Serfoje Rajoke 1811

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

TO

INDIA, CEYLON, THE RED SEA,

ABYSSINIA, AND EGYPT,

IN

THE YEARS 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, AND 1806.

BY

GEORGE, VISCOUNT VALENTIA.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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CHAPTER I.

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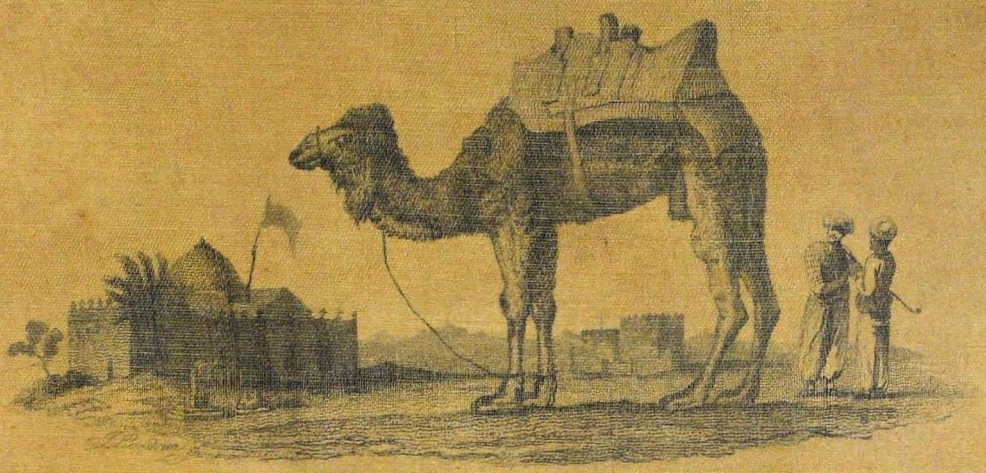


A SCHECH'S TOMB IN ARABIA.

Published May 1st 1809 by W. Miller Albemarle Street.

CHAPTER I.

MARCH 13, 1804.—IT had always appeared to me an extraordinary circumstance, that if the western coast of the Red Sea were really as dangerous as the moderns have uniformly represented it, the ancients should invariably have navigated it in preference to the eastern coast; nor could my suspicions that a western passage existed be removed by the silence of the British officers, after a long continuance of our fleet in that sea. The evils which they had experienced from the want of water, fresh provisions, and fuel, pointed out indeed most strongly the importance of ascertaining, whether these articles were not attainable at Massowah, Dhalac, or the

adjacent islands, where, in former times, the Egyptian and Roman merchants were induced to fix their residence for the purpose of carrying on the trade with Abyssinia, and the interior of Africa. At Dhalac, Mr. Bruce has asserted, that three hundred and sixty tanks, which had been erected by the munificence of the Ptolemies, were still in a state of preservation to afford, with care, a supply of water, more than sufficient for any fleet which the British could ever have occasion to send into that sea.

The commercial advantages which might attend the opening of a communication with Abyssinia, appeared also worthy of attention; and a more favourable time for making the attempt could never be expected, than immediately after the British naval power had been so fully displayed on the shores of Arabia and Egypt, and when the trade with the interior of Africa had been interrupted in its usual channel through the latter country, first by the conquest of the French, and afterwards by the civil war between the Porte and the Beys, which had caused a perfect separation between the upper and lower provinces.

I confess also that I felt it as a national reflection, that a coast which had afforded a profitable and extensive trade in gold, ivory, and pearls, to the sovereigns of Egypt, should be a perfect blank in our charts; and that while new islands, and even continents, were discovered by the abilities of our seamen, we should have become so ignorant of the eastern shore of Africa, as to be unable to ascertain many of the harbours and islands, described by an ancient navigator in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.

During my stay at Calcutta I had the honour of frequently conversing with the Marquis Wellesley on the subject of the Red Sea,

and of stating to him my ideas and feelings; in which I had the happiness of finding that he fully concurred. At length I proposed to his Excellency, that he should order one of the Bombay cruizers to be prepared for a voyage to the Red Sea; and I offered my gratuitous services to endeavour to remove our disgraceful ignorance, by embarking in her, for the purpose of investigating the eastern shore of Africa, and making the necessary inquiries into the present state of Abyssinia, and the neighbouring countries. His Excellency approved of the plan, and it was determined that, in order to obviate any difficulties which might arise, from the commanding officer differing with me in opinion, with respect to the eligibility of going to particular places, he should be placed under my orders. The necessary instructions were immediately transmitted to Bombay, and I hastened my departure for Columbo, as it was desirable to reach the Red Sea as early in the year as possible.

When I arrived at Tanjore I received dispatches from Bombay, acquainting me that the Antelope cruizer would be at Mangalore ready to receive me, and convey me to the Red Sea in the beginning of February; at the same time I had letters from Mr. Lumsden, Chief Secretary at Calcutta, inclosing, under a flying seal, the proper orders to Captain Keys, to consider himself as under my command. At Madras I heard that he was actually arrived; yet from my servant's indisposition there, and the previous delay at Columbo, I was unable to reach Mangalore before the 8th of March. This was particularly unfortunate, as it precluded the possibility of my reaching Suez, previously to the change of the monsoon in the Arabian Gulf. It was however some consolation to know that the very heavy gales in that quarter rarely set in before June, by which time I hoped

to be safe on land, and that the sailing in unknown seas was probably safer when beating up, than when going briskly before the wind. As far as Mocha, we were certain of having the N. E. monsoon, though probably, on account of the lateness of the season, it would be only light, and we should be much baffled with calms, and for the remainder of the the voyage we knew we could take shelter in an harbour, and wait for finer weather, should a gale overtake us. Admiral Rainier, whom I had the good fortune to find here, did me the honour of calling on me the morning after my arrival, with several of his officers: some of them had been in the Red Sea, from whom I had the pleasure of learning many circumstances, which tended to diminish any alarms that might have been excited by the accounts of former travellers; and they confirmed me in my determination of surveying the Abyssinian shore, by the admission of the fact, that, during the whole time our fleets were in the Red Sea, not one vessel had quitted the Arabian coast.

With Captain Keys of the Antelope, who called on me, I was much pleased, as his manners were perfectly gentlemanly; and the concern he expressed at the smallness of his vessel, and the consequent difficulty of accommodating me to his wish, induced me to suppose that I should find him inclined to do every thing in his power to make my voyage comfortable. I determined to go on board the Antelope the next morning: I found her to be a brig, quite as large as I expected, about one hundred and fifty tons, mounting twelve eighteen-pound carronades, and having on board forty-one Europeans, including officers, sixteen marines, and thirty lascars and servants. For these they had on board six month's rice and salt meat, with forty days water; of course there could be little room

left for my baggage. The cabin was of a tolerable size: rather more than one third had been partitioned off for me; the remainder served as a dining-room, in which the Captain and Mr. Salt were obliged to swing their cots at night. For myself, I was perfectly satisfied, but determined to lessen my baggage by sending part of my linen to England from Bombay. Captain Keys accompanied me on board the flag-ship to visit the Admiral, who paid me the honour of a salute: I undertook to convey dispatches for him to England.

On returning to Mr. Ravenshaw's, I instantly began my preparations for departure: these were soon completed, as well as circumstances would permit; and Mr. Salt having arrived, we got on board the Antelope by eleven o'clock at night on the 13th of March. By twelve every thing was embarked, and we weighed anchor for the Red Sea, bidding a farewell to India, after a residence of fifteen months. According to the power with which I was invested, I directed the Captain to proceed to Aden.

March 18.—We have been coasting along the shore with the assistance of the land and sea breezes, without being able to get out of sight of land. The weather has been sultry; our little vessel sailed ill, which was probably owing to the bad condition of her bottom, which was perfectly covered with barnacles, and her being deep in the water: she rolled and pitched much, but had one good quality—she obeyed her helm, and wore with facility. This is of the greatest importance when there is a necessity to tack frequently. The wind was directly against us. The shore that we passed was a bold one; the mountains which I beheld in crossing the table-land, were here completely visible. We passed several

islands of a rocky nature, and among others one strongly fortified by Tippoo, but for what purpose it would be difficult to conjecture as it affords no protection to shipping. Our latitude at this time, was 14° 27′ 22″ N. Mangalore is 12° 15′.

Till the 26th we had the wind inclining to the west, and consequently made little way. The calms had been frequent, yet the heat had never been unpleasant, and the sea had been as smooth as glass. We were on that day in long. 68° 40′ 15″, and had at length got hold of the N. E. monsoon. Our latitude was much the same as when we sailed, viz. 12° 1′ 37″. When it is so late in the season, it would be better to sail from Bombay, as the monsoon at that time still keeps close to the shore. As the vessel was lightened by consumption of stock, she sailed better. The delay was the less disagreeable, as it gave me time to prepare charts of the Red Sea from the logs we had procured.

The men caught a dolphin,* a most beautiful fish, generally from two to three feet long. When in the water it appears of a rich dark blue, or green, or golden yellow colour, according to the point of view in which it is beheld. On being caught, it changes rapidly. The body at first is chiefly orange, spotted with the brightest blue: the fins are green, and then blue. The dorsal fin, when the fish is dying, is of a dark green throughout. The ventral fins lie close to the body, where there is a hollow that partly receives them: these are of a bright gold-coloured orange on the outside; on the inside, when alive, bright blue; when nearly dead, a dark green. The anal fin, during life, is blue and light gold colour; at death, lighter, and silvery: the caudal the same. The pupil of the eye dark: the

* Coryphæna equisetalis.

iris yellowish gold colour. It has three rows of small teeth, separated by a groove in the centre. When dying, the blue tint, for a few seconds, sometimes covers the whole fish, and then settles in the blue spots only. Linnæus's description, as far it goes, is accurate. It follows the ship in company. In its belly was found the flying-fish. The Coryphæna hippuris is also called a dolphin by the sailors.

The dolphins on the 31st were about the ship in shoals. The men killed eight. We had one for dinner, and it was as good as an albicore. On the 30th we saw many sharks, one of which, seven feet long, the men caught. The following day the dolphins were still more numerous, and every mess had one.

The wind for the last five days had been extremely light, but we had been favoured by a current to the S. W. which enabled us to make a degree a day. The sea perfectly smooth. On the 1st of April the men killed nine dolphins. Long. 61° 59′, lat. 11° 52′.

April 6.—The current deserted us on the 2d, and the breezes became extremely light. We had plenty of dolphins; and several very singular species of sea-blubber floated by. One was a large scarlet mass, about seven feet long and two or three wide, a part of which was got on board; it consisted of a great number of distinct living substances, adhering to each other. Each was about four inches diameter, tubular, and closed at the ends. A circular thread of scarlet spots was twined in circles amidst the gelatinous substance. Another was about two inches long by one in diameter; partly hollow. It had a dark yellow spot and one red close to each other, at the lower extremity. It was covered with fine prickles externally, which, produced no smart on being touched.

April 10.—As we approached the land, the breezes became more light; the fish, less afraid of the ship's foul bottom than they would have been of a clean one, were in great abundance. With the bait of a cockroach, my servant caught a small fish of the genus Diodon, but not of the species described by Linnæus, though I think it is the one mentioned in Chambers's Dictionary under the name of Guamajacu atinga, and for which he quotes Piso's Nat. Hist. lib. V. cap. 16. The description perfectly corresponds, but the drawing given has no resemblance. Mr. Salt drew it and I stuffed its skin, which was thick and glutinous. It is covered with prickles, which it has the power of expanding when it blows out its body; the cavity of which is filled with a very large air-bladder, and a liver disproportioned to its size. Its length is about four inches: as we caught several, I conclude this to be its full growth. No injury follows the puncture of one of its prickles, though a juice exudes from the base, of a bright yellow colour, that permanently stains paper and other substances. It puts out two small tentacula from its mouth as it swims, and lives a considerable time out of water. Towards evening the wind began to come round to the southward.

On the 12th at day light the African coast was in view, bearing N. W. distant about eleven leagues. As we approached it most rapidly, by twelve we were only about three miles from Cape Guardafui. The Cape itself is not very high, but the land behind it is extremely lofty. It consists of rocky beds, one over the other, with gullies apparently formed by the rain. Not a vestige of vegetation was seen. We made it in 51° 10′ E. and 11° 50′ N. There was a considerable cross swell as we rounded the land. Our little

vessel was going seven knots, which I did not expect from her. We had during the whole of the last day a strong set to the south, which took us thirty miles. We coasted the land during the whole time. Mount Felix is united to the main land by a low sand: it is conspicuous, and cannot be mistaken. We were opposite to it after it was dark.

On the 13th a very pleasant breeze came on from the north of east. We steered W. and by N. straight for Aden, and passed the high land behind Cape St. Peter. The coast is very high and barren: it was still in sight at night, though a haze, which extended across the whole sea, concealed the base. The stars near the horizon were hardly visible. Several meteors, called falling stars, shot occasionally across the sky; but no aurora borealis had appeared during the whole voyage. A heavy dew fell all night. The sea was smooth, though we went at the rate of six knots an hour.

We had a very fine breeze during the whole night of the 13th, but no land was visible on the following morning. The sky was clear, and the water smooth. At twelve o'clock we had run one hundred and twenty miles in twenty-four hours.

At eight in the morning of the 15th a part of the African shore was in sight, distant about eleven leagues, which was as high as that on the opposite side. At one Cape Aden bore right a-head W by N $\frac{1}{4}$ N. distant eleven leagues. We went on till night, when it was so near, that we determined to come to an anchor. We passed the head land, and anchored at nine o'clock on the other side, close, as we supposed, to the town; but could not be certain, as no one on board had ever been there, and we had no directions respecting making it. The land sheltered us, and we had little motion.

At day light on the 16th we found no town was visible, and thought we had not got far enough; and that it lay beyond another head land, nearly W. accordingly we weighed anchor at six, and steered along shore. Cape Aden is a very lofty rock, on the top of which are several ruined towers. The bay we anchored in was a fine one, about six miles wide, and as many deep. On proceeding we found our mistake; that in which we anchored was Back Bay, and Aden itself was on the eastern side of the headl-and. The bottom of every bay was a sandy beach; beyond that ran a chain of mountains at a distance. I never beheld a more dreary scene; nor one that less accorded with the idea that might be formed of the country from the beautiful description of Milton: no "Sabæan odours" came off to gratify our senses, from the shore, nor did they ever exist there, but in the mind of the poet, as a more wretched country does not exist; for the myrrh and frankincense come from the opposite coast, though the Arabs were, and are still, the medium of conveyance to Europe.

It would have been a serious loss of time to have beaten back, and therefore I determined to go on, though much vexed at a mistake, which would prevent our having excellent water, instead of that which is to be obtained higher up, and is invariably brackish. Back Bay is the best watering-place, though it is five miles from the town: the only expense is three dollars demanded by the Dola, as I learned from Lieutenant Powell of the Wasp, who was there in 1803. In East Bay it is purchaseable, but at a high price. On the western side is a range of rocks extending out nearly as far south as the hill of Aden itself. The tops of these are singularly broken, and rise into Gothic spires in several parts: two of these have got

the names of Ass's Ears. Another bay is west of them, in size and appearance exactly like the former. Its western boundary is a range of rocks, one of which so perfectly resembles a funnel as to deserve that name: it can never be mistaken. The coast is shelving to the south of west. Before sunset the Cape itself was perfectly visible like a gunner's quoin, Cape St. Anthony being on our bow. This is not very high land. We kept at the distance of three or four leagues to avoid a shoal that extends out from it. The breeze continued from the eastward, and freshened as we advanced. At ten the island of Perim was in sight, and soon afterwards we entered the smaller straits which run between it and the land. We kept nearer the island than the main, with from eleven to six fathom water. The breeze was assisted by the tide, and soon brought us under shelter of the promontory. We anchored by twelve in smooth water, in defiance of a very strong breeze.

Before day on the 17th the small boat was hoisted out. My servant and Mr. Hall were sent on shore with their guns and dogs, in hopes of killing us some game. After an early breakfast Mr. Salt and I, attended by Mr. Hurst the midshipman, and four sepoys, went on shore to see the country, and collect shells. We landed on the beach, on which nothing grows but a species of salicornia. A ridge of broken hills, detached from the Cape, rises about a mile from the shore: this we determined to ascend. The way up was craggy, but the heat of the sun was tempered by the strong breeze, and the fatigue was relieved by discovering several curious plants, and some mineral specimens. From the summit we had an excellent view of Cape Bab-el-mandeb and the island of Perim. A bay to the eastward of the Cape extends inwards a considerable way: the

land between that and the westernmost, in which the ship lay, is perfectly flat, and a dry salt sand: if the sea were to rise only a very few feet it would cover it. Already part of it is a lake of salt water. Accidents have occurred from mistaking this east bay for the strait; a circumstance that can never happen, if it should be only observed that Perim is perfectly flat, which ought to be kept close on the larboard side; whereas Bab-el-mandeb hill is the loftiest land in the neighbourhood. The hill on which we were rises suddenly out of a plain of sand; no others are near it.

The shooting party were at the bottom of the hill, from which we soon descended, and joined them. They had seen several antelopes, and had wounded one, but it escaped. They had killed some partridges, and also purchased some milch goats very cheap, and remarkably fine. On reaching the sea shore we found a great many Arab fishermen, with a profusion of mullets, and other fish. These we purchased and sent on board, to procure, in return, a supply of water, none of which was to be obtained on the land. The boys went in amongst the coral rocks, and procured a few shell-fish, that were fine of their kind. It was still early, and as the breeze continued, we determined to walk along the shore to point Bab-el-mandeb. Between us was a small creek communicating with the salt-water lake, now nearly dry, over which we were obliged to pass in the boat. As we advanced, it was less pleasant, from the air being frequently heated by the sand over which it passed, which gave it all the effect of the hot winds of India in scorching the skin, and producing intense drought. Dr. Macghie, who had accompanied us, and Mr. Salt bathed, from which they suffered considerably, but not so much as the two officers of the

ship, who, from being more exposed, were soon of a perfectly red colour.

On the beach is the tomb of a Mussulmaun saint, which, though a heap of ruins, is much visited. The extreme point is low, but rocky. We procured from its sides several shells, but none of value. It was now three o'clock, and we were all heartily fatigued. We took to our boat, but the breeze had so freshened that nothing but the shelter of the land prevented its being difficult to get on board. I am convinced that the Straits are not above three miles wide. We all took the precaution of anointing our faces; those who had had their bodies exposed, suffered severely; we, who were more prudent, escaped with losing the skin off our noses. The bay in which we had anchored was most excellently defended by the island and promontory, and is much frequented by vessels that are too late to reach Mocha by day-light. Behind the hill, on which we were, is a wood of stunted mimosas, which seems of considerable extent, but would soon be exhausted, were Perim to be inhabited. We were too far out, and not land-locked, for some mountainous islands were visible through the Straits, composing part of the cluster called the Seven Brothers. The high land of Africa could be seen over the island, reaching up towards the north. This is, according to Bruce, the myrrh and frankincense country.

On the 18th before day, the anchor was up, and we set sail. At sun-rise we could perceive a ship enter the Straits and follow us. We had no doubt that this was the Fox frigate, Captain Vashon, as no other was likely to be in these seas, and Admiral Rainier had informed me that we should meet her here, as, at the

request of the Bombay government, he had directed her to proceed to Mocha, to convoy to India the trade from that place. The breeze continued extremely fresh, as we sailed along the Arabian shore: the coast itself is low land, but the chain of mountains was seen, though with difficulty, from the haze, extending N. at about thirty miles from the shore. At ten, Mocha was visible: we were obliged to keep out, to avoid a dangerous shoal, till the great mosque bore E. by S. when we stood right in for the town. We anchored at a distance of about four miles, in little more than four fathoms. The wind was very fresh, and the swell, though broken by the shoal, was considerable. We saluted the town with three guns, which were answered by one. The Fox soon afterwards came in, and anchored about a mile to the N. W.; she could not get more to the S. on account of the wind. A fishing boat came off with fish; it was small and narrow, and the people nearly naked; the sail was cloth, and held by the hand. It went with great velocity, and very close to the wind. The fish was excellent.

Captain Keys wrote to Mr. Pringle, acting Agent to the East India Company, to inform him of my arrival. Mr. Pringle came off, while we were at dinner, to invite me to the Factory. He told me that he had notified my arrival to the Dola, or Governor, and had enquired, in case I visited him, how he would receive me. To this he answered, that he was not well, and would not move from his seat. Mr. Pringle added, that as the meeting him at the door had been insisted on by General Baird, and had been complied with, he could, on no account, advise me to visit him in any other manner. I assured him that I should be entirely guided by him, as my only wish was to act in the manner that would be most conducive to the

VIEW FROM THE FACTORY AT MOCHA

advantage of the English character; and that I considered him as the best judge on such an occasion.

«After dinner, attended by Mr. Pringle, Captain Keys, and Mr. Salt, I quitted the Antelope, and was saluted with seventeen guns These the Dola chose to take as a compliment to himself, and returned it with one. We were so conveniently anchored, that the S. W. wind was a side one, both for embarking and disembarking. We were soon at the pier, and proceeded immediately to the factory. The first thing I did, was to send to the Dola, assuring him that the seventeen guns were not intended as any compliment to him, or the state, as the Antelope would certainly never again salute the town, till the former guns had been returned: to this I received no answer.

May 9.—More than a month having been consumed in the voyage from Mangalore, it was thought advisable to lay in a sufficient supply of water and provisions, before we proceeded to a coast of which we had no positive information. This was not completed till the 8th of May, when the Antelope was reported by Captain Keys to be ready for sea. During my stay at Mocha, I resided at the British Factory, where Mr. Pringle did every thing in his power to make me comfortable. He has filled this situation, since the departure of the British armament, to the satisfaction of the Bombay Government, and is very well acquainted with the Arab character, and the trade of the Red Sea. From him I received much interesting information; but, as I was unfortunately obliged, on a future occasion, to make a much longer stay at Mocha, I shall defer laying it before my readers, till I come to that part of my travels.

I was painfully surprised at learning from Mr. Pringle, that the idea of examining the western side was so disagreeable to Captain Keys, that he had applied to him to allow him a room at the factory, till he could procure a passage back to Bombay, as he was determined, in consequence of ill health, to give up the command to his first officer. Mr. Pringle, at my request, pointed out to him in such strong colours the consequences that would ensue, that he abandoned his intentions; but an impression of anxiety was left on my mind, which by no means diminished the evils necessarily attendant on a voyage of discovery. I, however, determined to execute the business I had undertaken, in defiance of any surmountable obstacle, and therefore began to make every necessary enquiry respecting my intended route.

I discovered that a regular communication existed between Mocha and Massowah, and between that place and Suakin; that Massowah was by no means the unsafe place which Mr. Bruce represented it to be in his time; and that pilots could be procured for the whole way. As, however, the upper part of the voyage was to be performed through very narrow straits, and at a time when the N. W. winds were blowing strong down the gulf, I thought it would add greatly to our safety, to hire a country vessel, called a Dow, to go a head, and show the way. This would also enable me to visit many islands which the Antelope might not be able to approach. A dow was therefore hired for four hundred dollars, to go to Dhalac, Massowah, Suakin, and up to the latitude of the river Farat, where we meant to end our observations, and make the best of our way to Cosseir. I hired also an Arab boy of the name of Hyder, as an interpreter till the Antelope returned. He spoke

English tolerably well, and bore a very excellent character. The wages he asked were six dollars per month. I intended to have sailed on this day, and I dined on board the Fox, on my way to the Antelope, but a proposal from Captain Vashon made me alter my intention. This was, that if I would stay till the morrow, he would accompany us to Jibbel Teir and Dhalac. The pleasure of his society, and the use of his boats, were inducements too powerful to be resisted; the agreement was therefore made.

May 10.—It being tolerably calm by six o'clock, I quitted the Fox, where I had slept, and went on board the Antelope. Our pilot was on board, and had a boat astern, which we were to tow. Our dow was ready, and had another. To my very great surprise, I now learned, through the medium of Hyder, that the pilot knew nothing of the way from Jibbel Teir to Massowah; that the usual way was stretching across to the Abyssinian coast, and working up it to Dhalac. Captain Keys felt himself incapable of conducting the vessel through an unknown and intricate sea, and consequently all idea of Jibbel Teir was abandoned. The only inconvenience was respecting Captain Vashon. As we were under weigh, I could not go on board the Fox with any comfort, owing to the heavy swell. We however ran the brig so close to her, that our main top sail caught in her yard, and was rent. I told him where we were going, and our reasons. He answered he should go the old way by Jibbel Zeighur. We could say no more, and separated. He waited a little for a shore boat, and then made sail to the northward, whilst we stretched right across rather to the south of west. The wind was very fresh, as usual, from the S. E. with a considerable swell. The Abyssinian shore was soon in sight right a-head, which the pilot said

was Ras Beiloul. This, according to Niebuhr, is the name of a town and district.

Our pilot seemed a sensible old fellow, and I was happy to find that he was an inhabitant of Dhalac. He expressed great pleasure at meeting Mr. Macgic, the surgeon, whom he had known before. He had been much employed by the English, when at Perim, and had purchased a boat with the money which he had obtained from them. He gave his directions clearly; and when they heaved the log, told them that it was not necessary, as he knew where he was, and there was plenty of water. We did not however choose to trust him. As we got nearer the African coast the wind became more moderate. We now perceived a lower point, stretching from Ras Beiloul, which the pilot said was Ras Firmah. It is the most easterly point. Nearly south of it, and close to it, is an island, Saiel Beiloul. At three we closed in with the land, and anchored about three miles west of a head-land, which the pilot called Ras Bunder Beiloul. Like a true pilot of Mr. Bruce's description, he gave orders to anchor so suddenly, that it was impossible to obey, and, consequently, we were carried farther from the shore than we meant; however, at a mile and a half from it we had a sand and mud bottom at thirteen fathom. A chain of islands and rocks had continued the whole way to the north of us, the largest of which the pilot called Jibbel Anish, but which must be the Jibbel Azroe of the charts.

The bay we now entered is of very great extent, and excellently defended from the south winds. The water was smooth, though strong gusts came over the hill. The width of the channel, opposite to Mocha, proved to be less than I conjectured from the

view of the Abyssinian land when there. I did not lose any time in sending off my servants in the pilot's boat to the shore to look for shells. The people bear a bad character; but probably the accounts of their ferocity are exaggerated. Our pilot offered to go to the village, which he said was beyond the hills. The whole coast had a black, barren appearance, except where it was broken by white sand.

After dinner Mr. Salt and Captain Keys went on shore in the boat, and took with them the lead line. They found, contrary to Mr. Bruce's assertions, "that there was no anchoring ground on the Abyssinian shore, and that you might have your bowsprit over the land without any bottom astern," that the land gradually shallowed to seven fathom within a quarter of a mile of the shore. They found an inner bay perfectly defended, except to the north. A strong gust of wind prevented their entering to sound it. It was about five miles round. Under a stone were lying a net and iron head of an harpoon, but they saw no native. A few mimosas and herbaceous plants were all the vegetation; but as yet I have not been able to discover Mr. Bruce's Absinthium. My servant procured some beautiful specimens of the Neritæ. Many dead shells showed the riches beneath the sea, but, as I had no diver, I could only wish for them. The seamen caught several cat-fish, as they call them.

May 11.—We got under weigh at six, and steered N. N. W. directly across the Bay, which, as it was clear, appeared of a magnificent extent. It could not be less than twelve miles deep, and about thirty from one head-land to a large island, which formed the other extremity. In the bottom the land had a very singular appearance; large masses being perfectly flat, and, near three others

of a conical figure. It blew fresh with a considerable swell. By twelve we were across, and discovered an archipelago of islands and rocks around the island above mentioned, which the pilot called Rackmah. He informed us that there was a river, and very civil people, where every article was to be procured. As this was to me a very interesting assertion, I was greatly pleased by Captain Keys proposing that we should bear up and examine into the truth of it. At half after twelve we did so; and with regular soundings as we approached the land; at length cast anchor under the lee of the island, in four and a half fathom, with a hard sandy bottom. I asked the pilot if he could persuade the natives to come down to us, and I would make them some presents. He said, no, they would meet us on the beach, but would never come on board. This suspicion could not have originated without cause, and I fear that they, or their neighbours, have experienced ill treatment from European vessels. We saw several groves of trees, which made us hope the pilot had not deceived us.

Mr. Salt wished to go to the village, which was at some miles distance up a bay. He was accompanied by Mr. Hurst, the midshipman, and Hyder as an interpreter. I went in the boat to the island to examine it, and was attended in another boat by a Naig and three sepoys, my servant, and some lascars. We found an excellent landing-place about a mile and a half from the ship. No shells, that were new met our notice; we therefore ascended the hill, which was composed of a blackish brown stone that looked as if it had been burnt. Vegetation was nearly annihilated. I saw a Salicornia, an unknown shrub, and a species of Indigofera, of which I collected seeds. On descending to the opposite shore, I found the

VIEW FROM RACHMAH.

green trees I had observed to be a species of Rhizophora that covered the beach. Some flamingos were seen, but too far distant to be reached with the gun. Two natives, who lived on the island, were brought to us by the report of a shot: they seemed not to be afraid, and were very civil. They understood a little Arabic, and had not the woolly head. My people went to their hut, and procured from them some turtle. They seemed to be there merely for the purpose of catching them: they had no boat. Not expecting that I should meet with any inhabitants, I had nothing with me to give them; but being unwilling they should go unrequited, I wrapped my hankerchief round the young boy's head, which was shaved all over, except a tuft above the forehead. We found that a sandy bar extended from the island to the main, and formed one side of the bay; the other islands above mentioned were beyond it, and, at a distance, they looked as if in a line with it. The passage is about two miles across, with shallow water.

After coasting a rocky head-land, which at first we had supposed an island, we proceeded to a third, which was likewise connected by a sandy bar, and formed altogether a most excellent bay for small vessels. We here procured a few good shells, and discovered the tomb of a native chief, around which had been set up a circle of stones. At one end were the bones and shells of several turtles, half burnt. In the middle were several drinking vessels: one was an English China sugar bason. We found a second tomb nearly similar, and were again informed by some of the boatmen, that this belonged to a chief. As these islands have no names among the pilots, I gave it that of Burial Island. I did my best to procure the native names, as it might be of use to future navigators; and where-

ever I succeeded, I have, to the best of my spelling, preserved them. On the northern side were some excellent oysters fastened to the rock: their shells were of a fine purple at the edges, and by no means inelegant. Soon after it was dark I got to the ship: there was a considerable swell, which rendered it by no means pleasant, and the wind was right against us. The island we first went to is by far the largest in the group, and forms the north-eastern point of the bay. It consists of two hills divided by a low sandy plain; the highest is to the N. W. In no part is it more than two miles and a half wide. Its latitude 13° 50″ N. Long. 42° 10″ E. To the eastward every thing is clear, and it may be approached very close. Mr. Salt had, as we perceived from the ship, gone several miles up the gulf between Burial Island, and another lying to the northward of it. As the wind was right against him, we did not expect him to return soon; but our anxiety was removed by perceiving his boat before it was quite dark. He arrived at ten completely fatigued, and without having been much gratified. The river had vanished, though certainly in the rainy season torrents had run to the sea, of which he perceived visible marks. At present there were only two wells about 60 yards from the sea: the water of the nearest was as bad as the Mocha water, that of the farthest was better, and in tolerable quantity. He met with no village, but saw three men, with a numerous troop of camels, and two flocks of sheep: the natives were extremely civil, offered him water, and willingly exchanged a fine sheep for some tobacco, refusing a dollar that was offered. They had driven their animals down to the water, and were returning to their habitations at some distance in the interior, but they objected to the party's going thither. They wore crooked knives,

like the Arabs, by their side, and had spears lying at the wells. They knew the old pilot, and shook the whole party by the hand, without expressing the least fear. They had curly black hair, drawn out into points in every direction. There was plenty of the mimosa close to the water side. The swell continued all night, and the heat was most oppressive.

12th.—We were under sail by six, our dow preceding us. We continued coasting along the land, which receded considerably to the west. At first we had soundings, but afterwards none with 15 fathom. We kept about twelve miles from land: a great many islands and rocks were seen, none of them so far out as we were. At twelve we were opposite to one which the pilot called Saiel Abaiel. Its long. is 42° 10″ E. lat. 13° 50″ N. It is impossible to sail along a safer coast than this: not a sand-bank has appeared, and the rocks are all close to the land. The wind became light from the eastward: during a part of the night it was calm. We cast the lead, and had bottom at 37 fathom, with a current carrying us somewhat to the north. We kept all night nearly the same distance from the land, with regular soundings from 37 to 40 fathom.

On the 13th we had variable winds.—At twelve a pleasant breeze: we were then 14 miles from shore, with 21 fathom water; the country hilly and barren; lat 14° 26″, long. 41° 38″ 30′. We continued coasting along shore till evening, when we came so near as three miles and a half to a low point that advanced beyond the mountains. It shoaled gradually till we anchored in seven fathom, with a sandy bottom. It was uncommonly sultry in the night: the wind for a short time at south. We discovered that we had anchored off a low cape called Ras Kussa, whence the land runs rapidly to

the westward; we make it by computation in lat. 14° 34″ N. long. 41° 23″ E.

May 14th.—We weighed anchor at five with a light breeze directly in our teeth, so that we were obliged to tack off and on. In the morning we saw two dows, which met us. The bank from the head-land continued a considerable way out. At eleven o'clock we had 21 fathom 9 miles from shore; but the tack before, when six miles from shore, we had only 6 fathom. The immediate beach was low land, and a great haze hid the mountain from our sight. At twelve we were in long 41° 13″, lat. 14° 41″. At six we anchored in six and a half fathom, sand, off a low black rocky point, near which the pilot affirmed there was a well of fresh water. He also said that these rocks extended to the depth of 5 fathom. A low island bore by compass N W $\frac{3}{4}$ W. The night was extremely sultry, and the water smooth. The coast was low, and the haze continued so great that we could only see the tops of the hills beyond it.

May 15.—We weighed anchor at four, the wind right ahead, but it soon came round. We anchored at twelve in seven fathom, to give the pilot an opportunity of getting some articles he wanted from a village which he said was near us. Further on there is a bay, formed by the main-land, and a chain of islands to the N. and W. They called them Ras Amphila, Bunder Amphila, and the Islands of Amphila.* Mr. Salt and Captain Keys went on shore on the island, which is uninhabited: Mr. Salt brought me back some seeds, one of which was a very beautiful purple icosandrous plant, with succulent leaves. He found the island to be about a mile broad, by three long, perfectly flat and sandy. It was thickly covered with a

* That nearest us they called Kuddo; but I believe they often gave us false names.

low shrub and herbaceous plants, among which was the Portulaca officinalis in abundance. They saw several snakes, which the Abyssinians wanted to catch. The dow's people brought me several shells of the same kind as I had procured at Mocha. The pilot boat did not return all night. We saw a dow round the island, and enter the strait beyond the point. The night was rather cooler.

After we had weighed anchor on the 16th, the pilot arrived, and brought us some sheep. He asserted this to be a place of some trade, which was confirmed by the appearance of several dows. We kept without all the five Amphila islands, which were equally flat and sandy, raised only about ten feet above the water, and without a single tree on them. The shore stretches out rapidly to the westward, is low, but backed by lofty hills, of whimsical forms. Some high trees grew on the water's edge. As we coasted along, by the assistance of a kind of sea breeze, it was extremely pleasant. At twelve our lat. was 14° 52″, long. 40° 58″ 45′. We passed Ras Ratta, which is a very conspicuous piece of land, and of a singular form. We find all the charts of the coast extremely incorrect. At three or four leagues distance, when you are without every island, it is impossible to have a coast more free from every danger. This day we had from about ten to fourteen fathom. Late in the evening we passed two remarkable head-lands, which extend considerably from the shore, and which I conceived were islands. Several rocks were between them, and the usual line of the main: the pilot called them Ras Sarbo and Ras Rorah. A lofty island ahead appeared faintly at sun set. The pilot cast anchor off an island which lay in the bay formed by the head-land. It was low, and perfectly flat. The soundings were unequal, from sixteen fathom

suddenly shoaling to ten; but as they afterwards continued regular at fourteen till we anchored, I conceived there was some error. The night was immoderately sultry.

On the 17th we did not weigh till six, as there was not a breath of air till the sea breeze set in, which has hitherto invariably been the case about nine. We passed the island looked for by the pilot; he called it Howakel. It is lofty, rugged, and about nine miles in length. Off the north of it are three low sandy islands. The coast here again began to approach them, from which at one time it had apparently been three leagues distant. In the evening we saw four small islands to the eastward, distant five leagues: the pilot called them Miséras; of which the curious name of the Great and Little Miseries, as laid down in Mr. Apres' de Menonville's chart is probably a corruption. We came to anchor about six o'clock between the main and an island, which, from the pilot's considering it as an important mark, we called Pilot's Island. The sky to the N.W. was cloudy, and the sun set behind a dense body of clouds. This the pilot said denoted a S.W. wind; and he was right. It blew rather fresh till ten o'clock, when it came round to the E. of N. and was exremely sultry.

On the 18th we were not under sail till six, when, for the first time, we kept within the islands. As the channel was narrow, and the wind against us, our tacks were but short. The channel is not above a mile wide, but the water is ten fathom and upwards. Pilot's Island is small and woody, has two spits of sand extending parallel to the shore for a considerable distance, one at each end; it is distant from the main three miles, and every danger is visible. The sea breeze changed the north-west monsoon a little in our favour, so that for

some time we ran along shore. However, we could not get a sight of Dhalac in the latitude, and nearly in longitude in which Mr. Bruce placed it, viz. lat. 15° 29″, long. 40° 15″ 30′; yet he says it is visible at the distance of nine leagues, which is in itself impossible, as he admits that the land is low. I began to fear that he had invented much in his travels. The soundings were regular the whole day. We passed within several islands, keeping close to the shore, which was flat, with gentle acclivities beyond, covered with wood; and farther off, the lofty mountains of Abyssinia appeared nearly hidden in the haze. At four we came to anchor within a mile and a half of the land. In fishing from the ship, the hooks caught on some dark brown pieces of coral, from the holes of which issued a profusion of living animalculæ: each was nearly brown, about a quarter of an inch long, with a black head. I put a specimen several times in water, and they extended themselves directly: when out of the water they did not retire, but hung close to the sides, one over the other. We also caught a very large specimen of the pearl muscle, with a piece of madrapore growing on it. The night was as sultry as ever. We passed a vessel this day.

On the 19th we sailed at four: the north-west wind still continued sufficiently strong to be pleasant. We had to work between an island that was ahead of us, and the main, in a passage about three miles wide. The channel was nearly as broad, as it was deep water close to the main land. We were not through till eleven, when we bore away along the Abyssinian shore. We passed another vessel this day.

A great deal of trade seems to be carried on at Massowah. The coast also seemed tolerably full of inhabitants. Last night there

was a fire on the shore. Our pilot declared he could not reach Dhalac this day: he wished to anchor off an island to the west of us, which forms a bay, where he said large vessels may anchor in safety. The people, he declared to be very good friends of his, and very civil. We entered it in a S. S. W. direction, and anchored off a very picturesque island. The bay fully answered the pilot's description: it is eight or nine miles deep and about seven miles wide. A sand bank, which runs off from the island forms its N.W. defence. Behind that is another bay. The water is deep. We anchored in seventeen fathom, and at only three quarters of a mile from the shore. As no description of the island has ever been given, and we were, probably, the first Europeans that had visited it, we called it Valentia. Mr. Salt went on shore to take the different bearings, from which we have formed a plan of the harbour &c.; my servant went with Hyder in the dow's boat to procure shells. The men did not choose to assist, so that I got very few: from these I was convinced that had I had proper assistance, it was the best spot for the purpose at which I had hitherto touched. Mr. Salt was accompanied by two of the inhabitants to the summit of the hill: they were very civil. The water we got from a tank was good, and we procured a few sheep, which belonged to the Nayib of Massowah. The high hills of Habesh were in full view; and in one part, a ridge appeared between us and them, which terminates a point said to form the bay of Massowah, and is called Ras Gidden. The night was as sultry as usual.

On the 20th we heaved anchor at five. Our pilot seemed to be less acquainted than usual with the islands. We made a direct N. E. course but tacked incessantly. The distance we ran was about

twenty-two miles, when we anchored in another bay, the extremities of the land extending from N. W. by W. to S. by E. It was very deep and a village was situated on the bank at the bottom of it. This, he said, was Dhalac, but it agreed so little with the description I had met with, that I had considerable doubts on the subject. I enquired for Dhalac-el-Kibeer, which he told me was at some distance, but that the port was not safe for vessels of our size; nor would he dare to take us there without permission from the Dola.

A native soon came along side, on a catamaran, formed of four pieces of wood, about ten feet long, and six inches in diameter. On this he floated nearly naked. On recognising our pilot, he came on board, but seemed considerably alarmed. He was a fine muscular figure, with a large black beard, not woolly. He afterwards proved to be the son of the Dola, who commanded the whole island on the part of the Nayib of Massowah. He pressed us to land, which I determined to do. He then begged leave to accompany me. By an unfortunate fatality, I consented to our pilot's being of the party. As, from the appearance of the young man, who was perfectly naked, except a cloth wrapped round his waist, I had no very high idea of the Dola's dignity, I consulted the former what present I should take on shore. Money, cloth, rice, tobacco, &c. &c. were mentioned; in short I found any thing would be acceptable. I dressed myself in an Asiatic dress, as did Mr. Salt. Hyder went with us as interpreter. The water on this shore is shallow and has undermined the madrapore rocks, of which the beach is composed, in such a manner, as to render a landing in most parts impracticable. At length we entered a strait, formed

by an island called Nokhara, and the main land of Dhalac. Here is a very excellent but small landing place.

The pilot and native went on to announce our arrival, while we reclined in the shade of a rock, and caused our people to collect some oysters, that grew in large clusters, suspended from the roof of the caverns, formed by the beating of the sea. At length more natives arrived, who begged us to advance to the village. We were met by a tall native, almost naked, with a cast of the wool in his hair, who, my pilot said, was the Dola, and to whom the present was to be given. He accompanied us till I was met by another man, in the Arab dress, with a cap; his beard white as snow, and he had a more respectable appearance than the former. I immediately conceived this to be the Dola, but the old pilot would not admit it. We were conducted into a house, built like all the others in the place, of madrapore, drawn from the sea, squared, and raised about twelve feet from the ground. It was thatched with a species of grass, and had one door, but no window. The bare earth formed the floor, and there was no furniture except five beds, made of wood, with cords drawn across, and raised about three feet from the ground. These were covered with matting made of the leaves of the doom-tree.* I seated myself on one, Mr. Salt on another, the rest were occupied by natives and my lascars, who were sitting together in amicable equality.

No one was armed even with a knife. I again urged that I thought the man in the Arab dress ought to have the present, but was over-ruled. The native therefore received a piece of blue Surat

* A species of palm tree.

DISTANT VIEW OF THE ISLAND OF VALENTIA

cloth and ten dollars, while the other had only a piece of blue cloth. Coffee was immediately ordered, and our conversation commenced. I stated that we wished to procure water and sheep, for which we would willingly pay. They assured us they would supply us: a specimen of the former was produced, and was excellent. I could not state the quantity wanted, but referred them to Captain Keys. They spoke in the highest terms of their master, the Nayib of Massuah, or, as they pronounce it, Massowah. They said, he was a good man, and if I wanted one pilot would give me two. There were plenty on the island, who could pilot me to Suakin, whither I told them I was going. The old man was now recognised as being the Nayib's representative, and Governor of all the island, and our young visitor on board as his son. I more particularly engaged him to attend me during my stay, by a promise of a present on my departure. They told me that the place I was on was an island called Nokhara, and the constant residence of the Dola, who had sub-dolas at every other station; that Dhalac-el-Kibeer had formerly been the principal residence, that now the port was bad, and could not admit our ship, but that we were very well situated where we were.

In defiance of the heat, I determined to visit the wells or tanks, where the water was kept, conceiving they were probably near the village. My young Dola accompanied me. We passed through the narrow passages that separated the houses from each other, without seeing a single female, or being importuned by a single beggar. There was a small unornamented oblong building on the road side, which I learnt was a mosque; near it were a few tomb-stones and two doom-trees. We ascended nearly a mile

along a small foot-path tracked in the rock, on which nothing grew except a few stunted plants of the mimosa. Here the channel which separates Nokhara from the larger island of Dhalac, became visible, and below us in the valley, the site of the water was distinctly marked by a kind of meadow, and several plantations of doom-trees. It was distant another mile, but as I had advanced so far, I determined to proceed. On my arrival I was much surprised to find that the well was a natural one, formed by a chasm in the rock, which was covered for several feet with good soil, and occasionally produced excellent herbage. It was about seven feet from the water, which, presented a clear surface of about ten feet long, by three wide, irregular in its shape, from the rocks protruding sides. As it never fails in the driest season, and supplies the whole island, the reservoir probably extends under a great part of the plain. Its superincumbent bed prevents the heat from having any effect on it. At the distance of forty or fifty yards they had sunk a well, and at the same depth had found water. The Dola told me, that at Dhalac-el-Kibeer, you could not search three feet deep without obtaining it. On returning to our boat we found the Dola there, who assured us, that water and fresh provisions should be ready in the morning, when I intended to proceed to the opposite island with my tent, and view the port of Dobelew, where Mr. Bruce had anchored.

When I returned on board, I stated my plan to Captain Keys; and observed to him, that as every thing hitherto had appeared so totally different from what we had been led to expect from Mr. Bruce's statement, I conceived it to be of the greatest public advantage to ascertain the real situation and shape of the islands; that for this

purpose, I requested the use of one of the boats on the morrow, to attend me till my return, which would probably be in the course of two days. To this I received a positive refusal; with the information, that it was contrary to the regulations of their ships, that any of their boats should be out all night. These regulations were singularly urged by a person, who had kept his boat two nights on shore at Mocha, merely because he prefered sleeping on land; though in consequence he was not on board the Antelope to receive me on my return from the Fox. Had it been otherwise, the very positive orders he had received from Marquis Wellesley to afford me every assistance in his power in the prosecution of my designs, formed a sufficient reason for infringing the rules, and rendered the complying with my request a point of duty.

Having long observed that he wished to throw every obstacle in my way, I determined to take advantage of this opportunity, to decide the business either one way or the other. I accordingly requested Mr. Salt to wait on him, and represent my extreme mortification at being obliged to take such a step, but that I did not conceive the Governor General's orders were, either in their letter or spirit, complied with; and that if it were his determination to persevere, and thwart me in every thing, I must represent the circumstances to Government, and consider, whether I should not abandon the object of my enquiry altogether. I likewise desired Mr. Salt to mention a very singular circumstance, namely, the dubious and irregular manner in which the longitude was given to me, and its being kept a secret from every other person in the ship. The reply was long and curious. He was excessively astonished at my attributing to him any unwillingness to assist me so far

as he could consistently with his duty: he conceived I was not Captain of the ship, but that he was; and, consequently, that though I might make any request, the discretionary power of complying with it rested with him alone; and that he could not violate the rules of the service. That as for his acquainting me with the longitude, he considered it was a mere matter of favour, not of right; and added something with regard to my intention of taking to myself, the credit of discoveries and observations made by him and his officers. This was, however, mixed with repeated declarations, that I had mistaken him, and that I might have every assistance he thought he ought to give.

I desired Mr. Salt to reply, that I must persevere in my idea respecting his neglect of orders; and that the boats, when necessary, were not to be refused me; that the idea of my wishing to take to myself the credit of the observations, was ridiculous; that they appeared to me too uncertain to be valuable; that the credit of forming the plan of viewing these doubtful countries, of ascertaining the real manners of their inhabitants, and of facilitating the sailing along their coast, would be mine in defiance of him and his observations. That the other circumstances were requisite to the public good, which, if he pleased, he might prevent my being able to communicate to the King's ministers. That I hoped I had mistaken his intentions, and expected I should receive every reasonable assistance: that I never wished for more, and trusted we should not again differ on the subject. Thus ended the dispute; but he continued very gloomy, and I was convinced we should never cordially agree. The fact was, he did not like the voyage, which he considered as dangerous; and even the strong principle of interest

could not make him conceal it. It was agreed, that the next morning, Mr. Salt should set off with the second Lieutenant, Mr. Maxfield, in the pilot's boat for Dhalac-el-Kibeer, and ascertain as much as possible of the island.

May 21.—I was awakened early in the morning by a violent dispute between Mr. Salt and the pilot, who, although he had the evening before consented to the whole arrangement, now declared that he would not go, nor should his boat go, unless he received ten dollars; a demand that was positively refused. By the interference of Captain Keys he was induced to proceed, but returned under some other pretence; when Captain Keys ordered the cutter to be prepared. On this he instantly departed, fearing to lose an opportunity of plundering the party. I staid on board: Captain Keys went on shore to the Dola's. He found a large collection of skins filled with water, lying on the beach, covered with mats to protect them from the sun. These were sent on board in the boat, which made three trips, and nearly completed our supply. The Dola demanded only a dollar for twenty-seven skins, which is much cheaper than at Mocha, and the water was far better. The goats we procured were excellent, not inferior to the mutton we got lately. I obtained some shells, but none equal to what I expected. Several of the natives came off in the course of the day. At night I received a note from Mr. Salt, informing me that he had reached Dhalac-el-Kibeer, but that the Dola of the place would not permit him to move without an order from the Chief Dola at Nokhara. He requested me to procure this, and send him a piece of Surat blue cloth. All this was complied with, and I endeavoured to compose myself to rest, but without success. I felt much indisposed from the effects of my walk to the wells.

May 22.—Captain Keys again went on shore. At night Mr. Salt returned with a view of Dhalac-el-Kibeer, and made a report of his tour, from which I compiled the following observations. Standing in shore at half a mile from the ship, there were soundings at 3, 2 ½ and 2 fathom, at two hundred yards from the shore. The ship bore W by S ½ S. the extremities of the bay from S by E. to W by N ½ N. They proceeded along shore till the ship bore W. N. W ½ N. when a sand appeared equidistant from them, about three miles, bearing W. S. W. Close to a plantation of doom-trees, about two miles from the place where they landed, were sixteen wells like those we found at Nokhara, but the water was not more than two feet below the surface. Here two shepherds were tending, and drawing water for, several camels with their young, a great herd of asses, a few fine goats, and two sheep. As soon as the camels were supplied and driven off, some water was placed in the stone for the birds, which arrived in vast flights, particularly doves. A plantation of date-trees had been lately formed here; which at present did not bear fruit. They hired two asses for a dollar, but they were low and unmanageable.

About four miles and a half from the wells they passed a creek, where they met with a great number of pelicans, plenty of madrapore, and sea-weed, but no shells. On the right was a salt-marsh, which probably, at high spring tides, is connected with one more distant. They rested under the shade of a mimosa, till Hyder, and old Hassan, the boat-man, joined them. The pilot had constantly kept up with them. A native came down from a hill with some milk and water; he was very civil, but objected to their going to the place he came from; to avoid affronting him, they did

not press it. He got ready two asses, and went on with them. The road was rocky and uneven, and in several places the earth had divided, and formed clefts, about three feet across, where widest, and several hundred yards in length. They were of considerable depth; and the splashing of the stones thrown down, proved that there was water at the bottom.

After a fatiguing journey of five miles from their resting place, they got to Dhalac-el-Kibeer by two o'clock. A pleasant breeze had enabled them to bear the heat. At a little distance from the town they were met by several of the inhabitants, and among others by the priest; he differed in appearance from the rest in nothing except his having a string of beads round his neck. Mr. Salt and his companions were conducted to the Serai, had couches prepared for them, obtained milk and water to drink, and soon afterwards, coffee. Their visitors were numerous, as the curiosity of the whole place was excited to view the first Europeans that ever had, in their time, visited them. Mr. Maxfield's uniform in particular excited much curiosity. On their expressing a wish to go out with their books and papers, the priest informed them, that without an order from Nokhara he could not allow it, but that he would, if they pleased, send off a messenger instantly, who might be able to return in the course of the night. This was done, and, as I have before observed, the letter to me was faithfully delivered. Upon expressing a wish to be left to themselves, every body retired, and some very good cakes with milk and water were sent them: these, with the articles they had brought with them, afforded a very tolerable meal, after which they again had coffee. In the evening, under pretence of bathing, they visited the harbour, and, in consequence of what the priest had said, made

some observations. They slept on couches in the open air, but were very much disturbed by the rats, which, in the course of the night, seized and carried off from under Mr. Salt's bed, a napkin laid in a basket, which contained all their provisions. Before they were up, the messenger arrived with all the articles sent for, and the necessary permission from the Dola at Nokhara. The piece of blue Surat cloth was immediately presented to the priest of the place, and seemed very acceptable. After breakfast, they set off to make their observations.

A little way to the south of the town is the tomb of a most holy Mussulmaun prophet and saint, Abou-el-Heimen. A light is kept constantly burning; to support which, they assured Mr. Salt, it was customary for all travellers to give half a dollar. He would not be the first to break so laudable a custom, and therefore gave the money. Near this place are the ruins of a tank; it was 28 feet long, by 12 broad, and about 18 feet deep. It appeared to have been originally arched at top, and resembled another at some distance; the form of which was a regular oval, flat at the bottom, of great breadth, and 20 feet deep; the sides also arched at top, leaving a circular opening in the centre about three feet diameter, towards which large gutters were formed in the rock to bring in the water. Near the sea were four others: one was much larger, two others smaller than those above described, and circular. The one in ruins was cut out of the solid rock, then lined with stone and chunamed. There was no water in any of them, but a sediment appeared at the bottom; and on stooping down to look into them, the air was found extremely sultry. All these, they heard, were built by the Parsees, of whom nothing is known except from tradition; from the same

source, they have an account of 316 tanks, similar to those above mentioned; but admit that they never saw or heard of any one who had seen more than twelve or fourteen: they added, there were none at Dobelew.

Dhalac-el-Kibeer was formerly the principal port of the island. The town is about half a mile from the sea, with a sloping beach of sand between. The harbour is nearly inclosed by a chain of nine islands that lie off at the distance of about two miles. Beyond these the island of Chumma was visible, bearing from S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. to S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. while the extremities of the land bore from S. E. to W. S. W. At present there is scarcely water enough for a dow to approach the shore: till near the islands, it is seldom more than three or four feet deep. Only two vessels were there, one belonging to the place, the other to Massowah. The port still exhibits many vestiges of its former consequence. On the northern side are the ruins of two small mosques built of stone, with round cupolas at top, but of a rude workmanship. In the one towards the sea is an Arabic inscription cut on a stone placed in a recess. Around the mosque a great number of monumental stones are placed upright in the ground, at the heads of the persons whom they commemorate: many are well carved, and beautifully adorned with flowers, and other ornaments: some in the Cufic, some in the Arabic, characters. As the stones are in general of a portable size, Mr. Salt was desirous of taking one away; but, as he was assured by the priest that this could not be done without express permission from the Nayib of Massowah, he contented himself with taking a copy of one inscription, which seemed to be held in the highest veneration, although externally it had nothing to recommend it, being indifferently carved, and having a

corner broken. The priest informed him that it belonged to the Sheik or Sultaun, (he is called both), who built the tanks. It is immediately opposite to the principal mosque, and by the natives constantly kept moist with oil. Among the ruins were several pieces of brick and glass, some of which were perfectly clear. The women seemed to be kept out of the way, as they never appeared except at a distance, and the men objected to their being approached by strangers. The men had not the curly head of the Negroes. There are no trees near the town except two doomt-rees and some Acacias. In spite of the opposition of the old pilot, who assured him that there were Bedowees, &c. in the place, Mr. Salt determined to go up a small ascent, whence he had hopes of seeing the Antelope. He set off alone, but finding that he persevered, several of the natives soon followed. He ascended without the least molestation, and had the good fortune to ascertain the following bearings. The Antelope N. 35 W. the mosque nearest the sea S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. the other end of the town S. b. E. distant a mile and three quarters; the extremes of Chumma S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. and S. W. b. S.; a sand S. W. b. W.

Leaving the hills, Mr. Salt proceeded about half a mile north to a creek, which they said is the same that separates Dhalac from Nokhara, and ends here; a small boat may come up it. Dobelew is reckoned two days journey distant; Nokhara one; so that their day's journey is about nine miles. About four o'clock the party set off on its return. When they got to the wells, the baggage, with old Hassan, was not come up. They waited some time, and at length sent the pilot to look for him. It was nearly two hours before he made his appearance, with a pitiful story that he had fallen asleep on the road, during which all the things had been stolen. The

pilot soon came back by a different way. This old rascal had made so many active attempts to cheat them, though in most he had been frustrated by Hyder, that Mr. Salt had not the least doubt that this was another plan to extort money, by re-obtaining the articles lost; he was the more confirmed in this idea, from the pilot's extreme anxiety to have them intrusted to old Hassan, as being honest, instead of a younger man, who could have kept up with the party. The only serious circumstance was Mr. Salt's drawing book being among the articles; he therefore threatened the severest vengeance if the book, &c. were not produced by morning. They returned to the vessel, and by day-light the next morning the old rogue brought every thing, pretending they were obtained with difficulty from a person to whom he had given two dollars, which he desired might be repaid him. This was positively refused, and he only got the four dollars that were originally paid for his boat.

I had many observations to make respecting Mr. Bruce's account of these islands, but resolved to defer them till I could fully enter on the subject. In the morning the Dola came off in the boat: he breakfasted with us on coffee and sweetmeats, and seemed much pleased. I gave him a few pounds of coffee. In the course of the day, his son brought several baskets of shells, among which were some very excellent. I learnt nothing more respecting the place, as the boats were employed in bringing water. At night, however, Mr. Hall, the first Lieutenant, was permitted by Captain Keys to go to a reef, whence he procured some very fine sea eggs (Echini); one species had spines a foot long, and sharp as a needle; the other was of a larger kind, and when cleaned, very beautiful. The madrapore was not remarkable. Of coral or coraline I have not seen a specimen.

May 23.—I had given notice to Captain Keys that I wished to proceed to Massowah. The old Dola came on board in his catamaran, (rather an undignified conveyance,) with his son, who requested a passage to Massowah: this was willingly granted. His father sent a letter by Captain Keys to the Nayib, praising, as I heard, our good behaviour while at his island. He received the money due to him, and having expressed a wish to hear one of the great guns, as he called them, fired, Captain Keys saluted him with one as his catamaran left the side of the ship. We weighed anchor between ten and eleven, and with a tolerable breeze bore away for Ras Gidden, which, since we had left Valentia, had never been out of sight. The pilot kept us so much to windward, that at three o'clock we were opposite to Massowah, though distant about three leagues. The wind was very light, and we were not able to get completely into the bay, but anchored without. We were alarmed during this day's sailing by a man calling out that there were shoals right a-head; but they proved only masses of floating fishes spawn, which had so defined an outline, and were so extensive, as to have the complete appearance of shoals. In the night we heard several guns from the shore.

CHAPTER II.

Arrival at Massowah.—Reception there.—Public visit to the Nayib.—Private visit to the Nayib.—Conversation with him.—Preparations for the continuation of the voyage.—Disputes with the Captain of the Antelope, and consequent determination to return to Mocha.—Transactions at Massowah, and price of articles there.—Visit to the island of Valentia.—Return to Mocha.—Desertions from the ship.—Encouragement given by the Arab government to European seamen to become Mussulmauns.—Departure of Mr. Salt for India in the Antelope.—Voyage in the Fox frigate to Aden.—Transactions there.—Return to Mocha.—Transactions there.—Voyage to Bombay.

CHAPTER II.

MAY 24.—At six we were under weigh, but were obliged soon to come to an anchor, as the land-wind was against us, and there was no room to work. Mr. Maxfield had been sent off in the jolly boat to the shore, where we saw a considerable crowd collected close to a mud building, which we presumed to be the castle. On his return he informed us, that the natives had perceived our approach, and had taken us for the Wahabees, in consequence of which the Nayib had come over from Arkeko, and they had been all night under arms. Mr. Maxfield informed them that a great man was on board, going to Suez, who would probably pay the Nayib a visit; that we wished for permission to enter the port, and obtain water and provisions; that we were willing to salute the fort with three, five, or seven guns, whichever the Nayib, would return. He was at the head of his troops, and replied, that he should be happy to see the great man; that the island and every thing it afforded was his, and that he would return five guns, but did not wish for more, as it would alarm the Bedowees of the surrounding country, and make them hasten down to protect him. Mr. Maxfield said the natives were extremely civil, and told him, he might stay if he pleased, and send away the boat. This he thought suspicious, for which we laughed at him, and compared him to Mr. Bruce, who thought the man near Crab Island must be a villain from his smiling.

We so strongly suspected our old pilot, that we would not permit him to leave the ship till I had gone on shore and secured a good reception. During the whole voyage he had been threatening the Naqueda* of the dow that he would, on his arrival here, complain to the Nayib of his injustice in giving him only fifteen dollars for piloting the ship to Massowah, when he himself received so large a sum as four hundred. When he saw the dow's boat going on shore without him, he thought they might make their story good, and his rage exceeded all bounds: he called to them, on their peril, not to proceed, and, when they went on, continued muttering to himself, and told the Captain he was so angry, that if his head should be cut off, it would not prevent his complaining.

Several Banians came off in a boat, the end of which was covered with green and red silk. They brought an additional invitation to me from the Nayib. Our salute of five guns was immediately fired, and was answered, first by two guns near the castle. These were loaded with ball, the whizzing of which, though the guns were pointed wide of us, we could plainly hear, and from such bad marksmen was by no means pleasant: the third from the same place missed fire. At length two more were fired from the same place, and, half an hour afterwards, a fifth from the other side of the town, all loaded with ball. I had a letter from Devage, the India Company's broker at Mocha, to one of the Banians, which I delivered. I consulted him on the subject, and then determined immediately to go on shore. I put on a plain Indian dress of muslin, with a shawl round my middle, in which I stuck my tulwah.† Mr. Salt and my servant had also dresses of that country, and Hyder went as interpreter.

* The native master. † Indian sword.

H. Schmidt

Ireland Sculp.

A MASSOWAH PILOT.

Published May 1809 by William Miller Albemarle Street London.

We set off in the boat, under a salute from the ship, followed by all the Banians. We landed close to the town. There were three brass cannon there, much injured by time: with these they attempted a salute, but as the first missed fire, and I advanced, I cannot tell with how many they intended to honour me. I landed at a pier, with a small open space, that led to an ancient gateway, on one side of which was a large building. In one of its balconies I perceived several well dressed people. There was a considerable crowd, but they behaved very well. I entered by the gateway, and turning to the left, passed through several ruined rooms, and ascended a slope of rubbish to a large apartment, the end of which was covered with mats, on which was seated a very numerous assemblage of half clad natives. On the left side, in the balcony, was the Nayib, and several well dressed men. Opposite to them were two old fashioned English elbow chairs with high backs.

On entering, I made my salaam to the Nayib, who pointed to the chairs. Mr. Salt and I immediately seated ourselves, my servant and Hyder standing by. The Nayib was in one corner; he was dressed in white muslin with a shawl of scarlet for a turban, precisely similar to the one I wore round my waist. Next him, (as I have since learned,) was his brother, the Sirdar of the forces, in a large Janissary turban of scarlet: the others were his sons and secretary, &c. The crowd followed us in, and were now crouched on their haunches, over the whole surface to the door, completely filling the room, like Milton's devils in Pandæmonium; but in no other respect would the comparison hold, for their countenances were generally pleasing and intelligent, free from the traces of violent passions. I delivered a message to Hyder, expressive of my

thanks for the answer the Nayib had returned me in the morning. Hyder interpreted this to the Banian, who went stooping, and in a low voice communicated it to the Nayib. Our whole conversation passed in the same way, and was merely complimentary: as I had been informed it would be wrong to enter on any business at my public audience. He told me that the island was mine, and begged I would make what use I pleased of it; that a house was prepared for me, and that he hoped I would continue in it during my stay. To this I assented. Coffee was brought, after the Arab fashion, in very small china cups, without milk or sugar: these were placed in larger ones of gilt filagree, to prevent the fingers from being burnt. Afterwards a caftan of red silk was thrown over my shoulders. They enquired who Mr. Salt was; and, on being informed he was my Secretary, there was some confusion, and a man went out. I now wished to take my leave, but was desired to stay till my house would be ready. I suspected what afterwards proved to be the case. A man entered, and immediately a caftan of blue cloth with yellow silk facing was thrown over Mr. Salt.

I now made my salaam, and the Nayib rose to attend me. We went down together. The troops in the gateway got up from their couches to make their salaams, which he returned by a wave of the hand. He attended me a considerable distance, but without saying a word. At a sharp turning he departed one way, and directed some of his people to shew me another. At length I reached a small house by the sea-side, nearly opposite to the Antelope. Here, in a stone built room, several couches were prepared, some with carpets, and some with blankets thrown over them; it was however, comparatively cool, from the thickness of the walls, and the

many openings which admitted the sea breeze. The Banians attended me, and I was soon overpowered by visitors. After obtaining some sherbet, I sent off Mr. Salt to inform the Captain of what had passed, and to invite him on shore. My servant went also to bring back the things necessary for my stay. I then told my visitors I wished to go to sleep, and they all immediately retired.

I did not awake till some hours afterwards, when the boats had returned, Captain Keys was in full uniform, attended by his whole suite. To my great surprise, the havildar of the sepoys was with him, who, upon enquiry, I found was to act the part of his orderly. The circumstance excited a smile, and also some surprise, as at Dhalac I had declared my perfect confidence in the people, and that I should not take a single sepoy on shore with me; a resolution which the Captain highly approved. He immediately sent off a message to the Nayib to announce his arrival, and to express his wish of paying him a visit. The Nayib, a little surprised, said he would see him in the evening; but in the evening it was put off till the next day. I received presents of water, curry, and other necessary articles in the course of the evening, and a message requesting that I would send to his Banian for every thing I should want. The thermometer was at 91° in a stone-built room, the walls of which were four feet thick, and a pleasant sea-breeze playing through it. We slept on our couches, without any covering, and found the air pleasant. I was however heated, and the prickly heat was tormenting.

May 25.—Mr. Maxfield the second Lieutenant, and Mr. Macgie, came on shore to dine with me. The cook and necessary articles

were procured from the ship, as our stay was not likely to be short. The pilots were to be procured from Dhalac, who were to conduct us to Suakin; and our dow was in such a state as to render getting her up on the beach necessary. Soon after their arrival, Captain Keys sent for them to attend him to the Nayib. The interpreter, a low fellow from Mocha, but not an Arab, the Banian, and Havildar, as orderly, composed the whole of his suwarry. The Nayib did not compliment him with a public audience, but received him in a little hut by the sea-side, without any except the necessary attendants, and in a perfect undress.

I was very much indisposed, but did not wish to take any thing till night, as I understood from the Banian that the Nayib intended to visit me in the evening, when I should have an opportunity of delivering my present. About four o'clock he sent for Hyder, and told him to acquaint me that he had no such intentions; that if he came he must have all his people and troops with him, who would all expect presents from him; and added, what have I to give them? He wished, that when it was quite dark, I would come alone to his house, when he would give me a private audience. As I was assured that the reason assigned was a real one, I consented to his request, without the slightest hesitation.

Accordingly, about eight o'clock, the Banian, and another person, arrived to conduct me. I did not even take Mr. Salt with me. Hyder carried my present concealed, which consisted of a handsome pair of shawls, a gold tissue dress, complete, but not made up, and a piece of kincaub. He received me in an undress, sitting on a bed of the country, out of doors, in one of the yards of his house: the only light was from two small lanthorns, the one suspended,

the other on the ground. He made his salaams in return to mine, by placing his hand on his breast, and pointed to a seat placed close to his, at right angles. Perceiving Mr. Salt was not with me, he sent for him; and he soon arrived, accompanied by my landlord.

We had a long conversation, in which I represented that my motive for coming was to ascertain, whether our ships could with safety pass up this coast to Suez, and obtain water and provisions on the way. I pointed out the great advantage that would consequently ensue to his people, and expressed my satisfaction at having hitherto met with so much civility from his subjects, and in having succeeded in ascertaining what I wished. He replied that the island was mine, and that I might do what I pleased. That if our ships came, they should have every thing he could supply them with. That here they were very civil, good people; but, that, on the main, though they belonged to him, he could not equally answer for them. He offered sherbet in a silver cup, which the person who brought it tasted in my presence.

I now produced my present, prefacing it by saying, that I was not a merchant, but a man of rank in my own country, travelling for amusement, and returning thither after a long absence; that I therefore had no merchandise, nor any thing worthy his acceptance; nevertheless, I wished him to accept a part, of what I had, as a mark of my respect and gratitude, for his attentions since my arrival. He received my present, but said, What is this for? Have you not every thing? what do you ask from me? I replied, that through his kindness, I had every thing I wished for, and I hoped he would continue it to me and mine. I mentioned the pilots; he said they had been sent for. I asked permission for my people to look for

shells, and to shoot. He begged me to apply to the Banian whenever I wished them to go out, and I should have some of his people to attend: but said there was a contagious disorder on the islands and therefore he wished us not to visit them lest we should bring it back. He assured me the ship should have every supply she wanted. He gave Hyder five dollars, and, after coffee, we took our leave, much pleased with his behaviour.

He is rather a small man, of a grave countenance, and about forty years of age. His name is Edris; he has been nine years Nayib, and bears a most excellent character. He is the son of the late Nayib Hannes or Othman, who was the son of Achmed, of whom Mr. Bruce speaks so well, and who was nephew and heir of Hassan, the then Nayib, but did not survive him. The present Nayib has two sons, grown up, by one of his wives, and two infants by an Abyssinian. His brother is Sirdar of Janissaries, whom they now call Ascarri, having completely lost the former name.

May 27.—I was extremely unwell, with a slight fever, and insufferable restlesness. I took some medicine, and felt considerably relieved. I obtained from the Nayib, an Ascar who kept my door, and prevented my being crowded by coffee-drinking visitors. The heat was very great; the thermometer at 96°, and less air than usual.

May 28.—The night was cooler, and I was not so restless. In the morning I had no fever, and at dinner some appetite. The Nayib sent frequently to enquire after me. His brother and sons were all here. A great number of the natives visited the ship: by the Captain's orders they had coffee and raisins, with which they were much pleased. My room was as pleasant as could be in this climate.

H. Salt Esq.r Pinx.t

Pollard sculp.t

ABYSSINIAN AT MASSOWAH.

Published May 1.1809 by W.Miller, Albemarle Street.

I viewed from my window the island of Valentia, distant about five leagues, Ras Gidden, and the chain of mountains that lines the coast of the Red Sea from this place to the plains of Egypt. Behind these the summit of Taranta peeps out, and gives credit, by its height, to Mr. Bruce's account of the difficulty he had in ascending it. The island of Sheik Said is pleasingly covered with trees, and seems to be nearly in the middle of this unruffled bason.

May 29.— A restless night determined me to leave off wine, and try if that would cool me. In other respects I was better; and, thank God! my spirits never left me for a moment. My visitors were numerous, and my host was extremely intelligent. I gathered from him the following information. Dhalac is considered as a profitable government for the person who holds it. The Nayib receives from him only sixty dollars in money, and also obtains some camels, goats, and asses. If any thing should throw a large sum into the hands of the Dola, the Nayib would send to him and claim it; but if, as in our case, it amounted to no more than thirty or forty dollars, he would let him keep all. The Nayib lives generally at Arkeko, where he has a very good house, and one wife, although the place is not so pleasant as Massowah; but in this he finds his interest, because the greater part of his dominions lie there, and his people have an easy access to him. He comes here occasionally, where he has another wife. The trade is considerable.

On the hills of Jibbel Gidden, and those behind Arkeko, are elephants, the teeth of which are exported: from Habesh they send gee, hides, gold dust, civet, sheep, and slaves. Of the latter the number is lately much lessened: a very satisfactory circum-

stance, and a proof of the increasing civilization of that country. The Suakin trade in slaves is, they say, proportionably augmenting. In return, they send up British broad-cloth, arms, ammunition, and the different manufactures of India: a little grain is also brought down from Abyssinia. They have, in their own country, plenty of goats and oxen; the sea supplies them with an inexhaustible variety of fish of the finest kinds; so that their living is by no means bad: game also seems in the greatest plenty. Water at Arkeko is not very good, but abundant. On the island of Massowah are about thirty tanks, which are filled in the rainy season: these are kept closed, and are, I believe, private property. They are not sufficient for the supply of the place, and much water is brought every morning by the boats from Arkeko.

The houses are, each, surrounded by a fence of reeds: the rooms are detached, and built of the same: within, they are lined with mats. The common people are extremely civil, and no one carries any arms, except the immediate family of the Nayib. My Ascar had no weapon except a stick. The natives did not seem jealous of their women, who came down to bathe, and performed their ablutions close to the place where I sat, without any appearance of shame. The slaves of the neighbours had, I believe, been found not over coy by the Europeans on shore. My next door neighbour was the Sirdar of the Ascarri, and I suspected, the intercourse was permitted by him, and that he shared in the profit. I saw only one deformed person, a female dwarf with bandy legs, who bathed before us regularly every day. The men and women are naturally well made, but childbirth destroys the figures of the latter.

The Ascarri are completely under the influence of the Nayib,

who pays them out of the duties which ought to be remitted to Constantinople. They still recognise the Sultaun as their master, but it is a mere form. The Nayib pays nothing to the King of Abyssinia, but they are, I understand, on very good terms.

The Banians here are very comfortable: they say they have ever been the same, and some of them were those mentioned by Mr. Bruce. They are allowed wives, if they please, which is not the case at Mocha; and they seem less oppressed. They amount to eighteen in number, and carry on a considerable trade. The Nayib receives ten per cent. ad valorem on all goods exported and imported, and one dollar for each individual who enters the country to trade. The pearl fishery is renewed to a certain degree by the people of Dhalac, but although the best banks belong to the Nayib he receives no share of the profit.

June 2.—We were still delayed here, though the dow was ready for sea. The pilot arrived from Dhalac, but went back immediately to procure two more, who he said were absolutely necessary for so large a vessel. If the passage above should prove as clear as that below, this delay will never be necessary hereafter: I had indeed to regret that we did not do more; but Captain Keys threw every difficulty in our way, prevented Mr. Maxfield from making many observations that he wished, and, as we were all convinced, endeavoured even to mislead us by false longitude. Latterly he concealed it entirely, and then he declared his time keeper was out of order, and that he should take Mr. Bruce's longitude, and begin a new rate. We determined not to follow him, but, (as we should anchor every night,) to endeavour to carry on a chain of bearings the whole way to Suakin. Mr. Maxfield had finished a chart of the harbour, and

proved Mr. Bruce's to be erroneous. It seems indeed that his was a copy from that of the Portuguese, corrected by a bird's eye view.

June 3.—I sent to the Nayib for permission for Mr. Salt and my servant to go out to morrow on a shooting party on the main-land. To this he willingly assented; and said he would send to Arkeko for mules and people to attend them. The Sirdar procured me some good shells, but begged Hyder would desire me to remember, and take care of him; adding, he wanted dollars. I told Hyder to say I had only sufficient for my expenses, as we never travelled with much money, and that I could procure no more till I got to Egypt; but that of what I had, I had given him a part. He, however, seemed to hope for something, as he was very active in procuring more shells. On the whole I felt better, though relaxed by the heat of the climate, the thermometer being 98°, but without fever, or depression of spirits. It lightened over the mountains at night.

June 4.—The party went out, and returned by ten o'clock, with seven birds of the pheasant kind, with mottled black, or rather brown and white feathers, the neck bare, and yellow underneath, red and bare about the eyes: they also killed a hare, and two small deer, which tasted exactly like the roebuck. Fortunately for the sportsmen, it was cloudy the whole of the morning, who, however, were heartily fatigued and sore in the feet. Thermomter 98°. The Sirdar brought me another collection of shells, which contained only one worth having. I explained what I wished, and he sent the men off again. Hyder privately promised them a present, if they exerted themselves, which should not be mentioned to their master. My servant bore the climate well: he went out on a catamaran

like a native, and brought me from the reef a considerable variety of madrapores, some very beautiful.

June 5.—I did not feel quite so well, which might be owing to the heat, as the thermometer was 100°, and there was little air till eleven o'clock. The most desirable article to the natives is cutlery. They asked for some pencils and paper, and every kind of nick-knack. They had scarcely seen any of our European conveniences, and were much delighted with them. They learned their names, and pronounced them with great facility. The Nayib's son asked for powder and ball, to kill me an elephant. One of the pilots arrived from Dhalac: he seemed doubtful whether he could take the ship to Suakin, but wished to wait for his brother's opinion, who had been sent for. He was a very decent young man.

June 6.—A whimsical circumstance happened this morning on board the Antelope; Lieutenant Maxfield last night took an observation of Jupiter's satellites; on Captain Keys going on board, Mr. Maxfield presented him with a copy, which he took down with him into the cabin. Soon afterwards Mr. Maxfield was called. "So, Sir, I perceive this paper was meant for Lord Valentia" (shewing him at the same time my name written at the back). "It was, Sir, but I have another written, which was intended for you." "I want, Sir, neither one nor the other; Mr. Bruce is a very accurate observer, and I shall take his latitude and longitude." Now, how he came to know that Mr. Bruce was accurate, I cannot tell; but Mr. Maxfield has certainly proved him otherwise in his survey of the Bay.

The Banian came to me this morning to say, that he was my servant, and would do whatever I pleased; that if I did not choose to let him manage the Captain's business, he would never go near

him. I told him, I had no such wish, but desired he would prevent any underhand dealings with the pilots, to induce them to declare the voyage to Suakin impracticable. He assured me that he would. This visit gave me great satisfaction, as it assured me I possessed a sufficient influence with the pilots to induce them to speak the truth. I had been not a little astonished by an observation Captain Keys made to Mr. Macgie, that if we could not go to Suakin, we must return back to Hodeida, there being no passage between the islands above Dhalac. How this could be known to him, except from the accurate Mr. Bruce, I know not; I therefore suspected a plan to prevent our continuing our researches. Indeed, Hyder told me that the Naqueda was constantly desiring the Captain's interpreter to persuade his master that the winds were too strong for the ship to venture among the rocks of Suakin. He naturally wished his voyage should end here, that he might pocket his four hundred dollars, without any farther trouble. I was afraid our old pilot might corrupt the new ones, and therefore requested the Nayib to send him off before their arrival, which he did. I found, however, that I only got rid of half the evil. Thermometer 98°.

June 7.—The Nayib sent to me in the evening to request I would come to him, to meet Captain Keys and the pilots. I sent in answer, that I would with pleasure obey his commands, but that I did not wish, on this occasion, to meet Captain Keys, as he had nothing to do with my arrangement. They came a second time to request, that if I did not choose to come myself, I would send Mr. Salt. I now entered with them into a full explanation of my situation relative to Captain Keys; that I was at liberty to go wherever I thought proper; that my wish was to go to Suakin; but before

I could decide, I must consult the pilots. That I should then inform Captain Keys what my plans were; and it remained for him to settle with the men, with which matter I had no concern. That in consequence our meeting would be useless, or the attendance of any one on my part, when he waited on the Nayib. They were themselves perfectly satisfied (my landlord and the Banian), and immediately went to the Nayib. In a short time they returned with both the pilots, and a very kind message from the Nayib, in the true Asiatic style, "that he only wished to know my will to obey it; and that he had sent the people for me to do what I pleased with them."

I found the brothers equally well behaved, and intelligent. They informed me that the first part of the voyage was open sea, through which they could conduct the ship night and day, if I were not afraid. I asked if, at this time of the year, they could steer a dow day and night; they said, yes. Then I said, we should not be afraid to go on. They continued, "that at a place called Ageeg, the passage became narrow, between rocks and islands, but that the former were all above water; that it was sufficiently deep, and about a mile wide; that there was a place where we could anchor, and that a fair wind of one day would take us to Suakin." I asked, if we should find any difficulty in getting from Ageeg to Suakin, and whether they could carry us to Jidda. They said they would not go themselves, but that they would take us on the outside of a very large island, where we should be in the main sea, and could run our selves easily to that place without assistance." I was now perfectly satisfied, and told the Nayib's messengers, that I should write to-morrow to the Captain, to inform him of my plans, and require

him to make the proper arrangements with the pilots. I begged them again to express to their master how very grateful I felt for his numerous attentions to me, which I should take care to represent to all my countrymen, who might visit the Red Sea. A second round of Asiatic compliments passed on the occasion.

I sent to require a boat to carry my servant to a reef opposite the town to search for shells, which was complied with. He had not much success. The natives, in the course of the day, brought me some new species. There was a great variety of dead shells thrown on shore of a species, of which, I have not been able to procure living specimens: they probably come from some of the opposite islands. Money will hardly induce the natives to exert themselves. I found our landlord's name was Abou Yusuff, or Father Joseph, and he well became the title, for he had all the appearance of a jolly, good natured Benedictine monk.

On the 8th I wrote officially to Captain Keys, informing him of my intention to go to Suakin, but that if the winds should prove too strong, I might probably go only so far as Ageeg, and then proceed for Jidda. He afterwards saw the Nayib. The pilots and Naqueda of the dow were there. The Captain required the Naqueda to hire both the pilots, which he refused. He then demanded that he should give back the four hundred dollars. The Naqueda offered one hundred, or said he would hire one pilot. The Captain said that one must then go in his ship, and the dow go ahead without one. This the man positively refused, and said he would not go to Suakin. The Nayib told him, if he did not do what the Captain desired, he would put him in prison; and so the conference ended. I had this from the Banian, who was present, and was sent by the Nayib to

communicate it to me. Mr. Salt and my servant caught some very beautiful small fish; they also procured a few shells.

The Captain was again sent for by the Nayib in the evening, who wished him to pay one pilot, and the Naqueda the other, but nothing definitive was settled. I had a most extraordinary answer from the Captain at night, stating, that there had been much delay by taking this passage, that we should not be able to reach Suez, and most probably not even Tor; and notifying to me that the Antelope must leave the Red Sea by the middle of August, in order to save her passage for the season. The pilot informed Hyder, that the Captain's interpreter had been talking with him, and telling him that if he went with us, he would be starved, for there was no rice on board.

June 9.—Before breakfast I wrote a reply to Captain Keys, stating that I considered his letter as a declaration, that he would not obey the Governor General's orders, and requiring that he would communicate to me his instructions from the Bombay Government, and give me a definitive answer in regard to his intentions of obeying the Governor General, with respect to my future voyage.

About four o'clock my landlord came to me from the Nayib, to say that the pilots were ready to go to Suakin, as I and the Captain had desired. That the Captain had been with him and refused to give two hundred dollars, (which the pilots asked, and the Nayib desired they might receive,) saying he would give but one hundred and sixty, and that if the Nayib did not make them accept this offer, that he would go back immediately to Bombay. The Nayib desired him to express to me, that the Captain, neither last night

nor that day, had behaved civilly to him; that he staid there merely to assist me; that he wished to return to Arkeko, and desired to know my intentions, and when I meant to depart; and added, that he wished to have my commands to go to Arkeko. He also used an Asiatic expression, that the Nayib said "the Captain had two tongues." I expressed my extreme regret that such a circumstance should have occurred. I stated that the Captain was no servant of mine, but of great people of my country in India, who had ordered him to carry me to Suez; that I could therefore only represent to them his misconduct, when I had no doubt he would be punished. That I wished as much as possible to be gone, but that my departure in some degree depended on the Captain; that, however, I would myself with pleasure visit the Nayib, and take my leave of him in the evening, and hoped he would not stay a moment longer there to be insulted.

As soon as he retired, the Banian arrived, who confirmed what had passed at the interview, but knew nothing of the Nayib's message to me. He advised me to give something to the Nayib that night, and promise something more when I went on board the ship. I went about eight o'clock, and had merely a conference of civility. He wished to know whether I should want pilots or not. I told him I was going to write to the Captain, and his answer would decide me, and that I would positively let him know the next day. I found the Nayib, dressed in a dark India muslin, in the same place, with the same attendants, and without any arms. He confirmed all the Banian had said. I made apologies, and pleaded that all the English were not like Captain Keys. He positively refused returning to Arkeko till I departed.

I received an answer from Captain Keys. He expressed his concern that I should suppose it possible he could intend to disobey the Governor General's orders, that he conceived they were issued under the idea that our voyage would be over long before the fifteenth of August, and that, therefore, on that day, he should positively depart on his return to India. However astonished I might be at his thus placing his conjectures in opposition to his Excellency's most positive orders, I had no means of preventing his carrying his resolution into effect; as, he however, professed his resolution to comply with any request of mine till that period, it remained for me to decide what I should do.

To continue my voyage, for the purpose of surveying the coast or visiting Suakin, was totally out of the question, as nine weeks were evidently insufficient for that purpose; I had therefore only to consider, whether, by abandoning all my plans of discovery, I could reach Suez within the time he was pleased to allow me. He had in his letter declared that it was highly improbable, and upon calculation we found it impossible. The average passage of the ships during the Egyptian expedition, was six weeks from Mocha to Cosseir, a fortnight of which took them to Jidda, as the wind is fair to Jibbel Teir. Our pilots told us we should be more than that time in getting there, and we should be obliged to stop to take in water, of which the ship could not carry a quantity more than sufficient for forty days; and also provisions of every kind, of which they did not pretend she had above two months stock on board: of bread she had not one months. These articles are not to be procured in Egypt. The Antelope's bottom was also in a state that prevented her sailing quick. The Captain was evidently alarmed,

and would not carry much sail; I could not therefore calculate on getting to Cosseir in less than eight weeks. If I staid there, I had only a week to write to Mr. Rosette, to receive his answer, to prepare a guard of camels, to pass to Kenne, and thence to secure boats to go down the Nile. This would have taken up at least six weeks; and for my safety it was necessary that, after that, the ship should wait till I could send back intelligence of my safe arrival. Unless, therefore, I meant to deliver myself into the hands of the greatest thieves and robbers in the world, without any protection; my stay at Cosseir was out of the question; to get in a week to Suez from Cosseir was impossible; and indeed in all probability it would have been three weeks. My stay there, to make the necessary preparations, would have been at least a fortnight, and the subsequent delay about a week. Unwilling, therefore, as I, of course, was, to measure back my way, and submit to the confinement of a ship for four months, I was compelled to do so, and I determined to write in the morning to Captain Keys, directing him to go to Mocha, where I could consult with Mr. Pringle; and wait there for Captain Vashon, who would probably give me a passage to Bombay, where he would arrive with the coffee in time for me to take my passage in one of the Chinamen. By these means I should be certain of getting to England in January. The moment I quitted the Antelope she came under Captain Vashon's command.

June 10.—I wrote very fully to Captain Keys pointing out the impracticability of my getting up to Suez, within the period he had prescribed, the absurdity of my wandering about till that time in a rough sea, and giving him notice that I should prefer com-

plaints against him to the Supreme Government, for a breach of orders. I concluded by giving him notice, that in a few days I should return to Mocha. His answer, which came at night, was merely a denial of disobedience, referred every thing to the Government of Bombay, and ended by saying he should go on board the next morning, and would send a boat for me at any hour I pleased. I informed him he was mistaken, as it was not my intention to go to the ship on that day. I sent to the Nayib to say I should not want the pilots, and gave them ten dollars, as a compensation for the trouble they had had in coming over. The Dola of Dhalac arrived, and paid me a visit: I suspected he brought over presents to the different men, for our landlord got two goats, one of which he gave to Mr. Salt, and the other to the Doctor. The latter has had plenty of patients, but in general they were cases of debility from intermittent fevers. A man was removed this night to the island of Sheik Seid, who was said to have the small-pox.

June 11.—Captain Keys went on board in the morning. I wrote to him, and requested two of the Europeans might assist my servant in collecting shells and madrapores, as I should have no future place to touch at, where they would be found in such variety. This was complied with immediately; and on Mr. Macgie's going on board, he was told that he need not go again at four o'clock, which he had hitherto been obliged to do, though there was not one sick man in the vessel. In short, the Captain seemed to be in high glee at having escaped the dangers of the voyage; an idea that superseded every other; or else he expected that he should, by his politeness in future, prevent me from exercising that retaliation which was so completely in my power. The Nayib sent in the evening to request that I would

come to his house to meet the Captain, or that he and the Captain would come to me. This I positively refused, and declared I had now nothing more to say to the Captain. The Nayib wished, they said, to persuade us to pursue our original plan of going to Suakin. The fact was, he would have got at least one hundred dollars out of the two hundred which the pilots were to have received, and he did not like to lose the money.

My servant and the men brought some very fine specimens of madrapore, and the natives some new shells. At night we heard a most terrible uproar of women, screaming and crying: on enquiry we found that a dow had arrived from Jidda, and brought intelligence of the death of the master of one of the neighbouring houses, whose brother was in the service of the Nayib. On going out, we found the street crowded with people, all crying, as well as the women within the habitation. The tom-toms soon set them a dancing; and this continued to our great annoyance all night, with only occasional intermissions. They told us this would be continued every morning for two years; but as the town has been free from this nuisance since our arrival, and probably several people have died within the last two years, I did not give credit to their assertions.

We learned from the dow that Captain Vashon arrived at Jidda about ten days before she sailed; I hoped, therefore, he would soon get down to Mocha. The Nayib in the evening sent to request some vinegar, and something to smell to for the head-ach. I sent some Chili vinegar, and one of my silver stopper bottles, filled with volatile alkali, which were acceptable.

June 12.—Early in the morning, all the women in the town were

down at the water side in their best cloths, to wash themselves and the widow in the sea, after having assisted her all night in her lamentations. At the end of four months she may marry again. None of them attempted to keep their faces covered. Their dress consisted of two pieces of the striped cloths of Arabia, one worn round their middle, and another over their shoulders, but both without any making. Their hair was plaited, whether woolly or not: the pains taken with these plaits, when the former is the case, conquers nature, and gives a length of several inches to the hair. They wore ornaments of beads, small hoop ear-rings of gold or silver, and sequins. The dress of the men is nearly similar. The higher order wear the Arab dress, or a plain shirt and drawers of the same; the common people, a single wrapper round the middle. They use sandals, as drawn by Niebuhr. My servant and the men went off with the catamaran for the islands. The boys brought a great many shells: some were good. I sent to Captain Keys for the cutter to be here early to-morrow morning to take the people round the bay to renew their search.

June 13.—At four the cutter was ready, but the lascars had no water or provision; they were therefore obliged to go back to the ship to get them. They returned at night without the least success.

June 18.—Nothing particular occurred during five days; we had been chiefly employed in packing the madrapore. The air till the 18th had been much hotter; the wind rather southerly. The clouds hung over the Habesh hills, and rain on the 16th fell so near as Arkeko. It lightened much, and thunder was heard at at a distance: dappled clouds covered the horizon every morning. The thermometer was never above 96°, yet the want of the usual

breeze made us suffer more than if it had been 100°. The Nayib left Massowah on the 16th, and the next day sent to say he would come back, which I requested he would not. The man who was ill of the small-pox died yesterday. No wonder the disease is so fatal, as the natives confine the patients, as soon as they are seized, to a warm room. After the Nayib's departure I had no water nor any thing else sent me, and was consequently obliged to buy, which we considered as a hint that they wished us gone; the seamen were allowed water only from Arkeko, of which they complained bitterly, as having a mixture of the sea water, no more of the water of the place being allowed to be sold, except to me. I this day notified to the Captain my intention of going on board to-morrow morning. His reply was, that the boat should be sent for the things, and that five to-morrow would be the best time to sail.

The day was a busy one, and I was pestered with visitors. Mr. Macgie and the sailors went on board at six, and Abou Yusuff watched me very closely lest I also should make my escape. The Banian brought me a piece of Habesh cloth, and Mr. Salt a pair of horns. We were told the Nayib had been at the wars against the Bedowees, and had driven them away, having taken one prisoner, and retaken the cattle they had driven off. He threatened to return before I went. I learned Captain Keys had bought a boy slave, in defiance of the Nayib; a gross violation of his orders, which may have an unpleasant effect on those who come after us. I was very much vexed at discovering that I had lost my thermometer, a thing which could be of no value to any native. My servant was quite as much so on missing a shawl and several shirts of his own. I have found living here by no means cheap, though the necessaries

of life are not dear. The following is a list of several articles with their prices.

A few rhinoceros horns are to be had at $7\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per frassel.

Gold per Massowah wakea, $11\frac{3}{4}$ dollars. N. B. The Mocha wakea is to the Massowah as 5 to 6.; 10 wakea yield one of silver, as they say.

Civet, $3\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per wakea.

Rhinoceros horns, $7\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per wakea.

Elephants teeth, 22 dollars per frassel.

A good female slave, 60 dollars.

A good male ditto, according to his age, from 40 to 80 dollars.

Rice per bag of 105 lb. 5 dollars.

A rotol of gee, 2 dollars.

Fowls, 12 for a dollar.

Goats, 2 for ditto.

Sheep, 2 for ditto.

Cow, 1 for 5 dollars.

Camels, 4 to 5 dollars.

Horses, 100 dollars.

Mules, 15 to 50 dollars.

Asses, 3 for 4 dollars.

Water, 23 skins for a dollar.

Fire wood, a man's load for 3 dahab or harf (360 beads)

Sequins do not pass current; dollars and Venetian glass beads are the only money in use; 2760 of the latter make a dollar. The subdivision is into 23 dahabs of 120 beads each.

The whole charge of the Nayib, for water, wood, and fresh provisions during our stay for the use of the ship, was sixty dollars.

The people are extremely civil, and seem perfectly happy. The soldiers have each three dollars per month, which proves that that sum is adequate to maintaining a family. Many fruit and vegetables, I have no doubt, would grow here. I saw none of the former, and of the latter only a species of Solanum. From the highest to the lowest they are importunate beggars, and, from my experience, I can add, occasionally thieves. The usual price of a house is one dollar per month; yet my landlord was ever asking for something, and seemed hardly satisfied with the ten dollars which I gave him for the twenty-six days I had occupied his house. I saw several Abyssinians, and had much conversation with them respecting their country. The account that they gave me was found afterwards by Mr. Salt to be in many respects inaccurate, and must be uninteresting to the public, as I shall have the satisfaction to give, in a future part of my travels, the observations which were made by him and two other gentlemen, during a residence of several months with the Ras Welleta Selasse, in the province of Tigré.

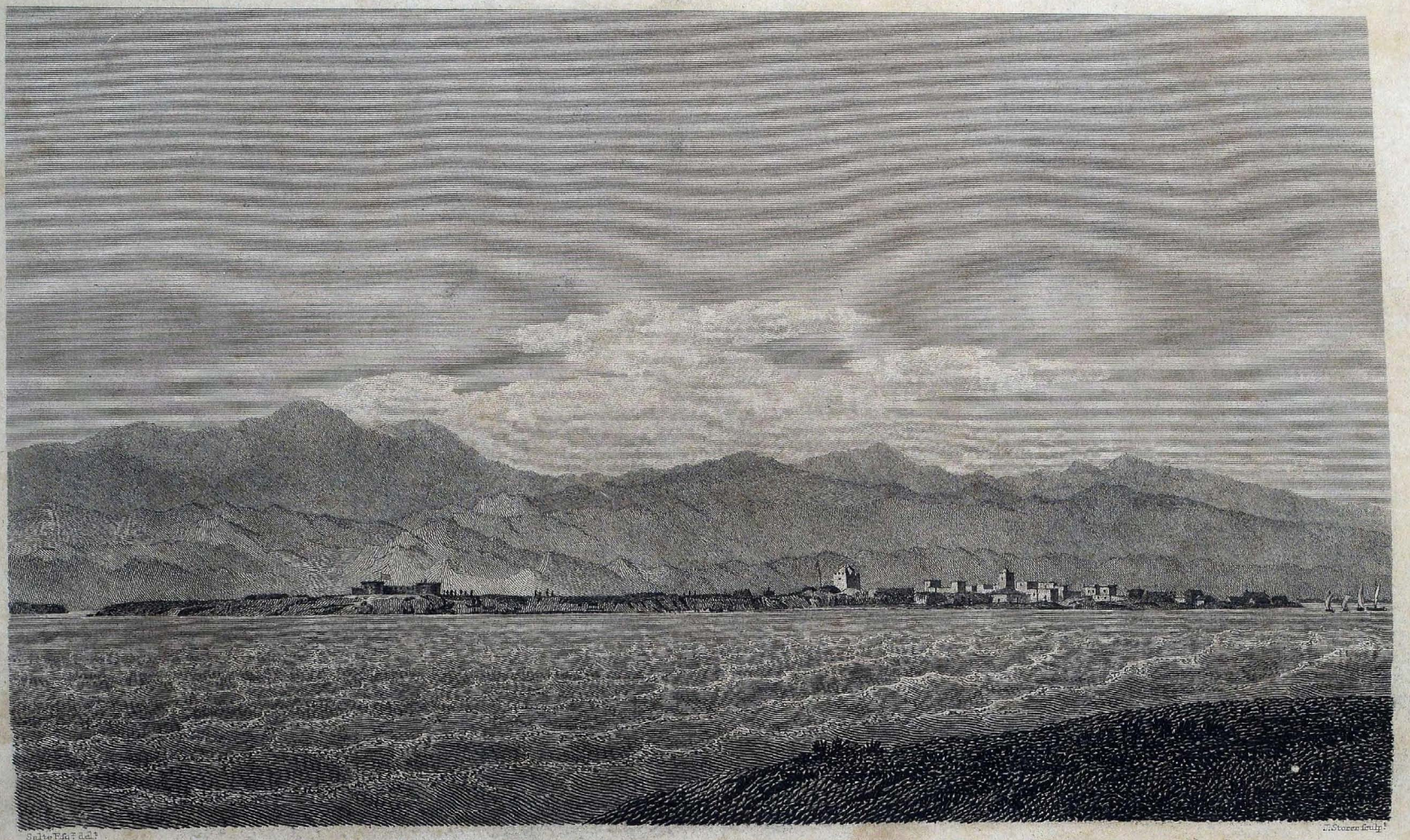
June 19.—At five in the morning I escaped in the Captain's boat from all my beggars, except from Abou Yusuff, and the Banian, who determined to attend me to the ship, which had already quitted the harbour. The land breeze was fresher than usual, and a considerable swell came from the northward, but the Captain continued his course, and it was two hours before we overtook him, when the sun was already extremely powerful. I gave the Banian a shawl, in return for many little presents he had made me, though I knew that he had handsomely profited by purchasing every article I wanted for my table. He had been extremely attentive, and deserved a reward. He had some difference with the Captain before he left

laid down. Fortunately for us there were three fathom and a quarter on it, so we passed in safety. It is only a few hundred yards in extent. Our dow was of much use. We sailed all night; light airs and pleasant. I slept on the deck.

June 22.—We continued along shore till night, confirming our chart by new bearings. We found it as accurate as we could expect. A light breeze; little sail carried. At night still less.

June 23.—At day-light Jibbel Zeigur was E $\frac{1}{4}$ S.; the Abyssinian land hardly visible through the haze. At nine Jibbel Aroe bore from E $\frac{1}{4}$ S. to S. E $\frac{1}{4}$ E. We passed it before dark, leaving on our right the white rocks, which we had seen from Bunder Baileul. We found that instead of a cluster of small rocks, the Aroes consisted of one large island, with five or six to E. and S. of it of different sizes; the passage was seven miles wide at least, and there was apparently deep water close to the shore and rocks. We then made with a freshening breeze for the Arabian coast, which was visible, but did not reach it till near twelve, when we cast anchor. There was a considerable swell.

June 24.—At six we were again under sail and coasting down; by seven saw the town of Mocha: before twelve came to an anchor, closer in than we were before. The swell was much less than when the wind blew from the south. We were much surprised at the colours not being hoisted on the factory, but a boat coming on board, we learned that Mr. Pringle was well. I requested the boat to go on shore, which was ordered, and I landed about two o'clock. Mr. Pringle was excessively astonished to see me, believing me dead, from my flag not being hoisted, and there being no salute. I soon explained to him the cause, and took possession of the upper



VIEW OF MASSOWAH.

apartments at the factory. We found here an American ship which came from Salem near Boston, for a cargo of coffee.

June 25.—To my great astonishment I was informed this morning that two English boys belonging to the Antelope, who had been left here in consequence of illness, had deserted to the Dola. I immediately sent my servant to them to enquire the reason, and to try to persuade them to return. Their answer was, that the evening before they had been sent for by Captain Keys, who asked them if they were not quite well; they replied, nearly so. He then said he supposed they were tired of being idle on shore, and would be glad to return to the ship. They said they had not been idle, and that they liked best to be on shore, because they got plenty to eat. "Very well, gentlemen," he replied, "you will be pleased to go on board to-morrow morning, and I will give you a note to Mr. Hall, who shall punish you for this." This, they said, decided them, and in the night they got over the wall. One fell, and was severely hurt. Both had the liver disease, and must inevitably perish in this climate; I therefore consulted with Mr. Pringle, and we determined to do all we could to get them back. Captain Keys sent for my ship servant, and gave him a lecture for presuming to obey me in going to the boys without his permission. He also declared his resolution of visiting the Dola himself. We were sorry for this, but conceived we had no right to interfere: as his threats had driven them away, it was not very likely that any declaration of his would bring them back. They could have no confidence in the promise of a Captain of the Bombay marine, after a transaction that took place during the expedition to Egypt. A man was delivered up by the Arabs to the Captain of the Cruizer, on his

pledging his honour that he should not be punished; yet, as soon as he had him in his power, he tied him up, and flogged him, in the presence of the very people to whom he had made the engagement. A promise is by the Arabs considered as most sacred, and the laws of hospitality bound them to protect the man; their indignation, therefore, was excited beyond all bounds. The Banian, who attended Captain Keys, informed me that the boys repeated this story, and told him they would never go back.

When I applied to the Dola to let me and Mr. Pringle see them, it was positively refused, though in the morning it had been acceded to; he pretended, that as the Captain had seen them, it was unnecessary that any one else should. As a last resource, I wrote to Mr. Pringle's interpreter, the Hadgi, who was at Sanna, to make the strongest remonstrances to the Vizier, to claim them as my servants, and to represent that the offence was greatly aggravated by their being taken from the factory, which was more immediately under the protection of the Imaum. I likewise desired that he would obtain for me a definitive answer, whether they were determined to persevere in their present system of encouraging our sailors to desert, that I might, on my return, be able to represent the case properly to the India Government. The extent of this evil calls loudly for remedy, and nothing can in my mind be easier, as a single ship would oblige them to restore every renegado. Some years ago the French bombarded the town, in consequence of the Dola's not paying a debt of seventy thousand dollars. They first fired on his house, where they killed several persons; and afterwards on a Friday (the sabbath of the Mussulmauns), threw a shell into the great mosque. This brought the Dola to his senses, and the cash

was paid. He even grew so polite as to lower the duties from three to two and a half per cent. Our character certainly suffers very considerably in the eyes of the native powers for having so long submitted to the insult.

The system of decoying away seamen in a Mussulmaun port, which is so very serious an inconvenience to all Christian ships, is not done from any religious motive, but from an idea that all Christians understand the working of great guns, and to this office they are all destined. In the time of Niebuhr the pay of a renegado was one dollar and a half per month; it was then raised to two dollars and a half; and within the last ten months has been encreased to four dollars, in consideration of the high price of every article. The Captain of the renegadoes is an Italian, who, thirty years ago, came here in the command of a native vessel from India: he turned Mussulmaun, sold the vessel and cargo, and shared the profits of his villainy with the Dola of that time. He is now the active instrument in inducing others to desert their religion; he watches for them on the pier, and invites them to the Jew's town, where spirits are to be purchased. If intoxication follow they are carried in that state to the Dola's, whence it is not easy to make a retreat. A shew of liberality is kept up by permitting their friends to see them for the first three days, during which time they are never circumcised, but the most liberal offers are made; and the temptation of free access to the women can seldom be resisted by the sailor. Repentance soon overtakes them from poverty, and the deprivation of their usual comforts.

They are not much troubled on the score of their new religion, though at first they are obliged to learn the necessary prayers, and

the forms of prostration and ablution. These are acquired at Moosa, a town about thirty miles up the country. On their return to Mocha no compulsion is used to make them attend the mosque. At present there are only four white renegadoes, though numbers deserted from our fleet during their stay here. It was then thought necessary to conciliate the Yemen Government; and consequently, though threats were used by several officers, whose men deserted, yet nothing was done, and the Arabs were confirmed in their insolence by our forbearance. One man deserted from Captain Vashon during the time he was here. He was immediately demanded from the Dola, who in very haughty terms refused to deliver him up, advising the Lieutenant, who delivered the message, to keep his men on board, if he wished them not to turn Mussulmauns. He was permitted to see the man, who on being asked why he took such a step, turned away without condescending to give any answer. Captain Vashon, though extremely indignant, did not feel himself justified in resorting to violence, and very properly avoided using any threat, which he did not mean to carry into effect. I wish every officer had done the same, and our character would have been more respected in Yemen.

July 4.—I heard there had been great confusion on board the Antelope since our arrival; yet Captain Keys tranquilly staid on shore: on the 2d, indeed, he went on board to punish two men, one of whom he immediately sent on board an American vessel which came in after our arrival. By what authority he did this it would be difficult to discover, as I can hardly conceive that a power is vested in the officers of the Company's marine to transport his Majesty's subjects. The man came to me, and informed me that he was

a deserter from the Lancaster, Sir Roger Curtis. Another of the Company's apprentices escaped, as I learned, on board the American. The Captain of which said, very properly, that he believed he was there, but without his knowledge or consent, and that he wished the Antelope's people would find him. They searched the ship, but without success. She sailed on the 4th of July, and with her two of his Majesty's subjects.

Another of the seamen, also a deserter from a King's ship, fled to the Dola, and became a Mussulmaun. He, and the one who sailed in the American, were the two that were on shore with me at Massowah. Mr. Hall went to see him, but was only abused.

The heat of the weather was more oppressive than I had hitherto experienced; the winds were northerly, and extremely warm, though the thermometer was only 92° and 94°. I could bear no covering at night, and was so completely relaxed, that I was obliged to take a few glasses of wine. The swell in the road is much less than when the southerly winds prevail. The rains fell every day to the northward, and on the mountains of the interior, but not a drop reached Mocha. We obtained grapes, which were tolerable, and some very indifferent figs and peaches.

Since my arrival here my suspicions at Massowah have been fully confirmed. The masters of the dow, on being interrogated by Mr. Pringle, declared that Abdulcander was sent to them by the Captain to advise them not to procure a pilot, to represent that if they did not, I should be obliged to go back to Mocha, and that they would get their four hundred dollars for nothing; on the contrary, if they went on, they would not only have to pay one hundred for a pilot, but would incur the danger and expense of a long voyage

with a contrary wind. Abdulcauder admited that he was sent, and that he did deliver the message. I found also from them, that he declared his objections to the voyage before he left Mocha, saying, all he wanted was to go strait to Suez. The dow's bargain was to hire only one pilot at Massowah; consequently Captain Keys's demand of hiring two, was unjust.

July 6.—I was again awakened to be informed that two more boys had run away from the Antelope. They were two of the youngest apprentices, and swam away in the night. This was the more astonishing, as two sentinels were mounted every night. Mr. Pringle represented in the strongest terms to Captain Keys the shameful degree of negligence that must have taken place, to enable these boys to escape; and advised him, at any rate, to punish the sentinels, if he did not choose to go on board and look after his ship himself. He said that he had done all he could, by ordering an officer's watch; that he could not punish the sentinels, as he should then be obliged to put the officer of the watch under an arrest. There was no replying to so military and conclusive an argument. Mr. Hall came on shore early, and, on receiving the Captain's instructions, went to the Dola. He saw one of the boys, and asked him if he had turned Mussulmaun. He said, yes; on which Mr. Hall drew forth a pistol and attempted to shoot him. Fortunately it was not primed. The guards rushed on him and poor Devagée', who was frightened out of his life, and secured them. The Dola only said, "Carry that madman to Mr. Pringle." Had he wounded the boy, his own death would probably have instantly followed; and even the factory might have been in danger, as we had no intimation of his intention, and the gates were left open.

Mr. Pringle reprobated his conduct in the strongest terms to Captain Keys, who said that Mr. Hall had acted contrary to his written orders, and, if Mr. Pringle pleased, he would put him under an arrest. Mr. Pringle desired him to do as he thought proper, but that he should make no request on the subject. He went on board, and no notice was taken of the transaction.

To our very great delight, the Fox frigate came in sight early in the morning, and towards noon was at anchor in the roads. I wrote to Captain Vashon, merely stating that Captain Keys's conduct had been such, as to oblige me to abandon my voyage; that I would explain to him the whole if he would send off a boat, and ended, by requesting him to give me a passage to Bombay. The boat immediately arrived, with a very kind note, offering me every accommodation the Fox could afford, and saying he should wait dinner for me. He requested to see Mr. Pringle on business, who therefore accompanied me on board. He saluted me as usual. I found that he had come down from Jidda, in consequence of the Wahabees successes. They had taken Yambo, and were besieging Medina, which must soon be starved into a surrender. The Sheriffe, much alarmed for Mecca and Jidda, the only two places remaining in his possession, came down to the latter place to see Captain Vashon, to whom he had applied for assistance; and particularly requested, that the Fox would accompany his fleet to retake Yambo. Adversity had lowered his pride, and he was all politeness and attention; yet, during the Egyptian expedition, he had treated Admiral Blanket with the greatest insolence, and no Englishman could land there without being insulted.

Captain Vashon did not conceive it prudent to comply with any

of his requests, but said he would with the utmost expedition communicate them to the Government of India. The application had at his desire been made in writing, signed by the Sheriffe and Pacha, who were, I believe, not a little disconcerted by his answer. The delay will, I suspect, be fatal to them. Provisions were already so scarce at Jidda, that the Sheriffe could not supply the Fox; and as the Wahabees were in possession of the whole country, they could only be procured by sea. The Janisaries from Yambo and Cosseir had come down thither, the latter of which places the Mamelukes had seized, who prudently sent away the Turkish soldiers; for if the enemy intended starving them out, this increase of force will only hasten their ruin. Captain Vashon brought down a man to buy rice, but the quantity to be procured at Mocha is but small. I proposed to Captain Vashon to let the Antelope return to India with his dispatches, as she was of no farther use to me; and I thought the sooner she was gone the better, as she was daily losing her men. He approved of my plan, and it was decided that I should resign my nominal command the next day, and that she should be ordered off as soon as our letters were finished.

July 7.—Captain Vashon came on shore in the morning, to whom I communicated all that had passed. I wrote officially to give up the vessel, and notified the same to Captain Keys, at the same time requiring the assistance of the apprentice Thomas Smith, who had acted as my servant during the voyage. This he complied with; and here ended all my connections with the Antelope. As I had much to represent to the Government at Bombay, which could not be done by letter, and, as I thought it advisable that no misrepresentations should go abroad previously to my arrival there, I

I requested Captain Vashon would o der Captain Keys to give Mr. Salt a passage, in order to deliver safely my dispatches to Mr. Duncan, and forward those for his Excellency the Governor General. With this he complied, and I immediately began writing.

A singular circumstance occurred that evening. The Italian renegado came to Mr. Pringle, and earnestly requested that he would try to induce the two last boys not to stay at the Dola's, as their situation would be wretched. This he would have never dared to do without the Dola's consent; and it seems an additional proof of the idea I entertained, that religion had nothing to dowith their receiving deserters. These boys are too young to be of any use, and he would be glad not to pay them the four dollars each per month for doing nothing. The Dola seemed considerably alarmed that day: during our dinner all the guns on the batteries were shotted. A portion of his fears may be attributed to the Fox's having moved this morning much closer to the northern fort.

July 10.—One of Captain Vashon's Maltese marines deserted to the Dola. He was perfectly drunk, and refused to return with the officer. Captain Vashon applied to Mr. Pringle, as Resident, for his opinion respecting the effect it might have on the India Company's trade, if he should deem it eligible to support the dignity of the British flag, by recurring to force to obtain the whole of the renegadoes. The reply was indefinite: that he thought after the ships were loaded it would be of little consequence, so far as the coffee trade went, as that only amounted to 1700 and odd bales per annum at an average of the last ten years, and it might be procured elsewhere; but that a very large import of India goods took place annually; and how far that might be injured he could not venture to say.

Surely Mr. Pringle might have recollected that the Imaum or his subjects procured the money to pay for the articles, only by the sale of their coffee, and that, consequently, the one trade would follow the other, whether to Loheia, Hodeida, or Aden. Captain Vashon has sent on board the Antelope, and taken out four men whom the officers pointed out as being suspected by them to have deserted from King's ships. One fellow who has turned Mussulmaun, broke out of the hospital, and, as it is said by himself, a man was killed in the affray. He however sent to me to beg a Bible. I complied, and thought it my duty to write to him, warning him of the criminality of his conduct. I received a long answer, in which he told me he could now be as good a Christian as before, and indeed that he had more time to pay his respects to God Almighty. The two unfortunate boys, that were left here, are recovered from the effects of their change, and removed into the Dola's house, where they are particularly well treated. They are to be put into the cavalry: but when this Dola departs, his successor will probably use them like the rest, and wretched will be their fate. I hope Government will take some steps to assert the dignity of the British flag, and recover to their country those, whose youth may, in some degree, palliate their desertion.

July 13.—I have seen the man above mentioned; he had been up at Moosa, and came down, without leave, to beg some medicine from me. He had applied to the Dola of the place, who told him, that if he prayed as often as he did, he would not be ill. The man looked wretchedly, and told me he was afraid I was right in saying he should soon repent it. One of the boys who fled from the factory was very ill with the liver complaint, and extremely low spirited,

constantly reproaching his companion for having persuaded him to take such a step. They were all to set off in a few days for Sana to be shewn to the Imaum. The change of climate, with bad food, will probably soon end them. Sana is extremely unhealthy to Europeans and natives of the Tehama. It was probably their residence there, and journey through the mountains, that laid the foundation of those diseases that carried Mr. Niebuhr's companions to the grave.

Mr. Salt sailed on the 9th in the Antelope, for Bombay, with a strong breeze from the N. W. He took with him letters for Mr. Duncan, in which I officially forwarded to him charges against Captain Keys. I also sent a detail of all that had passed, together with copies of the correspondence between me and Captain Keys, to Major Shawe, to be laid before his Excellency the Governor General.

Captain Vashon has proposed to go down to Aden for a fortnight, and, as I feel myself extremely relaxed, I wish to try the air of the more open sea, and have accepted his invitation to accompany him; the 15th is fixed for our departure.

July 15.—I went on board the Fox to breakfast. It was however calm, and we did not sail till noon. We passed the straits at seven, and found a most pleasing difference in the climate. It was cool, except when a strong gust of wind came off from the promontory. In the night it became nearly calm.

July 16.—We were off Cape St. Anthony. A brig was in sight at day light, to which we gave chase. She proved to be an American from Salem, but last from the Isle of France. The calm continued most part of the day, with a heavy swell from the eastward

of south. Still the air was cooler than at Mocha, and I felt myself most sensibly relieved.

July 18.—With variable winds we got by four o'clock to an anchor in Aden roads, distant from Fortified Island about a mile. The swell was much more considerable than I could have expected, as the wind came right over the land. The town of Aden has a most miserable appearance from the sea. It is nearly a heap of ruins, out of which two minarets and two mosques rear their whitewashed heads. The rocky peninsula, on which the town is situated, has all the appearance of the half of a volcano, the crater of which is covered by the sea, and on the edge of which lies the town: the rocks rise to a very considerable height. On the summits are numerous small square forts; and a second ridge towards the bay is covered with the ruins of lines and forts. Fortified Island was also covered with works, so as to resemble the hill forts of India. It must have been impregnable; and a very little trouble would render it so again.

That the trade of Arabia should at present have quitted Aden, with its excellent harbour, for Mocha, an open road, liable to very heavy gales of wind, can only be attributed to the sovereign of Mocha having been till lately in possession of the whole of the coffee country; but as his kingdom is torn in pieces by the Wahabees, Aden will probably recover its former importance, and again become the mart of an extensive trade, as it was in the time of the author of the Periplus; who most certainly designated it under the name of Eudaimon. It is the only good sea-port in Arabia Felix, and has the great advantage over every harbour, within the straits, that it can be quitted at all seasons, while it is amost impossible to

repass Bab-el-Mandeb during the S. W. monsoon. The present heaps of ruins and solitary minarets, give but little idea of the splendour which Marco Polo describes it as possessing in the thirteenth century; any more than the humble Sultaun of a little territory will bear a comparison with the Mussulmaun chieftain who could then bring into the field 30,000 horse.

Aden must then have been at its highest state of prosperity, and was, probably, from the commercial convenience it afforded, the capital of Arabia Felix. Its decline seems to have been gradual, for in 1513, Don Alphonso Alburquerque found the fortifications sufficiently strong to twice resist his attack, although trade had in a great degree fled to Mocha and Loheia.

Aden appears to have tranquilly remained under its Arabian masters till this period, when hostilities between the Soldan of Egypt and the Portuguese having induced the former to bring ships across the desert, and embark them on the Red Sea, a naval war took place between the two powers, and its excellent harbour rendered Aden an object of great importance to each party. In 1516 it was attacked by the fleet of Selim, who had conquered the Soldan of Egypt; but without success: however, in 1539 Soolimaun Basha, when proceeding to attack the Portuguese in India, treacherously seized the sovereign of Aden, and got possession of the place. The fortifications were greatly increased by the Turks, and some of their enormous pieces of cannon were mounted on the walls. It was considered as a place of such importance, that so late as 1610, when Sir Henry Middleton was there, it had a Basha, as Governor, and the walls were still very strong.

As the power of the Turks gradually declined, the Arabians,

by degrees, threw off their yoke; and in 1708 Aden was found by the French in the possession of an Arab prince. The fortifications were in ruins, and the baths were the only places which, by their rich marbles, bore any marks of ancient magnificence. These have now totally disappeared, and not a single piece of cannon defends the walls. The Sultaun has a small tract of country belonging to him, which he has hitherto defended from the Wahabees. He is much attached to the English, and offered to hold his country under them; at the same time giving a proof of his sincerity, by admitting the whole army of Colonel Murray within his walls.

Banians from Mocha reside here, to carry on the trade with Berbera, and purchase the myrrh and gum arabic, which is still brought hither by the Samaulies, and pays to the Sultaun a duty of three per cent.

An American was in the harbour, on board of which a son of the Honourable Mr. Goodhues, a senator of the United States, was supercargo. Mr. Pringle had written to him by me; I forwarded the letter, with an invitation to come on board the Fox.

July 19. — By day-break Captain Vashon and I went on shore, to look out for a place to pitch our tents We found a tolerable one on the ruins of the houses near to one of the rocks. The Sultaun's house is a very wretched one externally; all the others seem of basket-work and matting. The wind freshened very much as the sun rose, and by eleven it blew so strong that we were obliged to let go another anchor. It was fortunately right off the land, but the hills formed eddies, and caused the gusts to be very violent. Mr. Goodhues came early and staid the whole day. In the evening it lulled, and the tents were pitched on shore.

July 20.—The wind was very hot, but at night I returned on shore to sleep. It was extremely unpleasant from the heat. The Sultaun came in at noon. He always comes down for some time at this season; for what purpose I know not.

July 22.—On the morning of the 21st I left the shore for the ship. The wind freshens every morning from the W. or S. and blows all day hot like an oven. At night it lulls, but too late to enable us to go on shore. The nights are cool and pleasant, but there is a considerable swell. At this season, Aden is altogether, a most unpleasant place. Grapes and pomegranates are to be had in plenty, but no vegetables. The beef has hitherto been bad, but we were promised some good bullocks, that had been sent for by the Sultaun.

July 25.—The wind continued as usual; except that on the night of the 22d, so violent a gale commenced all at once, that every body expected our anchors would have been brought home. The heat and dust were insufferable. The swell also was very great during the day. As, therefore, living on shore was impossible, and we had no particular business at this place, it was determined that we should set sail on the 27th to return to Mocha. A very great variety of dead shells is thrown upon the beach: but there are no shoals, and we were unable to procure live specimens. I purchased some from the crew of the Fox, which they got at Jidda, and had several given me by Captain Vashon and Lieutenant Flint. The boats were sent out every morning when the weather would permit, but with very little success. At first, for some reason, the natives sent us off bad water; but on strong remonstrances we procured as good as need be wished.

The pier does not extend far enough out, for the boats to reach it at low water: this is extremely inconvenient. The Sultaun procured us excellent bullocks; he was himself the sole dealer in these articles. He was extremely civil, sent Captain Vashon and me a present of a cow, two sheep, and seven goats, and invited us on shore, saying, he had horses, &c. at our service. The limes are excellent, and in profusion. Fire wood is to be obtained. The climate is healthy, and I suspect we were particularly unfortunate in having it so unpleasant. Our tents were blown down and torn to pieces.

July 27.—Yesterday the wind was so violent that no boat put off after the early part of the morning. One that went on shore was nearly swamped in returning. My servant went out on an ass, and procured me another plant of the balsam of Mecca, and some seeds. At seven in the evening it suddenly fell calm, and a light sea breeze sprung up. Last night it began to blow at half past one; but, fortunately, this morning it became moderate, which enabled us to get off our tents, bullocks, fruit, and water. Towards evening it again blew so fresh that we left our anchor behind us when we weighed for sea.

July 28.—A ship was in sight early, bearing from the Straits: we gave chase, and neared her considerably, till it fell calm. We suspected her to be a French privateer, and cleared for action. She hoisted American colours, but immediately took them down again. At night she was out of sight.

August 2.—The vessel we chased steered in so strange a way, that we did not wish to leave her and, consequently were considerably delayed. On the 29th she was visible in the morning, but astern. On our firing a gun to leeward, and hoisting our colours, she

took no notice, but continued her way. The winds were extremely light from the south, with frequent calms. The moment we passed the straits, the change in the atmosphere was most singular: the heat became so great that the cabin was insupportable: and the prickly heat came out in one night with more violence than I ever before experienced. The chase for these two last days has been ahead, and this morning we perceived she had run to the N. of Mocha roads. We got into an excellent birth off the north fort at six this evening. The heat had been so oppressive that I determined to go on shore, though the gates were shut, and therefore landing at the pier was out of the question. We got as near the beach as possible, to the south of the town. The water is so shallow that the men were obliged to carry me a considerable distance. We got in at a little wicket, which is kept open till eleven. Mr. Pringle had given over expecting me, but my old comfortable quarters had been prepared for my reception. The night was a little pleasanter than the last.

August 3.—At length the ship came into harbour, and proved to be an American, last from the Isle of France.

I found that, on our coming in sight, all the boys that had run away from the Antelope had been sent up to Moosa, lest we should persuade them to desert back again. They were in a wretched state, and sorely repented the steps they had taken. They had not the indulgences of other Mussulmauns, but were considered as a kind of slaves, and obliged to do as they were ordered for their four dollars a month, a pittance scarcely sufficient to keep them alive; yet were the Dola who converted them to be recalled, even this would be diminished. I received the following reply to my application to

the Imaum: "That old customs could not be altered; that no man had ever been given up who had applied to the Dola; that he knew the English were very powerful, and wished to do every where just as they pleased; but that, with the blessing of God, nothing would happen."

By the American that came last, a letter was received from a Banian, who went down to the Isle of France, to obtain the repayment of the money he had advanced for several years as rent of the French factory. He took with him two Arabs, and I strongly suspect that they were sent to make application to the French Government there, for assistance against the English. The above speech of the Imaum seems to confirm it.

I learned that several applications were made at the American's ship for the letter, and that they expressed the greatest alarm lest Devagee should get hold of it. The letter of course could not be procured by us, but the contents were published in part; highly extolling the French power, and stating that they had taken sixteen sail of our China fleet, and brought them into the Isle of France. This could only have been said to encourage his employers. The report was contradicted by all the Americans, to the great displeasure of the Dola.

Another circumstance confirmed my suspicions respecting the application to the Isle of France. The Americans have been supposed by the Arabs to be friends of the French, and have been frequently spoken to as such, asking them if they were not so, and assuring them that the Arabs all were, and wished to see the French back again.

Some very fine specimens of the shells of this shore were pro-

cured by Abdullah, a servant of Mr. Pringle, and two boys that went out with him. I employed myself in sorting and packing my shells, and other curiosities, for Europe. Botanising was out of the question, from the intense heat of the climate: rarely is the thermometer under 90° day or night, and generally it was 92° or 94°. The wind was frequently southerly, more especially towards the middle of August, when the sun became vertical; at other times it was a calm for hours together.

Mr. Pringle requested me to visit a Seid called Sidi Mahomed Akil, a man of very considerable property, who had the best house in Mocha. He was a Wahabee, and much hated by the Dola. Though occasionally there, he was a native of Morabat, where his wives lived: he had also houses at Jidda, Muscat, and somewhere on the Malabar coast. He had married a relation of the Imaum, but not liking her, sent her back the next morning, with her dowry. As I wished much to see an Arab house, I complied with Mr. Pringle's request to visit the Seid. The house was lighted up; and as he had notice of my visit, every thing was in the best possible order. He met me at the door, and hurried me from one flight of narrow steps to another, till at length we reached two very pleasant wooden rooms on the summit of the house, the sides of which were composed of venetian blinds: they were carpeted, and had English elbow chairs covered with cushions.

We were served with sherbet spiced with nutmegs, and afterwards with coffee, scented with cloves. We abused the Dola most cordially; and as the Seid had just come from Jidda, we afterwards fell on the Sheriffe. He seemed to think, that however the Sheriffe might resist for a time, nothing but a strong external assistance

could prevent his being ultimately starved into a surrender. The force of the Turks was estimated at about 1000; these are superior to any Arabs, and would be quite sufficient to defend him from the Wahabees. The Seid mentioned that he was going to Bombay, and hoped I would there assist him in obtaining some favour he wished from Government. I told him I had no such power; but as I should be at Mr. Duncan's, I would willingly obtain him an opportunity of making his own application.

The conversation became more free than I expected from an Arab. He laughed about the women, and asked me if I wished to become acquainted with all the secrets of the harem. I said, certainly. He then said he would give me a book which would answer that purpose. From what he afterwards said, it must much resemble a work of Peter Aretine, well known in Europe. He however forgot his promise: other things intervened, and I never got the book. The next morning, he sent me a history, and a collection of fables. He had a library of some hundred volumes, chiefly polemical, and among others, a most beautiful Koran in Persian and Arabic characters, written on vellum. The pages that faced each other had the same sentences in each language; the whole was richly ornamented. He valued it at two hundred and fifty dollars. The rooms below, that I saw, were of a good size, and were filled with many nick-knacks which he had picked up in his different voyages. On my taking leave, we had rose water thrown on our handkerchiefs. He conducted me back to the door. There can not be a stronger instance of the timidity of this Government, than its permitting such a man to live in the town; he is in avowed correspondance with the Sheriffe of Abou Arish, and, through him, with the Wahabee Chief Jund. Possibly,

however, the Dola may have been making terms for himself. He was only continued in his office because his successor was sent to Beit-el-Tahih, where the Wahabees were making rapid encroachments. He found, however, that he could not resist them, and has returned to Sanna, saying, "that where there were many outgoings and few comings in, it was useless to stay." He may now resume his appointment to the Government of Mocha.

On the 14th of August, the Banian of the Nayib of Massowah arrived on his own affairs. As he was in perfect safety, it was more easy to make him speak freely. He spoke of the Nayib as a most excellent man, but allowed that he was much controlled by his brothers, and those about them, who were very great rascals; and he confirmed what I had before heard, that, immediately after my departure, they had obliged him to give up to them a great proportion of the presents I had made him. The poor Banian gave a melancholy account of his distress after he quitted the vessel to return to Massowah. He had no water with him, and could not drink any which was contaminated by having passed through the hands of Christians.

He informed me, that since my departure, the Aboona of Abyssinia had died, and that fifty people had arrived thence, on their way to Egypt, to fetch another; a circumstance extremely agreeable to every body at Massowah, as they were respectable people, and spent a great deal of money. The Nayib receives one hundred ounces of gold; but the Janisaries, not existing, cannot receive forty ounces, as Mr. Bruce asserts, though they possibly did so, in much more ancient times, when the power of the Porte was unbroken. The Ascarri, who may be considered as their successors, receive

nothing, as the Banian most solemnly declared. The Nayib also claims, and receives, all the horses and mules belonging to the messengers. I was much gratified by finding that the Abyssinians had desired the Banian to enquire if there were any English vessel at Mocha that would undertake, for a handsome reward, to convey them to Suez, and bring back the Aboona. It shews a flattering opinion of our national character.

In a conversation at Massowah with my landlord, Abou Yusuff, the assertion of Mr. Bruce, that no one would be permitted to enter Abyssinia by that place, had been confirmed. I asked the Banian his opinion, and was surprised to find that he positively asserted the contrary, and that, to his knowledge, the Nayib would have no objection. I enquired if there would be any danger in the journey. He said not the least; that he would be answerable that the Nayib should place any one in the King's presence at Gondar in perfect safety. I then asked, what the Nayib would take to do so, finding horses, mules, guards, &c. from Massowah to Gondar? He said, four hundred dollars; and, on my repeating the questions, said, he would himself be responsible for it, and would, if I pleased, give it me under his hand. I had no reason to doubt his assertions; yet I could not help suspecting, that the brothers of the Nayib would attempt to extort presents from any unprotected traveller.

My friend Seid Mahommed Akil got into an unfortunate dispute with Captain Vashon, to whom he had applied to permit two native vessels, bound for Cannanore, to sail without delay. He declared they were both his, and gave a certificate under his hand that they were so. They were accordingly permitted to depart. He next applied for leave to sail in his own dow, which was also

complied with, on his pledging himself that he had no specie on board except his own. The very morning of his departure several Banians went to Mr. Pringle, and informed him that all the Surat merchants' agents had sent specie by him, and even brought a list of the bags with their private marks, and to whom they belonged. Of this Mr. Pringle sent instant notice to Captain Vashon.

The dow had actually quitted the harbour, but boats were sent after her, and a shot fired. She took no notice of this, but a second went right over her, and brought her to. People from the ship were sent on board her, but the wind and current rendered it impossible to get her along side of the Fox. The Seid went on board to Captain Vashon, and complained greatly, declaring he had no cash but his own, (the money was in two bags, the outer one with his name, the inner with the true direction). The information received was too positive for Captain Vashon to mind what he said; the dow was therefore ordered along side with him on board her. By the negligence of the warrant officer on board her, the dow got among the others in the harbour, and the Seid escaped to the shore. He immediately applied to the Dola for assistance to protect the vessel, and complained heavily of the British Captain's conduct. The Council met, and sent to request Mr. Pringle would come to them, which he did. The Seid stood out, that he had no money but his own; and Mr. Pringle declared he would prove the contrary. He produced the list, and the tables were completely turned. The Dola said the money must be relanded, as it had not paid him the half per cent. duty on the export. Mr. Pringle said he had no idea that Captain Vashon would permit this. The Dola remonstrated, and said she had been detained in the port, which was an insult to the Imaum.

This Mr. Pringle denied. The Dola said, the whole sea from Perim to Camaran belonged to the Imaum. This Mr. Pringle ridiculed in the strongest terms, and warned him, that he had better take care what he was about, as it might lead to hostilities between the two countries.

A circumstance, which I had omitted to mention in its proper place, led however to a different determination. The Fox, a few days before, had been driven on shore in consequence of her anchor coming home, but fortunately the ground was soft. It lulled immediately afterwards, and the tide was rising; she therefore escaped with the loss of her rudder only, and was in safe anchorage by night. The rudder was found the next day with only the iron work damaged. A forge was erected on shore to repair this, and it was in part completed when the dispute took place. An officer and some Europeans were on shore to superintend it. Captain Vashon fully perceived, the moment the dow got close to the shore, that he could not without open hostilities secure her removal. From the unprotected state of the Europeans on shore, and the incapacity of his ship to go to sea, he was induced to abandon her, and accordingly withdrew all his men by signal. As soon as the Dola learnt this, he became extremely valiant, and ordered twenty soldiers and an officer on board the dow. These received two dollars each from the Seid, and the officer ten. On enquiring what he was to do if the English soldiers resisted, (they very well knew that all had been withdrawn two hours before this time) he was told gravely, he was to fire on them, and use the power put into his hands.

Mr. Pringle then interfered in the name of the Honourable Company, and demanded that the treasure might be landed and examined. This was done: and, of course the bags he had described

were found. Captain Vashon had mentioned to Mr. Pringle the certificate respecting the Cananore ships belonging to the Seid, and was assured it was a gross falsity, accordingly he gave the paper to Mr. Pringle to show the Council, thereby to prove what a rascal the Seid was. On its being produced, his confusion was very great, and he attempted to deny his hand writing, his signature being in English characters; Mr. Pringle, however, proved it, by producing a great many other papers signed by him in the same manner, with his signature in Arabic underneath. He was now completely convicted, and received a severe reprimand from the Bas Kateb and Kadi, the other two Members in Council. Since this transaction the Seid declares he will not go to Bombay, and has been proposing to the Americans to take him to the Isle of France. I presume he is now so angry with the English, that he wishes to get assistance against them from that place. The Americans having asked him one thousand rupees for his passage, which he would not pay, I afterwards heard that he determined upon sailing in his own dow for Muscat.

When the Fox was aground, application was made to the Imaum's minister for their boats, which was positively refused; and we were subsequently informed that he expressed his hopes she would not get off, as then he should obtain her guns and powder. This expectation was in consequence of a claim made here, that all wrecks belong to the Imaum. The Forté frigate was, on a similar occasion, given to the Sheriffe of Mecca by Admiral Blanket: this they consider as a precedent. In this, however, he would have been mistaken. She would not have gone to pieces; and a battery with two hundred men would have commanded the town, and secured a safe

depot for her stores. She was ready for sea before the 24th, the day fixed by the merchants for the departure of their vessels; nor did she make any more water in the twenty-four hours, than before the accident.

On the 23d I went on board, with my servants, and was received by Captain Vashon with the usual salute. For several days past I had been extremely indisposed, which I believe was chiefly owing to drinking some French claret brought by the last American. The heat of the weather too had been very oppressive, and I was rejoiced to try a change of air. Mr. Pringle dined with us, and took his leave.

We did not sail till the 25th. We passed the Straits that night, and were the next day overtaken by a severe squall. Not one ship had put herself under convoy, or received a single order. However, the ship, the brig, and the two dows laden with coffee for Mr. Forbes, sailed at the same time, and Captain Vashon determined to see them safe, at least, beyond Cape Aden, where alone it was probable a French vessel might lie to intercept them. This had been the case once during the last war, when there was no convoy, by which the native merchants lost nine lac of dollars. Had it not been for this, we should have taken advantage of the squall, and got far on our way; as it was, we lay to. We had constantly light breezes to the end of the month, with a current, sometimes to the northward, and sometimes to the southward of E.

On the 1st of September we were carried by a strong southerly current within sight of Mount Felix, and, to our great mortification, instead of being looking out for the land of India, we had not yet got clear of Africa; an extraordinary circumstance for the season.

September 4.—For these three last days we had been at the mercy of the currents, which run strongly to the S. W. nearly fifty miles a day; we have therefore been losing ground. A westerly wind sprung up, and we were in hopes of a change in the current, if once we could get out of the Straits.

September 5.—We now got a current to the N. E. and with light airs got on tolerably well, though not as we had a right to expect.

September 6.—A good S. W. monsoon, and N. E. current.

September 11.—This day the current continued eastward, running about a knot an hour, with a fine monsoon. On the 10th, for the first time, we had rain.

September 13.—It was so fresh a monsoon that Captain Vashon did not think it safe to venture into Surat roads, which are totally unprotected; we therefore directed our course for Bombay. By three o'clock on the 12th Malabar Point was in sight, but we were not close in with it until this evening, when an officer came on board us from a Company's cruizer, anchored at the mouth of the harbour, and immediately took us in. It was dusk, but the scenery was still sufficiently visible to be admired. The islands that separate it into several parts are covered with wood to the top; beyond them the main land rises into a chain of mountains of the wildest and most picturesque forms imaginable, to which the Island of Bombay, covered with cocoa-nut trees, forms a contrast by its flat figure. It was dark when we came to an anchor: no King's ship was there. I immediately sent a note on shore to Mr. Salt, to request that he would notify my arrival to Mr. Duncan, and would come on board in the morning.

CHAPTER III.

Residence at Bombay.—Departure for Poonah.—Harbour of Bombay.—Panwell.—Campaly.—Tillegam.—Reception by a deputation from his Highness the Paishwa.—Arrival at the British Residency near Poonah.—Account of the Dusserah.—Visit to the Paishwa—visit returned.—Dreadful famine.—Dinner at the Paishwa's country house.—Dinner given by the Dewan of the Empire.—Paishwa's character.—Political observations on the Mahratta Empire.

CHAPTER III.

SEPTEMBER 14.—Before seven in the morning Mr. Salt came on board, accompanied by Major Green, the Town Major of Bombay, bearing the Governor's invitation to me to reside at his house during my stay. I left the Fox soon afterwards under the usual salute, and on landing received a similar compliment from the fort. Mr. Duncan's palanquin conveyed me to the Government-house, where I was met by himself, and most kindly congratulated on my arrival. After breakfast he expressed his extreme regret at the misconduct of Captain Keys, who, he informed me, had been under an arrest since his arrival. He also kindly assured me that, whatever were my future plans, I should have his best assistance, and that, if I should determine to go to Suez or Bussorah, he trusted he could find me a better vessel than the Antelope, and a better commander than Captain Keys.

The kindness that I invariably experienced from Mr. Duncan, and the stock of information of which I found him possessed, made me almost rejoice that I had been obliged to return from the Red Sea. The anxiety which I had experienced during my voyage was fully compensated by the discovery, that the western shore was navigable, and that it could supply provisions. I lost no time in communicating to the Marquis Wellesley the result of my voyage, and urgently represented the eligibility of a small vessel's being

dispatched to Massowah, to continue the survey from that island to Cosseir. I at the same time stated to his Excellency my intention of returning to Europe by the Persian Gulf, and requested he would have the goodness to send me letters of recommendation to the Pacha of Bagdad. I expected that this Chief would afford me every assistance in crossing the Desert, as he was anxiously looking for assistance from India to resist the incursions of the Wahabees, and had actually an Embassador in Bengal, who had been received with every attention, had had all his expenses paid, and the crazy vessel in which he had arrived, repaired at the public expense. I therefore preferred throwing myself on his protection, to again braving the adverse winds of the Red Sea. As the answer could not be received from Calcutta in less than six weeks, I thought the interval would be very satisfactorily filled up, by paying a visit to Poonah; I therefore wrote to Colonel Close, the British Resident with the Paishwa, to inquire whether he conceived it would be politically advisable; and if he did, to request that he would state to his Highness my wish to pay my respects to him. I was obligingly favoured with an immediate answer, expressing the satisfaction it would give him to receive me at the Residency, and informing me that the Paishwa was much pleased at the idea of my visit, which he wished should take place at the approaching festival of the Dusserah, which would commence on the 13th of October; a wish with which I most readily complied.

On the 6th of October every preparation, as I understood, had been made for my departure by the orders of the Governor: tents had been sent on to the different stations at which I should stop; forty bearers had been procured for our three palanquins, and the

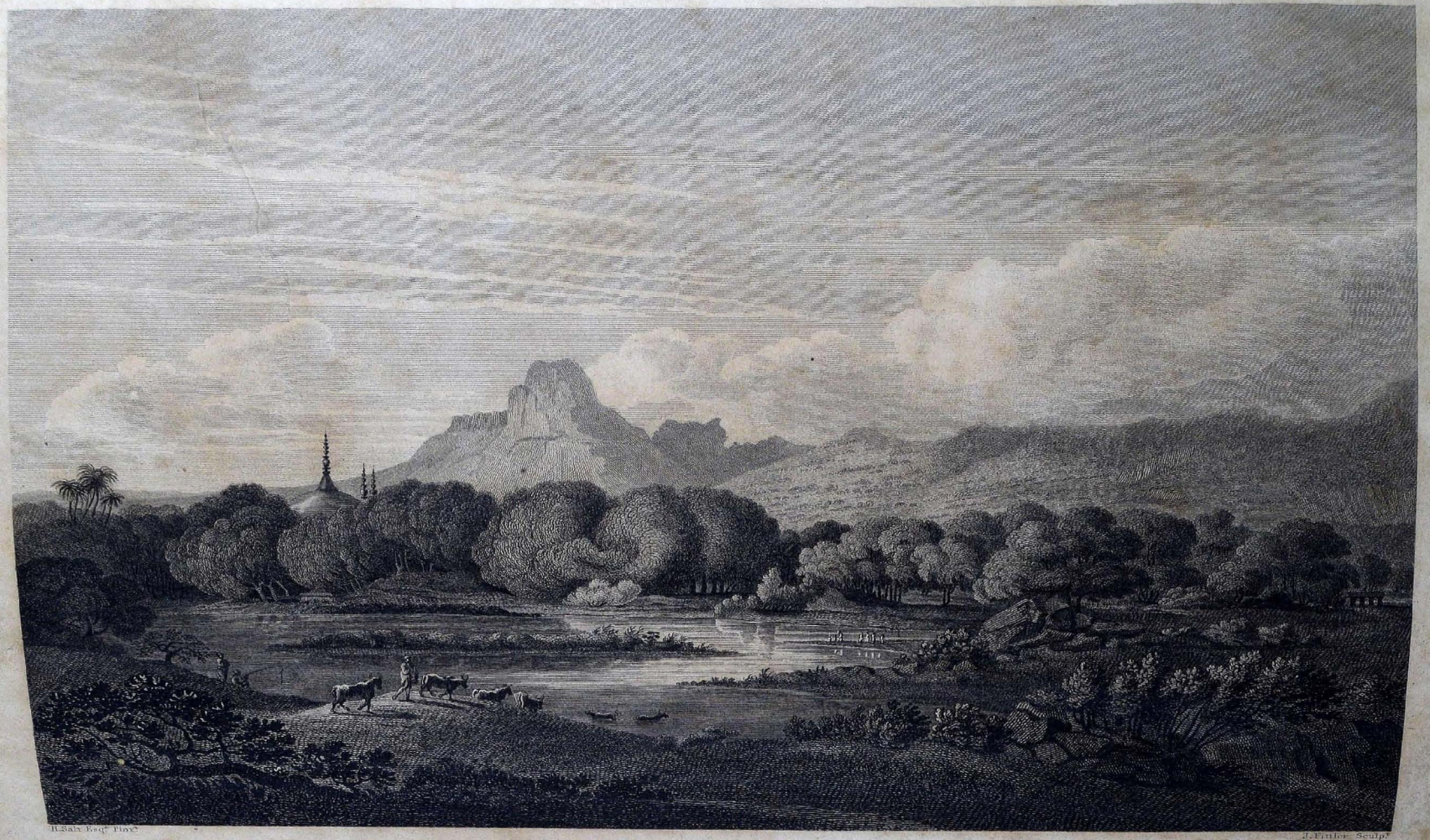
Governor's gold sticks had been ordered to attend me. Captain Young, who was stationed at the first post in the Mahratta country, as Commissary of stores for the army in the field, had orders to provide every thing, and attend me himself to Poonah. Above the gauts Colonel Close had undertaken to form arrangements for my conveyance.

The river, on which Panwell is situated, is in the dry season only an inlet of the sea, and navigable to that place at high water; we were therefore obliged to consult the tide. It turned at eight, and we set off with it, under a salute of fifteen guns from the fort. The Governor's Aides-de-camp, and Major Green, attended me to the water side. The balloon boat, from its drawing less water, was preferred to the yacht; it had a cabin, and held us very well. The harbour improved in beauty as we advanced. The islands are, in general, covered with wood; but Butcher's Island is clear, except at the northern side, where several buildings are erected close to an old Mahratta fort. Among the lofty hills, which formed a back ground to the scene, Funnel Hill was most conspicuous from the singularity of its shape: the summit has all the appearance of a vast pillar, elevated in the centre of a flat, on the top of a rock. The whole range of hills is singular in its appearance, and continually afforded subjects for Mr. Salt's pencil. We passed between the islands of Salsette and Elephanta, where the bay begins to contract in its dimensions. The sea breeze here overtook us. The entrance to the river Pan is defended by a small fort, which was built by the English, and formed into a depot during the old Mahratta war: it is now nearly in ruins. The river was full; the trees being actually half covered by the water. The paddy fields

presented a cheering prospect by their healthy state, and even the mountains were covered with verdure, except where their smooth surface was broken by rocky pinnacles rising to a great height. The clouds floated around them, and occasionally, in part, concealed them from our view, which greatly improved the scene. High cultivation and picturesque scenery have no where in India been so perfectly united.

The tide had just turned as we reached the landing place near the village of Panwell. I was extremely shocked at discovering the vultures and Paria dogs disputing over the body of a poor wretch, whom the recent famine had hurried to a better world. Captain Young employs twelve men to bury the bodies, at an expense of forty-five rupees per month. They have sometimes performed this office to thirty in a day: during the rainy monsoon, the average was twenty-five. The want of rain had caused a scarcity, which had been heightened into a famine by the devastations of the Mahratta war. Holcar and Scindiah laid waste whole provinces, and through a vast extent of country left neither tree nor habitation. The British power has hitherto protected the Guzerat, Cokan, and the neighbouring poor of Bombay. It has even gone farther, and has daily fed twelve thousand people from the stores of rice procured from Bengal.

They are now reaping the first crops, but poverty still renders numbers the victims of famine. Captain Young is hardly settled, and his habitation is new; it is situated on a rock, which in the rains, is an island. His business has been to forward all the stores for our garrison at Poonah, which would otherwise have been almost starving. These proceedings have been fortunate for the poor, as



H. Salt Esqr. Pinxt.

J. Fittler Sculpt.

VIEW FROM PANWELL.

nearly five thousand people have been employed, who have had provisions from the stores; one hundred and fifty people have also been charitably fed every day at the kitchen on rice; yet the deaths for six months are estimated by Captain Young at four thousand. Rice being procurable here, the poor wretches exerted themselves to crawl down, and perished even in sight of the house.

The Aumildar of the district came to wait on me with presents of fruit, whom I permitted to sit down, in consideration of my being in an independent country. He was a handsome Brahmin, but was very troublesome, and wished to tax even the Bombay people, that were here on public service. In consequence of a reprimand, he was obliged to desist. I therefore paid him little attention. The village seems populous, and is prettily situated on the banks of the river, in a plain surrounded by lofty mountains, one of which much resembles the table-land of the Cape. The priest of the tomb of Kurrun Ali Khan also waited on me. It is a neat building, with a dome, and two small pinnacles, that peep out from a grove of mango trees. Kurrun, he informed me, was a native of Lucknow, who lived here for six years. There are twenty-five readers of the Koran attached to the tomb.

I was much mortified to find that the tents had not been carried on, and that the superintendant of our stores was not even arrived. The bullocks could not carry the tents, and we were obliged to apply to the Aumildar for cooleys. These were not obtained till night, so that all removal was impracticable. We found Lieutenant Smith at this place, a complete invalid; and as Dr. Murray, who attended me in a medical capacity, thought that the journey up the Gauts might render him essential service, I persuaded him to join

our party. Dr. Murray's and Captain Young's palanquins and bearers had not made their appearance.

October 1.—Our Italian superintendant arrived early this morning, and by ten we got his baggage, as well as our tents, safe on the way. The widow of the famous Nana Furnese sent me some breakfast, with her salaams. She is a young girl of sixteen, and is said to be pretty; he married her when an infant; she resides here with her uncle. Our Mussulmaun priest sent us some excellent rice pancakes; as he had also the credit of being a good curry-maker, we persuaded him to go on with us. Before breakfast we walked through the village to visit a pagoda. It was dedicated to Mahadeo, and had nothing to recommend it, the pillars being wood, except a good tank in front of it. The building was filled with poor, who live there, and beg in the town. Some children among them were living skeletons, with scarcely a muscle to be seen. As we returned we were shocked by one of Captain Young's charnel-men dragging a dead body in a state of putrefaction. The Mussulmaun tomb has also a tank covered with the red and white nymphæa in high beauty. We dined early in order to get off in time; when it came to the point, our Mussulmaun friend would not go, and the Italian was left behind, as his horse was not arrived. The part of the village that we now passed through is extensive, and we were happy in not beholding so many wretched objects as on the other side. The paddy fields, as we proceeded, had in many places interrupted the road, and rendered it difficult to pass. We winded among the hills, and, at half-after seven, reached our tents, close to the village of Choke or Chouke, a distance of thirteen miles. We had only one large tent, so that some of us slept within, and the

others, in their palanquins, under the outer fly. In consequence of the tents not being sent forward a day before, we were obliged to wait there till after breakfast: and indeed with difficulty we procured men sufficient to carry them on.

October 8.—The Aumil of the district came and brought fruit, fowls, and kids, which we accepted. It was the middle of the day when we set off: we passed through a country like that of yesterday: the crops very fine, and nearly ripe. The hills preserve their strata perfectly horizontal. We passed several miserable wretches hardly alive, and an occasional stench too often informed us of the vicinity of dead bodies. We reached Campaly, a stage of twelve miles, by day-light: it is close to the foot of the pass, surrounded by hills covered with jungle, and has a very fine tank, and a neat pagoda. Several small streams were descending from the table-land, and a rivulet ran through the village. All ideas of pleasure were however banished by the sight of several wretches who were too weak to raise themselves up, to receive the charity that was offered them. Close to the choultry were bodies in every state of decay; some with their cloaths on, that could not have been dead above a day or two; others with only a small portion of flesh left on their bones by the vultures and jackals. The vale was so small, that the tents could not be pitched at a sufficient distance from the effluvia, to prevent its occasionally reaching us.

October 9.—We set off at half-past five. For a great part of the Gaut we were obliged to walk, though it was by far easier than the Bessely Gaut, nor was it half its length. The village of Candalla being just at the top, we had sent our breakfast to it. There is a very large tank, and below it a plain, which exhibited a

more horrid spectacle than Campaly: above one hundred dead bodies lay upon it, on which the vultures and Paria dogs were feeding: famine was in every face, several houses were uninhabited, and the last victims had never been removed from the places where they perished. We assembled all the poor that were alive, and gave them several pice each. The harvest is now so near that it may be hoped not many more will perish. We had but little appetite for breakfast, and hastened from this scene of horror. The country was fine and well cultivated. Our bearers were in high spirits; the air was cool, and we reached a spot near the celebrated caves of Carli by half after eleven, a distance of fifteen miles, where Colonel Close had pitched his tents for our reception, which were excellent, and with them was provided every proper convenience. The Killadar* of the Esapoor fort came to pay his compliments; he had a guard of native soldiers, and told me his garrison consisted of two thousand. A messenger bearing excellent butter, and a profusion of fruit, arrived from Colonel Close, who sent to say, that we need not reach Poonah till the 12th. For the first time we had the good fortune to be at a distance from any village, and its melancholy accompaniments; a mango tope formed a screen to the south, and a pellucid tank was in our front. A very heavy thunder storm discomposed us a little, as the rain beat partially through the tent. The crashes of thunder were the most tremendous I ever heard, and were so close as to give reasonable ground of alarm. The Esapoor Killadar came again in the evening with fowls, sheep, &c. It rained again in the night.

October 10.—The want of cooleys obliged us to stay breakfast

* Military Governor.

where we were, and make our own people assist in carrying the baggage. It was as cool as in England during summer, and consequently the men got on well. The whole way was through a valley covered with pieces of agate, onyx, and cornelian. The hills were green to the top, and the paddy fields frequent. We halted two miles from Tillegam, the Rajah of which place sent his servant, who spoke English, to congratulate me on my arrival. Our stage to-day was twelve miles.

October 11.—The cooleys came, but too late for us to set off before breakfast. The road lay through a level country, without cultivation or trees, except near the village. The Rajah of Tillegam had sent his head man early in the morning, to invite me to visit him as I passed through. I excused myself, as I had not yet seen the Paishwa. The truth was, I did not know the proper etiquette, and wished to consult Colonel Close. I however expressed a hope that I should be able to see him on my return. I passed to the right of Tillegam, between it and a fine tank. I saw no very wretched objects. I reached the tents a little beyond Chinchoor, a distance of twelve miles, by half after twelve, having passed through a populous town, and forded a river. Captain Frissel arrived from Colonel Close to attend me to Poonah.

October 12.—At day-light I entered my palanquin: the gentlemen rode, except Mr. Salt and Lieutenant Smith. The country had been devastated by Holcar, and the village of Ound, situated on the bank of the river Moota, was nearly in ruins. On the opposite shore I was met by Lieutenant Colonel Close, the Resident at Poonah, and the officers of the British detachment at that place. The Colonel had elephants, camels, and a very well dressed suwarry.

We alighted and mutually paid our compliments, afterwards forming one party. A little to the westward of the village of Gunnais Coondah, so called from an adjacent temple dedicated to Gunnais, the deputation from the Durbar of his Highness the Paishwa was waiting to receive me, close to a small pagoda which commanded a view of Poonah, distant two miles. The Chiefs were on elephants in covered houdahs. A large body of horse was drawn up: the officers made their salaams, as I passed along the line. At a little distance I halted, and the Colonel went on. A carpet was spread on the plain: the deputation alighted, and, after a few minutes, I advanced. We met on the carpet. Each person was presented separately to me by the Colonel, and embraced; we then seated ourselves without chairs or cushions. The chief person was Abbah Poorundery, the Jaghirdar of Sapoor, a handsome young man, with an expressive countenance, and pleasing manners. He wore several ornaments of pearls and jewels. He was accompanied by Anund Row, the Paishwa's Minister for the British affairs; Kistnagie Bowannie, the assistant Dewan of the state; and Seedogie Row Nepawnkur, who commanded a body of horse, along with General Wellesley, during the late campaign in the Deccan. There were also several Maunkarries, officers whose duty it is to attend the Paishwa on all visits of ceremony: these were seated behind. Anund Row delivered the congratulatory compliments of his Highness on my arrival near his capital. He expressed his satisfaction that it had taken place at so propitious a season as the Dusserah, and hoped it was an omen of the continuance of friendship between the two nations. Colonel Close replied in my name, with the general Asiatic expressions of regard for his Highness, and

my conviction that the friendship would be lasting. As they were considered to be my guests, I presented to the Chiefs pawn and attar with my own hand. Colonel Close's Dewan gave pawn only to the Maunkarries. We all then arose, and having made our salaams, departed; they towards the town, we to Colonel Close's residence at some little distance from it. When I alighted a salute was fired from the English lines, and the guard was turned out with presented arms.

After the hurry of a march, and the inconvenience of a tent, I found myself most pleasantly situated under Colonel Close's hospitable roof. His gardens are on the banks of the Moota, where it joins the Moola, and forms the Mootamoola river. This runs into the Beema, which again falls into the Kistna. It is singular that by these means a person, when not forty miles distant from the western shore of the Peninsula, might proceed by water to the Eastern Sea. It is a charming spot, adorned with cypress and fruit trees. At the point a very handsome bungelow is erected, where breakfast and dinner are served; at one end is a billiard table for the idlers. The Colonel keeps a very excellent table; beef, however, out of respect to the prejudices of the natives, is never used. Holcar, when here, had so little control over his Patan troops, that the sacred animal was frequently slaughtered. Sir Charles Mallet, when he first came as Resident to Poonah, was obliged to live in a wretched house in the town, which had been provided for him: finding this extremely unpleasant, he pitched his tents during the summer on the banks of the river, but on the commencement of the rains was forced to return to town. He remonstrated very much, and at length obtained permission to erect a temporary

house in this garden. One night it was burnt down, and Sir Charles being then enabled to complain with effect, was allowed to build the bungelow, which now is used as the Resident's office. Still not a fence was permitted; and even the present Resident had great difficulty in obtaining permission to erect a gateway and several additional buildings. The large bungelow on the banks of the river was built for a festival, at which his Highness assisted, in commemoration of the conclusion of the Mahratta war. On the opposite bank the natives burn the dead bodies, and afterwards commit the remains to the stream.

October 13.—This was the day of the celebrated Hindoo festival of the Dusserah. The Paishwa was to attend, and perform a principal part. As I had not been presented to him, it was contrary to etiquette that I should fall in his way; I was therefore obliged to observe the festival at a small distance. As soon as his Highness quitted the palace, Colonel Close and I mounted our elephant, and attended by the horse guard and suwarry, proceeded across the river to the British lines, where all the troops were drawn out in line, with the artillery on the left. We retired behind them, by way of being incognito. His Highness passed obliquely along the line to a spot where a branch of a tree had been stuck in the ground. Here he descended from his elephant, and performed the proper ceremonies, which we could not observe. On their being concluded a royal salute was fired. His Highness then mounted, and passed in front of the line from right to left, being received with presented arms. The regimental colours were lowered, but not the King's; and as he passed the artillery, another royal salute was fired. He was mounted in a howdah of looking glass, and had but little su-

warry. The only interesting part of the sight was the British troops, now for the first time assisting at this holy ceremony, at the capital of the Hindoo empire. Formerly Holcar, Scindiah, and the other chiefs, used to attend, and their prodigious bodies of horse covered the surrounding plains. Whole fields were then devastated, the Paishwa himself setting the example; but now his attendants only gathered a few heads of grain. After celebrating together this festival, they were accustomed to set out on their predatory excursions into the neighbouring countries; but these excursions are now probably terminated for ever. It was considered a fortunate day to begin a war, after a celebration of the victory obtained by Ram over the giant Rawan.

As I could see but little, I applied for information, through Colonel Close, to the most intelligent Brahmins, who gave me the following account. "When Ram was on his way to attack the giant Rawan, who had carried off his wife Seeta, he arrived at a place called Kiskinda, which was governed by an ape or monkey named Walee. Walee had seized the wife of his brother Soogreoo, and expelled him from the town. Soogreoo, attended by four other monkeys, viz. Hunoomán, Nul, Neel, and Jamoowunt, took up their abode on a mountain six coss from Kiskinda. Ram happened to pass over the same mountain. As soon as he was seen by Soogreoo at a distance, the latter sent Hunoomán to ascertain who he was. Hunoomán explained to Ram the case of Soogreoo, and prevailed on him to espouse his cause; and he then introduced them to each other. In a short time Ram destroyed Walee, restored the wife of Soogreoo, and gave him the government of Kiskinda. Ram, attended by Hunoomán, on whose back indeed he rode,

moved from Kiskinda to attack Rawan on the 10th of the moon Aswin, which is celebrated as the Veejya Dasmee, or the 10th of victory, generally called the Dusserah. The first night Ram halted under the shade of a tree called Gokurnee,* which derives its name from the resemblance of its blossom in shape to a cow's ear; go, in Shanscrit, signifying cow, and kuru, ear. Ram then performed his devotions under the tree, which was itself one of the objects of them. When the devotions were finished, the monkeys by whom he was attended brought him leaves of the Gokurnee, as the only offerings then in their power to make. In a short time, however, all the leaves of the tree were expended. They then brought the leaves of another tree, that was at hand, called Aptah; and, when they were all expended, the leaves of a third tree, called Shummee, were brought. Ram then ordained, that, if he should be succesful in his expedition against Rawan, devotion should for ever be paid to those trees on the Veejya Dusmee, that is, to one at a time; to the Gokurnee, if procurable; if not, to the Aptah, or last, to the Shummee. After the monkeys had made their offerings to Ram they interchanged the leaves among themselves."

This is the history of the origin of the festival, as given to me by a learned Brahmin, who consulted his friends on the subject. The Aptah was the tree used here: I saw the leaves; it is a species of Bauhinia. When a tree is not in a convenient situation, a branch of it is procured, as was now the case. The ceremony is described in the Shanscrit books, that treat on the ceremonies of the Hindoos to be observed each month throughout the year. The same Brahmin gave me the following account. "The devotion paid

* This was brought me at Chinchoor; I think it is a Cassia. The shummee was also brought: it is a Mimosa.

to the tree on the Dusserah, may be performed by every Hindoo of every cast, without the assistance of a Brahmin; neither is it necessary that any part of the person's clothes should be taken off. First, he throws a little water over the tree or branch. He then throws on a few grains of rice. He next rubs on a little powdered sandal wood mixed in water. He then ornaments it with flowers. A little sugar, or any sweetmeat, and some betel nut, prepared in the usual manner, are then laid before the tree as offerings, and some is given to a poor Brahmin, who also takes the money laid before the tree. This concludes the ceremony, which is celebrated throughout the Hindoo governments. At Poonah, however, an addition is made, which is not ordered by any of their books. The Paishwa receives a number of leaves from the bough, which he gives to his followers, and which they interchange, in imitation of the monkeys. His Highness afterwards holds a durbar, where nazurs of, from two to five, gold mohurs are presented, and in return he gives each a leaf. He also sends Khelauts and leaves to the Rajah of Sattarah, and Scindiah. The Brahmin could not say that there was any motive for, or effect assigned to, the exchange of leaves. I should suppose it was a kind of compact that they would assist each other in their approaching warfare. It took place in the evening, and it was nearly dark when we got home.

October 14.—His Highness had fixed on this day to receive my visit of ceremony. The fortunate hour was about four o'clock; when, having received intelligence that the deputation from the durbar was on the opposite side of the river, we set off. I was attended by the Colonel and suite, my own suite, and our suwarries. A salute announced my departure. The Paishwa's minister for British

affairs, and the assistant Dewan of the state after paying their compliments, put themselves at the head of the procession, to show me the way to the palace. They were attended by a large body of horse, and some soldiers; an escort of British infantry waited also on the opposite shore, and joined my suwarry. On entering the place before the palace we found his Highness's cavalry and guard of infantry drawn out, with his elephants and suwarry: they were by no means splendid. As we passed under the Nobit Kanah the kettle drums beat. Within the walls the servants were all at their posts, and the crowd considerable. In the windows were numbers of the higher orders. We quitted our palanquins at the foot of the stairs, which we mounted, attended only by our Chubdars and Ausubadars. A small anti-room led to the durbar. At the door I waited a few seconds, till I saw that the Dewan of the state, Sadasheo Maunkesor, was sufficiently near; when, having quitted my slippers, I stepped on the white cloth with which the whole room was covered, Colonel Close supporting my left arm. I embraced the Dewan, and presented the officers of my suite. At that moment the Paishwa entered the room, and stepped on his guddy or throne. I hastened towards him, supported as before, by the Colonel, with the Dewan on my right. His Highness continued standing, and slightly embraced with his right hand, I doing the same. His brother was on his right, to whom I was next presented, and who also embraced me. I then returned and presented to the Paishwa the gentlemen of my suite, who were also embraced. We then sat down. The Dewan was next his Highness on the left, but rather behind: I was close to him; next to me was the Colonel, and then the other European gentlemen. We had no chairs or

cushions, and were not permitted to put out our feet, as showing the sole of the foot is considered disrespectful. His Highness had no slippers on.

The etiquette of the court is silence: and when any thing is said it is in a low whisper. I spoke to the Colonel, who translated it to the Dewan, who stretching himself out towards his Highness on his knees with his hands closed and raised up, in a low voice reported what I had said. By the same conveyance the answer was returned. By the direction of Colonel Close I first enquired after his Highness's health, and was answered that he was well, and hoped I arrived in good health at Poonah. I then asked after the health of his brother. The message was carried across the room, in front of the guddy, by Anund Row. The answer was complimentary. His Highness now expressed a wish, through the Dewan, that we might retire into a more private place, that the conversation might be more free. This originated solely from himself, and was as unexpected, as it was flattering. Indeed, the whole of his Highness's conduct had evinced a wish to pay me every attention. The deputations sent to meet me were the highest honours he could bestow.

I immediately arose and followed him into a very neat small room, attended by Colonel Close, the Dewan of the state, the sub-Dewan, and the minister for British affairs. His Highness seated himself on a small turkey carpet in the corner of the room. He placed me next him on his left, and the rest formed a part of a circle in face of him. He now began a very interesting conversation, in which he considerably relaxed from his etiquette, smiled, and frequently spoke immediately from himself to me and Colonel Close. With all the disadvantages of interpretation, I could fre-

quently perceive that he gave a very elegant turn to the expressions he used. Among many other compliments, he expressed a wish to give me a fête at his country house, to which I with pleasure assented. This had been previously arranged, and was to take place after he had honoured me with a visit. On political subjects he spoke fully, and clearly, and seemed much better informed than I had reason to expect. After about an hour we returned to the Durbar. I was so extremely tired with my position, that it was with some difficulty I could rise, and for a few minutes was obliged to rest against the wall. No conversation passed after he was seated on the guddy. Pawn was placed before him in a large gold plate; on the top was a gold box, containing a parcel of the same; attar, rose water, and spices, were in the same line. Anund Row, the minister for British affairs, gave rose water, pawn and attar with spices to all the party, except the Colonel and me. He began at the lowest, contrary to the etiquette of the other Asiatic courts that I have visited. The Dewan gave pawn, rose water, attar, and spices to the Colonel; to me he gave attar and rose water. We then arose, and his Highness presented me with the gold box, filled with pawn from his own hand. As I was to visit him at his country-house, the giving of presents was deferred till that time. We made our salaams and retired, the Dewans attending us to the door. We then returned as we came; but the sun being set, there was no salute.

His Highness and his brother were in plain white muslin dresses, without a single jewel. The Dewan of the empire had some handsome flat diamonds in his turban, a necklace of emeralds, and large pearls, and ear-rings of gold, suspending the finest pearls I ever beheld. They were perfectly round and clear, and were as large

as the pupil of the human eye. The palace is a tolerably handsome building, and was very clean. The Durbar room is large; it is supported by wooden pillars handsomely carved. His guddy was of white muslin, richly embroidered in gold and coloured silk. His attendants stood round without the pillars, except a few with silver sticks. Holkar did not much injure the palace, but he carried away every thing moveable; a small armoury and the elephant-houdahs did not escape. The town is indifferent; several houses are large, and built with square blocks of granite, to about fourteen feet from the ground; the upper part is a frame work of timber, with slight walls merely to keep out the wet and air. The lime, bricks, and tiles are so bad in this country, that the rain washes away any building that does not depend on timber for support. A great plenty of this useful article is brought from the gauts and the westward; it is not much dearer than at Madras. Holcar's stay did not improve the town. He pulled down several large houses in search of treasure, and they say found a great deal. We forded the river both going and returning; the foundations of a granite bridge rise above the water; but they were laid in misfortune, and superstition will not therefore permit their superstructure to be completed. A bridge of boats had been laid across by General Wellesley, but it has not been kept up.

The spectacle of dead bodies on the banks of the river, in every state of putrefaction, was truly distressing. During the famine, many were murdered for the rice they had just received from British charity, which, I am proud to say, extended to this place, whither a very handsome subscription, amounting to 40,000 rupees, was sent, which had been collected at Bombay under the

patronage of Lady Mackintosh. Colonel Close had the distribution of it: he had previously fed fifteen hundred people daily with boiled rice; but the sight of the food rendered them nearly frantic; confusion ensued, and numbers lost their share, particularly the more helpless. The Colonel therefore determined that this contribution should be distributed in money, each person to receive sufficient to purchase one good meal in the four and twenty hours. Eight pice were adequate to this; children had a smaller sum, who, with the women, had the preference. About five thousand daily were relieved, and it sustained them till the new crops were gathered in, so that their lives were actually saved to society. The money operated less on their feelings, than the food: the confusion was consequently less. It was regularly the business of an officer, with a guard of sepoys, to superintend the distribution. The sending up of rice from the coast was considered as ineligible, from the expense of conveyance. Indian wheat and juwarry had already been got in; rice was expected to be so in about a fortnight. The officer commanding the garrison was particularly careful in protecting the fields around the town; the English name is therefore very popular among the lower orders. The guard of one hundred seapoys was not more than sufficient for these purposes. Several Brahmins, who were no objects of charity, mixed with the beggars, and tried to obtain a share: when detected, they were instantly punished with four dozen lashes, in defiance of the holiness of their character; nor has this been since objected to. His Highness feeds a great number of his own cast, but his charity has not extended further.

It is impossible to teach a native Prince the duty of protecting his subjects. During the scarcity, the number of lives saved by the

Residency were many, not only by food, but attendance and wine, when necessary. The poor wretches, during the rains, perished by hundreds, even in sight of the house. General relief was impossible. Not only would they have sold their children, but they would have been grateful to any one who would have accepted them. Now the evil is over. Leasing is allowed in India, which at this moment feeds many. Any person may earn sufficient to maintain him by going to the fields and working, or even bringing in a bundle of grass. The camp sustains many hands. In no country are the means of life procurable with greater facility than in the Mahratta states; it is a garden, which would produce crop after crop as fast as they could be sown. Tanks might every where be formed, so as to render a supply of water certain at all seasons. The wretched objects were not numerous as I passed through the town.

I had intended, on the 16th, to receive the Vakeels of the native powers, who might be at Poonah; but the Vakeel of Scindiah being on the eve of his departure, obtained permission to pay his compliments this day. His name is Juswunt Rao Goreporah; his family is very respectable; one of his relations, Morari Row, held Gooty from the Poonah Government, and was one of its Generals: he is mentioned by Orme. From the respectability of the family, the British, on the conquest of Mysore, gave to them the little district of Sondoor, a beautiful valley, situated between Chittledroog and Neydroog, and completely surrounded by the British territory. Juswunt Rao Goreporah himself is high in Scindiah's confidence, and was the Vakeel appointed by him to negotiate the late treaty of peace with General Wellesley. His other Vakeel, Naroo Hurry, also waited on me: the former alone spoke. The conversation was

merely complimentary; but they expressed great anxiety for the arrival of General Wellesley, whose presence will give confidence to all our allies. They received pawn and attar on their departure. General Wellesley has a great regard for Juswunt Rao Goreporah, and considers him as a steady friend to the English.

October 16.—The other Vakeels paid me a visit in the morning, and received the usual compliment of pawn and attar. Among them was the Vakeel of Imrut Rao, the adopted brother of the Paishwa. Ragonaut Rao had no hopes of children at the time he adopted him; but afterwards, the present Paishwa and his brother were born. The disappointment of Imrut Rao's hopes has prevented his being on good terms with his Highness; they are now, however, apparently reconciled, through the mediation of Colonel Close. Imrut Rao is on his way to Benares, to perform his ablutions there. He is the first of his family that ever did so, and he is, I learn, highly gratified by the circumstance.

October 19.—Yesterday a nephew of Colonel Close arrived from Hydrabad, three hundred and seventy miles, which he had rode in twelve days. He describes the Nizam's country as being as much devastated by famine as this. Several villages had not a living creature in them, and the dead bodies were lying at the doors, and in the houses. He has been himself nearly starved, having procured only native grain since he left Hydrabad, with now and then some milk. This must be owing to the want of rain, for Holcar and Scindiah caused no devastations in that country. Mr. Salt has taken a few views: a very beautiful one is from the gardens, taking in the junction of the rivers, and the pagodas built on the opposite side, a very favourite spot among the Hindoos. Mahadeo is the deity

chiefly worshipped. The pagoda beyond is dedicated to his wife, Parbuttee, who, with her son Gunnais, share in the adoration. This pagoda has a pretty effect, as it crowns the top of a sugar-loaf hill, and behind it is the flat mountain on which is situated the fort of Saoghur. Holcar never took this place, nor could his offers tempt the fidelity of the Killadar. It seems strong, but does not cover the whole surface of the hill, so that on one side it is accessible. On the whole, I think Poonah well situated, and when it has a little enjoyed the blessings of tranquillity, it will be a handsome capital.

His Highness having fixed on this day to return my visit, Colonel Close had a very large tent pitched in front of the house; two others were joined to it without their sides, so as to form one large apartment: the guddy was sent forward, and placed in the centre, as at his own Durbar. On his coming in sight, Colonel Close mounted an elephant, and advanced to meet him. At the door of the tent I waited his approach. He came close up, but did not dismount till the Dewan of the state, the Sub-dewan, and the Dewan for British affairs had paid their compliments, and had presented to me the different Sirdars and Maunkarries who attended him. They made their salaams, and passed by into the tent. His Highness then descended from his elephant, with his brother, who rode behind him. I made my compliments, and leaving a space on my right hand for him to walk in, moved into the tent. We all seated ourselves as at the Durbar. A few compliments passed, while the nautch girls were singing and dancing. As his Highness was considered as master of the house, the pawn and attar were placed on the ground before him, and he ordered it to be given to the Sirdars, and other attendants. I then requested his Highness to permit me

to attire him, and his brothers; which being acceded to, the trays were brought forward, and laid before them. I got up, and crossing the musnud, began with his brother. The jewels were first placed in his head dress, consisting of a serpaish,* jugger,* and toorrah.† I then put the mala‡ round his neck; a person stood behind who fastened the strings. The same ceremonies were then gone through with his Highness, but in addition, he had bracelets of diamonds. A telescope and bon-bon box, ornamented with a beautiful picture of the goddess Gunja, were also given to his Highness. His brother had a bon-bon box, with Indra painted on it. The figures were appropriate to their character. His Highness is much attached to the ladies. His brother is grave and ceremonious. I then gave them pawn and attar, as he did to me, except that the attar was poured into my hands, and I gently rubbed it down both his shoulders. This was done at his particular request, and is the highest possible compliment. His Highness was in such excellent humour, that although it was a public visit of ceremony, he frequently smiled and addressed himself to me and the Colonel.

The ministers did not receive attar, as it was my wish they should stay till the rest were gone. There is a great jealousy between these officers and the Maunkarries, so that to have made them any presents in the company of the latter, would have been an insult to their dignity. We mentioned to the Dewan that a

* Ornaments for the head of diamonds and coloured precious stones.

† Mahratta ornament of several strings of pearls fastened together and suspended on one side of the turban.

‡ A necklace of pearl with a jewel of coloured precious stones suspended from the centre.

horse and elephant were at the gate, as presents to his Highness. These are always given on state occasions, but without being habited, as up the country. It was nearly dark before the Paishwa departed. The ministers staid a short time afterwards; they received presents according to their rank; the jewels were tied by Colonel Close's Pervee. They then received pawn and attar from my hands, and departed. The nautch-girls had sung some very interesting Mahratta, or, as they called them, Deckany songs, which we now made them repeat, as a relaxation from the fatigue of a state visit. I afterwards learned that on this day there was a great religious festival, at which his Highness ought to have assisted, and that he was fined several hundred rupees for his absence. This provided a handsome feast for the Brahmins. Parbuttee pagoda was illuminated all over at night.

The presents were provided by the India Company. His Highness's were worth about twelve thousand rupees. The others altogether nearly eight.

October 20. — At a little after four we set off with the usual suwarry to pay a visit to the Paishwa at his country-house, the Hora Baug. The road for a considerable distance was covered by his Highness's suwarry, chiefly horsemen, so that it was rather difficult to get to the gate; fortunately I had a party of sepoys from the lines, who joined on the opposite bank of the river, and made way for me. It is prettily situated on the bank of a very large tank, perfectly irregular in its shape. In the centre of it is a small island with a pagoda. The opposite bank rises gradually into a sugar loaf hill, the summit of which is capped by the white buildings of the pagoda dedicated to Parbuttee. The house itself is insignificant,

and has never been finished. The garden is fine, and is ornamented with several noble mango trees, and a great number of cocoa-nut trees, which I had seen no where else above the Gauts, and which several people told me would not grow there. The guddy was placed in a verandah, opening to a bason of water, with fountains, and covered by a trellis of vines. We had the pleasure to announce to his Highness the surrender of Chandore to the united army of the British and the Paishwa, under Colonel Wallace, who was rapidly conquering the hill forts of Holcar, that extend towards Guzerat, in hopes of preventing his making an incursion into that fertile province, or into the territories of the Paishwa, to maintain his predatory bands. His Highness was in great spirits, and observed, that his father always wished for the friendship of the English, but that it remained for him first to reap the blessings of it. He had said in a former conversation, that he would mention another circumstance on a future occasion; it turned out to be a request, that I would procure him an Arab mare. The Colonel of course assured him that I would try my best; but unfortunately I knew it was impossible, as the Arabs never will part with their mares. The ceremony of my entrance was the same as the former, and I was seated in a similar situation.

We soon had notice to move up stairs: the Paishwa passing through a back door, while we mounted, by a narrow stair case, to a platform with two verandahs, one at each end. In the farther a white cloth was spread, on which were plantain leaves equal in number to the English gentlemen present. On each was a Brahmin's dinner, consisting of rice, plain and sweet, pastry thin as paper, and rolled up, pastrycakes, bread, and pease pudding. Along one

side was a range of sweets, laid in a row, having the appearance of paints on a pallet; on the other were seven different kinds of curried vegetables. On one side of the leaf were rice milk, gee, and some other liquids, in small pans of plantain leaf, which were all excellent of their kinds. We had taken the precaution to bring spoons, knives, and forks, which we used actively out of respect to our host, who soon joined the party by seating himself on the guddy, a little on the outside of the verandah. Of course, he could not contaminate himself by eating in our presence.

On giving notice that we had finished, he retired, and we soon followed. After seating ourselves below, the betel was laid at his feet and served round. My servant had placed himself at the bottom of the line, by a hint from Captain Frissel, and was consequently served first. They proceeded upwards till they reached me, where they stopped. The presents were then brought in, again beginning with my servant. They consisted of a pair of shawls, a piece of kincaub, and a piece of cloth; the whole worth in the bazar about two hundred rupees. There was no visible difference between these and the others presented to Messrs. Young, Salt, Murray, and Smith. As for the gentlemen of the establishment, they were totally overlooked. My presents were then brought forward, which consisted of the same articles, and a piece of muslin. There were also jewels in a tray: these were put on by the Dewan of the empire: a hat answered every purpose of a turban, the serpaish, jigger, and toorrah looking very well. The mala, as it falls within the waistcoat, shows better on a native dress. All the presents were better than had ever been given on a former occasion, the shawls being new, and good ones for this part of India. A horse and

elephant were at the door; the former was a fine animal, and in good condition: a most unusual circumstance at Poonah. The attar was given to me and the Colonel by the Dewan. The box of pawn was delivered by his Highness himself.

After this was concluded, a sword was given into his hands, and by him presented to me: it was handsomely mounted in green and gold, and had a very fine blade: it was not part of the present of ceremony, and I therefore valued it the more. I assured him I would hand it down to my son, and my son's son; and kept it by me, instead of delivering it to my servants, as I had done the trays. The nautch-girls were the same as on the Paishwa's visit to me. His own woman, who is rather old, but is said to have a fine voice, was too busy in performing before the deities during this season of festivity, to attend upon us subordinate animals. We lost but little, as a noise is all that is required. A few compliments passed at taking leave, and he paid the usual one of requesting to hear of my welfare. The Dewan attended to the end of the carpet, and then took his leave. We returned through the town, which is much larger than I expected, and the bazar much finer. There are several large houses three stories high; the pagodas are insignificant; the number of wretched objects was small.

October 21.—A deputation arrived from the Dewan of the empire, requesting I would honour him with my company to a party at the Paishwa's garden. This was merely a matter of form, as I had previously consented, his Highness having expressed a wish that it should be so, as a proper close to the attentions I had received at Poonah. The party set off at the usual hour. We were received at the entrance by the Dewan, who walked by my side to

a carpet divided in two by a single pillow, and spread where his Highness's guddy had been yesterday placed. He sat on the right hand of it, I on the left; my party next me, in a line down the room; his, on the opposite side. We soon adjourned up stairs, where a dinner, as before, was laid out. The Dewan sat close to us, and conversed the whole time. I praised some of the sweet things, and requested he would send me some for my journey, which he took as a compliment, and immediately promised to do. On our return to the lower room, the pawn and attar were sent round, and, afterwards, presents to all my party, quite as good as those of the Paishwa. My presents were the same as before, except that there was no toorrah, and the whole were of less value. The Dewan tied them on himself. I begged him for the last time most anxiously to preserve, by his endeavours, the alliance between the two states, and to represent to his Highness that this was the last wish I had to express. He replied, that the Mahrattas now depended upon the English for protection. I requested Colonel Close to represent, in the strongest terms, my denial of this: that the dependence was mutual, and only that of one friend on another. Though he had made the remark, he seemed pleased at the denial, and assured me nothing should be wanting on his part, but that he was only what his master pleased; on which I concluded with my personal wishes for his continuance in office. We returned before dark.

Colonel Close had been so kind as to permit the Assistant Resident, Captain Frissel, to attend me to Bombay, and meant to go himself as far as Chinchoor. The following was the day fixed for our journey. I had procured several old figures of Hindoo deities, and some of considerable merit; my people had picked up a large collection of

agates, which are here in profusion: these were sent off this night. Many of my people were ill of fevers and colds, a very common complaint among the inhabitants of the Cokan when they ascend the Gauts. It is also the case with Europeans, a circumstance that I cannot avoid considering as extraordinary, though the same took place in the Tehama of Arabia. By the attention of Mr. Murray none of them died; one of the chubdars was however too ill to march, and the native officer of the escort was in a similar situation; they had therefore conveyances procured for them, and were directed to move as they found themselves able.

The empire of the Mahrattas, which had once been sufficiently powerful to contest the possession of India with the Mussulmauns, though weakened by the total overthrow they experienced at Paniput, was yet in a very flourishing state; and was prevented only by its internal dissensions from carrying its victorious arms through the greater part of the Peninsula. The treaty of Bassein, however, has, in fact, annihilated this empire, and has, in its stead, established the relatively independent states of the Berar Rajah, the Paishwa, Scindiah, Guikwar, and, if he should not be conquered in the present war, Holcar. An incalculable degree of security has been by these means acquired for the British provinces, which, after the conquests of Tippoo, had only to fear an union of the Hindoo Princes of India.

In the preparatory steps to the attainment of the important objects of an union between the Paishwa and the British, the greatest difficulty was the wavering and uncertain character of his Highness, who wanted sufficient firmness to adopt those decisive measures, of which he could not avoid perceiving the necessity, surrounded

as he was by open and concealed enemies, and only nominally in possession of his legal power. Lord Wellesley gave way to his timidity, indulged him in his caprices and delays, and, at length, most perfectly acquired his confidence. In my private conference with his Highness, which I have before mentioned, he expressed his great satisfaction at the arrangements that had taken place; he spoke in the warmest manner of the comfort and security he enjoyed since his alliance with the English, and seemed extremely anxious to impress on me that the friendship of that nation had been sought by his father previously to his time, and consequently was not a new measure. He spoke of the benefits as mutual: and declared his conviction, that, as it was both their interests, he had no doubt the two nations would continue united. He expressed great anxiety for the arrival of General Wellesley, when, he said, every thing would go on well, and the disturbers of the tranquillity of India would soon be annihilated. He then turned the conversation to myself; declared that he considered my arrival at so propitious a season as a very good omen, and rejoiced that my stay in his Capital, and the manner in which we associated together, would prove to the public the real friendship between the two countries. He particularly wished that I would, in England, make known that these were his feelings. In reply, I in general assured him of the regard which the English nation had for him and his family, and my conviction that the empires united were invincible. I told him that I would certainly make known his favourable sentiments towards my countrymen on my return; that, however, it would be unnecessary, as Lord Wellesley undoubtedly had already done so. I then declared the high character his Excellency bore among his

countrymen, and the confidence we had in his talents and integrity. If, however, any troublesome people should in England pretend, that Lord Wellesley's friendship had induced him to give too favourable an account of the Paishwa's sentiments, I should, with the greatest satisfaction, step forward to contradict them. I afterwards expressed my gratitude for the honours he conferred on me, which I considered as a proof of his friendship for my country.

Colonel Close was highly gratified with the result of the conference, and assured me he had no doubt of the Paishwa's being sincere in what he had said. He had never seen him so evidently pleased, or heard him more unequivocally declare his sentiments. His heart is excellent, which is proved by the intimacy that subsists between him and his brother Chimnajee; they live in the same house, and seem to have only one purse and one opinion; yet this brother might be viewed with some jealousy, as having been himself installed Paishwa during the troubles which followed the death of Mahdoo Rao Narain. His Highness is like the majority of his countrymen, superstitious to a high degree: he however relaxes from the strictness of his moral obligations in one respect, having had three wives and several mistresses. His brother's conduct is more strict, and is, in every respect, so steady, that when seated at the Durbar he moves neither hand nor foot, and seems a candidate for the office of Swamie.

His Highness at the festival of Gunnais has a large party of ladies to dance before the deity, on which occasion he is accused of dressing himself out to the greatest advantage. Although this is according to precedent, yet his brother thought it might appear not sufficiently dignified in his present situation, and he accordingly

sent a private friend to Colonel Close, who began by stating the Prince's high satisfaction at the British conduct, and the conviction of their extreme anxiety for his brother's prosperity. He then mentioned the dancing, and his fears concerning it, asking if Colonel Close could not give a hint to his Highness on the subject, which, coming from him, might have great weight. Colonel Close in reply observed, that he saw no possible means by which he could with delicacy interfere in a business, which related solely to their religious policy, but that if he would point out any means that occurred to him, the Colonel would try to use them. The Prince then sent to say, that if no means occurred to the superior understanding of Colonel Close, there were no hopes that he should discover any; and here the matter ended.

A perfect degree of cordiality subsists between the Mahratta durbar and the British Resident, yet frequently it is almost impossible to transact business from the interference of their superstitions. The waiting for a fortunate day may put off the most important concerns; and if a member of the minister's family dies, he is shut up for a month, and all business is at a stand. Formerly these difficulties were purposely brought forward, but even now we cannot quite get rid of them.

Our influence has hitherto been used to conciliate the minds of all. The brother of the widow of Nana Furnese had been put in prison during some former disturbances: we obtained his release, and are attempting to procure something for him. Imrut Row, his Highness's brother by adoption, has also been essentially served by us. A friendship will probably never exist between them, but in the arrangements at a peace with Holcar, he may have a pro-

vision, and be kept on terms with his brother, out of the way of doing mischief to him. Imrut Row's absence, on a pilgrimage to Benares, will give time for the Paishwa's resentment to wear out, and his religious prejudices will be gratified by the benefits to be derived therefrom by the whole family.

Imrut Row was certainly the chief cause of the Paishwa's misfortunes, in having invited Holcar down to Poonah, and corresponded with him the whole time. This was ungrateful and unjustifiable, his Highness having ever been an affectionate brother to him. It seems to have been their plan to place a son of his on the throne, in whose name the father would have governed. If they had seized the Paishwa, he would have been kept a prisoner. Imrut Row has thoroughly repented his misconduct, abandoned all his evil connections, and thrown himself on the protection of the English. His allowance is at present from them, and their interest is employed in his favour with his justly irritated brother. His son is with him, and is a very fine boy. Nana Furnese's family were implicated in the conspiracy, but we have induced his Highness to pardon them. He did it a little unwillingly, and has not restored their property.

When two Frenchmen landed on this coast, and made their way for Poonah, his Highness was on a religious journey to the source of the Kistna. On their overtaking him, he never admitted them to his presence, but sent them prisoners to Poonah. Colonel Close was not here, but, as soon as he heard of it, sent to desire they might be given up as our enemies. The Colonel was very much alarmed lest they should escape from the town, where they were slightly guarded, or be liberated by any of his Highness's enemies,

when it would have been difficult, nay almost impossible, to prove that he had not connived at it. The Paishwa immediately gave them up, but put in a plea, that as we wished to imprison our enemies, we should not wish to liberate his; and this seems to have been his only motive for not sending them immediately to the Resident. I understand, they were much surprised to find his Highness so attached to the English. Bonaparte had probably calculated on a very different reception. They were intelligent men, who certainly had before been in the country, and their escape might, in many ways, have been disadvantageous.

The Paishwa is extremely exact in the performance of all the duties of his religion. This is supposed to be increased by some anxiety about the present state of his father's soul. Suspicions respecting the death of Sewai Mahdoo Rao Narain, who died by a fall from the terrace of the palace, were entertained by many. Some thought Ragonaut Rao had been instrumental to his fall, but Colonel Close believes him to have been innocent. He conceives that the Paishwa threw himself down in a fit of spleen, in consequence of a severe lecture he received from Nana, who treated him as a child. This happened when the Dewan discovered, that he had been carrying on a correspondence with the present Paishwa and his brother, the object of which was to liberate themselves from the severe tutorage of the old gentleman. They were all young men, and what they did was very natural, but the event proved fatal. The death of Narain Rao bears still heavier on Ragonaut Rao; though he was killed in an insurrection of his guards, yet it was generally supposed they were instigated by his uncle, who would have instantly reaped the profit of the crime by becoming Paishwa, had not the Brahmins declared, that one of his

wives was with child, and that that child would be a son. It turned out to be so; and though on the boy's death, Ragonaut Rao had the power of state for some time in his hands, yet for the want of a few forms he was never actually Paishwa. His son Chimnagee is reckoned as the sixth, and the present as the seventh, as will appear from the pedigree of the family, which will be given in the Appendix. His Highness's filial piety in endeavouring to liberate his father's soul from the stain of these crimes, by his own works of supererogation, is worthy of praise, however we may pity the ignorance that gives rise to an expectation of success.

The satisfaction expressed by his Highness at the result of his alliance with the British, and which every part of his conduct has shown to be unfeigned, will be easily accounted for by an examination of his situation prior to its taking place, and a comparison of it with his present ameliorated condition. Although the Paishwa was recognised as the representative of the sovereign, by the great feudatories of the Mahratta states, Scindiah, Holcar, and Guikwar, and by the Rajáh of Berar, yet the control which he could exercise over princes, who each independently possessed revenues and forces equal to his own, must at all times have been trifling; but latterly Scindiah had, in fact, reduced him to a state of subjection, and merely used his name as a cloak to his ambitious plan of uniting in himself the whole power of the Mahratta empire. In this attempt he met with resistance from Holcar, who was defeated by him, but whom he imprudently permitted to retire unmolested to Chandore, where having rapidly increased his forces, he attacked the troops of Scindiah and the Paishwa forty miles from Poonah, in turn defeated them completely, and got possession of the capital.

The Paishwa took this occasion to escape, though he was so hurried as to be obliged to leave his family behind him. Thus driven from his rights and territories by the successive attacks of these feudatory chiefs, it was natural that he should seek for assistance against them, where alone it could be procured. He accepted therefore the offer of offensive and defensive alliance made to him by the British government in India, and ultimately concluded with them the treaty of Bassein on the 31st of December 1802. The most active preparations were immediately commenced for the re-establishment of his Highness in his just rights. Major General Wellesley proceeded at the head of an army from the southward, and obliged the troops of Holcar to evacuate Poonah, having saved that place from being plundered by a rapid march of sixty miles in thirty two hours. His Highness made his public entry into his capital on the 13th of May 1803, since which period he has, by the assistance of his allies, gradually got possession of his territories, the prosperity of which has been greatly increased by the uninterrupted state of tranquillity which has followed the successes of the British arms.

In another respect, his Highness has been essentially benefited by his connection with the British Government; I mean in the improvement of his finances, by the arrangements which have been adopted according to the plan recommended by Colonel Close. Formerly every Sirdar retained, with impunity, whatever part of the revenue he pleased, and in many of the provinces no part of it found its way to the treasury of the Paishwa. This was the case in Bundelcund, which was estimated at sixty lac of rupees per annum, and in the districts ceded by Tippoo, which were estimated at forty-one lac. The former has been given up to the British by a treaty, subsequent to that of Bassein, and now nets forty-four lac, of which

thirty-six are retained for the payment of the subsidiary force, and his Highness receives the other eight. The latter was originally ceded to the British, and, though given up on receiving Bundelcund, the system of collection had been so far improved, that his Highness now obtains from it about twenty one lac. The provinces nearer to the seat of government were of course more productive: but even these were liable to all the peculations which naturally existed under a weak government, and were too frequently devastated by the hostile presence of the contending chieftains, or by the more amicable, but not much less dreadful, annual assemblage of undisciplined cavalry at the Dusserah. These evils are put an end to by the British victories; and it seems probable that the territories above the Gauts will be rendered secure from any future hostile incursions, by Colonel Wallace's conquest of the hill forts that belong to Holcar, and which command the passes between the two countries. The presence of a subsidiary force ready to enforce obedience, has also operated in causing the payments to be regularly made.

His Highness's gross revenue may be fairly estimated as follows:

		Rupees.
In Guzerat - - -	Ahmood -	2,00,000
	Jumbooseer -	5,00,000
	Duboy - -	1,25,000
	Cokan - -	9,00,000
	Sevendroog, &c.	2,00,000
Above the Gauts, N. and W. of Poonah - -	Juneer - -	10,00,000
	Sungumnere	10,00,000
	Ahmednuggur	4,00,000
Added by the treaty of Seringapatam, 1792 -	Savanore - -	8,72,838
	Bankapore -	7,51,278
	Darwar - -	4,15,608
	Bundelcund -	8,00,000
	R.	71,64,724

Were the above revenue realised, it would be more than sufficient for the maintenance of the Paishwa, as Chief of the Mahratta empire; but this is far from being the case, though it is impossible to know exactly what portion of it reaches his treasury. The actual expense of collection is very great; the hill forts are numerous, and the garrisons large, which must be regularly paid; provisions are sent in kind for the use of his family; and, what is a still greater expense, he is obliged to connive at many abuses to conciliate the chief natives who are about his person. Yet there is no doubt that he receives double the sum he ever did before; and it is probable, that by following the suggestions of the able and upright officer who manages the British affairs at his court, he will shortly be in affluence, and have a full treasury, to which he may recur in cases of emergency. At present, should only a lac or two of rupees be wanting, he must borrow it, or procure it by harsher means. This is entirely owing to mismanagement, for were the above provinces under the British Government, they would yield twice the sum at which they are estimated, without any additional burthen to the inhabitants.

Nothing can have been more prudent and conciliatory, than the conduct of the British since the connection between the two powers. No object has been pressed hastily or warmly, and every opportunity has been seized to oblige his Highness. By the treaty of Bassein he had been induced, at the particular request of the Company, to accommodate them by a grant of a small slip of sea-coast in Guzerat, valued at ten lac per annum; yet on a representation being made that the district of Olpar had formerly been in the possession of a Sirdar, to whom he was particularly attached,

it was immediately exchanged with his Highness for a district of equal value in Bundelcund, although Olpar was particularly desirable on account of its vicinity to Surat. It would be an object of the greatest importance to the British Government to obtain a cession of the tract of land below the Gauts from Damaun to Carwar, as it would complete the security of the sea coast from the Gulf of Cambay to the Indus; but unfortunately the greater part of this was a grant of the Mogul to Bajee Rao, the first Paishwa, as a jaghire, and being therefore considered by them as a private property of the family, they are extremely unwilling to alienate it. This reason was candidly admitted, and the subject dropt. Any alarm which might have been excited in the Paishwa's mind, (a mind timid from a deficient education, having been brought up by Brahmins in complete seclusion, where he was taught nothing but their religious ceremonies, of which he is a perfect master,) by the idea that the British wished to grasp at every thing, and merely to employ him as an instrument of their ambition, has been done away by the free gift of the strong fort of Ahmednuggur and the district around it, which was conquered by Major General Wellesley, and to which he had no claim; and still more strongly since, by their having engaged in a war with Holcar, on terms so beneficial to him, and so trifflingly advantageous to themselves, even if complete success should attend their arms.

The friendship which the Paishwa evidently feels for the British must, in a great degree, be attributed to the able conduct of Colonel Close, the Resident, but still more so to the confidence he places in the military and civil talents of General Wellesley, to whose active exertions he owes his re-establishment at Poonah, an

event that might never have taken place, had the service been entrusted to a less able officer. Rapidity of movement was in this, as in every other Indian war, of the first importance, and to render this practicable, a regular supply of provisions was absolutely necessary. Of this branch of the military art General Wellesley has shown himself a perfect master; and has added to it a decision in council, and a spirit in action, which have rarely appeared in India. The provinces which his arms have conquered, have been conciliated by the protection he has invariably afforded them from all military oppression; and a personal confidence has been excited by the suavity of his manners, and an invariable attention to their religious prejudices. Uniform success attended him in the Mahratta war; but since the disturbances excited by Holcar he has not commanded, and events have been less prosperous. It is natural therefore that the Paishwa should wish anxiously for his return, with a firm conviction that the tide of victory will again attend him. In this respect his Highness's expectations will, I think, be gratified.

Holcar, who is an active and able man, had very wisely employed the time, while his rival Scindiah was engaged in a destructive war, to occupy all the estates of his family, to replenish his coffers, and recruit his forces. Had he been satisfied with this, he might have tranquilly retained the possession, although an illegitimate son of the late Holcar, and consequently not the representative of the family; but, instead of this, he made the most unreasonable demands of property beyond Delhi, which, he said, had been held prior to the battle of Paniput; and, on being refused, commenced actual hostilities by levying contributions on the Jeypoor Rajah, an ally of the British. Colonel Monson entered his country, and took

Rampoora; but unfortunately despising his enemy too much, had his supplies of provisions cut off, and was obliged to make a retreat, in which he was pursued by Holcar, and lost a great number of men, and all his ammunition and cannon. It is probably in some respects fortunate that Holcar has been thus drawn to the northward, where he can make no impression against General Lake's army, as he might otherwise have plundered the plains of Guzerat, and done incalculable mischief to the Guikwar, an evil that is now prevented by the success of Colonel Wallace.

The original Mahratta system of warfare had been greatly changed by Scindiah: instead of vast bodies of cavalry, which by forced marches would attack an unsuspecting province, and retire with their booty before a sufficient force could be assembled to resist them, he attempted to establish an army of infantry, disciplined after the European system, and commanded by European officers. As these increased in numbers, he diminished the other, but fortunately was seduced by his vanity into a war with the British, before his plans had been matured. Warned by his fate, Holcar has, in a great degree, depended on his cavalry, of which he has eighteen thousand, independent of twelve thousand Pindanis, or undisciplined free booters, while his infantry does not amount to above ten thousand men. Such a force as this can make little resistance to the army opposed to him, when under General Wellesley, whose appearance will give confidence to all. As he will undoubtedly have the same powers from the Governor-General of negotiating, as well as fighting, no delay need intervene in restoring tranquillity to the country. This is one great advantage in employing an officer, in whom the Supreme Government can place

unlimited confidence. Much may be done at the moment of victory, which would be impracticable were an application necessary to the seat of Government; more particularly in a war with a Mahratta power, whose whole system of policy is delay. Had not General Wellesley been authorised to treat after the battle of Assaye, without referring to Calcutta, the enemy would have had time to recover their panic, recruit their forces, and prepare for another war.

CHAPTER IV.

Departure from Poonah.—Arrival at Chinchoor.—Visit to a supposed Incarnation of Gunputty.—History of the Founder of his Family.—Visit to the Rajah of Tillegam.—Account of the excavated Pagodas at Carli.—Visit to the Hill Fort of Low Ghur.—Visit to the Widow of Nana Furnese.—Return to Bombay.—Observations on Bombay.—Fortifications—Town—Dock-yards.—Marine.—Trade.—Insalubrity of Climate.—Country Residences in the vicinity.—Manner of living.—Establishment of the Bombay Literary Society.—Evils attendant on the cheapness of spirits.—Character of the Persees.—Embassies to Persia.—Visit to the Pagodas at Salsette and Elephanta.

CHAPTER IV.

OCTOBER 22.—At sunrise I departed from the hospitable mansion of Colonel Close, where I had spent ten most pleasant days, under a salute from the lines. Soon afterwards the village of Ound was pointed out to me, as a remarkable instance of the manner in which the possessions of the different Chieftains of the Mahratta empire were separated from each other. This little district, though surrounded on every side by the territories of the Paishwa, is the property of Scindiah, while, at the other extremity of the empire, Culpee belongs to his Highness. In the same manner Waufgorn, though only twenty-four miles north of Poonah, gave birth to the family of Holcar, to whom also belongs Kooch, on the banks of the Jumna. This intermixture of estates was formerly considered beneficial, as preventing a separation of interests; but now that the union of these independent Princes is at an end, it has been proposed to exchange such detached possessions, and consolidate the territories of each.

My palanquin bearers were very lazy, so that I did not reach the encampment at Chinchoor till nine o'clock. I found assembled there Colonel Chalmers and my other friends, who had kindly attended me thus far, that we might together visit the extraordinary personage, described by Captain Edward Moore, in the seventh volume of the Asiatic Researches, and who is believed, by a large

proportion of the Mahratta nation, to be an incarnation of their favourite deity Gunputty. Immediately on my arrival I sent a messenger to Chinta-mun-Deo, who is the present reigning Deity, with the usual compliments, notifying my intention of paying him a visit in the evening, and requesting that he would, in the mean time, send to me some learned Brahmins, who could give me an account of his family. A most gracious answer was returned; and with the most learned of his Brahmins came one of his own relations.

Colonel Close undertook most kindly to make every inquiry that I wished, and by his assistance, and that of Captain Frissell, I collected the following history of the Deo's ancestors.

Mooraba Gosseyn was a native of Beder, and a Mahratta or country Brahmin. In his youth he would attend to no business, but used to run up and down the country collecting flowers, and offering them to the deities. His father, finding he could make nothing of him, turned him out of doors. In passing Moraishwer, near Baramutty, he was struck with the deity Gunputty, and determined to pay him regular devotion. He however went on to Chinchoor, which had then but two houses, and no name: pleased with the spot, he took up his residence there. In the morning he regularly performed the ablutions in the river, and then set off for Moraishwer, distant twenty-five coss, where he performed his devotions to Gunputty, and at night returned to Chinchoor. The Pingli family of Mahratta Brahmins were at that time in great power at Moraishwer, and performed the Pooja. On the first grand festival of Gunnais Chout, Mooraba, having prepared his necessary offerings and flowers, conceived great hopes of his being able to perform the ceremony, which he thought would be particularly

meritorious. The Pingli Brahmins being in possession of the civil power, performed the ceremonies with great splendour. Mooraba, being poor, could not approach for the crowd of richer suppliants. At this he was severely mortified, but at length retired to the foot of a Naipte tree, which still exists there, performed his Pooja, and left his offerings. In the evening he, as usual, returned to Chinchoor. In the course of the night the offerings were transposed, Mooraba's being placed before the Deity, while the Pingli's were found at the foot of the tree. The Poojanie Brahmins, astonished and alarmed, inquired to whom the accepted offerings belonged, and learned that a Cokan Brahmin had been there the day before, had performed his devotion at the foot of the tree, and had since disappeared.

On Mooraba's appearance the following day, the event was instantly communicated to the Pingli, who ordered him to be brought before them. On their interrogating him respecting the whole business, he simply related what had passed. They then demanded where he lived; he replied "below the Gauts, but the place has no name: you may come along, and see where it is, if you please." Believing this to be impossible from the distance, unless he were a sorcerer, they immediately ordered him to be driven across the river, and forbad his return under pain of punishment.

Mooraba was now completely heart-broken. He laid himself down at the foot of a Mimosa, and humbling himself before the Deity, deprecated his wrath; and declared his willingness to give up his life to him, which he conceived necessary, as he could not eat till he had performed his devotions, and he was now completely debarred from the possibility of doing so. On looking up he perceived a Brahmin standing before him, who was, in reality,

Gunputty. He inquired the cause of his grief, and after hearing his whole story, comforted him, offered him utensils and provisions, and added that he would himself conduct him to the Deity. To this arrangement Mooraba objected, stating, that if the sacrifice were made of things not procured by himself, he should have no merit. Mooraba therefore requested that the Brahmin would advance him the money necessary to purchase the offerings, and would, as a security, keep his lota, or small vessel in which he was accustomed to dress his provisions. To this the Brahmin replied, that without his lota he could not mix up the offering; that therefore he should first procure the articles, and, after the ceremony was over, and the lota washed, it might be given as a pledge. To this proposal Mooraba assented, and, attended by the Brahmin, went into the town, no where meeting with any obstruction. After the devotions were over, they returned to the foot of the tree, and eat together. Mooraba then went down to the river to wash his lota, that he might give it to the Brahmin, but on his return he could no where see him. Mooraba now feared the shopman might have been cheated, and therefore returned to him for the purpose of lodging his lota in pledge; but, finding that the Brahmin had paid for every thing, returned to Chinchoor with his lota.

That night Gunputty appeared in a dream to the Pingli Brahmins, and other magistrates, and told them he was extremely offended at their ill usage of the poor Brahmin, who had shown so much devotion to him by his daily pilgrimages, and so much zeal by his offerings, and that therefore he was determined to be served by him, and to quit them. Mooraba arrived, as usual, in the morning at the foot of the tree, but dared not to approach any

farther without his friendly Brahmin. As soon as his arrival was notified to the Pingli, they set out to visit him, attended by the magistrates and other Brahmins. Poor Mooraba, extremely alarmed after the ill usage he had already received, retreated as they advanced. They however at length induced him to stop, by assurances that they only came to pay their respects to him. They then told him the dream they had had, and requested he would stay at Moraishwer. This he positively refused. They then demanded where he lived. He said they might send a man with him who would see. This they did, but the man could only keep up with him for ten coss. He then lost him, and returned to the Pingli. Mooraba himself returned in the morning to his devotions. The Pingli again sent a person with him, who again returned, having got only ten coss, as before.

This continued for some time; at length Gunputty appeared in a dream to Mooraba, still preserving the form of the friendly Brahmin, and told him that he had too much trouble to go every day to Moraishwer to perform his devotions; that, the next morning he, Gunputty, would visit him at his own habitation, and take up his abode with him. The morning ablutions of Mooraba were performed up to his middle in the river: he, as usual, dipped his hands, joined together, and his head at the same time, under the water; when he raised them up again, he was equally surprised and delighted, to discover in his hands the image of Gunputty, as worshipped at Moraishwer. On recognising this, he took it home, smeared it with red paint, prepared a shrine for it, and ever afterwards performed his pooja to it, without thinking it necessary to visit Moraishwer. The fame of the Deity's taking up his residence

at Chinchoor brought thither a great number of Brahmins, and one of great respectability offered his daughter to Mooraba. They were married, and after a certain time the God appeared in a dream to Mooraba, and told him his wife was with child, that he would have one son only, and that that son would be himself, "woh humara avatar howega." He therefore directed him to call his name "Chintau-mun-Deo," which was one of the titles of Gunputty.

The event of course fulfilled the prophecy of the Deity, and Chintau-mun-Deo received the adorations of the surrounding country. He, in his turn, had a son, who was called Narain Deo, and from that time they have taken this name, and that of Chintau-mun-Deo alternately; the seventh in descent being the present Deo, and who goes by the latter name. Major Moore calls him Bawa, and his father Gabajee, but these are only familiar appellatives, like Baba, Appa, Nana, so common among the Mahrattas, and so puzzling to strangers. Each Deity at his death has been burnt, and invariably a small image of Gunputty has miraculously arisen from the ashes, which is placed in a tomb and worshipped.

I asked my informers whether Chintau-mun-Deo, who was himself an avatar, performed pooja to his other self as taken out of the water; they replied, certainly, for that the statue was greatest, nor was his power diminished by the avatar. I then wished to know how it was clear that the descendants of Chintau-mun-Deo were avatars. They replied that when Gunputty first took up his residence with Mooraba Gosseyn, he was asked by him how long he would stay with him, and was assured it should be for twenty-one generations. As Captain Moore had stated that it was only for

seven generations, I repeated my inquiries, but they were positive it was for twenty-one. I suggested the possibility of a failure of the male line, which they would by no means admit, declaring that Gunputty had made the promise, and he would take care to fulfil it. I think however they have not acted with their usual prudence, for the present Deo has no son, and his wife is still a child; were any accident to happen to him before she is old enough to have children, I think the Brahmins, ingenious as they are, would have some difficulty in carrying on the imposture.

Captain Moore mentions the constant miracle of the Deo's expenses being so much greater than his income: this might easily be accounted for by the secret contributions of other Brahmins, who are essentially interested in the imposture, or by the supposition of a secret treasure having fallen into their hands, by no means a singular circumstance in a country, where perpetual danger induces every body to bury a large part of their property, without intrusting the secret to any one. Of this some conjecture may be drawn from an event, that has lately taken place at Bisnagur. A man has appeared there, who declares that he is sent by heaven to rebuild that ancient city; he has actually laid out the plan of the new town in a regular manner, with gardens to each house, and goes on building rapidly. Whenever he wants money, he goes to the top of a hill, where he declares he receives it from heaven, but probably he has discovered some secret treasure, from which he draws such ample resources.

The Deo resides on the opposite side of the river, in a very excellent house for the country, part of which was built by old Nana Furnese, and part by Hurry Punt. We went over in a boat, and

landed at the place where the former Deos were buried: they were burnt, and their ashes deposited in small stone pagodas. In each is the Gunputty that appeared on the occasion; they are of different sizes, without any merit. The temple of the first deity is the largest, and is of stone without ornaments; the walls very thick, with strong doors, and bolts on the inside. Our Brahmin friends accompanied us, and pointed out every object. We did not enter the little buildings, but approached close to the doors. When we reached the habitation of the Deo, we were seated in the verandah described by Captain Moore; the small door was open, which communicated with the room where the Deo was seated, on a small elevation; but as the room was dark, he was hardly discernible. I presented a nazur, as did the Colonel. The money was given into the hands of a Brahmin, who laid it at his feet. He looked at it attentively, and then motioned to have it taken away.

After a compliment, the people enquired if there were not a medical gentleman with us. On being informed that there was, the Brahmin said, the Deo wanted his assistance. A window had been opened, which gave us a full view of him; he was a heavy looking man, with very weak eyes; it was to relieve these that he now applied for assistance. Mr. Murray said he wished to examine them. The Deo accordingly moved forward on his seat, close to the light, and Mr. Murray was admitted into the sanctum sanctorum. His Godship was too anxious about his eyes to recollect his dignity; he explained his case himself, and answered pertinently to all questions. A film had grown completely over both eyes, so that little assistance could be afforded without constant attendance, and that, it was impossible to give. He would not permit Mr.

Murray to touch his eyes, as he said he had then performed his ablutions for the day. In the morning there would have been no such objection, as he could have been purified; but now he was only waiting for our departure to have a large party of Brahmins dine with him, and there was no time for purification. Almonds were brought to him, of which he took a handful, and emptied them into mine, which I held underneath to receive them. I entered the inner apartment, as did the other gentlemen in their turns. He took care that no one touched him. He also gave me a pan full of rice, which he said was of a very fine sort, and particularly holy.

We now took leave, and Mr. Murray told him he would send him something for his eyes. He said, if I had any enquiries to make, he would answer them. I merely asked if I should reach my home in safety. The reply of course was, that every thing prosperous would attend me. The Brahmins returned with us, but before their departure took occasion to observe, that they worshipped him, but he worshipped Gunputty. This brahminical imposture has been of great use to the country during Holcar's invasion. It was never plundered, which was probably owing to the Chief's superstition; but the Brahmins attribute it to a miracle. They told us several stories: as that, when some Patans attempted to approach the town, they saw a guard of supernatural horse drawn up to protect it; and that another party, that came even to the tope in which we were encamped, close to the river, and directly opposite the holy burial place, were seized with such violent pains in their bowels, that they were obliged to retire in dismay. On our return we were pestered with several beggars.

October 23.—At day light we took leave of our hospitable friends,

and with ease reached Tillegam to breakfast. I was met, about a mile from the town, by the Rajah's cousin, who attended me to the tents, where he and the minister paid their compliments, and delivered an invitation from the Rajah to visit him: which I promised, as I found, by enquiries at Poonah, that he was a respectable man, a Mahratta, holding under that government, on the tenure of military service only. He was formerly powerful, but at present, like many others, is much reduced. As his territories lie between Poonah, where the British subsidiary force is generally stationed, and the Presidency of Bombay, it is advisable to be on good terms with him. One anecdote does him great credit: he fed nearly the whole of his village during the late famine.

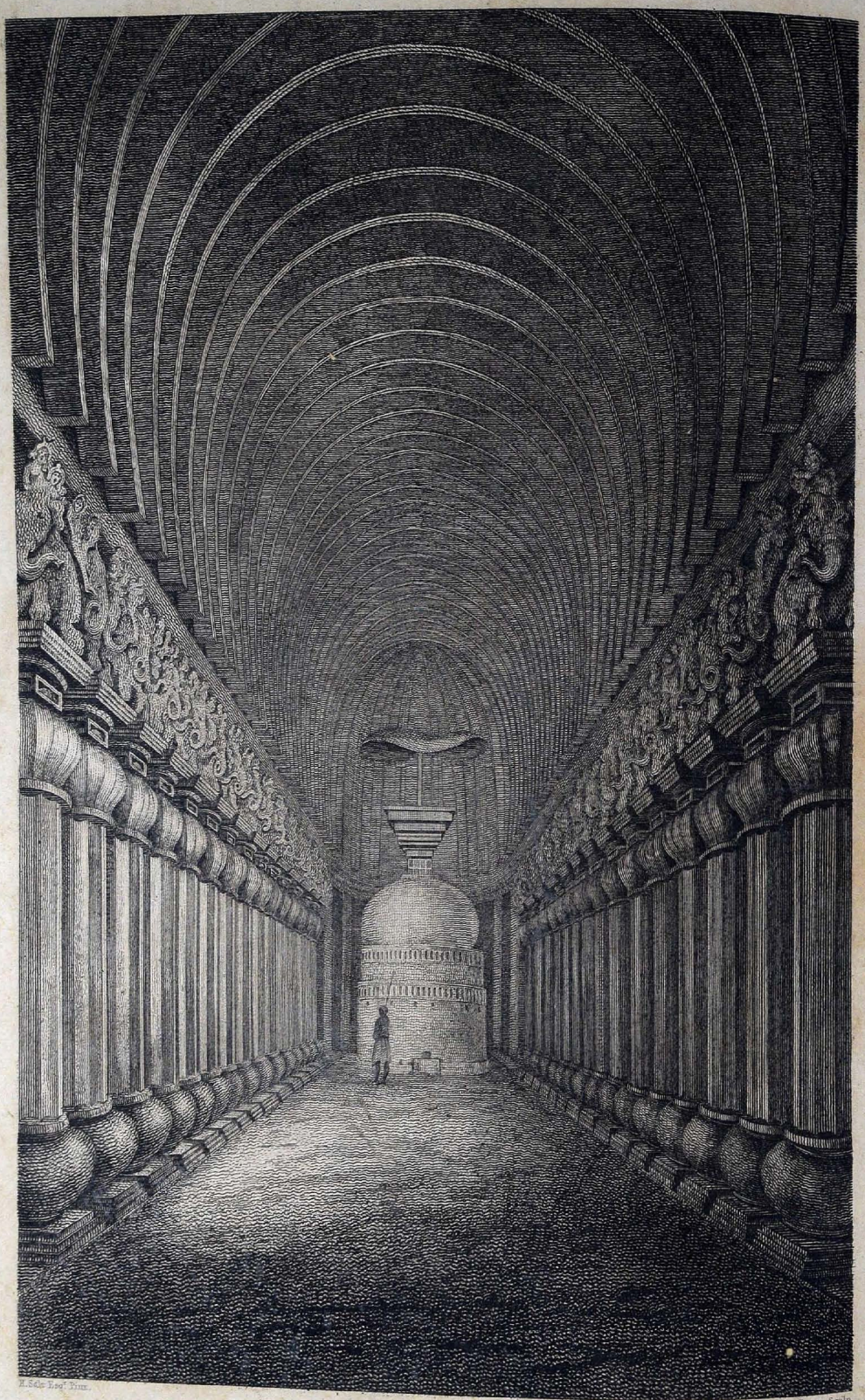
Four o'clock was the time settled for our visit, as he wished us to take a repast with him, and had sent for our table, knives, forks, and spoons: the Ministers came to attend us. The town was larger than I supposed, and seemed thriving; his own residence bore the marks of ancient splendor. He received us in a small verandah on the ground floor, covered with a piece of velvet carpeting. Several decently dressed people were around him. He was rather a young man, with a good-natured open countenance. To our enquiries after his health, he answered in English, that he was very well. His English interpreter then said, he was there to teach him that language. Mr. Frissel found that he also spoke Persian tolerably: a very remarkable proof in a Mahratta of a desire to acquire information. We adjourned to the repast up stairs, where we found some good meat curries, and a bottle of brandy, a liquor I did not expect in a Rajah's house, but to which he has the character of being considerably attached.

On returning down stairs, it was whispered to Mr. Frissel that there were more gentlemen present than he expected, and that therefore he had not prepared presents for all of them. It was settled that a distinction would be indecorous, and that he should offer them only to me. They consisted of a dress, a part of which he wished to put on, but Mr. Frissel told him it could not be permitted: he tied a small serpaish round my hat. The minister inundated me with plain water instead of rose water, which was not very pleasant. I had however the pleasure of afterwards seeing all the rest of the party undergo the same punishment. Pawn and attar were served round, and we took our leave. We had a party of Bazeegurs or Nats, who are described by Captain Richardson in the seventh volume of the Asiatic Researches, to amuse us at our tents. The women tumbled very actively, and were remarkably robust figures. Their small tents were pitched without the town, and were in size like those of our gipsies. Captain Richardson has, in the work above quoted, pointed out other circumstances of resemblance, that certainly justify, in a very great degree, his conjecture of their having a common origin. The similarity of language is almost a conclusive argument.

October 24.—In order to visit the Caves of Carli to more advantage, we had the tents pitched at the foot of the hill, which contains these interesting antiquities. It is nearly opposite to the fort of Low Ghur, distant about four miles, directly across the vale. The chain of hills here runs nearly east and west, but this protrudes from them at right angles. The chief cave fronts due west. There are also a few in a bluff point at the southern extremity, the entrances to which are visible from the bottom. The whole road was

covered with small agates, of which I collected a few. It was a long stage, and I did not reach the ground till eleven. The Killadar of Esapoor paid me a visit, and informed me that he had received orders to show me the fort of Low Ghur. In the evening, Hurry Punt Bow, deputy to Cundeh Row Rastieh, Ser Soobah of the Gokan, who was on his road to the country below the Gauts, came also to wait on me, and brought presents of fruit, &c. Cundeh Row, being supreme head of Low Ghur, Esapoor, and most other forts in the country, had sent Hurry Punt to represent him, and receive my visit. He was a fine old man, with a white beard, and smiling countenance. I gave him notice of my intention to be there on the 26th, to breakfast, and desired guides to be sent.

October 25.—Breakfast was sent up to the caves, and we went there before the sun became hot. The ascent was steep, but rendered easy by steps which had been cut in the rock. The whole brow of the hill was covered with jungle, which concealed the caves till we came to an open space of about one hundred feet, which had been levelled by the cutting away of the sloping hill, till a perpendicular surface of about fifty feet had been found in the solid rock. Here a line of caverns had been excavated, the principal of which struck me with the greatest astonishment from its size, and the peculiarity of its form. It consisted of a vestibule of an oblong square shape, divided from the temple itself, which was arched, and supported by pillars. The accompanying view will give a better idea than words can, of its internal appearance. The length of the whole is one hundred and twenty six feet, the breadth forty six feet. No figures of any deities are to be found within the pagoda, but the walls of the vestibule are covered with carvings



R. Elliot Esq. Del.

J. Landseer Sculp.

INTERIOR OF CARLI CAVE.

Published May 1. 1809. by W. Miller Albemarle Street.

in alto-relievo of elephants, of human figures of both sexes, and of Boodh, who is represented in some places as sitting cross-legged, with his hands in the posture common among the Cingalese; in others he is erect, but in all he is attended by figures in the act of adoration; and in one place two figures standing on the lotus are fanning him with chouries, while two others are suspending a rich crown over his head. I think, therefore, that it is beyond dispute that the whole was dedicated to Boodh. The detail of the different ornaments and figures, with drawings of them, I sent to the Bombay Literary Society, in whose works they will appear: it is therefore unnecessary to repeat them here. The inscriptions are numerous in different parts, and are all in the same unknown character which is found at the Seven Pagodas, and is described in the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches. We copied all that we could discover, and chalked over the letters for the benefit of any traveller that might come after us. There may be others concealed under the coat of chunam which still covers a great part of the wall; where it is broken off, the marks of the chissel are perfectly visible.

The ribs on the roof, which are seen in the drawing, are of wood, and are very difficult to be accounted for. They cannot be supposed to be of an equal age with the excavation, yet who would have been at the expense of replacing them? The followers of Boodh no longer worship here; the country is in possession of their great enemies, the Brahmins, and the pagoda itself is considered as haunted by evil spirits, in defiance of the vicinity of the holy goddess Bowanny; so much so, that the native draftsman who drew the cave at Ellora for Sir Charles Mallet, could not be induced to

accompany us by any persuasion of Colonel Close, declaring that if he did, the evil spirit would injure him.

Without the vestibule stands a pillar twenty-four feet high and eight feet in diameter, on which is a single line in the unknown characters. On the capital are four lions, much resembling the Chinese. Opposite to it was another pillar, but it was removed about forty years ago, to make room for the insignificant temple of Bowannie, which now occupies its place. A view of the whole front, which was too large to be introduced in this work, is given by Mr. Salt in his Indian Views.

The Paishwa has settled a revenue on Bowannie's pagoda, and there is a regular establishment of Brahmins to attend her, while the splendid abode of Boodh is completely neglected.

A line of caves extends from about one hundred and fifty yards to the north of the great one. These are all flat-roofed, of a square form, and appear to have been destined for the attendants on the pagoda. In the last is a figure of Boodh, and in another is an inscription. They evidently were never finished.

A veil at present is suspended over the relative antiquity of the Boodhists and the Brahmins, which may possibly be hereafter removed; but these hopes are lessened by the recollection, that all the learning that has yet been found in India, has been in the possession of the Brahmins, who seem to have completely triumphed over their dangerous rivals, the Boodhists, who profanely gave precedence to the Royal Cast, above the holy race of the Priesthood. Mr. Salt began to draw the front; Captain Young, with my servant, to measure and lay down the dimensions; Messrs. Friesel and Murray to copy the inscriptions; and I to take notes. By noon I

Ground Plan of Carli Cave.

TANK

PATH WAY

VESTIBULE

Pillars

HALL

Pillars

Modern Swamey House

5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Scale of Feet

Outhett del.

Cooper Sc.

Published May 1st 1809 by Wm Miller Albemarle Street.

discovered that, with all the friendly assistance I was receiving, it would be impossible either to finish the drawings of the figures, or to copy the inscriptions, in the course of the day, I therefore sent a messenger to Hurry Punt to put off my visit to the 27th. We worked all day, and went down to dinner. In the evening, Captain Young received a note from a Lieutenant Ambrose of the 7th native regiment, who was on his way from Panwell to Poonah. I requested he would invite him to join our party the next morning. The weather was evidently growing cooler, for at night it was quite cold.

October 26.—Lieutenant Ambrose joined us. I was sorry to find that he had lain last night under a mango tree, in the tope where we had encamped in going up, without any thing to cover him. He was a lively pleasing, young man, who had been in the navy during the Egyptian expedition. He afforded us great assistance in copying the inscriptions. Before night I was happy to find, that we were possessed of every inscription and necessary admeasurement. Mr. Salt's work was more extensive; he therefore determined not to accompany us to Low Ghur, but again to visit the caves on the morrow, and join us at the mango tope, whither we meant to remove our encampment. To the Brahmins who attended the small pagoda, dedicated to Bowannie, and to others who lived in the great cave, we gave some rupees, as they had been civil and useful.

October 27.—Very early all the party, except Messrs. Salt and Smith, set off for Low Ghur. The road across the valley was good, but when we began to ascend, the palanquins were of little use. We saw a line of caves facing due west on our left under the hill, on the summit of which is the fort of Esapoor. My servant visited

them by my orders, to examine if there were any thing worthy of inspection. He reported that there was a small arched temple, similar in plan to that at Carli, but that the pillars were plain, and there was not any inscription or figure of Boodh, and that smaller flat caves were on each side, but uninteresting; we did not therefore take the trouble of climbing to them. Hurry Punt had taken great pains to render our ascent easy. The bushes were cut away on both sides, and in many parts, the road had been levelled. The mount we ascended was part of Esapoor; we left the fort rather to the left, and as we came close to it, we were hailed from it. The walls were covered with men, and on the reply that it was the Lord Sahib, they sounded the trumpets, and gave a cheer.

At the top we were met by the acting Killadar of Esapoor, who conducted us to the village at the bottom of the rock, on which Low Chur is built. Here we left the palanquins, which had only been of use the last half mile. We mounted by a very steep path that led in a zig-zag direction to the top. There are five gates with parapets and loop holes for musquetry: these were far from adding to the strength of the place, as in many parts they afford lodgements for a storming party. At every gateway was a guard. In the open space before the hall of audience, Hurry Punt was ready to receive me. He conducted me to the durbar, where a guddy was placed with one pillow. He sat down on the left of it; I seated myself in state upon it: my party on my right hand; his, beyond him on the left. After a few compliments, we adjourned to a breakfast prepared for us in a verandah, near at hand, and afterwards, in defiance of the heat, walked round the fort.

On the north side is a range of decayed cannon which were

always useless, as the height of the perpendicular rock is too great, on every side, to be stormed. Towards the west, a very extraordinary ledge extends several hundred yards in length, by about twenty wide. A wall is built along, on each side, to prevent accidents: at small distances are houses, inhabited by the guard, which we found drawn out to receive us. Though this ledge is lower than the main body of the fort, yet it is of sufficient height to prevent any attack, the rock being perfectly bare, and perpendicular. The whole in shape considerably resembles a tadpole, the fort representing the body, and this ledge the tail. From the summit the view was very extensive: the sea beyond Bombay appeared to the west; inland a chain of hills was visible in every direction, whose tops frequently rose into fortified summits, with rocky sides, as perpendicular as Low Ghur. The most extraordinary circumstance was the regularity of the strata, and the equal height of the rocky sides: were the line continued from one hill to another, it would touch the corresponding parts of similar strata. The summits were mostly green, and capable of cultivation. Low Ghur has numerous tanks, and several small streams from the springs above were falling down the rocks. Esapoor is higher, and only a musquet-shot from Low Ghur. Were the former, however, in the hands of an enemy, it could do but little harm, as this place is very extensive, and is protected from shot by rocks in almost every direction. Lieutenant Ambrose had been here before, when it was surrendered to the British arms. He told us that the quantity of ammunition and stores of all kinds was prodigious.

Dondoe Punt was the person who had been intrusted with the custody of the fort by Nana Furnese, and refused, after his death, to

give it up. Here Nana had deposited all his treasures, the plunder of the treasury at Poonah, and the savings of his administration. Here also resided his widow. Dondoe at first demanded the restoration of Nana's adherents to their offices under the state, which, of course, the Paishwa could never consent to, they having all been rebellious, both under Nana, and afterwards under Imrut Row. At length he gave up this point, and only required permission for himself and the widow to retire with their private property. He always denied that there was any of Nana's there, but the Paishwa thought otherwise, and conceived that when he had concluded the treaty with the English, they would take it for him by force. General Wellesley negociated for him, and on Dondoe's promising to behave as a faithful subject of the Paishwa, he was permitted to hold the fort. When, however, his Highness went, as he annually does, to bathe in the Kistna, the garrison of another fort, held by the same man, fired on him, and would not permit him to pass to a pagoda. This the General took up, and threatened to storm Low Ghur. At length terms were agreed upon: Dondoe gave up the place, retired with his personal property to Tanna, and the widow to Panwell. Their personal safety was guaranteed by the British, and 12,000 rupees per ann. were secured to the widow. She has also one of Nana's houses to retire to at Poonah, whenever she pleases.

The garrison seems numerous, but as the followers of Hurry Punt and the Killadar of Esapoor were there, I cannot guess the amount: to have asked, would have been useless. The buildings are miserable. The old gentleman, when I took my leave, presented a handsome pair of shawls, a piece of kincaub, and a piece of cloth. We examined the gateways as we came down, and I am quite convinced,

that the whole of the artificial works much lessen the natural strength of the place. Each high side of the way forms a sheltering place, secure against all attacks from the top, whether of musquetry, or their more usual weapons, large stones rolled down from above. The gateways and parapets have the same effect. Had the whole been scalped off, and only a strong work at the top, I believe no earthly power could have taken it. It is considered as the strongest fort in the Paishwa's possession, and an order from him was necessary to see it. The magazines are cut in the rock, but are now nearly empty; however, as the state grows richer, they will probably be replenished.

October 28.—We set off for the top of the Gaut. Candalla had presented too melancholy a spectacle for us to wish to stay there again; we therefore went on to the point, about a mile beyond. The scene was magnificent. The small plain which served for our encampment was on the extremity of a tongue of the table land. On one side the sea was visible; on the other Low Ghur, and the other hills: close to us, between these objects, was a woody glen, with impassable rocky sides, the depth of the whole gaut, at one extremity of which a cascade fell two or three hundred feet. In the rainy season it must be tremendous. Mr. Salt took a view of it as it was, but the scale reduced the stream to insignificance. Captain Young is Commissary for the supplying of the British subsidiary force with rice; and by contracting on moderate terms, and to be paid only for what he actually delivered, put an end to one of the most enormous abuses that existed. We here met several of his bullocks loaded with rice, which he stopped, and humanely gave two seer to each person who came to us from the village. It is an

almost incredible circumstance, but which strongly marks the patient forbearance, the resignation of the Hindoo, that during the whole of the late dreadful famine, grain has passed up to Poonah through villages, where the inhabitants were perishing themselves, and, what is still more dreadful, seeing their nearest relatives perishing for want, without a single tumult having taken place, or a single convoy having been intercepted!

October 29.—As we walked down the Gauts, the change in the climate was very evident. The heat was most oppressive, with not a breath of air. We encamped at Colapore, which we had left on the right as we went up, where we found in the Choultry an old woman dead, a lad nearly so, and a young woman much reduced. We first gave some congee to the boy, which his stomach bore, and afterwards some rice, so that I hope the poor wretch will survive. The old woman was buried, and the young one went off gaily with a sufficient sum to keep her till provisions shall be again in plenty. We had fowls and eggs from the Patale of the village. Our people were all better, though some were still obliged to be carried.

October 30.—We encamped eight miles from Panwell. Colonel Close's kindness still followed us; a basket of fruit, vegetables, and butter, reaching us this morning. The night was cold.

October 31.—Before day-light I was in my palanquin. By eight I reached Panwell. I received the compliment of sweet cakes from Nana's widow, and learned that her brother Purseram Punt had arrived four days before from Poonah to assist in receiving me. He had been confined by the Paishwa, together with the other connections of the Nana, till the British interest obtained his release, when he became a constant visitor to the Residency. He is a modest, well-

behaved young man, and in great favour with the Colonel. When presented to me, I expressed a wish to see his sister on my return, and asked whether it was against the Mahratta custom, that no purdah should be between us? He allowed that, by their own principles, there would be no impropriety in my seeing her, but that they had adopted from the Mussulmauns, since they had been so powerful in India, the custom of keeping their women concealed. He, however, promised to do his best for me, if I would visit her on my return to Panwell; to which I consented. He did not appear in the morning, nor Dondoe Punt, the late Governor of Low Ghur, who had come down on a visit to the widow, probably also to assist in receiving the visit. As I suspected that their absence was meant as a mark of dignity, in stealing the compliment of the first visit, Mr. Frissel sent to them to say, that he expected they would come here. The answer was, they were coming immediately, which they did.

Dondoe is a laughing old man, and talks a great deal. He soon began with Mr. Frissel about his own merits in giving up the fort to us, and his claims to compensation. To this but little was replied. We asked him respecting some steps down into the rock at the narrow end of the fort. He said it was intended by one of the Sattera Rajahs, who visited the fort, to have made another outlet at that end, but it had never been completed. He allowed he had only three months provisions when he capitulated. The garrison, in his time, varied from one to three thousand men, according to circumstances. He had lived there thirty years without ever descending, and complained that the climate below did not agree with him, but supposed he should soon get accustomed to it. He said that

several hundred horses, which he had brought down with him, had all perished. Captain Young said in English, it was a great blessing to Panwell, where most of them were kept, for his followers had plundered the whole country to maintain them. We did not, after this observation, express much pity for his loss. Four o'clock was the hour fixed for visiting the lady. He said he heard I meant to visit Salsette, and he should be happy to entertain me. If I did not go to Tannah, where he lived, he would meet me at the caves; to which proposal I assented.

At four the whole party set off with my suwarry. The little widow's house is not large, and most of the people in it are Brahmins. We were introduced into a small court, and seated on carpets covered with a white cloth, in a verandah, at the end of which was a door with a purdah of rushes, through which it would have been easy to distinguish any object, had not the room beyond been darkened. As I took no notice of the widow not being visible, the attendants began the subject by repeating the observations her brother had made at Poonah about the Mussulmaun women. It was evident they meant me to see her, from their having fixed up a linen curtain to conceal her from the people in the court of the house, I therefore wished to hasten them on, and replied, that it was very well, they might do as they pleased, and that I was satisfied. They knew I was not, and wished me to go nearer the purdah, which I refused. The brother then began to observe that, as I was going to England, he hoped, now that I knew his sister, I would be a friend to her there. I told him that I knew nothing of his sister; I only knew a purdah that was hung before her, and to that only I could be a friend. He laughed, and went again to speak

to his sister. I and Mr. Frissel approached close to the purdah, and he spoke directly to her, and she replied.

After innumerable difficulties we were gratified with a sight of her: she was really a very pretty girl, fair, round faced, with beautiful eyes, and apparently about seventeen years of age. By the customs of India she can never marry. She is considered as the representative of the family of Nana, and as such is much looked up to by all his numerous dependants. She wishes to adopt a son, who would in that case succeed to the claims of the old man. These were too many, and too important, for the Paishwa to wish to see them revived; she will consequently never obtain her wish. She made several requests to us: first, that she might obtain some of her personal jewels, which the Paishwa had in his possession; and secondly, a garden-house near Poonah, which belonged to Nana. These requests Mr. Frissel assured her Colonel Close would employ his interest to procure for her. She will probably succeed. After some more conversation I received a dress, and Purseram Punt tied a serpaish on my hat. It was with difficulty I saved my coat from having the attar rubbed down the sleeves, but I begged to wave the honour, and, with Mr. Frissel's assistance, succeeded. No presents were made to the rest of the party. We returned home to dinner.

November 1.—The tide served at ten, when we embarked in the balloon, and reached Bombay about four. I was received, as usual, with a salute of thirteen guns. One of our poor fellows died as he was passing in the boat from Panwell; the rest were all recovered. Four of our escort had deserted, which made up the list of casualties. Bombay, as a place of consequence, owes its origin entirely to the Portuguese; for in 1530, when it was ceded to them,

it was merely a dependence on the chief residing at Tannah, in the island of Salsette. Its favourable position at the entrance of the finest harbour on the western shore of India, soon excited the attention of its new masters, and a fort was erected by them to defend the anchorage. Nevertheless, the vicinity to Goa, the capital of all the eastern possessions of the Portuguese, prevented it from becoming a place of any great importance during the time it continued in their hands; but, on being ceded to the English in 1662, as part of the portion of Queen Catharine of Portugal, it rapidly rose into consequence, and ultimately became the great naval arsenal of that nation, and an independent Presidency, though certainly only the third in rank.

The fortifications of Bombay have been improved as it has increased in trade and importance; and lately a very considerable addition was made to their strength by including Dungaree Hill within the fort. This place previously commanded the town; it is however doubtful whether it would not have been more advisable to level the hill, as the lines of defence were before too extensive, requiring a garrison of several thousand men to defend them, while there were rarely as many hundreds in the place. Towards the sea Bombay is extremely strong, and battery above battery completely commands the harbour: to the land side it by no means offers the same resistance; but this is of little consequence, as, at present, were an enemy once landed, and capable of making regular approaches, the town must surrender. The houses, which are lofty and combustible, approach so close to the walls, that were they once in flames, it would be impossible for any troops to stand on the ramparts. A bombardment would lay the whole town in ashes in

a few hours, and even the magazines themselves would probably share the same fate.

If Bombay, and the valuable arsenals and naval stores which it contains, are to be rendered secure against an enemy, a large proportion of the town ought to be destroyed, and the fortifications ought to be brought nearer to the dock-yard, and within a much narrower compass. Accident has rendered this a much easier and cheaperwork than it formerly would have been; for a most dreadful fire has reduced one third of the town to ashes, in the very division which would, were the above plan adopted, be thrown without the walls. It was with the utmost difficulty that the rest of the town was saved from destruction by the exertions of the Governor and the military. The old Government-house, which is within the old fort, was frequently on fire by the flakes that were carried towards it: had they been unable to extinguish it, the magazine must have shared the same fate, from its being close to it, and the unfortunate town would have been carried to all the points of the compass by the explosion of several thousand barrels of gunpowder.

To complete the plan of reducing the size of the fort, many houses must still be purchased, and pulled down; and the destroying of the old fortifications, and the erection of new, would carry the expense to a great height. It is hardly reasonable to expect, that this should be defrayed by the East India Company, who can only be considered as tenants under a short lease; but that it should be done by some arrangement with the Supreme Government at home, cannot for a moment be doubted, when it is considered, that our most implacable enemy has all his attention turned towards

our Indian possessions, and that in no place are we so vulnerable as at Bombay, from the smallness of the surrounding territory, and the distance from which all supplies must be drawn. If any hostile spirit does remain in the breasts of the Mahratta chieftains, and of which I fear there can be no doubt, Bombay affords to the French the only means of communication; and a brilliant success in an attack on that place would give spirits to every secret enemy, and induce them at once to throw off the mask. Of the ultimate result I should still have no fear; but the mischief of such a war would be incalculable, and the expense would be greater far than the alteration of the fort of Bombay, which the Governor seems to have some hopes will take place, for he has, for the present, refused permission to the inhabitants to rebuild their houses, which were consumed by the fire.

Many other alterations seem necessary to render Bombay as secure from a surprise as it is from an open attack. The public landing place is, at present, in the dock-yard, and a free access is allowed to this important spot during the whole of the day. At night centinels prohibit the approach; but the guard in the harbour is hardly sufficient to prevent boats from reaching it, without exciting suspicion; and so large is the bay, that an enemy might enter it at night, without being discovered by the solitary guard-ship, which is frequently its only protection. The expense that would attend the necessary precautions against this danger would be trifling, and cannot therefore be an impediment; but there seems to be a want of active zeal in those to whom the superintendence of the dock-yard is committed, that leaves it thus open to inspection, and, possibly, to eventual injury.

It is in the light of a marine arsenal that Bombay appears of the greatest importance, and its value has been hitherto little diminished by the conquest of Trincomalée, which, at present, affords only a scanty and precarious supply of fresh provisions for a fleet. Here are established docks for the repair of the King's ships, as well as of the vessels belonging to the East India Company's marine, an establishment that seems, at present, of little use, and of which the expense is incalculable. Most of the situations in it seem to have sunk into sinecure employments, and its very existence must have been doubted by its former enemies, the Pirates. If the East India Company are really in embarrassed circumstances, it appears to me that in no part of their establishment can they more easily œconomise than in the marine of Bombay; even if they do not think it advisable to abolish it at once. Were a new system adopted, and a reform carried into the higher and the lower orders, I believe the marine might become a respectable and useful establishment. As far as the exertions of an individual can go to the completion of this, I have no doubt that success will attend on Captain Money, the present Superintendent of the marine; but it will require the power and the perseverance of a Hercules to cleanse this Augean stable.

Some of the present arrangements of the marine seem to have been ingeniously formed for the sole purpose of acting contrary to the system of the King's navy. Instead of an officer who is appointed to a vessel, continuing for a length of time in her, till he is acquainted with the characters of those under him, it is a very unusual circumstance for an officer to command the same vessel for two successive voyages; and if, by accident, he should do so, it is

probable that he may lose every officer under him. I have known a Lieutenant to be appointed to three different vessels in four days; and the Panther cruizer had three different commanders in one week. This system of perpetual change, annihilates that pride which a Captain in the King's navy feels in the neatness and good condition of his ship, and leaves to the Bombay marine commander no motive for exerting himself to bring his vessel to the highest possible state of improvement. It has indeed no one advantage, and can only enable the Superintendent to provide whenever he pleases for a new favourite, and to keep in implicit obedience to his caprice the officers, who must be conscious that if they offend him, they can instantly be removed to the most disagreeable situations.

If the East India Company determine to make their marine a respectable body, this evil must be rectified as well as many others; they must increase the number of their officers, which, at present, bears so little proportion to the size and number of their vessels, that the Mornington of twenty-four guns, and the Ternate of sixteen, when they sailed from the Persian Gulf, had each only one Midshipman. They must inforce the proper regulations in their vessels, and make the officers amenable to a strict judicature; and, above all things, they must avoid exercising that most mischievous of all privileges, the reinstating such officers as have been dismissed by a court of inquiry. They must also arrange with his Majesty's Government the real situation of their marine officers, who, at present, claim, under their directions, a relative rank with the officers of the King's navy which is not recognised by them, owing to which disputes often occur, and more serious

consequences have frequently been expected to follow. The respectable officers of the marine would rejoice in every reformation, and would be fully repaid by the benefit which would accrue to the service for any losses that they themselves might sustain. That there are some men of high honour and unimpeached bravery in the marine, I can vouch from my own knowledge, and I cannot have the least doubt that there exist many others, whom it was not my good fortune to meet during my short stay at Bombay.

The establishment of the dock-yard is almost entirely composed of Persees, a people of whom I shall have much to say hereafter. It has been attempted to appoint an European master-builder, but the new comer has seldom long survived his arrival, and the only builders are now Persees. They are certainly fully equal to the business; but the absolute monopoly they possess has given rise to many abuses. The person who contracts to supply the timber, and the person who examines it on its receipt, are both Persees; consequently the articles are frequently of inferior quality. The master-builder has only people of his own persuasion under him; no complaint therefore is ever made of neglect of work on the one part, or of overcharges on the other. A still greater evil arises from the local circumstances of the dock-yard, which is a perfect thoroughfare, nay more, a fashionable lounging place for all the idlers of the town. The consequence is, that instead of working the whole day, many of the artificers only make their appearance to answer to their name at the hour of calling the roll, and if they please, depart immediately afterwards, without any possibility of their being convicted of the neglect of work; for the dock-yard is open to the town, and they may pass and repass as often as they

choose. The frauds which must arise from the same cause are incalculable, and call aloud for reform; than which nothing could be more easy, by the shutting up of the yard from all but the workmen and officers, and the introduction of the regulations of his Majesty's docks at Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Chatham. The Bombay Government have, to a certain degree, felt themselves obliged to submit to these abuses, from the dread of the Persees, as a body, giving up the ship-building business, of which they are the only possessors. I cannot myself believe that such would be the result from an attempt to reform abuses, though it might take place, if they conceived their monopoly was in danger, as they are a rich and independent people. With caution, every necessary arrangement might be formed, and the workmen be retained in a situation, for which, by their talents and experience, they are now so well adapted.

The Presidency of Bombay has sunk into political insignificance, since the supreme authority of Calcutta has undertaken all the arrangements with the Mahratta empire and its other neighbours; but in the late war, and indeed at this moment, it has a load thrown on it which it finds very difficult to bear; the supplying of the armies on this side India with provisions and money: in consequence of which, the outgoings per month are above fifteen lac of rupees, independent of the civil establishment; although its whole revenue, including the ceded districts in Guzerat, does not amount to above forty lac. The deficiency is provided for by bills on Bengal, and it shows a very favourable state of trade at Bombay, that so large a sum is procurable at no very high premium.

The trade of Bombay is at present, however, very inferior to what it was in former times, which is chiefly owing to the indulgences

given to the Arabs, particularly to the Imaum of Muscat, whose flag being recognised as neutral, his vessels sail to and from the Isle of France, carrying there provisions, and taking back prize goods, which they purchase at half their prime cost. The navigation-act with respect to them seems to be totally suspended in India: they enter their vessels at Bombay as English, and navigate from one part of the Peninsula to the other without having an European in the ship, or one rupee of the property in them belonging to a British subject. They have frequently a French protection also: so that they enjoy every privilege, and are French or English, as it suits their convenience. No wonder that their navy is rapidly increasing, while the English builders can hardly find sufficient employment to keep their gangs together.

Bombay has been said to receive its name from the Portuguese words bon bain, or good bay; but this, I believe, is a mistake, as it was the original name of the island before the Portuguese possessed it, and was probably called after a goddess Bomba, who is, as I am informed by Mr. Duncan, at present worshipped there. The town within the walls was commenced by the Portuguese, and even those that have been since built, are of a similar construction, with wooden pillars supporting wooden verandahs. The consequence is, that Bombay bears no external resemblance to either of the other Presidencies. The Government-house is a handsome building, with several good apartments, but it has the great inconvenience of the largest apartment on both floors being a passage room to the others. Mr. Duncan, from system, avoids all parade; and even admitting that the general principle were right, which, I have before observed, I believe not to be the case, it is here certainly carried to too great

an extreme, for a more ragged, dirty set of beings than the Government peons, I never beheld.

The view from the fort is extremely beautiful towards the bay, whose smooth expanse is here and there broken by the islands that are, many of them, covered with wood, while the lofty and whimsically shaped hills of the table land form a striking back ground to the landscape. The sea is on three sides of it, and on the fourth an esplanade, at the extremity of which is the black town, embosomed in a grove of cocoa-nut trees. The situation ought to be healthy, but unfortunately experience proves that it is not so. The fever is at present making most alarming ravages, and the liver complaint is more frequent and more fatal here, than in any part of India. Mr. Duncan and Dr. Scott assure me, that this season is more than usually unhealthy; but they both admit the general insalubrity of the place, and particularly, that exposure to the land breeze, which sets in every evening, is generally followed by a fever, and frequently by a loss of the use of all the limbs. This breeze is chillingly cold at present, and its deleterious effects may probably be attributed not only to this, but to the noxious vapours that it brings with it from passing over the rank vegetation which springs up in the marshy boundaries of the bay immediately after the rains are over. The Island of Salsette is still more unhealthy than Bombay, the jungle being closer, and the valleys more closed in. The young cadets that came out this year were sent to the new establishment at Varsova, when the fever immediately attacked them. They were instantly removed to Bombay, but many fell victims to the violence of the disease. Moderate living, cautiously avoiding opposite extremes, is found most conducive to health. Here, as in

other parts of India, gentlemen are to be met with, who have enjoyed their health in defiance of intemperance, or with great abstemiousness, and both recommend their own example; yet, in my mind, both are exceptions to a general rule: hundreds certainly perish from intemperance; and the abstemious life of the native by no means shelters him from fevers, and their result with him is more frequently fatal, from the impossibility of lowering his temperament when attacked.

The rage for country houses prevails at Bombay as generally as at Madras, and the same inconveniences attend it; for as all business is carried on in the fort, every person is obliged to come in the morning, and return at night. The Governor is almost singular in living constantly in town, having lent his country house at Perelle to Sir James Mackintosh. This place was the property of the Jesuits, and is the handsomest in the island. The apartments and verandahs are extremely handsome, and the former chapel on the ground floor is now a magnificent and lofty dining-room. It has, however, the inconvenience of not being open to the sea breeze, and appears to be far from healthy, for Sir James and Lady Mackintosh, with a great proportion of their family, have been attacked by an intermittent fever. The generality of the country houses are comfortable and elegant; and if they have not the splendid Grecian porticos of Calcutta and Madras, they are probably better adapted to the climate, and have most unquestionably the advantage of beautiful views; for even the Island of Bombay itself is broken by several beautiful hills, either covered with cocoa-nut tree groves, or villas of the inhabitants.

It cannot be expected that the third Presidency in point of rank,

should vie with the others in splendor or expense. The society is less numerous, and the salaries are smaller; economy is consequently more attended to by a kind of tacit compact; the style of living is however frequently elegant, and always comfortable and abundant. I confess, that having so lately quitted my native country, I preferred it to the splendid profusion of Calcutta. The necessaries of life are here dearer than in the other parts of India; the wages of servants are consequently much higher. Rice, the chief food of the lower orders, is imported from Bengal even in favourable years; at present the famine has raised it to an alarming price. Grateful, however, must the inhabitants be to Providence, for having, at such an eventful period, placed them under the British protection, and relieved them from those sufferings which afflict the nations around them. The subscriptions, which were entered into to extend this benefit beyond the limits of their territory, do honour to the gentlemen of the settlement. Hospitals were opened for the gradual administering of relief to such as were too much exhausted to feed themselves, and hircarrahs were placed on the confines to bring in those whose strength had failed them before they could reach the fostering aid that was held out to them by the hands of British benevolence. The preservation of several hundreds of thousands on the Malabar coast may be attributed to the overflowing supplies which Bengal was able to pour out for their support, in consequence of the fifty years tranquillity which she has enjoyed under her present masters. India, under one supreme controul, can never expect to feel the effects of famine; for a season which causes a scarcity in one part, generally produces an increase of produce in another; and the devastations of hostile armies will be at an end, which can

alone counteract this beneficent arrangement of Providence. For the sake of the population of sixty millions, as well as for our own sake, we may therefore wish that the British influence in India may remain unshaken by external force, or internal dissatisfaction.

A Society has been established at Bombay on a plan somewhat similar to the Bengal Asiatic Society, but it intends to limit itself to the present state of manners among the inhabitants, rather than to launch into ancient mythology, or the history of the country. Much I think may be expected from the active superintendence of Sir James Mackintosh, whose talents would throw a lustre on any society, and whose discourse on the first day of their meeting would have been heard with satisfaction by the father of Asiatic literature, by Sir William Jones himself. Sir James is ably supported by Mr. Duncan, who is, I believe, as learned as any European in the wild fancies of the Hindoo mythology, and was the writer of those papers, on the singular Hindoo customs at Benares, and the two fakeers that resided there, which were communicated by Sir John Shore to the Asiatic Society, but without stating from whom he had received the intelligence. To these are added the names of many other gentlemen, whose long residence in India, and known acquirements, may fairly justify an expectation in the public, that without rivalling their prototype at Calcutta, they may communicate much interesting information respecting that part of India which has come under their immediate observation.

One of the greatest evils in India is the cheapness of spirituous liquors, which leads to a dreadful mortality among the European soldiers, particularly on their first arrival. The quantity allowed by Government is too great, if not totally useless. In the field, it is

a gallon for every twenty men, or two drams each: at other times only half the quantity. This might probably do no harm, were it not that the soldier is able, at his own expense, to procure as much as he pleases, in addition, from the camp followers, who are licensed by Government, and pay a duty on all they sell. This plan has been adopted in preference to allowing the profits to be received by the commanding officers, which had led to the greatest abuses. To deprive the soldier of an injurious quantity of spirits is impossible in a country, where an execrable kind is sold at a low rate in every village; it has been therefore considered as more advantageous, to secure him a supply of a less deleterious kind. Could the quantity allowed by the Government be reduced one half, a diminution would no doubt take place in the deaths; and every exertion ought unquestionably to be made, to preserve the lives of persons, so valuable to their country, as the soldiers employed in India.

The greater proportion of the inhabitants of Bombay are Persees, descendants of the ancient Persians, who fled from the persecution of Shah Abbas, who in the sixteenth century destroyed the temples which had till then remained in the mountain Albend, and drove the worshippers of fire to seek an asylum in other countries. Bombay they have almost entirely made their own, for hardly a house or a foot of land in the island belongs to any other. They form a body of people totally dissimilar to any other in India, and seem to have perfectly domesticated themselves in their new abode, where they receive a protection, for which they are very grateful. I asked a very respectable Persee why they built such splendid habitations, and purchased land at a price that yielded only four

per cent, when they could so easily make eight or twelve. His answer, I believe, conveyed the real sentiments of his nation. "This is our native country, where we are also to die: we have now no other home to look to, and therefore like to have some certain property for our children to inherit: you English are only here for a short time, and therefore wish to make as much of your money as possible, that you may return to your country, where I suppose you act, as we do here." They are a very rich, active, and loyal body of men, greatly increasing the prosperity of the settlement by their residence in it. There is not an European house of trade in which one of them has not a share, and generally indeed it is the Persee that produces the largest part of the capital. Their influence is consequently very great, and the kind of brotherly connection that subsists among them, enables them to act with the force of an united family. The conduct of the Government towards them has been indulgent and wise. They openly avow their obligations, and express their conviction, that in no other part of the East could they obtain the same advantages. I consider them as a most valuable body of subjects, and am convinced that, unless from mismanagement, they will ever continue so, and form an important barrier against the more powerful casts of India.

From the length of time which Bombay has been under the control of Europeans, the Persees, since their arrival there, have adopted little of the Asiatic manners. They indeed wear the dress, which they informed me had been adopted on their arrival, but they eat and drink like the English. Ardiseer Dady, one of their richest members, gave me a most magnificent entertainment. The table for the Europeans was chiefly covered with English

cookery, but they sent me from their own several dishes, which were very highly seasoned, and good. The wines were excellent; but when I adjourned to their table, I was not a little astonished to find liqueurs placed opposite each Persee, which they drank in glasses as freely as wine, and which, though they sat late, seemed to have no effect on them. Their houses are furnished with a profusion of English looking-glasses, prints, and paintings. They always light them up remarkably well; but on this occasion the whole gardens were illuminated with torches and lamps, which had a most brilliant effect. The band playing in the verandah, and the crowd of differently dressed people had the semblance of an English masquerade. We had a very good set of nautch-girls, which much pleased Sir James Mackintosh, who had not before seen this Asiatic amusement. Coffee and tea, pawn and attar, lavender water, and other perfumes, completed the melange of this Anglo-Asiatic entertainment, from which we departed about midnight.

To the credit of the Persee humanity, they provide for all their poor; and to the credit of their private morals, there is not a single prostitute, or mistress to a gentleman, of their cast, in the settlement. They are generous and splendid in the higher orders; and in the lower, active and intelligent, far surpassing as servants the Mussulmauns or Hindoos. They mostly speak English with propriety. In their persons they are a handsome race, fairer than the natives, though not possessing the clear skin of the Europeans. In their manners they are uniformly conciliatory and mild. I confess that I infinitely prefer them to any race of people in the East subject to the British control. They have numerous temples to Fire, but their priests seem to have no authority in temporal concerns,

nor much spiritual control. Their religion is tolerant, and, as far as it throws no impediment in the way of the public service, must be considered politically as a good one. Sir William Jones petulantly attacked the authenticity of their sacred code, the Zend Avesta, as translated by Monsieur Anquetil de Perron; but he himself, before his death, was convinced of his error. Sir James Mackintosh is studying the language, and will probably favour the world with some additional information on the subject; but from the accounts that I have received, I have no doubt of the authenticity of the original, or of the fidelity of Monsieur Anquetil de Perron's translation.

The beauty of the esplanade, every morning and evening, is greatly heightened by the votaries of the Sun, who crowd there in their white flowing garments, and coloured turbans, to hail his rising, or pay respect, by their humble prostration, to his parting rays. On this occasion the females do not appear, but they still go to the wells for water, as did the wives of the ancient patriarchs. Many of those in a higher line of life retire from the city to their country residences early in the evening, in which case they assemble in their one-horse chaises at a beautiful spot called the Breach, where a former Governor built a noble causeway at an expense of 10,000 rupees, thereby saving a considerable tract of country from the gradual incroachments of the sea, which had nearly made its way across the island. It is a work of great merit, and has stood firm against all the violence of the S. W. monsoon. The India Company were however offended at the expense, and the poor Governor lost his place. The tract that was recovered has hitherto been marshy and useless, but some gentlemen have undertaken to drain it, and, apparently, are likely to succeed.

The strict attention that is paid in Bengal to the conduct of the Cadets on their arrival, unfortunately does not exist at Bombay, and the consequence of the neglect is melancholy. On their landing they too often are obliged to live at the tavern, not having any fixed place of abode, where they not only run in debt, frequently to the blasting of their future prospects, but by the facility of access to wine and women, sow the seeds of those complaints which afterwards carry them prematurely to the grave. Varsovah had been chosen as a residence for the Cadets, but in 1804 the fever broke out there, and they were obliged to be removed to Mehum, but not before numbers had perished from the unhealthiness of the climate, and, it is said, from the want of proper regulation in the establishment, the young men having been permitted to bathe when they pleased, and expose themselves to the effect of the night air.

It was at one of the country houses in the vicinity of Bombay, that the unfortunate accident of the death of Hadjee Khaleb Khan took place in July 1802. He had arrived only a few days before as Ambassador from the Persian Court to the Government of India, when a dispute arose between some of his Excellency's followers and the sepoys who guarded the house, in consequence of one of the former's insisting on entering a part of the garden, which the Ambassador had ordered to be kept private. The sentinel, in obedience to his orders, refused to permit him, when the Persian, who was drunk, at length drew his sword, and, being joined by his countrymen, a regular battle ensued. The Ambassador, who had retired to his couch after having himself too freely indulged in the pleasures of the table, arose on hearing the tumult, and rushed out

to separate the combatants. In the confusion he was not known, and a chance shot in a moment put an end to his life. Several of his followers also perished, but they deserved their fate; for they had irritated the sepoys by the most insulting language, and the severest ridicule of their religious prejudices. The Ambassador's nephew, though severely wounded, recovered, and received the kindest attentions from the officers of the Bombay Government, who were fully exculpated in his mind from any blame respecting the untimely fate of his uncle.

The Marquis Wellesley learned, soon after his arrival in India, that attempts were making by Tippoo to form a close alliance with Zemaun Shah, Sultaun of Cabul, and to induce him to attack the British in the North, at the time when he should occupy their attention by hostilities in the Peninsula. To render the projects of Tippoo abortive, his Lordship sent a respectable native, Mindi Alli Khan, to the Court of Ispahan, to open a communication with the present sovereign, who was at that time engaged in hostilities with Zemaun Shah. He was directed to urge the King to approach the frontiers of Korasan, as soon as his enemy should move towards the Indies; and, if he should find a favourable reception, Mindi Alli Khan was to announce the Governor General's intention of sending a public embassy to arrange a commercial treaty, and cement a close alliance between the two countries. The King of Persia was fully aware of the importance of the British alliance, and complied with the request made to him. Zemaun Shah, who had advanced as far as Lahore, immediately returned back, and his brother, taking advantage of his unpopularity, deposed him, and, with the barbarity so common in Asia, put out his eyes. India

having been thus relieved from immediate alarm, Major Malcolm was, in 1799, sent to the Court of Ispahan, where he completely conciliated the sovereign and his ministers, and induced them to refuse to receive a person deputed with the most conciliatory propositions from Bonaparté in Egypt. Commercial arrangements were also entered into, and every required security was granted to the British for more freely carrying on their trade.

The unfortunate fate of the Ambassador, who was sent to repay the compliment of Major Malcolm's mission, has been before observed; but there was no reason to suppose that it would have any effect in diminishing the friendship between Persia and India; since the Governor General immediately sent off an explanation of the transaction by a Mr. Loveit, who was directed to carry the letter to Persia. Unfortunately for the East India Company, he became alarmed at Busheir, and delivered the letter to Mr. Manesty, who immediately raised himself into an Ambassador, and departed for Ispahan, determined to rival Major Malcolm in importance. He had already drawn for a lac and forty thousand rupees, which would not pay half his expenses. Lord Wellesley, at first, ordered the bill to be refused payment, but on considering that it might effect our credit in Persia, he altered his intention, but directed that Mr. Manesty should be made responsible for the amount.

The King of Persia, engaged as he was in a difficult, and rather disastrous war with Russia, rejoiced to hear that another embassy had arrived from India, and hastened to meet it at Balk, where he received the Ambassador with the highest honours. It was immediately urged by the King, that we should afford him assist-

ance against his enemy; and he was not a little mortified to find that the affair of Hadjee Khaleb Khan's death, about which he was perfectly indifferent, was the only subject on which the new ambassador could speak. Had a simple messenger, like Mr. Loveit, carried the letter, this inconvenience would have been prevented, and the Company would have saved three lac of rupees, that is, if they should please to allow Mr. Manesty his expenses, a point which will be referred to them by Lord Wellesley.

With prudent management, I think a close connection might be cemented, between the two countries, as the trade between them would be beneficial to both; and the only difficulty, the impracticability of our assisting one ally against another, might be obviated by a friendly mediation at St. Petersburgh. At present our respectability is not great in the Persian Gulf, where we have submitted to have our merchant vessels plundered, and our cruizers insulted, by the piratical states on its shores. Of these the most powerful are the Johesserm Arabs, whose coast extends from Cape Mussendom to Bahrein. Their chief ports are Rosselkeim, about forty leagues S.S.W. of the Cape, and Egmaum, about twenty-four miles further on. Through the systematic forbearance of the Bombay Government they have risen to a great maritime power, and possess at least thirty-five dows of different sizes, carrying from fifty to three hundred men each. They have few guns, but, being brave and fierce, chiefly attack by boarding, with their crooked daggers stabbing every one who resists. They have taken two large vessels belonging to Mr. Manesty, and had even the impudence to attack the Mornington frigate; but were beaten off. The Honourable Company's cruizers have positive orders to treat these pirates with

civility, never to attack them, but only to act on the defensive: the consequence is, that they only look at the stronger vessels, but take every one that has not the power of resistance.

Independently of the real loss, which the native merchants suffer from the value of the captured cargoes, this mean submission ought to be ended, from the conviction of the degradation we suffer in the eye of Persia, by permitting it. A dignified independence, a visible power of supporting the honour of our flag, of protecting our friends, and punishing our enemies, are necessary for the acquirement of the confidence of an Eastern sovereign. Persia herself neither is, nor can be, a great naval power. Were we to protect her coast from the depredations of these pirates, who even extend their devastations to the villages on the sea shore, she would be gratefully attached to us, and would be bound by the strong tie of interest to protect the northern frontier of our dominion, by being prepared to enter the territories of the Abdalli, should he leave them unguarded to attack us. To ascertain the real value of a close connection with Persia is impossible; but some idea may be entertained of it, by a reference to the splendour with which the barren island of Ormus shone forth under the Portuguese, when they monopolized the trade of the Gulf, and secured it from the attack of pirates by a marine, as pre-eminent in those days, as ours is now in every part of the globe, except in the Eastern seas.

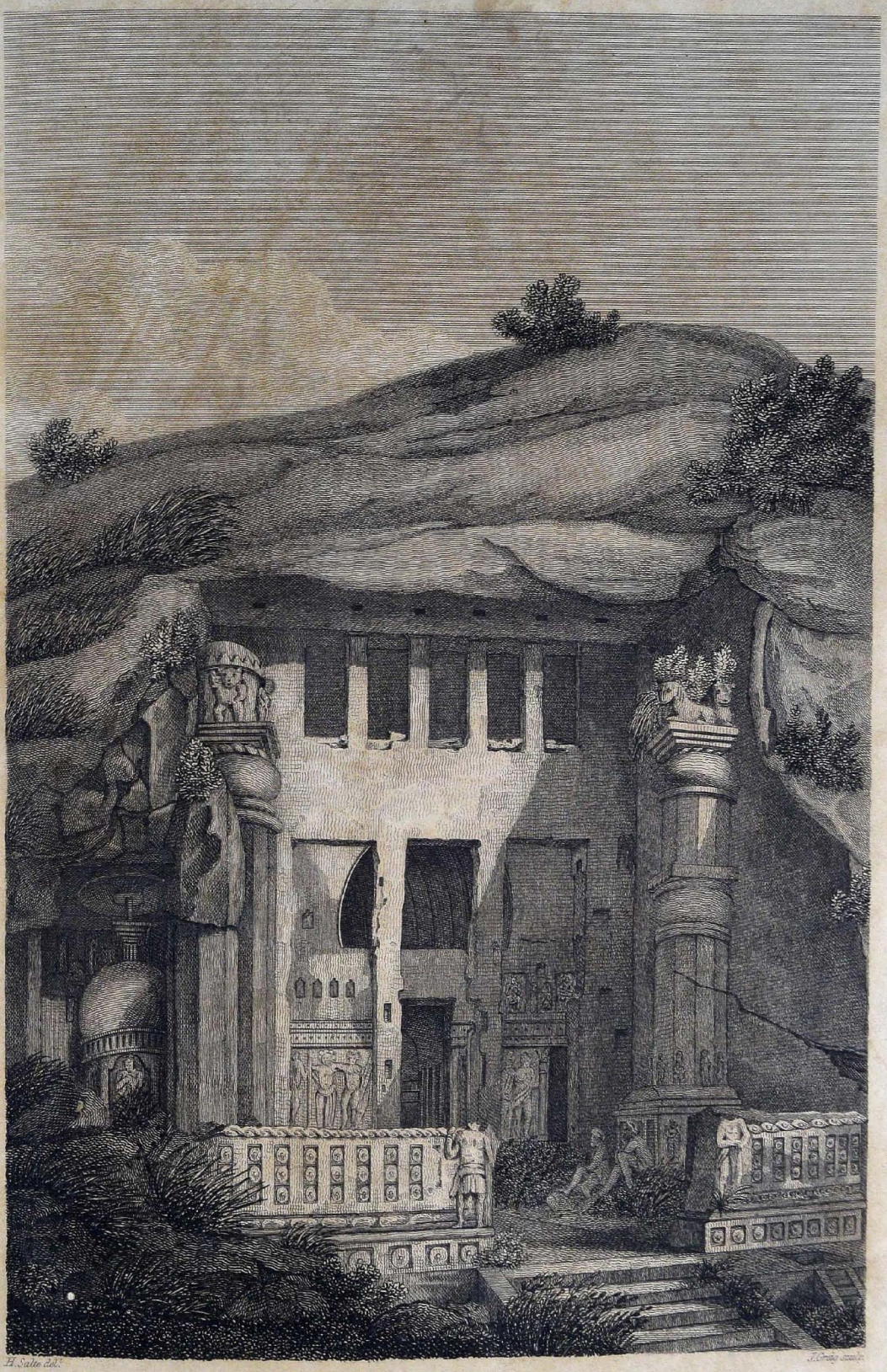
I had been so highly gratified by the pagoda at Carli, that I determined to visit others in the Island of Salsette, which, according to the accounts that I had received, were formed on a similar plan. Accordingly I set off early on the morning of the 22d of November, accompanied by Mr. Salt, and some of the Governor's family. We

breakfasted at a small village of Ambola, where we were received by the Portuguese Curé, and afterwards we turned out of our way to examine an extensive excavation, which Monsieur Anquetil du Perron has described in his introduction to the translation of the Zend Avesta, and has given a plan of it, under the name of Djegueseri. All the apartments were square, and the roof was flat, throughout; in the centre was a smaller building with a lingam; the whole was therefore probably dedicated to Mahadeo. Several groups of figures in basso relievo, adorned the walls. They were much decayed, and the whole had a very unpleasant appearance. The floor, being lower than the surrounding country, was extremely damp, and the light, admitted at the three entrances, was nothing better than darkness visible. They run north and south, passing through a small hill that, in parts, is covered with jungle. There was no appearance of attendant Brahmins, but the lingam had been newly ornamented.

We went on to dinner to Mont pesier, where our tents were pitched for us. Here are the ruins of a very handsome church and monastery, which, I understand, formerly belonged to the Jesuits: Monsieur Anquetil du Perron says, to the Franciscans; but I am inclined to consider my information as correct, from there being the remains of an observatory on a small hill in the neighbourhood, which was more probably the work of the intelligent followers of Ignatius Loyola, than of the lazy monks of St. Francis. The church was originally lined with pannel-work of wood, disposed in compartments, and richly ornamented with carving. In the centre of each was the head of a saint, tolerably executed, surrounded by wreaths of flowers, and other fanciful sculpture, in a very excellent

taste. The whole is in ruins, the roof having fallen in. The author, whom I have before mentioned, attributes this to the devastations of the Mahrattas, who, he says, carried away the wood work to Tannah; but this appears improbable. Timber is not scarce; and if they had carried away the more solid work, they would hardly have left behind them the parts that were richly ornamented. Under the church a small pagoda has been formed out of the rock; it is square, and flat roofed, with a few deities, and other figures, in basso-relievo. These the good priests had covered up with a smooth coat of plaister, and had converted the whole into a chapel. At present the original proprietors have been uncovered, and have again become objects of adoration to the ignorant native.

Early on the morning of the 23d we departed for the Caves of Kenneri, which are the most important in the island, and are formed out of a high knowl, in the middle of the range of hills which divides the island nearly into two equal parts. I soon found that, limited as I was for time, it would be impossible to investigate the whole of the caves, I therefore gave my chief attention to the great cavern, which resembles the one at Carli, in being oblong, and having a coved roof, though it is inferior to it in size, in elegance of design, and in beauty of execution. It has the same singular building at the upper end, and the vestibule is equally adorned with figures. Its peculiar ornaments are two gigantic figures of Boodh, nearly twenty feet high, each filling one side of the vestibule. They are exactly alike, and are in perfect preservation, in consequence of their having been christened and painted red by the Portuguese, who left them as an appendage to a Christian church, for such this temple of Boodh became under their transforming hands. I have



H. Salte del.

FRONT VIEW OF THE CAVE OF KENNERI.

Pub. 18th. May 20. 1809 by William Miller Albemarle Street London.

given a view of the front of the temple, and an etching of the gigantic figure of the presiding deity, whose image, in all the usual attitudes, embellishes several other parts of the vestibule; and one in particular is ornamented with the conical cap worn by the Chinese Fo. The entrance, on which there are several inscriptions in the unknown character, faces the west. It is worthy observation, that these two circumstances, and the coved roof, seem to be peculiar to the temples dedicated to Boodh; at least it is so in the two I have seen, and in the one at Ellora described by Sir Charles Mallet in the Asiatic Researches. In one of the large square caves which adjoin that above described, are many figures, and one that is very remarkable, as it shows Vishnou himself in the act of fanning Boodh with the chourie: a superior deity may, however, be supposed to reside in the circular temples, for within them is no image, unless the circular building called by the natives the Dhagope, can be considered as a prodigious lingam. I ought to add, that in the cave of Ellora there does appear a statue annexed to the Dhagope, which, from the manner of holding the finger of one hand between the finger and thumb of the other, is probably designed for Boodh.

The innumerable caves, which have been formed in every part of the hill, are square, and flat roofed. I cannot but consider them as meant for the habitations of the attendant Brahmins. A very curious tradition is mentioned by Monsieur Anquetil du Perron, as having been recorded by a Jesuit in a history of the West Indies, printed in Portugal; it is, that the whole of these caves were the work of a Gentoo king, some thousand years ago, to secure his only son from the attempts of another nation to gain him over to their religion. This must probably refer to some disputes between the

Brahmins and the Boodhists, and might, if it could be traced, throw some light on the relative antiquity of the two religions. The most perplexing circumstance, that the character used by the latter is now no longer understood, while that of the former is in constant use, makes it difficult to believe that the Brahmins are justified in their claim to superior antiquity. It is a subject, however, on which I cannot presume to give an opinion.

It is not only the numerous caves, that give an idea of what the population of this barren rock must once have been, but the tanks, the terraces, and the flights of steps which lead from one part to another; yet now not a human footstep is to be heard, except when the curiosity of a traveller leads him to pay a hasty visit to the ruined habitation of those, whose very name has passed away, and whose cultivated fields are become an almost impassable jungle, the haunt of tigers, and the seat of pestilence and desolation. After copying the inscriptions and taking views of the most interesting objects, we with difficulty made our way through the jungle to an open space, on the verge of the cultivated tracts, where our tents were pitched out of the way of fever and tigers.

We reached Tannah, the capital of the Island of Salsette, to breakfast, and were hospitably received by Mr. Spencer the Resident. A small fort commands the passage between the island and the Mahratta country, but is otherwise of little use. Confined as the settlement of Bombay formerly was, the acquisition of Salsette was an incalculable advantage, from the certainty which is afforded of a constant supply of fresh provision for the town and fleet. Little however has hitherto been done to increase its produce, and the greater part remains an useless jungle, instead of being converted

into fields of rice, and plantations of sugar; even wood itself is only procured at a very high price, chiefly for want of arrangement. If no better use is to be made of the island, it might certainly supply this article at half the price that is now paid for it. Dr. Scott has set a good example of enterprise, by establishing a very valuable sugar plantation. On the 25th we returned to Bombay in the Government boat.

I was afterwards tempted by the verdant appearance of the Island of Elephanta, which rears its woody head nearly in the centre of the bay, as much as by the report of its celebrated cave, to pay it a visit. The accurate Niebuhr has given so good an account of it, that a description is unnecessary. I have only to observe, that I do not think either his drawing, or the etching in the Asiatic Researches, have given the character of the triune deity. Brahmah's countenance admirably expresses the undisturbed composure of the creator of the world; Vishnou's, on the left, has every feature of benevolence, while the lotus which he holds in his hand seems to be expanding under the genial ray of his eye. Seva's, on the contrary, has a ghastly and dire scowl, that well accords with the objects that he holds before him, two of the most venemous of serpents, the covra copel. I was much surprised at the ingenuity of the conception, and the merit of the execution, of these figures. How superior must they have appeared when in a state of perfection!

It was pleasing to me to find, that the great cave of Elephanta, which opens to the north, and has a flat roof, had no inscription in the unknown character, nor any figure of Boodh. Of the numerous deities of the Hindoo mythology, many have been honoured with a place; but the most curious figure, and which has been

noted by every traveller, is that of a female amazon, which, from having four arms, most probably represents some super-human personage. Did the romance of the Amazons reach Greece from India, or were there ever such personages in the Eastern world are interesting questions, but at present incapable of solution. There is no appearance of any great violence having been used to injure the figures. Had cannon been employed by the Portuguese for that purpose, the marks of the balls would have been visible, and the destruction would have been among the figures. As it is, the pillars are more rapidly decaying than any other part. The water is permitted during the rains to lodge in the cave, and the stone, being a soft one, moulders perceptibly away in the vicinity of the open air. The scene, from the little level space in front, is extremely beautiful, and a cool breeze tempers the heat in the most sultry day of summer. The beauty of the place has however been considerably diminished by a wall, which has been erected across the front, to prevent cattle from getting in, and, as I hear, to prevent curious visitors also from treacherously carrying off the legs, heads, and arms of these helpless deities.

CHAPTER V.

Departure from Bombay.—Arrival at Mocha.—Visit to the Dola, and Bas Kateb.—Preparations for continuing the Voyage.—Private conference with the Dola.—Departure from Mocha.—Aroe Islands.—Sir H. Popham's Chart of the Red Sea.—Howakel.—Arrival at Dhalac.—Mr. Maxfield's Report of his Voyage.—Reasons for supposing Howakel Bay to be Opsian Bay of the Periplus.—Mr. Salt's Report of his Visit to Dhalac-el-Kibeer, Girbeshid, and Dobelew.—Captain Court's Survey of Dhalac.—Observations on Mr. Bruce's Account of it.—Arrival at Massowah.—Commercial arrangements.—Dispute with the Dola of Arkeko.—Departure from Massowah.

CHAPTER V.

DECEMBER 3.—Mr. Duncan had most obligingly ordered one of the Company's vessels, the Mornington, to be prepared to convey me to Bussorah, whither I had determined to proceed, when all my plans were changed by the arrival of dispatches from the Governor General, recommending a continuation of the survey of the Red Sea, and at the same time delicately hinting, that I might possibly be induced to make an attempt to complete what I had so well begun. On receiving from Mr. Duncan assurances that every arrangement should be made for the immediate departure of the vessel to be employed, and that I should be permitted to select the officers, I determined to comply with his Excellency's expectation. The Panther cruizer, being a smaller vessel than the Mornington, was considered as more suitable to the service of surveying, and was therefore ordered to be got ready. Lieutenant Charles Court was appointed to command her, in consequence of the very high character which he bore, as a seaman, and a man of science.

Lieutenant Maxfield, who had been second Lieutenant of the Antelope, received the appointment to the Assaye, a small French schooner, which had been taken by a King's ship, and had been purchased by the Bombay Government, on the recommendation of the Marine board, as being a capital sailer. She was intended to accompany us as a tender in the more difficult navigation which

we had reason to expect above Massowah. Mr. Macgie was, at my particular request, nominated as Surgeon, although not in the East India Company's service, in consequence of the experience I had had in my former voyage of his abilities, and his great attention to the health of the men.

Two time-keepers, and the instruments requisite for nautical observations and land surveying, were provided by the Bombay Government; and Mr. Duncan completed his kind attentions to my comfort, by directing Captain Court to keep a table for me at the expense of the East India Company.

Captain Rudland of the Bombay army having expressed a wish to join our party, instead of returning to England by sea, I rejoiced in obtaining for him the necessary permission from the Governor, and the Commander in Chief, as an additional European gentleman would be a great satisfaction in crossing the desert from Suez to Cairo. Nothing could be more favourable than the season, as the monsoon was N. E. to the straits of Bab-el-mandeb, and S. E. from the Red Sea to Suez; we were therefore impatient to depart, and the 1st of December was fixed for that purpose. It was however not till the 3d, that Captain Court received his final orders, which were in every respect to obey the instructions that he should receive from me. I parted with Mr. Duncan, whose amiable and benevolent character must conciliate the esteem of all who know him, with great, and I flatter myself, with mutual, regret. He paid a last attention to me by sending his Aid-de-camp and the Town Major to attend me to the sea-shore, and saluting me on my departure. I found the Panther by no means ready for sea, and therefore went on board the yacht, which was anchored close to us, to pay a visit

to Sir James Mackintosh, who was on board with his family, intending to try the effect of a cruize as a cure for an intermittent fever, under which they were suffering. On returning to the Panther, I learned that the carpenter had run away, and it was late at night before another could be procured. I did not choose to return to the town, and therefore slept on board.

December 4.—We set sail at four in the morning with a very pleasant breeze, and before night the land was completely out of sight. The Panther had been considered as a bad sailer, and we were led to suppose that the Assaye would constantly keep ahead; we however found the contrary, with a fair wind. The Panther sailed tolerably well, and we were obliged to shorten sail for the Assaye.

December 6.—I this day experienced the deleterious effect of a land breeze in Bombay harbour. I had unfortunately forgotten on the night of the 3d, that I was still within its reach, and the port-hole of my cabin had been left open: in consequence of which a severe attack of fever came on this day, but without a cold fit: and, as I was at sea, which is generally prescribed as a certain cure, I hoped I should not suffer long. It is impossible to have finer weather than we have enjoyed since we left Bombay. The N. E. monsoon is justly called the fair weather monsoon; the Assaye seemed fit for no other.

December 12.—This was the first day of the fever's attack that I found any remission. I had used the bark constantly on the intermitting day, and had taken opium and calomel at night. The weather had been extremely pleasant, and we should have made great way but for the Assaye.

December 15.—I had no return of my fever on the 14th. We

this day saw the Arab shore. It was the high land of Kisseen, distant about eighteen miles. As there was now no danger of the Assaye's not making her passage, I determined to make the best of our way to Mocha: accordingly Mr. Maxfield was sent for, and directed to stop at Aden, and enquire if Mr. Pringle was there, a circumstance by no means impossible; and if he was, to bring him up with him. We made sail in the evening.

December 19.—We coasted along with pleasant land and sea breezes; passed Aden early in the morning of the 18th; through the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb, with a stiff gale from the S. E. during the same night; and at seven anchored considerably to the northward of the north fort of Mocha. It blew so heavy a gale that we were not able to make the roads. The Panther was extremely crank, and totally unable to make any way when close to the wind. This defect was in some measure compensated for by our discovering that, though the swell was very great, she rode well at anchor, easier indeed than any vessel I ever was in. Besides, she was very comfortable, drew little water, and went well before a wind. She had however a very considerable heel to starboard, that was much against us, and for which we could not account. It will hardly be believed, that in a vessel reported ready for sea, there was not a single buoy; yet such was the fact, and we were daily in the habit of discovering similar deficiencies. Two fishermen, who, in consequence of their supplying the British squadron in the Red Sea, had been named Admiral Blanket, and Lord Bombay, came off in one of the native boats, by whom I sent a short note to Mr. Pringle, and received an answer, saying he would be with me as soon as the weather would permit. We were a little alarmed on getting into sight of the roads to

perceive three large ships there. They hoisted American colours as we approached, and we soon found that they were of that nation, two from Salem, and one from Baltimore. The wind continued the same during the whole day.

December 20.—It still blew too fresh to go on shore. We made an attempt, with the tide in our favour, to reach the roads, but without success; and had the misfortune, in heaving our anchor, to injure the capstern. On examination it appeared, that though newly put together, for the Panther had lately been in dock, it had been made of old wood, partly consumed by the dry rot. However vexatious the delay might be, it was impossible to proceed till this injury should be repaired. We had also here to procure money for the expenses of the ship, and for my own private expenditure, by drawing bills on Bombay, which had been recommended to us as more advantageous than bringing cash from that place. Captain Court also required an interpreter, and I wished to get a servant who spoke English and Arabic; a communication with the shore became therefore absolutely necessary; but as I could not venture during the violence of the gale, in our small boat, I wrote to Mr. Pringle, stating all our wants, and requesting, if possible, he would come off in an American long boat, which would be a much better sea-boat than ours.

December 21.—I received in the course of the day letters in abundance from Mr. Pringle, but he did not come off, though he certainly might have done so in the American boats, which went several times to their ships. Irritated and surprised at this neglect, I accepted Mr. Salt's offer to go on shore in a native boat, and return in the morning, either with or without Mr. Pringle. I also

desired him to wait on the Dola, and request, in my name, permission for a servant and interpreter to accompany me up the Red Sea.

December 22.—Early in the morning Mr. Salt returned, and with him Mr. Pringle, in an American cutter. Mr. Salt had, according to my request, seen the Dola, who had behaved with the utmost politeness, not only permitting the servant I applied for to accompany me, but also giving me leave to hire any one I pleased for an interpreter. He at the same time assured Mr. Salt, that he was extremely concerned he was not properly acquainted with my rank when I was last at Mocha, in consequence of which he did not pay me the requisite attention, but that now, if I chose to land, his horses and people should meet me; and, if I visited him, I should be saluted with four guns on my arrival, and on my leaving him. I was not a little astonished at this ridiculous change in his behaviour, being certain that he was perfectly informed of every particular respecting me, before I landed from the Antelope; however, I determined to go on shore, and treat him with equal politeness. I was saluted as I quitted the vessel with seventeen guns, and the three American vessels in the roads paid me the same compliment on my entering the boat, when their colours were hoisted. It was usually calmer in the morning, but we had delayed till it blew very fresh. We attempted to make the shore opposite, but found rocks at some distance, and were obliged to beat four miles to windward, which took us up several hours. It was extremely unpleasant, the boat making more water on one tack, than we could bale: but on the other we were able to get her dry. She sailed well, or it would have been impossible for us to reach the shore.

After much difficulty and some danger we landed, and found horses waiting for us. Captain Crowninshield and the other Americans who were on shore met us without the town, as did Devage, and many others; at the gate the Dola's horses and tom-toms were waiting, which preceded me with their incessant din to his house. I was permitted to ride to the steps of the door, a very unusual condescension at the present day, though formerly it was allowed to all Europeans who visited the Dola. It was the fast of Ramadan, when the Arabs eat nothing from the rising of the sun to the setting; to make which as easy as possible, they turn night into day, carousing during the whole of the former, and dedicating the latter to sleep. The Dola was not awake, so that he could not receive me, and I was kept waiting a few minutes; however, to compensate this neglect, he rose up to pay his compliments to each of the gentlemen of my party, who were successively presented to him. The usual compliments passed. Rose water was presented, and our chins perfumed with frankincense. To a bearded Arab this must be a pleasant ceremony; but to us I always thought it had a ridiculous appearance, and smiled when my friends underwent the operation. The two salutes of four guns each were fired, as he promised. I found the factory as dirty as ever, and in as great confusion. It was one of my first labours to induce Mr. Pringle to put it a little in order. The Americans were very sensible and intelligent men, particularly Captain Crowninshield, who belonged to the very respectable house of that name, and Captain Bancroft, who was originally educated for the bar, but obliged by ill health to give it up. Abdallah, whom I wished to take with me as my servant, agreed to go, and immediately began procuring us the necessaries wanted.

We urged Devage to get us a dow without delay, and immediately procured from him the money we required.

December 23.—We went on with our preparations, and visited the Bas Kateb, a venerable Arab with a long white beard. He was extremely civil; but, towards the end of the conversation, observed that old customs ought to be kept up. I said if they were good ones, certainly; but if bad, the sooner they were altered the better. This I knew had reference to the old dispute about the boys running away, and therefore I was determined not to permit his observation to pass unnoticed. The Dola sent me a number of sheep.

December 24.—We hired a dow for three hundred dollars to go the voyage to above Suakin. I paid the Dola an evening visit, Mr. Pringle having previously sent him presents, in my name, to the amount of five hundred dollars, and to the Bas Kateb two hundred. Nothing particular passed, except his saying that he begged I would consider Mocha as my house, and that the gates should be open for me at any hour. He expressed a wish to have some private conversation with me before my departure. I said, I would wait on him the evening before I embarked. Mr. Criddle, our youngest Midshipman, was with us; the Dola wanted to know if he was my son, whence arose a conversation respecting our sons. He showed me his, and told me he had one more, an infant. He then asked after mine. His manners were bad, and his whole appearance mean. The apartment was small, and the staircases, as usual in Arab houses, narrow and inconvenient, with numerous doors at the landing places; probably meant as a defence against a sudden attack.

December 25.—The Americans kindly lent us their boats and carpenters to repair our capstern. The wind rendered all communication with the vessel extremely difficult. We spent a very pleasant Christmas day at the factory, being fourteen in number a large party of white faces for so distant a part of the globe.

December 26.—Our dow met with an accident in being launched, in consequence of which we were still delayed. We therefore determined to send off Mr. Maxfield in the Assaye direct to Massowah, with letters for the Nayib, informing him of my intention to visit him, and requesting that two pilots might be procured to conduct the *ship* to Suakin, assuring him that the two hundred dollars should be paid for them, being the price he had previously demanded. Mr. Maxfield had instructions to meet us at Dhalac, where we intended to water. I wrote at the same time to the Banian, to desire he would expedite the procuring of the pilots.

December 30.—Mr. Maxfield sailed on the 27th; but there was so much sea that he parted his cable, and left his anchor behind him, nor have we been able to recover it. The wind this day was much more moderate, and the swell less. We lived very pleasantly at the factory: all the officers that could be spared coming on shore. The Americans exerted themselves to please and serve. The weather was very pleasant, and the nights perfectly cool: to-morrow is the last day of Ramadan, and the dow was still unready, our people being determined to spend at least one day of the following Ede with their families.

January 1, 1805.—We were fortunate in procuring a pilot, who bore a most excellent character, and had been for thirty years sailing between Mocha and Suakin. He was brother to the

Naqueda of the dow. He asked one hundred and fifty dollars for the trip, and I gave them to him, lest there should be any delay at Massowah. It rendered us completely independent of the Nayib. On the evening of the 30th I visited the Dola, to request the gates might be opened for me at four o'clock in the morning, that I might be gone before the wind freshened. He said it could not be, and began to argue about it. I was very angry, and told him, that if he had not offered it, I should never have made the application. He wanted me to go out at the sally port, which I positively refused, and desired that the servants might be turned out of the room that we might speak in private. This was done; and Mr. Pringle pointedly reprobated his caprice about the gates. He then said they should be open.

We had now a very singular political conversation of about two hours. It began by his observing that old customs should be preserved. This I denied, and said they ought to change with the times: that in India we had become masters by the will of God, and that many customs existed before that period, which must now be laid aside. He replied, "I know very well that is the case in India; but what do you English mean to do with Yemen?" I replied, laughing, "nothing, but to get as much coffee from it as we can." He said, he believed we were all Wahabees. I told him I knew but one Wahabee, and that was Sidi Mohammed Akil. He laughed, and asked how I knew him to be one. I replied, he told me so.

He now asked Mr. Pringle's permission to say something to me, which being of course granted, he began a regular complaint against that gentleman; "that without his knowledge he had

written to the Sheriffe of Abou Arish, who was making war against the Imaum, and taking his country from him." The fact certainly was so; but it was merely commercial, respecting coffee to be purchased at Loheia. This I represented; but he seemed by no means satisfied. I assured him in the most solemn manner, that I knew it was the determination of the Bombay Government not to assist the Wahabees against the Imaum of Sana; and that had such been their intention, they would have sent a direct intimation, and not through the medium of Mr. Pringle, who was only a civil servant employed for the purposes of trade. He could not, for some time, be convinced. He said, "Why was not the letter shewn?" And asked me explicitly, if the carrying on such a correspondence was not criminal. I replied, that if Mr. Pringle wrote to any enemy of the Imaum, in a way that could be injurious to that Prince, while living under his protection, he would certainly act criminally, and deserve to be punished; but if it was merely about coffee, he must not blame Mr. Pringle, but that Providence which had placed the coffee country under the control of the Sheriffe; that where the articles were to be had, there the merchant would go. He said it had never been so, and that the Imaum would not permit coffee to be exported from Loheia. I asked how he would hinder it. He laughed, and said, "well, if you are determined, you must send ships to Loheia, but the Imaum will not like it."

He enquired where the Assaye was gone, and where I was going. I told him, to Massowah, as he might know by the pilots I had hired. He was evidently uneasy, and under an impression that I had some hostile intentions. I again repeated all I had said; and

added, that had I received any instructions from India inimical to him, I should have proceeded directly to Loheia, and not visited him and drank coffee with him. He at length declared he was satisfied, and that I had removed a heavy load from his mind. When I arose up to take my leave, I requested to put his hand into Mr. Pringle's, to which he consented; and I left them professedly friends. He conducted me the whole length of the room quite to the door, a compliment he never before paid to any one.

The whole conversation gave me a much better opinion of his understanding than I had before. He certainly had reason for his alarms; and the manner in which he pushed forward the enquiry was decorous, yet able. The Wahabees are assembling a very large force at Loheia and Hodeida. They have collected the revenue of Beit-il-Fakih and the surrounding country, and have sent to Mocha to say they will be there as soon as Ramadan is over. They have many friends in the town, and I see nothing that can resist them. To add to the Dola's alarms, I arrived in a vessel, which, instead of anchoring in the roads near the fort, kept aloof to the north; and instead of landing, I only sent off letters to the Resident. To his fears, therefore, I attribute his civility; and in this idea I am confirmed by Nathaniel Pierce, one of the men who, from fear of Captain Keys, ran away from the Antelope, and turned Mussulmaun: this man, through my servant, applied to me, stating the wretched situation he was in, declaring his sincere repentance, and beseeching me to permit him to attend me, even as a slave, to Europe. I consented to receive him, and he came off in the boat last night. He tells me that the Dola has been alarmed ever since my departure, suspecting that I was gone to the Wahabees, and

would return with them. He frequently asked Pierce if I was as great a man as Sir Home Popham, and whether he thought I should come back. Pierce assured him I should not; yet here I was, at the moment the Wahabees were expected.

I confess I felt very great pleasure in depriving the Dola of this man at so critical a moment. All the old renegadoes had gone off with a party of fifty Turks belonging to dows, who marched them down to the pier in the middle of the day, and the Dola's askaris dared not attempt to prevent them. They became Wahabees, and are now at Loheia, ready to march against Mocha, every foot of which they are perfectly acquainted with. They know the proper place for the attack, and even sent word to Pierce not to be near the middle fort, as they should enter there. This may be done with the utmost facility, as the ports are only a few feet from the ground. The Dola is so much alarmed that, on about one hundred Wahabees coming to one of the gates, and offering to inlist with him, he gave them a dollar each, and sent them away; afraid to take them, and yet afraid to refuse. It is singular, that the very act of procuring converts, on which the Dola so much prided himself, should now conduce to his ruin. His violation of the law of nations recoils on his own head. One of the two boys, who escaped from the factory, is dead; the other is to be married this Ede. The little boys are very ill. I sent them some medicine, which they took secretly; the bigotry of the Mussulmauns will not allow them to do it openly. Some laudanum I gave Pierce was taken from him: they said it was sheitan, and that prayers were better. All the remaining renegadoes mean to try to get off in the three American ships: when we went on shore they were at Moosa, so that our people did not see them.

We have hired Alli Nohri as an interpreter. He speaks but indifferent Moors; however, he writes Arabic; and as he has been in the service of Mr. Pringle, ought to be more worthy of trust than a common servant.

January 2.—Early in the morning our little dow was along side of us, and we received from the shore our last stock of vegetables. At eight we weighed anchor and steered for the Aroe Islands, so called in the charts, but probably a corruption of Jibbel Arish, the name of the largest island. We had a very stiff breeze, and a strong current to the northward. The swell lessened as we approached the African shore. This was the case during our last voyage, and it was satisfactory to find it the same at this season. Our vessel was so crank that we were obliged to carry only close-reefed topsails on the cap. We passed between the white rocks, which the pilot called the Children of Arish, and the islands, as on our return from Massowah, and were extremely surprised to find how incorrectly they were laid down in Sir Home Popham's chart of the Red Sea; the Great Aroe having been left out, while the others were none of them in their true position. Captain Court expressed his surprise, that Mr. Maxfield had been able to lay the places down so accurately in his chart, from the little assistance he received. We went close to Rackmah, and upon the credit of Mr. Maxfield's chart, sailed all night. It blew very fresh, and there was a considerable following sea. The Panther was so light, that we could not make her go less than seven knots with a double reefed fore-topsail close to the cap. We kept rather without the line of the Antelope's course, and had deeper water, with sometimes no soundings.

January 3.—Ras Kussar was in sight in the morning, and the

weather more moderate, with a smooth sea. We found that our dow had left us in the night, having probably run in shore for shelter. We coasted along, going as near the shore as possible. Captain Court was indefatigable in taking bearings. We did not think it safe to pass between Pilot's Island and the African shore in the dark, and therefore in the evening came to an anchor in ten fathom, under shelter of a small island called Adjuice, a little to the north of Howakil. There were several fishing boats, and some dows, which ran away on our approach. Our pilot seemed well acquainted with the coast, and was on the whole a much more intelligent man than the one we had in the Antelope. He expressed great astonishment during the day at our knowing the names of the capes and islands. The weather was warmer. I had an attack of fever.

January 4.—In the morning one of the dows came along side. They were only fishing, and belonged to the eastern coast of Arabia. They said that the island, though inhabited, had no water; but that there was some on the main land behind Howakil. The former part of this account was certainly true at this time, as they begged some water from us, which we willingly gave them; but it is impossible to suppose that this can be always the case, or the inhabitants would remove to the main land. Don Juan de Castro, who anchored here in 1540, with the Portuguese fleet under Don Stefano de Gama, says that there was water on the great island, called from its figure Whale Island, by which he undoubtedly meant Howakil. They describe the Bay as not deep, nor fit for large vessels, having an entrance for dows at the southern extremity. As I considered this as probably the Opsian Bay of the Periplus, I had given Mr. Maxfield directions to examine it in the Assaye.

We sailed at day-break. Our pilot took us without Pilot's Island, through a new and a good channel, but no soundings. We had baffling winds as we approached Dhalac, and did not get to an anchor till dark. We were nearly in the old spot. Our friend the Dola came off on his catamaran, and was rejoiced to see us. We told him we came for water. He said we should have it, and every thing else we wished for. He received a present of tobacco and rice; the people all wanted some of the latter. There has been no rain since I was here, and the island is nearly burnt up. Many of their cattle and goats have died in consequence. It was determined that Captain Court should go on shore to settle every thing to-morrow. During the night we had a fresh gale from south.

January 13.—On the 5th I had a most severe attack of fever, which went off at night. I took James's powder, which I thought relieved it. On the 7th I was unwell in the morning, but the James's powder prevented a regular fit. I took two grains of calomel night and morning, which gradually recovered me, though till to-day I could hardly call myself well. Captain Court, Mr. Salt, and Captain Rudland went on shore on the 5th, and arranged every thing with the Dola for surveying the island: he himself consented for forty dollars to accompany them. They had a camel for their baggage, and asses for themselves, two Europeans as servants, and Mr. Criddle, the youngest midshipman, as assistant observer. They took with them a week's provisions; on the 6th they went on shore and departed. The Dola left a request that our people would not wander about the island, nor fire off guns in the interior, as it would alarm the inhabitants: this I faithfully promised to prevent.

The situation of the ship made it absolutely necessary to examine the state of the hold. We found that she had not sufficient ballast by several tons; that all the fire-wood had been placed under the ground tier of water-barrels, thereby raising the centre of gravity above a foot; and that the casks which were sent on board as new, had leaked out nearly the whole of their contents, being made of old worm-eaten ship timber; another instance of the neglect in every department of the marine at Bombay. Would any one believe that these vessels were received into store as new, and issued again as such! Every thing was removed, and new stowed The water was put at the bottom, and we took in six hundred and eighty-seven skins full. The Assaye received two hundred and eighteen. The water on the island near Nokhara was exhausted the second day; the rest was procured from the wells on Dhalac, near the doom-trees, where Mr. Salt formerly landed. When they shall have been more accustomed to water ships, it will be to be had more expeditiously. After the 6th the wind from the S. changed to light variable airs, with a land and sea breeze. When it blew freshest there was no swell, nor can there be, as on every side, at thirty miles, this anchorage is land-locked. The ground is mud and sand, without coral.

On the 6th Mr. Maxfield was in sight, and late at night anchored close to us. On the 7th he came on board with a letter from the Nayib of Massowah, couched in the most friendly terms. He sent one pilot, and had hired another, who was to be ready on my reaching that place. He sent a man to procure me every thing I wished for at Dhalac, whom I sent off immediately to Captain Court.

Mr. Maxfield informed me, that on leaving Mocha roads he had not been able to weather the Aroe Islands, but had been carried to the northward by the strength of the current, where he had found a free passage, which is laid down in the charts. Agreeably to the instructions he had received, he steered for Howakil, and came to an anchor among the Sarbo Zeghir Islands, forming a very safe bay, which he named Assaye Bay. He attempted to enter the harbour behind Howakil, but was driven back by a very strong current, which he could not stem with his sweeps, as the wind was adverse. The only passage that appeared practicable was extremely narrow, and had two shoals extending from the points of entrance. The native's account, that it is passable only for dows, seems therefore to be true; and Howakil Bay can be an object of curiosity only to ascertain whether the Opsian stone is found in it; for I think the description of the Periplus so exactly accords with what we have seen, that there can be no doubt of its being the Opsian Bay.

The vast accumulation of sand, that existed in the time of the Egyptian traveller, is now become a cluster of low sandy islands, nearly level with the sea, which are designated in the chart as the Arenah Islands; and the bay itself most admirably answers the description of βαθύτατος; for it is the deepest on the whole western coast of the Red Sea, except Foul Bay in lat. 23°, which cannot, from its position, be the one described. The distance from Aduli to the Opsian Bay, as stated in the Periplus, is eight hundred stadia, or, according to Dr. Vincent, eighty miles, which it ought to be, if the stadium used was the Roman, of ten to a mile; but I confess I am inclined to suppose that it was the Egyptian, of fifteen to a mile, which will make the distance a little more than fifty-three miles.

This is, in fact, the real distance from the Arenah islands to the sea shore near Massowah; at twenty stadia, or about a mile and a half, from which, stood the town of Aduli. It is highly improbable, in stating the distance between this town and the bay, that the author should have meant to carry his admeasurement to the cape at the farther extremity, instead of the one at the entrance; yet Dr. Vincent has been obliged to measure the distance to Cape Sarbo in order to make it seventy-five miles, which is still short of the eight hundred stadia mentioned in the Periplus. This difficulty, as well as many others that still encumber the work, may be removed, by supposing that the Egyptian stadium was the one meant by the author; and nothing seems to me more rational than the idea, that an Egyptian merchant sailing from Egypt would use the stadium of that country. It is, however, with the greatest hesitation that I venture to differ from Dr. Vincent, whose perfect knowledge and laborious investigation of ancient geography, entitle him to the highest deference in every point connected with it.

During Mr. Maxfield's stay at Massowah, the Nayib had given a very strong proof of his friendly regard: two of the lascars belonging to the Assaye ran away from the vessel, but were caught by some Arabs, belonging to a dow, before they could reach the shore, and carried before the Nayib, who immediately sent them to Mr. Maxfield, with a request that they might not be punished, which was promised and faithfully performed. The evils that attend the trading with Mocha from the Arab spirit of proselyting, will not therefore be extended to Massowah. On the 8th, another complimentary letter arrived from the Nayib, with a present of sheep, vegetables, limes, and water.

I dispatched the dow with her people to Valentia Island to look for shells, and employed my servant and another European in the same pursuit. They procured a few fine specimens of Cypræa, but the others that they brought were of little value.

I sent Alli Nohri on shore to procure sheep: he brought off twenty goats, for which he said they demanded fourteen dollars; and if I did not like them at that price, I must send them back. Astonished at conduct so different from what I had before experienced, I instantly did so, being convinced that it was a contrivance of this rascally Arab, who wanted to purchase every thing here, as he did at Mocha, and have cent. per cent. profit. I was convinced of his knavery by another incident. The dow brought a heifer to sell, and asked four dollars: we objected, and they would have taken three; but Alli Nohri prevented them by saying in Arabic, it was cheap at four: this they afterwards owned to my servant and Pierce.

January 14.—Captain Court, Mr. Salt, and the party, all returned, having surveyed the southern and eastern parts of the island. Mr. Salt made the following report of their proceedings during their absence.

"We left Nokhara at seven in the morning, and crossed the creek to Dhalac; but not finding the asses ready, walked to the wells on the sea shore, marked by the doom-trees, and whence latterly the water was procured for the ship. The distance was about one mile and three quarters. The country was dried up, as not a drop of rain had fallen since our last visit to the island, yet the wells were as full as ever, the water being within two feet of the surface, and good. Near the wells were some bulbs, apparently

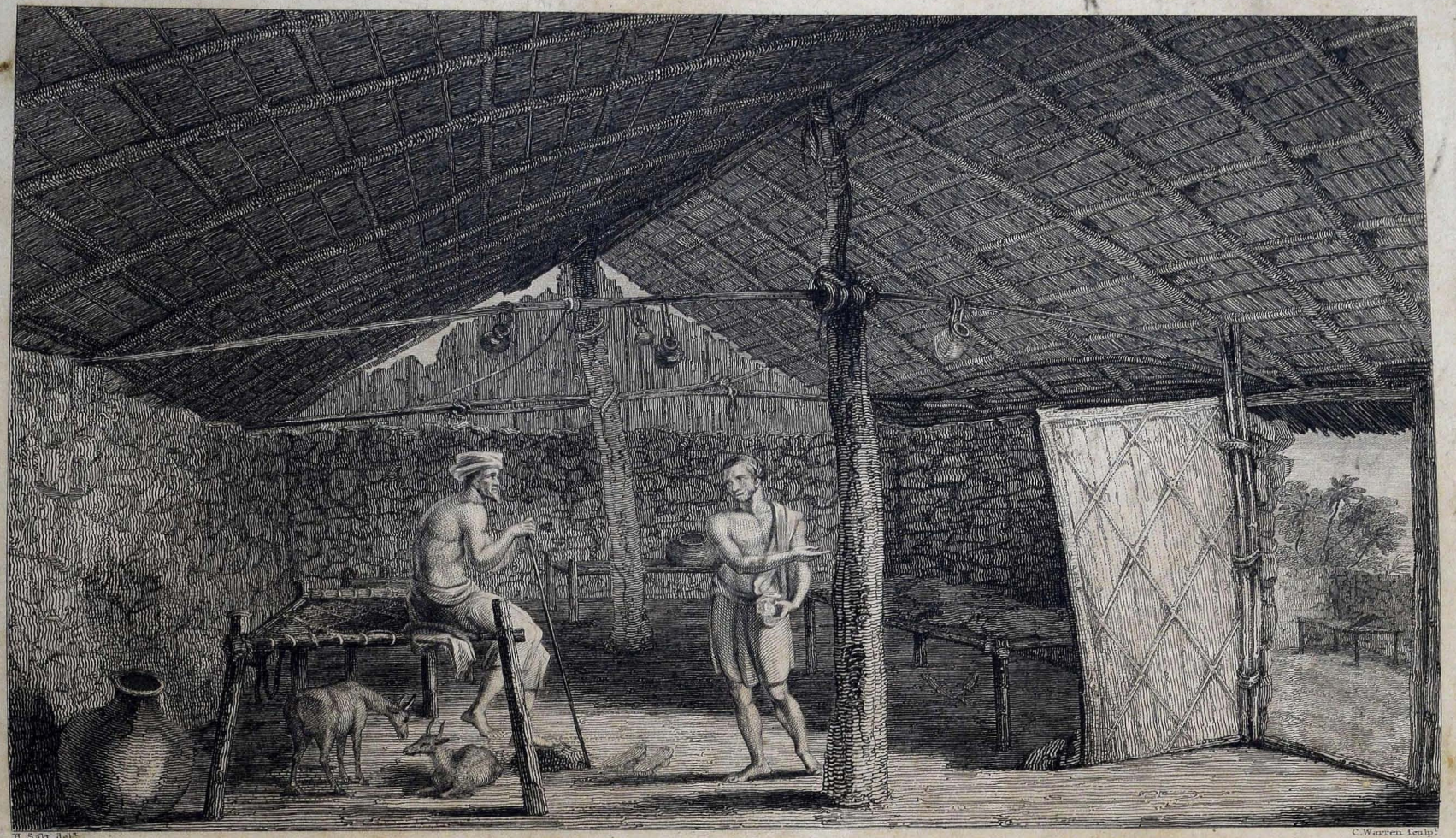
Frittilaria, of which specimens were sent on board, and also a small knotty root of a species of grass of an aromatic flavour, which is eaten by the natives. We were obliged to wait till twelve, when Captain Court took the meridian altitude, and also a set of bearings. This is a more convenient place for a vessel to water at than Nokhara, as the water is near the shore, and it is well marked by the doom-trees. At the wells was a small flock of sheep, ten or twelve in number. The date trees seemed not to have thriven since we were here, yet the soil is far better than at Mocha: a flight of small birds, not unlike averdavats, came and settled among their branches; and two vultures, of different species, that had fled, like ourselves, for shelter from the wind and sun, remained stationary under their shade. The number of goats that we this day met with is worthy of observation, considering that there was scarcely a blade of grass to be seen; but the mimosa, that braves the most burning heat, seems to afford sufficient nourishment to these, as well as to the camels that roam at large about the island. The asses at length arrived, and were more steady than usual; but the ride was unpleasant from the heat of the sun, and the force of the wind.

"After passing by the salt marsh, we stopped a few minutes, and endeavoured to procure milk or water, at a place where I had formerly obtained both, but in vain. We went up to the building where I had before been requested not to go, and found that it was only a shelter for their kids. On our arrival at Dhalac-el-Kibeer, we experienced a most welcome reception from the inhabitants. My friend the priest, who was acting as Dola when I was here with Mr. Maxfield, now presented to me the real Dola, a venerable old man, who had then been confined by indisposition. I was glad to see that they

had not forgotten me, and that they expressed pleasure at our arrival. Captain Court made an observation, and after the sun had set we took a short walk, and then laid ourselves down, well satisfied, on the humble couches prepared for us. Thermometer at Dhalac 80° in the morning, 87° at noon.

"January 8.—After breakfast we set out with all our implements of surveying, and, while the two Europeans were measuring a base from Sheik Abou-el-Heimen's tomb, made a circuit to the southward to examine the tanks. We found twelve, all nearly of the same construction, though some were much larger than others, and one was uncovered and square. Captain Court thought the largest would hold one hundred and fifty tons. They were cut out of the solid rock, and chunamed, but not lined with stone. Thence we went round to the eminence, which Captain Court had fixed upon for the other extreme of his base, at about a mile from the mausoleum. While he was engaged in taking bearings, I rode off to the point whence I had before seen the Antelope, but wandered about for a considerable time in vain, then mounted a tree, but with as little success; at length I got upon the top of a large upright stone, that stands, like a land-mark, in the middle of the plain, when I was gladdened with a sight of the Panther, which I kept steadily in view, retreating until I came into the line of the measured base, at about one mile from the stone. Captain Court took bearings from this spot, and a meridian altitude, with an artificial horizon. We afterwards returned by the north mosque, and, on our way, examined three more of the cisterns, all similar to those we had seen in the morning.

"We had fixed with the Dola to depart at noon, but it was



H. Salt del.

C. Warren fculp.

INTERIOR OF A HOUSE AT DHALAC.

already past that hour, and we had not nearly finished our observations: so we dined at two; at half past three Captain Court took sights, and at four went down to the mausoleum, to take a set of bearings from its summit, while in the mean time I examined the inside, in the centre of which was the tomb, covered by two pieces of coloured Indian chintz spread on a wooden frame. We extended our walk, by going round to the southern mosque, in which is a rough inscription. The architecture is tolerably regular, and the arch of the dome well formed. We then looked into five more cisterns, one of which differed from all the others, in having the roof supported by five pillars, though it was not so large as some we had seen in the morning. Its dimensions, which were taken by a man whom we let down by the log-line, were as follows; its longest diameter twenty-four feet, its shortest twenty-two; the pillars six feet in circumference, and six feet distant from each other, but at unequal distances from the wall, some two feet, some four feet; they were somewhat thicker at top, but had no regular capitals. The depth of the tank was thirteen feet, and the whole was covered with chunam. The birds seen this day were white breasted crows, vultures, kites, pelicans, small birds of the sparrow kind, water-wagtails, the abou hannes of Bruce, and which is called so by the natives here, ring-doves, and a bird of an iron-brown colour, about the size of a pigeon. Thermometer as yesterday.

January 9.—We departed early in the morning from Dhalac-el-Kibeer, having procured asses for all our people, and camels for the baggage. On parting we gave a piece of blue cloth to the Sheik-el-Belled, a dollar to Abou-el-Heimen's tomb, and another to my friend the Sheik of the mosque, and distributed some tobacco to

the people who had assisted us in our excursions. As there was scarcely a breath of air, the heat was intolerably oppressive. The road lay at first south-easterly, over a stony plain, on which not a blade of grass was discernible. After marching about three miles, a large bird, that was passing to the left, induced us to stop until the musquets were brought up; it was of a brown colour, and appeared not unlike a cassowary; the people said it was good to eat; on firing at it, it ran away, expanding its wings, but did not attempt to fly. Soon after we had recommenced our march, the road began to incline about N. E. by E. over a low sandy plain, about half a mile wide, and nearly four miles in extent, with ridges of rock on either side, that gave it somewhat the appearance of a river's bed. The rocks on the left rise into a remarkable cliff, not less, I imagine, than thirty feet above the plain; the strata lie horizontally, and are so regular that, when near us, it resembled the walls of an ancient castle.

"At a little before twelve we turned off the plain, and ascended the rocky ground to the right; when our guides pointed out to us the village of Gerbeschid, about a mile in front, which was easily distinguished, (as are all other villages or towns on the island,) by the doom-trees rising above the Mimosas, with which this part of the island more particularly abounds. We reached it soon after twelve, and took possession of a tenement, in every respect like what we had at Nokhara and Dhalac. From the last place Gerbeschid is by the road about nine miles distant. It is a most wretched assemblage of about twenty huts, and is distant three miles from the sea. It is difficult to conceive how its inhabitants manage to preserve their existence, as the drought has killed great part of

their goats, on which they depend chiefly for their support, a considerable quantity of cheese being annually exported from this place to Loheia. The putrid carcases of the dead goats still lie around the town in every direction, and send forth most pestilential effluvia. The few that survive are too ill fed to give milk, and too lean to afford substantial nourishment if killed, so that these poor people are obliged to live almost entirely upon fish, of which there is also but a scanty supply; their water, which is drawn from wells, is indeed tolerably good, but very muddy. During the most favourable seasons, this place produces few even of the necessaries of life; the additional deprivation is therefore more severely felt than it would be, probably, in most parts of the globe.

"Captain Court took observations for the latitude, and a lunar observation for the longitude; and after dinner walked towards the sea in an easterly direction. Hence the land is seen at a very considerable distance to the south, forming a creek or bay, which Captain Court afterwards ascertained to be a part of the main land of Dhalac. I learned from the Sheik-el-Belled that there were forty or fifty men living here, about eighty women, and only about ten children in the whole place; which I have reason to believe true, from the very few we saw, both then, and on our return. He added the following particulars; that they had lost between two and three hundred goats and kids; that they have but eight wells, and no tanks of any description; that from Ras Shoke to Ras Antalou is four days journey; that their principal employment is making mats, and that some of their people are engaged in the sea-faring line at Loheia. Thermometer at day light 80°, at night 90°.

"January 10.—We rose at day light, and in the course of an hour

had all ready for departure, but were detained, much against our inclinations, by the loss of a bunch of keys, for which we ransacked the house and baggage in vain; it was past seven, when finding, probably, that we were determined not to go without them, a boy belonging to the village brought them to us, pretending that he had found them on the road. The track this day led over a plain, quite level, but not so stony as on the west side of the island. The wind was blowing light from the N. W. The direction of our march lay to the N. E. on our setting out; the sea was three miles distant on our right, and about two miles out lay the island of Irwee, its extremes bearing from S. E. to east. Off its northern extremity are two trees on the edge of the water, which appeared, at the distance we were, like rocks. We continued a direct course for about two miles and a half, when we saw the high trees about Dobelew, bearing from us due north; we could likewise just distinguish to our right on the horizon the island of Dalcoos. We soon after passed on our left a miserable kind of edifice, which they called Sheik Othman's tomb. The country here made some slight approach towards vegetation. I observed a few trees of a different species of mimosa from what we had hitherto seen, as also a parasitical plant entwining round its branches. We arrived at Dobelew at nine, and computed it to be four miles and a half from Gerbeschid. It appeared to be full as large as Dhalac-el-Kibeer, had a white tomb at the east and west ends, and two smaller ones on the north.

"They conducted us at first to a wretched hovel, from which they had just driven their goats; but, on our expressing dissatisfaction, they found us another somewhat more decent, and, to

compensate for their rudeness, turned a family out of the next habitation, and gave it to us for a cook-room. This was, however, after having been severely reprimanded by the Nayib's servant, who had evidently received very strict orders to provide for our accommodation: he had throughout been of the greatest use to us, and had uniformly paid attention to all our wishes. There was no milk to be procured here, but we got a kid, with some little trouble, and three fowls.

"The weather was so cloudy, that the sun was not visible at twelve; but Captain Court afterwards took a double altitude, to ascertain the latitude. In the evening he went and measured a base from the north-western mosque to a goat-shed half a mile distant, and at the latter station took a set of bearings, having in sight the islands of Irwee, Dalcoos, and Saiel Sezan, and, to the west, the village of Saied-el-Ait. We used our utmost endeavours to procure a boat to go over to Irwee, but in vain. We were informed that there is only a small village on the island, visited by a few fishermen on catamarans; that its coast is low, with here and there a tree upon it; and that the water between it and the nearest point of the coast to Dobelew, is shallow, and full of shoals. We now proposed to the Dola going up to Ras Antalou; but he assured us, that the only practicable means of doing so, would be to go by water from Nokhara, since, on the road from this place, there were neither asses nor camels to be procured, nor people to afford us accommodations of any kind. It was determined, therefore, that we should walk in the morning to a rocky eminence, called Jissoom, which is the highest land in the neighbourhood of Dobelew. Abdallah and the two seamen went down to the sea side in the morning to look for shells;

but the few that they were able to procure were of little value. I urged the Seid to send out some of the fishermen on the same pursuit, and promised to pay them handsomely; but the inhabitants of this village seemed to be as idle as they were poor, and in consequence nothing could be done.

"January 11.—We set out on our proposed expedition at half past six, marching in a direct line for Jissoom, which bore from us N. 55° E. We had advanced about three miles, when we came to a creek of salt water that crossed our road at right angles, which we passed over, the water being shallow. As we proceeded, a herd of deer galloped by us on our right, at no great distance. Having reached Jissoom, Captain Court fixed his theodolite, and took the bearings of all the islands, and principal objects around us, as follows, Dobelew from S. 31° W. to S. 27° West. Irwee from S. 37°, ¼ E. to S. 3° W. Saiel Arabie S. 64° E. Dalcoos from S. 86° E. to N 86½ E. Saiel Sezan from N. 59° E. to N. 52° E. a distant island from N. 55° to N. 45° E. Dalhedeia N. 21°½ E. Delgammon or Derghiman, of which there are two, Kibeer and Zeguir from N. 19° E. to N. 30° W. Saiel-el-Ait, the village we had before seen, S. 79° W. We found that the creek we had passed completely insulates Jissoom hill, and the low land around it, forming nearly a circular island about two miles in circumference. On the point of Dhalac bearing N. 38° W. is a village called Ebáru. All around us there appeared to be shoal water as far as the eye could reach.

"Here we measured the distance back to the northern mosque, and arrived at half past ten. The weather cloudy, and thermometer only 82° at noon day. Captain Court took a meridian altitude, and at four p. m. he went out, and, proceeding from the northern

mosque, measured a base to the water's edge, in a line with the northern point of Irwee. He found the space between Ras-el-Shoel and Irwee, which forms what Bruce calls the harbour of Dobelew, filled up with sandy shoals, and small islets, excepting close to Irwee, where there appears to be a channel sufficiently deep for boats of small burthen. Hence the south-end of Irwee makes in one, and seems almost connected, with the main land of Dhalac. Seied-el-Arabie and Seied-el-Sezan were both in sight, but, from some particular effect in the atmosphere, they were not able to distinguish Dalcoos. As far as this chain of islands extends outwards Captain Court is satisfied that the water is shoally, and that no vessel would be safe in attempting a passage within them, except small craft; and it is only a few days ago that two dows were lost on the outside of Irwee, driven in by stress of weather. During Captain Court's absence I endeavoured to get as much information as possible concerning the place, and, for this purpose, one of the elder inhabitants, who had spent his life in piloting vessels to and fro, was brought to me by the Nayib's man. He confirmed to me the names of all the islands we had seen in the morning, which agree most perfectly with what Bruce has called them. He recognised every island, excepting two, mentioned by Bruce, as I named them from the book. Abdel Gaffar's tomb, however, they assured me was on the island of Noorah, off Ras Antalou, where is a small village, and not on Dahalottum, as asserted by Bruce. They say, there are two islands of el-Surat, the largest of which had once wells and inhabitants, but the latter have removed, and the former have been all filled up.

"January 12.—About two o'clock in the morning a heavy

shower of rain fell, which obliged us to remove our cots, on which we had hitherto slept in the open air, into the house for shelter; but the covering of these habitations is so little adapted for keeping out the inclemency of the rainy season, that we could not find even one "snug corner." Captain Court went out at dawn of day, and took a set of bearings from the top of the northern mosque. The water, which we this morning procured, was filled with so thick a sediment, that we were obliged to give up our tea. The well itself we found, on measuring it, to be seven fathom deep, and with only three feet water. This is, I think, the most inhospitable place we have visited. The men were by no means obliging, and seemed to be jealous, or the women were extremely shy, for they evidently kept out of our way as much as possible. The character of the people is probably, in no small degree, affected by their intercourse with Arabia. The shell of a turtle was lying in the yard, about two feet and a half diameter; they speak of them as being very common; by a small piece of the shell which remained, it appeared to be of that species which yields the true tortoise shell. The stench of dead goats was as unpleasant to us here, as at Gerbeschid. There are more doom-trees than at the other villages, besides many other species of tree.

"At half past nine we quitted this miserable place. Captain Court took an exact account of our bearings, and found Gerbeschid to be, as we computed, only four miles and a half from Dobelew. We saw a covey of partridges on the road, and got to our journey's end by half past ten. Immediately on our arrival at Gerbeschid, we looked out for an eminence, from which we might see some one of the points which Captain Court had taken, and thus

connect the line of bearings: but, after mounting walls and houses in vain, we almost despaired of success, the situation of this village being extremely low, and no rising ground in the neighbourhood. At last, we resorted to the old expedient of ascending to the top of the mosque, an indignity which we found might be always compensated by the gift of a dollar, and here, after piling a triple story of couches, one upon the other, which were procured from the owner of the adjacent house, we gained, most fortunately, a good bearing of a goat-shed, whence Captain Court had taken his last bearings. Hence we likewise saw the cliff, and the high land of the Abyssinian coast, somewhere near Hurtoo. The day was unluckily too cloudy to get any solar observation, which made it the more important that we should get a point of bearing between Gerbeschid and Dhalac-el-Kibeer; we therefore determined to wait until morning, and proceed at day-light, when we expected to attain our object, by mounting the cliff. I learned to day, that there were at this time seventeen trankies, from near Muscat, looking out among the islands for pearls, tortoise-shell, wood, or indeed whatever they could pick up; many of these we saw lying off the coast in different directions. Thermometer $82^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$.

"January 13.—Left Gerbeschid at half past seven, and reached the cliff in about half an hour, having more spirited asses than usual. We computed the distance to be two miles and an half. Leaving our animals at the bottom, we ascended to the highest point, on which stand the two trees, which were set from Gerbeschid. This cliff is nearly perpendicular, except in one or two places, where loose fragments of rock, that have fallen, form stepping-places, which render the ascent easy. In some parts of the rock are

deep chasms, that appeared almost the work of art. The view from the top fully answered our expectations, and discovered to us, somewhat unexpectedly, a sight of the Panther, an object most particularly interesting to our purposes; it appeared over the point of Dhalac, nearest to Nokhara, on the opposite side of a large salt-water lake, which was distant about three quarters of a mile, and which apparently is deep enough for the largest vessels. We could also just distinguish one of the mausoleums at Nokhara, distant between six and seven miles. We had at the same time in sight, Cape Sarbo, and the island of Howakil, the high peak behind Hurtoo, and the village of Gerbeschid.

"As the surest way of ascertaining the sites of these objects, Captain Court measured a base of eight hundred paces, and took bearings at each end. The land descends, in a sloping line, hence to the lake, round which is a sandy beach. On coming down we observed a few deer, which were very wild, and speedily bounded over the rocks out of sight. The valley, formed by the cliffs, which we passed through a second time to day, seems by far the richest part of the island; it is well sheltered, the soil is good, and there was, even still, a little verdure covering the greater part of it. I also observed three species of shrubs, different from what I had before noted. It is probable that even the small quantity of rain which had fallen, occasioned, in a great degree, the more luxuriant appearance of this valley, or it might be the difference of our feelings, at the times that we passed through it. Two or three species of birds, the plumage of one of which was very beautiful, were seen flying from bush to bush. We arrived at Dhalac-el-Kibeer at half past one. Thermometer 84°. 5′.

CUFIC TOMB-STONE AT DHALAC.

"January 14.—At day light I went with Abdallah and the two Europeans to the northern mosque, for the purpose of getting possession of some of the monumental stones, mentioned in my former account. The best finished inscriptions were engraved on stones, which were too heavy to carry away. I therefore made choice of two of the most perfect, carved in different characters, that were portable, and wrapping them up very carefully, proceeded back to our lodgings, not quite satisfied, I own, with the propriety of what I was about. Our proceedings having been observed, by the time we reached the house a crowd had assembled, among which were several principal inhabitants. I immediately perceived that they were acquainted with what we had been doing, and that they wished to examine the contents of our bags, which we evaded, and got our plunder safe into the yard. The crowd now began to increase, and I heard them debating the matter rather warmly on the outside. Soon afterwards they came into the yard, in a body, with Seied Yusuff and the Nayib's messenger at their head; there were also, among the foremost, the Sheik-el-Belled and the Sheik of the mosque. Abdallah being called, they began a most lamentable complaint against our proceedings, said these stones were sacred to the dead, and that the Nayib had positively forbidden that any of them should be removed. The Nayib's man, however, who was spokesman, said nothing as from himself, but premised every sentence with, "thus do they infer." The Seied Yusuff also (having been previously bribed) kept a becoming silence; so I cut the matter short by telling them, that they might rest assured that I should do nothing except what the Nayib approved; and that I should not think of arguing with them upon the subject, (whom it

did not at all concern,) but would settle the matter with their superior, when we arrived at Massowah. This, I told them, was my determination, and forbad Abdallah to interpret another word on the subject. The only fear now was, that we should not get any animal to carry them away. As soon therefore as tranquillity was a little restored, we took an opportunity of making rather a larger present than we had intended, to the two Sheiks, and distributed the remainder of our tobacco among the lower order. This completely removed their scruples, and they immediately assisted, most cordially, in repacking the sacred spoils, and in fastening them on the back of a camel. It was eleven o'clock before we got away: we saw many deer on the road, and, by accident, caught a doe big with young, that had been previously wounded. She was large, of a light-dun colour, white on the belly and rump, with small black horns, which were circled with rings. Captain Court stopped at the wells to take the meridian altitude, and, at half past one, we were welcomed on board the Panther by all our friends."

This second tour of Mr. Salt through Dhalac, has completely proved that the account of it, as given by Mr. Bruce, is in a great degree false; and leaves it extremely probable, that he never landed on the Island "The three hundred and seventy cisterns, all hewn out of the solid rock," have, after the most minute investigation, been reduced to less than twenty; and of these not one is to be found at Dobelew, where he asserts, as an eye-witness, "that they are neglected, and open to every sort of animal, and half full of the filth that they leave there after drinking and washing in them." If the plan of the island of Dhalac, the harbour of Dobelew, and the surrounding islands, as laid down by that excellent hydro-

CUFIC TOMB-STONE AT DHALAC.

grapher Captain Court, and now given to the public in my chart, be compared with the description of Mr. Bruce, hardly one point of resemblance will be found between the two; and I trust there will be no doubt in the public mind to which the credit ought to be given.

The round harbour of Dobelew, with its narrow entrance, is no where discoverable, and the town itself, instead of being, as he states, three miles S. W. of the harbour, is, in fact, on a parallel with the northern extremity of Irwee, which forms the harbour, and is an island; a circumstance which ought to have been known to him had he actually been on the spot. It is not however with Captain Court only that Mr. Bruce differs; his bearings, as given by himself, are irreconcilable, and, after several attempts, it was found impossible to lay down the islands between Jibbel Teir and Dhalac from his account, which is much to be regretted, as it is improbable that any other traveller will venture through the shoals on the eastern side of the island, when so much safer a passage is afforded on the western.

The account given by Mr. Bruce of the animals drinking out of the cisterns, and washing in them, is evidently untrue, from the construction of them, as described by Mr. Salt, they being arched over, with a hole in the centre.

The impudence ascribed by Mr. Bruce to the women of Dobelew makes me still more doubtful of his having been at that place; since it is hardly probable that they would have totally changed their habits in a period of thirty years, during which time it is evident that their poverty had not diminished.

The errors in Mr. Bruce's account of Dhalac-el-Kibeer, its harbour,

and the numerous tanks on the island, might have been excused, had he stated the circumstances less positively, and given them only as he received them by the report of the inhabitants. In Mr. Salt's first visit to Dhalac-el-Kibeer, he heard from several, that there was a tradition among them of three hundred and sixteen tanks: and this tradition was probably mentioned to Mr. Bruce, and, if given by him as such, would have been justifiable. The same observation will hold good respecting the harbour, which, from his journal, it is evident he could not have seen, and to which he only transfers the information that was given him respecting Nokhara. I can by no means extend the same indulgence to his account of the islands, and their relative bearings. When a person attempts to give geographical information to the public, it is necessary that his information should be accurate; and that he should not give, as certain, a single circumstance, of which he has not positively informed himself. That Mr. Bruce, on the contrary, has erred in many points, and falsified in others, must be clear by a comparison of his own bearings with each other, and of the whole with the chart of Captain Court. I feel him to be the less justifiable on this occasion, as he had it in his power to give a true account of the island, and its dependencies; for his having been at anchor somewhere near Dobelew is proved by his knowledge of the names of the numerous islands in its vicinity, and by his having stated its latitude as 15° 42′ 22″, which is within two miles of its true position, 15°44′.

I dispatched Mr. Maxfield at night with a message to the Nayib, saying that we should be at Massowah the next day. We took a cordial leave of the Dola, and, in consideration of his good conduct

during the survey, gave him several presents, and left a letter, certifying how well he had behaved. The Nayib's man demanded the money for the water in his master's name, and the forty dollars were delivered to him. There had been one thousand skins put on board the boats; we paid for the whole, though some had burst. The water was not quite so good as on our last visit, which was owing to the drought. It was, however, as good as the best at Mocha.

January 15.—By four o'clock it began to blow very fresh from the south. It was full moon, and the tide rose by the lead line near nine feet. We attempted to get up our anchor, but it came home, and we were obliged to let go another, which brought us up. It moderated towards evening; and the wind coming round to the eastward, we got under weigh, and in five hours, were within soundings. After four hours sail we fired a gun, and burnt a blue light as a signal to Mr. Maxfield, and in half an hour a second, which was answered. We stood on till we were met by him in a boat. He brought us safe into harbour, about eleven, to the great astonishment of our pilots. The sea was perfectly smooth as we approached the main land.

January 16.—Our anchor dragged in the night, and a strong breeze from the N. drove us close to the shoal on the N. E. extremity of Massowah. We had all our anchors out, and the weight of them alone saved us, as the ground was too hard for them to lay hold of. It grew more moderate at noon, and before night, the vessel was warped into a place of safety. By agreement we saluted the fort with three guns, which were returned. The Banian came on board, and I gave him a commission from Mr. Pringle to act as broker of the

India Company at Massowah. He informed me the Nayib would be happy to see me, and would receive me at his durbar, but did not wish to return the visit on board the Panther, which, of course, I did not press. There was some mention of the political situation of Massowah, which I did not perfectly understand. Captain Court declined leaving the ship, our party therefore on shore consisted of Mr. Salt, Captain Rudland, and myself. The vessel saluted, as usual, and the Nayib fired three guns on my landing. We were received precisely as on my former visit. I had a similar kelaut; Mr. Salt one that was old, and tarnished. I went to Abou Yusuff's house, where several of the natives paid me visits, whom I treated with coffee and sweetmeats. I was assured of every supply that I wanted.

January 17.—Determining in the evening to visit the Nayib, I ordered two barrels of gunpowder to be brought on shore, one of which I sent to him, as a present in the name of the Bombay Government, the other in my own; at the same time the Banian presented my salaams, and requested that he would permit some of our party to shoot on the morrow, attended by some of his people. The answer I received was, that when he saw me, we would talk over that and other circumstances. Surprised at this equivocal answer, I called the Banian aside, and desired to know what was the meaning of it. He at last told me, that it was to see what present I meant to make him, before he gave his orders. I expressed myself extremely displeased, and told him to inform the Nayib, that I did not consider myself as bound to give him any thing; that I was willing to pay for every thing I had, and wished, out of friendship to him, to induce English ships to come here for provision and water, by which he would reap a very considerable advantage; that

even had a present been necessary, the gunpowder in the morning was more than sufficient, as I knew they valued it at five hundred dollars. I desired him to mention this to the Nayib, and add, that as I did not understand the Arabic language, the business had better be settled through the medium of himself, and my Arab servant Abdallah, and that therefore I would decline visiting him in the evening.

The answer was long, turning much on the attentions I had received from the Nayib, on his wishes to serve me, on his wanting money, as his brothers were importunate to get a portion of what they believed he received, and urging, as a conclusive argument, Captain Keys having given two hundred dollars. This put me into a worse humour. I told the Banian that Captain Keys had in this, as in other things, behaved extremely ill; that it was an act his Government highly disapproved of, and which therefore I could never follow. He said the Nayib knew two hundred dollars would be no object, and that if I requested the Captain to give it, he would comply in a moment. I told him it was out of the question; that I was determined not to give a dollar, nor would the Captain; that some presents I had prepared, which I thought would be acceptable to the Nayib, but that I neither would deliver them, or visit him, till all idea of a present of money was abandoned. He took Abdallah with him, and brought back an answer in the evening, that the Nayib considered me as one of his best friends; that he ever wished to oblige me; that the horses should be ready for the shooting party; but he hoped I would fill his belly. I laughed, and desired to know what would do this. The answer was, two hundred dollars. I asked if this was insisted on; he said, no, I was to

do just as I pleased. On this I dismissed him. Alli Nohri was sent on shore in the course of the day to return to Mocha, as I did not consider it safe to take him with us, after his misconduct at Dhalac. Captain Rudland, Mr. Salt, and Mr. Maxfield, slept at the old residence of Captain Keys; Mr. Macgie, and all our servants, staid with me at Abou Yusuff's. Captain Court, from the difference of conduct in the Nayib, thought it advisable to send six marines on shore as a guard. The air was cool and pleasant the whole night.

January 18.—Captain Rudland, Mr. Salt, Mr. Macgie, my servant, and Pierce, were out by break of day on a shooting excursion: the Nayib's son went with them: Captain Court came on shore to breakfast with me. Soon afterwards the Nayib's servant, who attended Mr. Salt at Dhalac, came with the Banian, and represented, that Alli Nohri had been saying, that I had given him two hundred dollars for the tomb stones mentioned in Mr. Salt's account, and as much to the Dola of Dhalac; that the Nayib was very angry with them, and he begged I would take all the blame on myself. I told him I not only would, but that I considered myself as at liberty to keep them on the sole condition of the Nayib giving his permission; and that if he wished it, I would restore them. This I desired the Banian to tell the Nayib. He also informed me, that Alli Nohri had declared I came to build a fort, and conquer the island, and that other ships were coming.

I felt heartily vexed at having let this fellow go on shore, who had probably excited suspicion and alarm in the breasts of the natives, which it would be almost impossible for me to eradicate, and which would disappoint my well founded hopes, that every thing would go on in the usual amicable way, and that a permanent commercial

arrangement would be formed with the Government of Massowah. I told the Banian I was astonished at the Nayib's giving any credit to such a rascal; and that after my former visit, he ought to have known me better, than to suppose me capable of meditating any thing hostile to him. On the Banian's return, he declared the Nayib did not believe a word that Alli Nohri said, and was perfectly convinced of my friendship; that, however, the stones were not his property, but belonged to the Sultaun of Rome; and consequently he could not give them to me. I replied, I knew too well his connection with Rome, not to laugh at this reason, but he should have them; at the same time I took it very ill, as I could not forget that he offered them to me when I was last here.

Soon afterwards a respectable man made his appearance, and was introduced to me as Vizier of the Nayib. When last here I had heard nothing of such a personage, and now suspected he was an instrument to procure money through another channel. He said he had been to the Nayib, and represented, that it would be a discredit to him, if, after I had brought these stones, I should be obliged to give them up; and that on his advice the Nayib had consented to let me keep them, and I might give him what I pleased. I said I would not, on any pretence, give a single dollar. He replied, the Nayib did not wish it; that he gave up all claims to it, and hoped we were now as good friends as ever. I assured him we were, and that I would visit him on the morrow; in the mean time, as he had acted like a friend, I begged his acceptance of a shawl. I now spoke about trade. He said the Nayib would arrange the duties, and no anchorage should be demanded for any English ship. It was settled that he should come in the evening.

The eldest son of the Nayib, after he returned from the chase, wished to go on board the ship; I therefore went with him. Captain Court showed him the whole, and gave him a few pounds of powder and some balls. I also presented him with a rich piece of kincaub, sufficient for a dress. He was highly pleased, and sent us some fowls in the evening. He was about eighteen years old. His manners were gentle, his figure tall and well proportioned, and his countenance expressive of good nature. His younger brother was to go on board at some other time. He had asked for some powder and ball, saying, that, when last here, I had given him nothing. I told him he should have a shawl, as well as the powder and ball; we were consequently excellent friends. He begged me not to say any thing about it to his brother. I employed myself in cleaning and packing sea shells, which I procured from the children of the town, who collected them in every direction. My European servants and the people belonging to the dow were active in the same pursuit, but, except Cypræa, few of any value are to be had in the harbour. Our sportsmen had great success, and brought home a variety of fine game.

We enjoyed some pheasants and a chevreuil, for dinner, with some French claret purchased from the Americans. Our Dhalac friend, the Nayib's servant, drank several glasses of Madeira, and was perfectly intoxicated. Abou Yusuff would not taste it: he said the other was a soldier, and that all soldiers were allowed wine, but that he was a Sheik, and could not. We laughed most immoderately at his claim to this title, which he had never before mentioned; and declared he was Sheik Sheitan or Sheik Affrit; a joke which, though coming from Christians, he bore with the greatest good humour.

Soon afterwards the Vizier came in, when we instantly cleared the table, took coffee with him, and entered on the subject of the duties. I have given in the Appendix a list of the articles on which the Nayib demands a duty, and the sum demanded, which is in general moderate, though graduated by no regular principle of trade.

Abou Yusuff told me at night that he was in great want of a pair of shawls to give to a friend. I told him I was very happy to hear it, as I was precisely in the same predicament. He and others had advised Pierce not to stir out at night, as Alli Nohri had been trying to excite the people to use him ill for having again turned Christian. We thought it a wise precaution, and he kept close. This day a dow arrived from Jidda belonging to Mocha.

January 19.—Very early in the morning the Nayib's two sons, attended by the Banian, came to me to request, in their father's name, that I would go on board the ship; representing that the Dola of Arkeko, Emir Moosa, who, though a younger brother of the Nayib, was more powerful from his influence with the soldiers, had come over to Massowah to make the Nayib demand money from us for anchorage; that the Nayib was determined not to do it, and that therefore it might probably end in fighting; that if I was safely out of the way, he might do his worst; but that till then, the Nayib would be miserable, lest any thing should happen to me. I assured them I had not the least fear; that I was fully able to defend myself, if their uncle attacked me, which I hardly conceived he would dare to do; and that if the Nayib wished it, I would guard him also. An answer was returned strongly expressive of anxiety for my safety, and begging as a favour that I would go on

board; adding, that every thing I wished should be done for me. On consideration I determined to comply; at the same time stating that it was merely to oblige him, and not out of any fear of the Dola of Arkeko, whose power I heartily despised.

In the course of the day we frequently heard that the Nayib and Dola were disputing violently. As the interference of a subject, however powerful, was fatal to all idea of trade, I determined to bring the business to an issue one way or other; I therefore sent Abdallah to the Dola, with my salaams, adding that I had been given to understand he came over to Massowah with purposes hostile to me; that I had left the shore not out of fear of him, but to oblige the Nayib; that if he had any thing to say to me, he might come on board the ship, or I would send a person to converse with him on shore. Abdallah soon came back with an answer, that he came here for money, and demanded a thousand dollars for the anchorage of the two vessels; that he desired I would send him an answer by the Banian, whether I would pay it or not; for if I did not, he would get it from him. I learned from Abdallah, that on his saying this, there had been a considerable altercation, the Nayib declaring that the Banian had no obligation to pay, and that he had never made, nor would ever make, such a demand from us. The Dola continued, that he would not come on board the ship, nor did he want to see any body from me. The Nayib had called Abdallah on one side, and desired him to say to me, that he wished the English ships of war would take in what they wanted at Dhalac, where he could take care they should have every thing, and not come here, as it made disputes between him and his brother.

I learned from the Banian, that by an agreement with these turbu-

lent relations he paid them half of the duties on merchandise; that when our vessels arrived, the Dola had supposed the Nayib made much money, and demanded a share; nor would he believe, at first, that we gave no money; that the Askaris at Arkeko gained nothing by us, and were therefore equally vexed, and determined to try the experiment whether they could not bully us out of payment for anchorage. The Banian added, that though the Dola had but seventeen armed men with him, he had completely intimidated the Nayib, and had possession of all his power.

I considered the demand of the Dola, that I should pay anchorage, after I had but the evening before settled with the Sovereign of the country that no English ships should ever pay any, as a gross insult, much heightened by the manner in which it was made; I therefore determined to take it up in a strong way. I asked the Banian if he was afraid to deliver any answer I might wish to send: he said, no; and I then directed him to assure the Nayib of my esteem and regard, and my wish to do every thing to serve and oblige him; that his brother had treated me with insolence in making a demand, which he only could have a right to make, and that therefore I was determined to resent it. I sent word to the Dola, that the English ships of war never paid anchorage here or any where else; that at any rate he had no right to demand it; and that if he did not immediately send a man to make an excuse for his insolence, I would sail in the morning for his town of Arkeko, and burn it down to the ground.

The Banian took this threat and brought back for answer, that he would send to Arkeko, to report that the English never paid anchorage, and would inform us in the morning what was their

determination. I sent again to say, I would not wait till morning; that I would have an immediate answer, or would be at Arkeko myself in the morning to settle the business. Soon after the Naqueda of the Dow, Unus Barilla, came on board laughing, and said there had been a violent quarrel between the Nayib and Dola; that the Askari of Massowah had taken part with the former, declaring the English were very good, and ought not to have any demands made on them. It had nearly ended in blows; but at length the whole town being in an uproar, and the very boys taking up stones to pelt the Dola's soldiers, they had retired to their boats on the opposite side of the town, and slipt off unperceived by us.

The Banian soon afterwards arrived, and confirmed the fact. He brought a message from the Dola, that he did not require any money for the anchorage, nor had he the least wish to offend the English. The Nayib sent to say, he had gone to Arkeko to settle every thing; that he would return the next day, and come on board the Panther; till when he begged I would not move. The transaction had now taken the turn I wished; they had tried the experiment of threats, to establish a dangerous precedent, and had failed. I therefore agreed to wait till morning. I was much pleased by a visit from the Nayib's youngest son, which shewed great confidence in us at such a moment. After having been served with sweetmeats and coffee, I gave him a piece of kincaub, and several little articles which he admired. He then asked for some soap, which was of course given to him, and a box to keep his things in. Captain Court also presented him with some powder, which is always a most acceptable gift. Abou Yusuff and

his brother both came on board in the evening. We have had regular land and sea breezes with very fine weather.

January 20.—The Banian came off in the morning, and informed me he had received a letter from the Nayib, declaring that he and the Dola solemnly agreed no anchorage should ever be demanded from English ships; that the English had ever behaved well; that Massowah was theirs to come to whenever they pleased; and that they begged every thing might be friendly between us. The Nayib would come to Massowah when I pleased, and would come on board and settle the duties. I had much conversation with the Banian respecting the political situation of this country, and the probability of danger to any vessel that might come loaded to it. He assured me from himself, that they would certainly be satisfied with the duties, and would do her no injury. He informed me that the Dola was not dependent on his brother, but shared the power with him, though the latter was first in rank; that they divided the duties between them; and that the real cause of the late disputes was a suspicion on the part of the Dola, that the Nayib had concealed the cash he had received from us. Dhalac and other places are the Nayib's private property, in which his brother does not share. The third brother is Sirdar of the Askari. They are first paid out of the duties: the amount is one thousand five hundred dollars per month, and when there is a deficiency the Dola first is obliged to make it good, and then the Nayib; and about this there are frequent hostilities.

The Nayib used to receive his khelaut from Jidda, and still, nominally owns the Sultaun of Rome as sovereign. He is therefore certainly the sovereign of the country, though controlled by the influence of his brother. Something of this kind seems to have been

the case in Bruce's time. Achmet, whom he mentions as the Nayib's nephew and heir, certainly exercised a power in some parts of the country, while his uncle had it in others, and the duties seem to have been shared between them. At the death of Edris, Emir Moosa, his brother, will, by the laws of the country, be Nayib, but the sons of the former will then suceeed, in preference to those of the latter. This custom, which I am told prevails in the other tribes, must frequently give rise to revolutions. The number of soldiers is very inconvenient, as the duties often do not amount to the sum of one thousand five hundred dollars, required for their monthly pay: they are, however, so connected by marriage with the Nayib and his family that it is impossible to reduce them. The Nayib calls them all brothers. The Sirdarship of them is always in the family. The two last years the trade, they say, has decreased, yet we have had a constant succession of dows coming in, and going out, during the whole time we have been here. I assured the Banian that I wished to see the Nayib, and that I was as much his friend as ever. He brought me a present from himself of Abyssinian cloth, and honey; the latter was put up with the wax, was very white, and remarkably good.

The Vizier came off between three and four, to say that he had written for the Nayib, and to procure me a letter from the Dola, declaring that he would make no claims for anchorage of English ships, and that he wished to be at friendship with them. I made, of course, the same professions in reply, and gave him coffee and swectmeats, as we did to all our guests. He then requested we would give him two pieces of plank; as they were small, he requested a third, which was complied with, and the old gentleman