teemoor died in the year 807 (A. D. 1405), and Farag was preparing an expedition to recover his Syrian possessions, when he was surprised in his palace by an insurrection, headed by his brother, 'Abd-el-'Azeez, and compelled to take to flight. The people believing that he had perished proclaimed El-Mansoor 'Abd-el-'Azeez his successor. In the space of less than three months, however, he was deposed in favour of Farag, who thenceforth reigned at Damascus, until the caliph El-Musta'een bi-lláh, at the instigation of the emeer Sheykh El-Mahmoodee, who had raised an army, boldly declared himself sultan, by an appeal to religion gained numbers to his side, instituted criminal proceedings against Farag on the plea of the exactions which he had been forced to levy for the conduct of the war against Teemoor, and accomplished his death. Farag was beheaded in the month of Safar in the year 815, and his corpse was left unburied. Abu-l-Mahásin gives him the character of an extravagant, cruel, and voluptuous king.

El-Musta'een bi-lláh, with the title of El-Melik El-Adil Abu-l-Fadl, began his reign well; but he had appointed El-Mahmoodee his vizir as a reward for his services, and this powerful and vigorous chief soon obliged him to abdicate and eventually exiled him to Alexandria, where he passed the remainder of his days.

El-Melik El-Mu-eyyad Abu-n-Nasr Sheykh El-Mahmoodee (originally a memlook of Barkook's) waged three successful wars in Syria, in the first of which he was guilty of a breach of faith in putting to death the governor of Damascus and part of the garrison of that city, after they had surrendered on promise of safety. He reigned peacefully in Egypt, and his name is recorded as that of a king who studied the happiness of his subjects and favoured the learned, who counted him among their number. But he was avaricious; although one might judge the contrary from his beautiful mosque and the minarets over the Báb-Zuweyleh in Cairo, held to be among the chief ornaments of the city.

Three kings followed in rapid succession.—El-Mudhaffar Ahmad, a son of El-Mu-eyyad, under two years of age at his accession, Edh-Dháhir Tatar, and his infant son, Es-Sálih Mohammad, who was deposed by Barsbay Ed-Dukmákee. This Memlook assumed the title of El-Melik El-Ashraf, and worthily continued the prosperous reign of El-Mu-eyyad. In power and virtue he ranks second only to Barkook among all the kings of this dynasty. He is known in European history by his expedition in 827 (A. D. 1424) against John III., king of Cyprus, who became his vassal, and by the part he took, about seven years later, in the dissensions of the house of Savoy and the government of Cyprus. He ruled for seventeen

years with great clemency, and died in 841. El-'Azeez Yoosuf, his son, was deposed by El-Mansoor Aboo-Sa'eed Jakmak El-'Alá-ee, a good prince, and a patron of the learned. After a peaceful reign he abdicated at the age of about eighty years in favour of his son, El-Mansoor Abu-s-Sa'ádat 'Othmán, who was overthrown by the intrigues of the caliph El-Káim bi-amr-illáh, and was succeeded by an aged Memlook, El-Ashraf Abu-n-Nasr Eynál, followed by his son, El-Mu-eyyad Shiháb-ed-Deen Abu-l-Fet-h Ahmad. Edh-Dháhir Seyf-ed-Deen-Khóshkadam, a Greek by birth, superseded him, reigning himself for seven years, with equity and benignity, presenting a contrast to the cruelty and oppression of his appointed successor, Ed-Dháhir Aboo-Sa'eed Bilbáy El-'Alá-ee, which caused the latter's fall and the elevation of the sultan Aboo-Sa'eed Temerbeg Edh-Dháhiree, who, in his turn, was deposed to make room for El-Ashraf Káit Bey, a prince who deserves especial notice for his struggles with the Turks, whereby the conquest of Egypt by the Porte was deferred for a few years. After a period of quiet which followed his accession, he was alarmed by the victory gained by Mehemet II. over his ally the king of Persia, and posted a considerable force on the frontier of Syria. The successes of the conqueror of Constantinople made him desire to abdicate; but the emeers prayed him to defend his rights, and he consequently prepared for the war. The death of Mehemet, and the dissensions between Bajazet II. and Jem (or Zizim) temporarily relieved him of these apprehensions. The fall of Jem, however, and his arrival at the Egyptian court, implicated the Memlook sultan in the quarrel; and on the final overthrow of this prince Káit Bey made sure of a war with the more fortunate Bajazet, and himself began aggressive measures, intercepted the Turkish caravan of pilgrims, and an ambassador from India who was on his way to Constantinople with presents, and took Tarsus and Adaneh. A remonstrance from Bajazet was answered by a successful attack on his Asiatic commander, 'Alá-ed-Dowleh. In the meantime Tarsus and Adaneh were recovered from him; but the emeer El-Ezbekee, to whom was entrusted the conduct of all future wars, being despatched against these towns, retook them, defeated an army sent to chastise him, and annexed Karamania. Another force was speedily equipped, and took the field in 893; conditions of peace were refused, and considerable success attended the Turkish arms. El-Ezbekee was, therefore, again ordered to Syria; a Turkish squadron conveying troops was dispersed, and at Tarsus he gave battle. The result was at first unfavourable to the Memlooks, whose commander, however, rallied them under cover of the night, and succeeded in surprising and totally defeating the Turks. Long negotiations followed this victory; and at length Káit Bey, who was always most anxious for peace, ceded the disputed towns of Tarsus and Adaneh, and secured repose during the rest of his days. He died in 901, having designated El-Melik En-Násir Abu-s-Sa'ádat Mohammad as his successor. This weak and barbarous king was put to death after four years, during which he was deposed, and Kánsóoh, surnamed Khamsameeyeh, and Edh-Dháhir Abu-n-Nasr Kánsóoh were successively installed. The first reigned but eleven days, and the latter abdicated after five months of great difficulty and danger. On the death of En-Násir, El-Ashraf Kánsóoh Jánbalát was elevated to the throne, but six months sufficed to accomplish his fall, and he was fortunate in preserving his life. The next sultan, El-Melik El-Adil Toomán Bey, was acknowledged both in Egypt and Syria. He, however, was overthrown and killed in a few months.

The Memlooks now compelled Kánsóoh El-Ghooree to assume the dangerous dignity, with the title of El-Melik El-Ashraf. This prince very unwillingly yielded. His previous life shows him to have been both virtuous and learned; and he proved himself to be an able ruler. After an unsuccessful expedition against the Portuguese in the East, he reigned in peace until the year 915, when Kurkood, the father of Selim I., the Turkish sultan, obtained his protection and assistance. Events similar to those which accompanied the end of Jem followed; and Selim availed himself of a pretext to declare war against Egypt. The first reverse which the Egyptians suffered occurred to an army commanded by 'Alá-ed-Dowleh, formerly defeated by Káit Bey, but now in the pay of El-Ghooree. The winter was passed by the latter in preparing energetically for the inevitable struggle, and in the spring he advanced in person. Selim, on his part, pretended to march towards Persia; but at the same time he sent to demand of El-Ghooree whether he opposed his passage and commanded in person on the frontier. El-Ghooree replied that his was merely an army of observation, and that he was desirous of mediating between Selim and Ismá'eel Sháh. Selim, however, rapidly advanced, refused to listen to an attempt at negotiation, and was met by El-Ghooree on the plain of Marj-Dábik, near Aleppo. A long and sanguinary battle ensued, and victory declared for neither side, until Kheyr Bey, commanding the right wing, and El-Ghazálee the left, of the Egyptian army, basely deserted to the enemy with their troops. The centre then gave way and fled in utter confusion, notwithstanding the efforts of the sultan to rally them. He was trampled to death by his routed cavalry, while (according to some) in the act of prayer.

This event took place on the 26th of Regeb 922 (A.D. 1516). With his death Egypt lost her independence. The shattered remains of the army collected in Cairo. Toomán Bey, a nephew of the deceased king, was elected sultan, and at once determined on every resistance to the conqueror. His general in Syria, El-Ganbardee, disputed the road with Selim step by step, and Toomán Bey awaited his arrival near Cairo. Between El-Khánkah and the metropolis, at the village of Er-Reydáneeyeh, the opposing armies joined battle, on the 29th of Zu-l-Heggeh (January 1, 1517). The fall of a favourite general, Sinán Pasha, infuriated the Turks, and the brilliant bravery of the Memlooks availed them not. Immense numbers of them were slain by their enemies in the pursuit, and the survivors reunited in Cairo. El-Ganbardee, however, sacrificed his fame by joining the victor. The Turkish army paused for a rest; and time was thus given to Toomán Bey to hire Arabs at a great cost to replenish his thinned ranks. Selim now passed to the west of Cairo. A night surprise conducted by Toomán failed, but he succeeded in putting to the sword a great many Turks. He fortified himself in the city, and a house-to-house combat ensued, the Memlooks defending every foot with the energy of despair; the citadel fell by assault, and the unfortunate Toomán effected his escape towards Alexandria; but on the way he was taken by Arabs, given up to El-Ganbardee and another, and brought in chains to Selim, who at first received him with honour, but afterwards falsely accused him of conspiring against him, and, with the cruelty and perfidy characteristic of his race, hung him over the Bab-Zuweyleh, the place of execution for common malefactors. Thus miserably perished the last independent ruler of Egypt, who possessed the best qualities of his line, and whose noble defence of his kingdom would have secured to him the commiseration of any but a Turk.

In reviewing the period during which Egypt was governed by independent Muslim princes, it is necessary to consider the spirit of the times and the people over whom they ruled. They succeeded to the government of countries worn out by incessant warfare, overrun by savage hordes, and debased by the rule of the Lower Empire. Egypt had long struggled against the slavery to which it was condemned, and the history of the last three dynasties of Pharaohs evinces the patriotism which yet animated her people. But the successive tyranny of the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans appears to have annihilated their nationality; and when the Arabs invaded the country, these causes, combined with religious strife, induced the people to afford to the conquerors every assistance in their power. But the changeful rule of the lieutenants and the troubles of the caliphs debarred Egypt (except at times under the Bence-Tooloon and the Ikhsheedeeyeh) from profiting by the enlightenment of the race who held the dominion over it, until the conquest by the Fátimées. The caliphs of that dynasty contributed in a great degree to restore to Egypt some portion of its ancient prosperity, and with the house of Eiyooob it attained its greatest military glory under the Muslims; but the edifices erected during the rule of the two dynasties of Memlook kings, the libraries collected in Cairo at that period, and the learned men who then flourished would point to it as the age in which literature and the arts were cultivated with the most success, a sure evidence of the internal prosperity of any country. This is the more surprising when we consider the state of Syria, which had long before their accession fallen a prey to intestine wars and the ravages of the Tatars, the Crusaders, and other invaders, and also bear in mind the constitution of their government, in which the more powerful chiefs were constantly aiming at the supreme authority; and the practice of purchasing memlooks, and rearing them in the households of the great to enable their masters to maintain their ascendancy augmented the number of these aspirants to the throne. These slaves were, unlike the Bahrees (who were the Turkish Memlooks of Es-Sálíh Eiyooob), chiefly Circassians, who afterwards composed the Second (or Burgee) Dynasty. Many of the Memlook sultans rivalled in military achievements the great Saladin, and even penetrated further than he in their foreign expeditions. In Cairo are still seen the finest specimens of Arab architecture, almost all dating during the period comprised under the domination

of the two Memlook dynasties, the libraries of the mosques, and the private collections of that city, though grievously injured since the Turkish conquest, are or very recently were the best and most considerable of those of Egypt or Syria; and, as before remarked, the university El-Azhar is still, owing to the fostering care of these sultans, the principal seat of learning of the Eastern world. In this sketch of the history of Egypt we have given no account of the state of commerce, taxation, &c., under the Muslims. Those only who have read the Arab histories of this and other Eastern countries can appreciate the general fallacy of the conclusions based on their authority.

It would be tedious and unprofitable to follow the details of Turkish misrule and tyranny which are from this time presented to the student of Egyptian history. Although Selim had apparently destroyed the power of the Memlooks, he thought it wise to conciliate them, and to appoint twenty-four beys over the military provinces of that number into which he divided Egypt, subject to the supreme control of a pasha, whose council was formed of seven Turkish chiefs (Gjaklees), while one of the beys held the post of Sheykh el-Beled, or Governor of the Metropolis, an officer who became an object of hatred to the other chiefs. This system was begun by Selim, and completed by his successor. For nearly two centuries the successive pashas were mostly obeyed; but the ambition of becoming Sheykh el-Beled was the fruitful cause of intrigue and murder. The Memlooks who then held power in Egypt were called the Ghuzz, that being the name of the tribe to which they are said to have at first generally belonged; and they continually bought slaves, of Circassian or Georgian race, to supply the place of children, for they did not intermarry with natives of Egypt, and women of more northern climates are generally either barren or bear sickly offspring in that country. Thus they lacked the surest source of power; few possessed any family ties; but at the same time the slaves in general were remarkably faithful to their patrons. After two centuries, the beys gradually increased in power, until the authority of the pasha was almost nominal, and the government became a military oligarchy. This brings us to the rise of the celebrated Ali Bey. He was created Sheykh el-Beled in A.H. 1177; but, having revenged himself on an old enemy who had assassinated Ali's master, to whom he owed his elevation to the rank of bey, he shortly after fled to Syria, and took refuge with the governor of Jerusalem, and thence went to Acre, where the Sheykh Dháhir became his friend; and that same year he returned to Cairo in his former capacity of Sheykh el-Beled. In 1179 his enemies again compelled him to flee, and he betook himself this time to El-Yemen, once more to return to Egypt; after which he gained increased power. His favourite memlook, Mohammad Aboo-Dhahab, proved ungrateful, and, while enjoying the highest power, entered into a conspiracy against his life; but after receiving the presents of the hostile beys, he denounced them to his master, who would not listen to warnings of his meditated treachery.

In the year 1182 (A.D. 1768) the Porte demanded the assistance of Ali Bey in the Russian war, an order which he was about to obey, when he was apprised of the departure of a messenger with a firmán demanding his head, he having been falsely accused at Constantinople of intending to aid the Russians and throw off his allegiance. He caused the bearer of this order to be waylaid and put to death, and having possessed himself of the firmán, he con-

¹ It should, however, be mentioned that many of the most precious of their contents are plunder brought from the libraries of mosques in Syria, as is proved by seals which they bear.

vened the beys, showed them the document, and aided by those of his own household persuaded the council to expel the pasha, and declare Egypt independent. The Sheykh Dháhir took part in this rebellion, and the pasha of Damascus was beaten by him between Mount Lebanon and Tiberias. A period of good but vigorous government and of tranquillity followed these events in Egypt, notwithstanding the very heavy imposts levied for the replenishment of the treasury; and Ali's generals gained for him extended power abroad. Mohammad Aboo-Dhahab was despatched to Arabia, and entered Mecca, where the Shereef was deposed; and another bey traversed the eastern shores of the Red Sea. After the expedition to Arabia, Mohammad Bey marched into Syria to assist the Sheykh Dháhir against the Porte, and the co-operation of the Russians was demanded. A successful campaign terminated before the walls of Damascus, the siege of which was abandoned when nearly brought to a close, and Mohammad Bey returned with large forces to Egypt. This man, loaded with benefits by his patron, now openly rebelled; and being joined by Ali's enemies, at the head of whom was Ismail, chief of the guard, he advanced on Cairo, and Ali escaped to his steady ally, Sheykh Dháhir, the prince of Acre. These events took place the year 1186. Mohammad Bey was then declared Sheykh el-Beled. Ali Bey, in the meanwhile, in conjunction with his ally, gained various advantages in Syria, and, on the information that his return was desired in Egypt, he collected a small force, assisted by Sheykh Dháhir and a Russian squadron, and determined on attempting to recover his power. He, however, fell into an ambuscade near Es-Sálíheeyeh, and was wounded by one of his memlooks named Murád (afterwards Murád Bey), carried to the citadel, and poisoned by Mohammad Bey. Thus terminated the career of the famous Ali Bey, a man whose energy, talents, and ambition bear a strong resemblance to those of the later Mehemet Ali.

Mohammad Bey continued Sheykh el-Beled, tendered his allegiance to the Porte, and was invested with the pashalik. He then entered Syria, and severely chastised Sheykh Dháhir, taking Gaza, Joppa, and Acre itself. Joppa was taken by assault, and suffered a massacre of its inhabitants, and Acre was pillaged. At the latter place the pasha suddenly died. His mosque in Cairo is the latest fine specimen of Arab architecture, and is not unworthy of its better days.

The chief competitors for power were now Ismail, Ibrahim, and Murád, the first of whom was speedily expelled, the contest continuing between the two latter beys. Ibrahim at length succeeded in causing himself to be proclaimed Sheykh el-Beled, and Murád contented himself with the office of Emeer el-Hágg, or chief of the pilgrims; but this arrangement was not destined to be of long continuance; a violent quarrel resulted in a recourse to arms, and that again in a peace of three years' duration, during which the two beys held an equal sway. In the year 1200 the Porte despatched Hassan Capitan (properly Kapoodán) Pasha (or High Admiral), with a Turkish force, to reduce the turbulent Memlooks to obedience, and to claim the annual tribute. Murád Bey was defeated at Er-Rahmánéeyeh, and the Turks advanced to Cairo, desolating the country, and acting according to their almost invariable practice on such occasions. The metropolis opened its gates to Hasan Pasha, who determined on pursuing the beys to Upper Egypt, whither he despatched a large portion of his army, and a sanguinary conflict took place. But a war with Russia recalled this commander to Constantinople. Ismail was again created Sheykh el-Beled, and he held that post until the terrible plague of the year 1205, in which he perished, and hence it is commonly called the "Plague of Ismail." His death caused the return of Ibrahim and Murád; and

eight years after, intelligence of the arrival at Alexandria of a French army of 36,000 men, commanded by General Bonaparte, united these chiefs in a common cause.

On the 18th May 1798, this expedition, consisting of 13 sail of the line, 6 frigates, and 12 vessels of a smaller size, sailed from Toulon, and made the coast of Egypt on the 1st July. The troops were landed near Alexandria, and the city fell by assault on the 5th of that month. The French conquest and occupation of Egypt belong to European history; a recapitulation of the principal events of the period will therefore suffice in this place. The Memlooks affected to despise their antagonist, and hastened to chastise him: at Shibirrees they attacked the French and were repulsed; but, nothing discouraged, they collected all their forces, exceeding 60,000 men, under the command of Murád, and entrenched themselves at Embábeh, opposite Cairo. Here was fought the battle which has been dignified with the name of that of the Pyramids. European tactics completely bewildered the Memlooks: their famous cavalry was received on the bayonets of the French squares; a galling fire of grape and musketry mowed down their ranks; and of this great army only about 2500 horse escaped with Murád Bey, while 15,000 men of all arms fell on the field of battle. Having made himself master of Cairo, Bonaparte despatched General Desaix to effect the conquest of Upper Egypt, and the success of the Eastern expedition seemed secured. But, ten days after the victory of Embábeh, the battle of the Nile annihilated the French fleet in Aboo-Keer (Aboukir) Bay, and most materially influenced the future conduct of the war. On this point, Napoleon himself says, "La perte de la bataille d'Aboukir eut une grande influence sur les affaires d'Egypte et même sur celles du monde; la flotte Française sauvée, l'expédition de Syrie n'éprouvait point d'obstacles, l'artillerie de siège se transportait sûrement et facilement au-delà du désert, et Saint-Jean-d'Acre n'arrêtait point l'armée Française. La flotte Française détruite, le divan s'enhardit à déclarer la guerre à la France. L'armée perdit un grand appui, sa position en Egypte changea totalement, et Napoléon dut renoncer à l'espoir d'asseoir à jamais la puissance Française dans l'Occident par les résultats de l'expédition d'Egypte."¹ The disastrous expedition into Syria, undertaken for the purpose of frustrating the efforts of Sir Sydney Smith before Alexandria, and of Jezzár Pasha, who was advancing from Acre, still further obscured Napoleon's prospects in the East, and the victory soon after obtained by him over the Ottoman army at Aboo-Keer, the second defeat of Murád Bey, and various successes over the Turks, enabled the French general Kléber (Napoleon having left for Europe after the first of these events) to set on foot negotiations for an honourable evacuation of the country. But when the convention was already signed, and the French were about to quit Cairo, Lord Keith signified to Kléber that Great Britain would not consent to the terms of the treaty; and although this refusal was afterwards rescinded, Kléber considered that the withdrawal came too late: he totally defeated 70,000 men under the grand vizir at Heliopolis, and returned to Cairo to quell an insurrection of the inhabitants. This distinguished officer was about this time assassinated in the garden of his palace by a fanatic, who was impaled in the great square (then a lake) called the Ezbekeeyeh, in Cairo, and miserably lingered for the space of three days before death put an end to his sufferings. Under Kléber's administration, Egypt began to resume its former prosperity; by his conciliatory and good government much prejudice against the French was overcome; by ceding a part of Upper Egypt to Murád, he gained the good will of that chief, who gave him no cause to regret

¹ Napoleon, *Mémoires*, t. ii.

this politic step; while under his auspices the "savans" of the Institute of Egypt collected the valuable mass of information embodied in the "great French work," the *Description de l'Égypte*.

On the death of Kléber, General Menou succeeded to the command, and although he afterwards conducted the defence of the country with much valour, yet to his injudicious administration, and his want of military talent, we must mainly ascribe the determination of the British Government to attempt the expulsion of the French from Egypt, and the rapid success of the campaign that ensued. On the 2d of March 1801 an army under Sir Ralph Abercromby arrived in Abou-Keer Bay, and made good a landing in the face of a well-disposed French force, which offered every possible resistance. The memorable battle of Alexandria, in which Abercromby fell, decided the fate of the war. A bold march, executed with talent, effected the capitulation of Cairo; Alexandria surrendered on the 1st of September, and the French sailed from the shores of Egypt in the course of that month.¹ General Hutchinson had taken the command of the English expedition, afterwards reinforced by a detachment from India under General Baird; and the army of the grand vizir, and that of the capitan-pasha, with the troops of Ibrahim Bey (Murád having died of the plague), had co-operated in the measures which led to the evacuation of the country by Menou.

The history now requires that we should mention the early career of a man who subsequently ruled the destinies of Egypt for a period of nearly forty years. Mehemet Ali Pasha was born in A.H. 1182 (A.D. 1768-9) at Cavalla, a small sea-port town of Albania. On the death of his father, in early life, he was brought up in the house of the governor of the town, who, as a reward for military prowess, gave him his daughter in marriage. By her he had, it is said, his three eldest sons, Ibrahim,² Toosoon, and Ismail. Having attained the rank of búluk-báshee (or head of a body of infantry), he became a dealer in tobacco, until, in his thirty-third year, he was despatched to Egypt with his patron's son, Ali Ághá, and 300 men, the contingent furnished by his native place to the Turkish expedition against the French; and soon after his arrival in that country he succeeded, on the return of Ali Ághá, to the command, with the nominal rank of beñbáshee (or chief of a thousand men).

Soon after the evacuation of Egypt by the French, that unfortunate country became the scene of more severe troubles, in consequence of the unwarrantable attempts of the Turks to destroy the power of the Ghuzz. In defiance of promises to the English Government, orders were transmitted from Constantinople to Hoseyn Pasha, the Turkish high admiral, to ensnare and put to death the principal beys. Invited to an entertainment, they were, according to the Egyptian contemporary historian El-Gabartee, attacked on board the flag-ship; Sir Robert Wilson and M. Mengin, however, state that they were fired on, in open boats, in the bay of Abou-Keer. They offered an heroic resistance, but were overpowered, and some made prisoners, some killed, while some, including the afterwards celebrated 'Osmán Bey El-Bardeesee, escaped in a boat, and sought refuge with the English, who at that time occupied Alexandria. General Hutchinson, informed of this treachery, immediately assumed threatening measures against the Turks, and in consequence, the killed, wounded, and prisoners

¹ Very many of the French had either married Muslim women, or bought concubine slaves of the same faith, whom, on their departure, they left behind them; and these unfortunates were forthwith tied up in sacks and drowned.

² Ibrahim is, however, believed by many, or most, to have been the wife's son by a former husband.

were given up to him. Such was the commencement of the disastrous struggle between the Memlooks and the Turks.

Mohammad Khusruf was the first pasha after the expulsion of the French. The form of government, however, was not the same as that before the French invasion, for the Ghuzz were not reinstated. The pasha, and through him the sultan, endeavoured on several occasions either to ensnare them or to beguile them into submission; but these efforts failing, Mohammad Khusruf took the field, and a Turkish detachment 14,000 strong, despatched against them to Demenhor, whither they had descended from Upper Egypt, was defeated by a small force under El-Elfee; or, as Mengin says, by 800 men left by El-Elfee under the command of El-Bardeesee. Their ammunition and guns fell into the hands of the Memlooks.

In March 1803 the British evacuated Alexandria, and Mohammad Bey El-Elfee accompanied them to England to consult respecting the means to be adopted for restoring the former power of the Ghuzz. About six weeks after, the Arnoot (or Albanian) soldiers in the service of Khusruf tumultuously demanded their pay, and surrounded the house of the defterdár, who in vain appealed to the pasha to satisfy their claims. The latter opened fire from the artillery of his palace on the insurgent soldiery in the house of the defterdár, across the Ezbekeyeh. The citizens of Cairo, accustomed to such occurrences, immediately closed their shops, and the doors of the several quarters, and every man who possessed any weapon armed himself. The tumult continued all the day, and the next morning a body of troops sent out by the pasha failed to quell it. Táhir, the commander of the Albanians, then repaired to the citadel, gained admittance through an embrasure, and, having obtained possession of it, began to cannon the pasha over the roofs of the intervening houses, and then descended with guns to the Ezbekeyeh, and laid close siege to the palace. On the following day, Mohammad Khusruf made good his escape, with his women and servants and his regular troops, and fled to Damietta by the river. This revolt marks the commencement of the rise of Mehemet Ali to power in Egypt, and of the breach between the Arnoots and Turks which ultimately led to the expulsion of the latter.

Táhir Pasha assumed the government, but in twenty-three days he met with his death from exactly the same cause as that of the overthrow of his predecessor. He refused the pay of certain of the Turkish troops, and was immediately assassinated. A desperate conflict ensued between the Albanians and Turks; and the palace was set on fire and plundered. The masters of Egypt were now split into these two factions, animated with the fiercest animosity against each other. Mehemet Ali became the head of the former, but his party was the weaker, and he therefore entered into an alliance with Ibrahim Bey, and 'Osmán Bey El-Bardeesee. A certain Ahmad Pasha, who was about to proceed to a province in Arabia, of which he had been appointed governor, was raised to the important post of pasha of Egypt, through the influence of the Turks and the favour of the sheykhs; but Mehemet Ali, who with his Albanians held the citadel, refused to assent to their choice; the Memlooks moved over from El-Geezeh, and Ahmad Pasha betook himself to the mosque of Ez-Záhir, which the French had converted into a fortress. He was compelled to surrender by the Albanians; the two chiefs of the Turks who killed Táhir Pasha were taken with him and put to death, and he himself was detained a prisoner. In consequence of the alliance between Mehemet Ali and El-Bardeesee, the Albanians gave the citadel over to the Memlooks; and soon after, these allies marched against Khusruf Pasha, who having been joined by a con-

siderable body of Turks, and being in possession of Damietta, was enabled to offer an obstinate resistance. After much loss on both sides, he was taken prisoner and brought to Cairo; but he was treated with respect. The victorious soldiery sacked the town of Damietta, and were guilty of the barbarities usual with them on such occasions.

A few days later, Ali Pasha El-Tarábulusee landed at Alexandria with an imperial firmán constituting him pasha of Egypt, and threatened the Beys, who now were virtual masters of Upper Egypt, as well as of the capital and nearly the whole of Lower Egypt. Mehemet Ali and El-Bardeesee therefore descended to Rosetta, which had fallen into the hands of a brother of Ali Pasha, and having recovered the town and captured its commander, El-Bardeesee purposed to proceed against Alexandria; but the troops required arrears of pay which it was not in his power to give, and the pasha had cut the dyke between the Lakes of Abou-Keer and Mareotis, thus rendering the approach to Alexandria more difficult. El-Bardeesee and Mehemet Ali therefore returned to Cairo. The troubles of Egypt were now increased by an insufficient inundation, and great scarcity prevailed, aggravated by the exorbitant taxation to which the beys were compelled to resort in order to raise money to pay the troops; while murder and rapine prevailed to a frightful extent in the capital, the riotous soldiery being under little or no control. In the meantime, Ali Pasha, who had been behaving in an outrageous manner towards the Franks in Alexandria, received a khatt-i-shereef from the sultan, which he sent by his secretary to Cairo. It announced that the beys should live peaceably in Egypt, with an annual pension each of fifteen purses and other privileges, but that the government should be in the hands of the pasha. To this the beys assented, but with considerable misgivings; for they had intercepted letters from Ali to the Albanians, endeavouring to alienate them from their side to his own. Deceptive answers were returned to these, and Ali was induced by them to advance towards Cairo at the head of 2500 men. The forces of the beys, with the Albanians, encamped near him at Shalakán, and he fell back on a place called Zufeyteh. They next seized his boats conveying soldiers, servants, and his ammunition and baggage; and, following him, they demanded wherefore he brought with him so numerous a body of men, in opposition to usage and to their previous warning. Finding they would not allow his troops to advance, forbidden himself to retreat with them to Alexandria, and being surrounded by the enemy, he would have hazarded a battle, but his men refused to fight. He therefore repaired to the camp of the beys, and his army was compelled to retire to Syria. In the hands of the beys, Ali Pasha again attempted treachery. A horseman was seen to leave his tent one night at full gallop; he was the bearer of a letter to 'Osmán Bey Hasan, the governor of Kiné. This offered a fair pretext to the Memlooks to rid themselves of a man whose antecedents and present conduct proved him to be a perfidious tyrant. He was sent under a guard of forty-five men towards the Syrian frontier; and about a week after, news was received that in a skirmish with some of his own soldiers he had fallen mortally wounded.

The death of Ali Pasha produced only temporary tranquillity; in a few days the return of Mohammad Bey El-Elfee (called the Great or Elder) from England was the signal for fresh disturbances, which, by splitting the Ghuzz into two parties, accelerated their final overthrow. An ancient jealousy existed between El-Elfee and the other most powerful bey, El-Bardeesee. The latter was now supreme among the Ghuzz, and this fact considerably heightened their old enmity. While the guns of the citadel,

those at Masr El-Ateekah, and even those of the palace of El-Bardeesee, were thrice fired in honour of El-Elfee, preparations were immediately commenced to oppose him. His partisans were collected opposite Cairo, and El-Elfee the Younger held El-Geezeh; but treachery was among them; Hoseyn Bey El-Elfee was assassinated by emissaries of El-Bardeesee, and Mehemet Ali, with his Albanians, gained possession of El-Geezeh, which was, as usual, given over to the troops to pillage. In the meanwhile El-Elfee the Great embarked at Rosetta, and not apprehending opposition, was on his way to Cairo, when a little south of the town of Manoof he encountered a party of Albanians, and with difficulty made his escape. He gained the eastern branch of the Nile, but the river had become dangerous, and he fled to the desert. There he had several hair-breadth escapes, and at last secreted himself among a tribe of Arabs at Rás-el-Wádee. A change in the fortune of El-Bardeesee, however, favoured his plans for the future. That chief, in order to satisfy the demands of the Albanians for their pay, gave orders to levy heavy contributions from the citizens of Cairo; and this new oppression roused them to rebellion. The Albanians, alarmed for their safety, assured the populace that they would not allow the order to be executed; and Mehemet Ali himself caused a proclamation to be made to that effect. Thus the Albanians became the favourites of the people, and took advantage of their opportunity. Three days later they beset the house of the aged Ibrahim Bey, and that of El-Bardeesee, both of whom effected their escape with difficulty. The Memlooks in the citadel directed a fire of shot and shell on the houses of the Albanians which were situated in the Ezbekeyeh; but on hearing of the flight of their chiefs, they evacuated the place; and Mehemet Ali, on gaining possession of it, once more proclaimed Mahomet Khusruf pasha of Egypt. For one day and a half he enjoyed the title; the friends of the late Táhir Pasha then accomplished his second degradation,¹ and Cairo was again the scene of terrible enormities, the Albanians revelling in the houses of the Memlook chiefs, whose hareems met with no mercy at their hands. These events were the signal for the reappearance of El-Elfee.

The Albanians now invited Ahmad Pasha Khursheed to assume the reins of government, and he without delay proceeded from Alexandria to Cairo. The forces of the partisans of El-Bardeesee were ravaging the country a few miles south of the capital and intercepting the supplies of corn by the river; a little later they passed to the north of Cairo and successively took Bilbeys and Kalyoob, plundering the villages, destroying the crops, and slaughtering the herds of the inhabitants. Cairo was itself in a state of tumult, suffering severely from a scarcity of grain, and the heavy exactions of the pasha to meet the demands of his turbulent troops, at that time augmented by a Turkish detachment. The shops were closed, and the unfortunate people assembled in great crowds, crying Yá Lateef! Yá Lateef! "O Gracious [God]!" El-Elfee and 'Osmán Bey Hasan had professed allegiance to the pasha; but they soon after declared against him, and they were now approaching from the south; and having repulsed Mehemet Ali, they took the two fortresses of Turá. These Mehemet Ali speedily retook by night with 4000 infantry and cavalry; but the enterprise was only partially successful. On the following day the other Memlooks north of the metropolis actually penetrated into the suburbs; but a few days later were defeated in a battle fought at Shubrâ, with heavy loss

¹ Khusruf Pasha afterwards filled with credit several of the highest offices at Constantinople. He died on the 1st of February 1855. He was a bigot of the old school, strongly opposed to the influences of Western civilization, and consequently to the assistance of France and England in the Crimean war.