

WATCHTOWER BETWEEN SOCHIA & MUSKA.

H. G. S. del.

J. H. R. sculp.

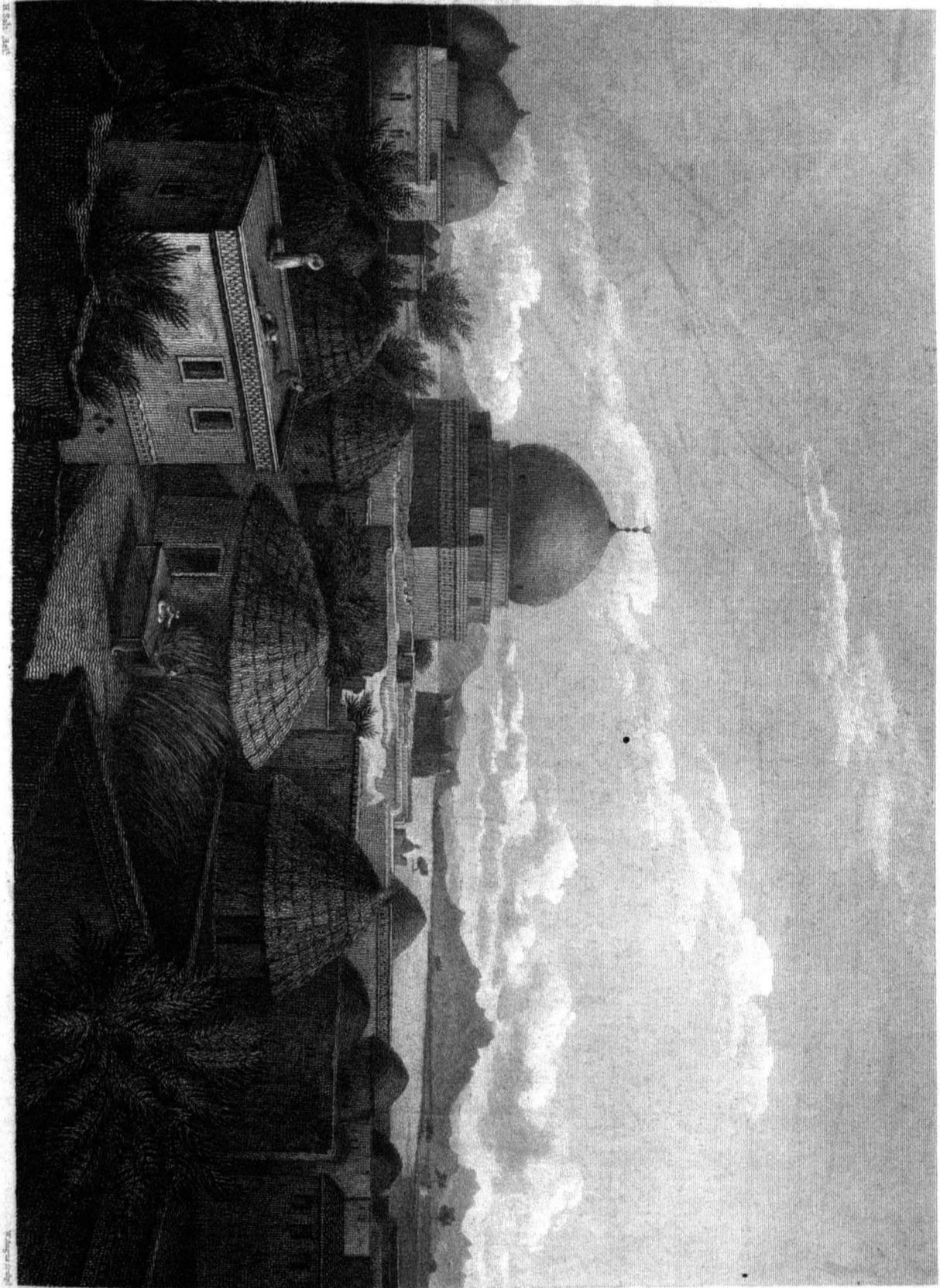
Mr. Pringle passed through in sinking a well, within the walls of the factory, and which are as follows :

1. Rubbish of buildings, - - - 8 feet, the level of high water.
2. Clay, - - - - - 2 ditto.
3. Sea mud and wreck, - - - 1 ditto.
4. Broken madrapore and shells, 6 ditto.
5. Sea sand and shells, . - . 11 ditto.

In this measure he still persists, though the water ouzes in so fast, that he has been obliged to sink a frame of wood, to keep it out. In the third measure the water was mephitic, and extremely offensive. As the depth increases it becomes less brackish, and, at present one hundred pounds of water yields about one pound of salt. It is evident therefore that, at Mocha, the Tehama, to the depth of twenty-eight feet, is composed of marine productions, except indeed the clay, the position of which seems to me most extraordinary. The harbour of Mocha, formed by the two forts, and the spits of land on which they are built, is still gradually filling up. Dows cannot now lie in it; and the sea, which once washed the walls, is now at some little distance. A longer period has shown this gradual incroachment still more in the ancient harbour of Okelis, close to the straits of Bab-el-mandeb, where the Egyptian fleet could once lie, but where there is at present little more than a foot of water.

The celebrated ancient mart of Moosa was probably at Mocha, from the appropriate description handed down to us of its excellent anchorage on a sandy bottom. But if so, it ceased to exist for many generations, till the accidental residence of a hermit, and the discovery of the coffee, again brought it into notice. The history

of the accidental landing of the crew of a ship, bound from India to Jidda, of the visit paid by the Captain to Sheik Shadelei, and the consequent sale of his cargo to the Arabs, who were followers of the Sheik, was narrated to me by the Hadje Abdallah, and confirmed by the Bas Kateb, to whom I applied for information. Mocha, according to these learned natives, was not in existence four hundred years ago; from which period we know nothing of it, till the discoveries and conquests of the Portuguese in India opened the Red Sea to the navies of Europe. The first entered it in 1513, under Don Alphonso Albuquerque, with an intention of uniting themselves with the Abyssinians against their common enemy the Mussulmauns, but returned without having reaped any advantage. In 1538, Soolimaun Basha, commanding the fleet of the Soldan of Egypt, stopped at Mocha, on his return from his disgraceful expedition against Diu. It is only mentioned in his voyage as a castle, and was therefore probably a place of little importance, and had a Turk for its governor. In 1609, when the Red Sea was first visited by the English under Alexander Sharpey, Mocha had greatly risen in importance, and had become the great mart for the trade between India and Egypt. The Turkish governor was, at that time, a man of prudence and liberality, so that the English traded without any injury; but his successor, in the following year, had very different ideas, as Sir Henry Middleton experienced to his cost, who was betrayed, and kept as a prisoner for some time. These circumstances were too inimical to trade to admit of its continuance, and there was only a Dutch factory at Mocha, when Monsieur De la Marveille visited it in 1708, and established a factory for his countrymen. Between that period and



1852

1852

1738 the English must have arrived, as, according to Niebuhr, they were there when the French bombarded the town, and obliged the Dola to pay his debts, and reduce the duties from three to two and a half per cent. Mocha was probably then at its highest state of prosperity, when the English, the French, and the Dutch carried on a regular trade with it, and by means of the navigation round the Cape of Good Hope the expense of the freight of coffee was much lessened, and the consumption of it in Europe began proportionably to increase.

Coffee is the only article of trade produced in Arabia, and formerly the whole of this was carried from Loheia, by dows, to Jidda, and thence, either by the caravan of pilgrims to Constantinople, or, in large Turkish vessels by sea, to Suez, and across Egypt to Alexandria; whence it found its way to every part of Europe. As early however as the beginning of the last century, the large European vessels began to carry the coffee round the Cape of Good Hope; which so much reduced the duties in Egypt, that the Porte sent an embassy to Sana to complain of this new system of trade, and to request that no coffee might be exported except through Egypt. The average quantity, that annually went up to Jidda, was about sixteen thousand bales till the year 1803, when a single American ship appeared, and by the great profit of her voyage, induced so many others to follow her example, that the quantity sent to Egypt was reduced nearly one half. Previously to this event, the Porte seems to have had little cause of complaint against the European merchants, as will appear from the following account of the quantity of coffee exported by them during the eight years prior to 1803.



	Bales.	
In 1795,	2154 ;	of which 2100 for the India Company.
1796,	2000	for the India Company.
1797,	130	for a private merchant.
1798,	72	for a private merchant.
1799,	1866	for a private merchant.
1800,	6441 ;	of which 1000 for the India Company. *
1801,	1340 ;	of which 716 for the India Company.
1802,	—	

The Company have, according to the above statement, which was given me by their broker, taken in the eight years not quite six thousand bales of coffee, a circumstance that seems, at first sight, unaccountable, as the Americans not having then made their way to Mocha, the market remained free from competition, and coffee was at its usual price of from thirty-six to forty dollars the bale of 305lbs. net. At present a competition having arisen, by the Company's broker and the Americans bidding against each other, the price has been raised to fifty dollars; but, at that price, above eight thousand bales have been exported direct for America, and two thousand bales for Bombay, for the use of the Company.

The actual expense at which this has been brought to market, will appear in the calculations No. I. and II. That the subject of the coffee trade might be brought into one view, I have added in No. III. a calculation of the expense of bringing coffee direct from Mocha, by sea, to England; in No. IV. of bringing it, in dows, by the way of Egypt, to Alexandria; and in No. V. of bringing it the same way in a vessel, hired at Bombay for the purpose.

* The French were in Egypt.

No. I.

Calculation of the Cost and Expenses of 2,000 Bales of Mocha Coffee brought to England by the way of Bombay, as at present practised by the Honourable the East India Company.

	Dollars.	Dollars.
2,000 bales of 305 lbs. each, at 50 dollars per bale	-	100,000
Commission to the purchaser,		
Duty - - - 5 per ct.	}	Dollars. 12,000
- - - 3 per ct.		
Cleaning, shipping, &c. 4 per ct.		
Freight from Mocha to Bombay - -	22,477	
Insurance on 141,500 ds. at 5 <i>l.</i> per cent. -	7,075	
Interest on 141,500 ds. for 4 months, at 9 per ct.	4,245	
Cooley and boat hire, 1 per cent. on the amount insured - - - -	1,415	
Damage and waste, estimated at 2½ per ct. on ditto	3,537½	
Cooley and boat hire on board the vessel at Bombay, 1 per cent. - - - -	1,415	52,164½
Cost on board, and ready for sea at Bombay,	-	152,164½
At 5 <i>s.</i> per dollar, the local value of the dollar -		£. 38,041 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
Freight on 2,000 bales from Bombay to England, reckoning on 382 tons for cwt. 5,730 gross weight, at 15 <i>l.</i> per ton - -	5,730	£.
Insurance on 42,500 <i>l.</i> at 10 per cent. -	4,250	
Interest on 42,500 <i>l.</i> for 1 year, at 9 per cent.	3,825	
Loss in weight, estimated at 7 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> per cent, on sum insured - - - -	3,187 10 <i>s.</i>	
Landing charges, at 1 per cent. on ditto -	425	17,417 10 <i>s.</i>
Cost to the Company, when warehoused -	-	£. 55,458 12 6
Or 10 <i>l.</i> 3 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> per cwt.		

The above would be the cost to the East India Company, were they to purchase the coffee themselves at Mocha; but, as they frequently prefer to enter into a contract for the delivery at Bombay, they, in fact, must pay a profit to the contracting merchant.

No. II.

Calculation of the Cost and Expenses of 2,000 Bales of Mocha Coffee from Mocha to America, according to the present practice of carrying on that Trade by the Americans.

	Dollars.
2,000 bales of 305 lbs. each, at 50 dollars per bale	- 100,000
Commission to the supercargo, 5 per cent.	
† Duty - - - 3 per cent.	} 12 per cent. 12,000
† Packing, shipping, &c. - 4 per cent.	
Insurance on 110,000 ds. at 10 per cent.	- - 11,000
Freight - - - - -	- - 19,000
Interest on 100,000 ds. for 1 year, at 6 per cent.	- - 6,000
Supercargoes expenses on shore - - - - say	400
† Loss in weight, damage, &c. 10 per ct. on the sum insured	11,000
† Landing expenses, &c. 1 per cent.	- - 1,100
Duty in America 4 per ct. on the value, which is estimated at 93 ds. per bale, and makes 186,000 ds.	- - 7,440
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At 4s. 6d. per dollar	167,940
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	£. 37,786 10s.

Or 6l. 18s. 9d. per cwt.

The above estimate was given me by a very respectable American captain, excepting the articles marked †, which, however, must fall upon the American traders, and every other exporter of coffee from Arabia.

No. III.

Calculation of the Cost and Expenses of 2,000 Bales of Mocha Coffee
brought to England direct from Mocha, by Sea.

	Dollars.
2,000 bales of 305 lbs. each, at 50 dollars per bale - -	100,000
Commission of purchase, 5 per cent. } Duty - - - 3 per cent. } 12 per cent. - Cleaning, shipping, &c. 4 per cent. }	12,000
Cost on board at Mocha, at 4 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per dollar - -	112,000
	<hr/>
	£. £. 25,200
Freight on 382 tons, at 15 <i>l.</i> per ton - -	5,730
Insurance on 28,000 <i>l.</i> at 10 per cent. - -	2,800
Policy duty 28,000 <i>l.</i> at $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. - -	70
Interest on 25,200 <i>l.</i> for 9 months, at 5 per cent. -	945
Loss in weight, 10 per cent. on sum insured -	2,800
Landing and charges, 1 per cent. on ditto - -	280
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Cost when warehoused in England - - -	£. 37,825
Or 6 <i>l.</i> 18 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> per cwt.	
The above quantity being 5446 cwt. 1 q. 20 lbs. if sold at the present price of 380 <i>s.</i> per cwt. would produce the sum of - - - -	£. 103,482 2 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i>

I suppose this article imported for re-exportation, and not subject to any duty at our own Custom-house.

No. IV.

Calculation of the Cost and Expenses of 2,000 Bales of Mocha Coffee conveyed by the Red Sea, and across the Isthmus to Alexandria.

	Dollars.
2,000 bales of 305 lbs. each, at 50 dollars per bale	100,000
Commission to the purchaser, 5 per cent.	
Duty to Egypt - 7 per cent.	
Cleaning, shipping, &c. - 4 per cent.	
	} 16 per cent. - 16,000
Freight by a dow to Jidda on 1,564 bales of 390 lbs. each, being equivalent to 2,000 bales of 305 lbs. each, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ ds. per bale	3,910
Duty to the sheriffe, 3 dollars per bale	4,692
Transshipment at Jidda for Suez, 1 per cent.	1,000
Freight by a dow from Jidda to Suez, at 2 dollars per bale	3,128
	Patacs. Paras.
Landing at Suez, and portorage, at 10 paras per bale	173 70
Factorage at Suez - - 45 ditto	- 782 -
Camel hire from Suez to Cairo 270 ditto	- 4,692 -
Fee of the leader of the caravan 21 ditto	- 364 84
Weigher's fee and housing at Cairo 3 ditto	- 52 12
Duty at Cairo - - 2,475 ditto	43,010 -
Factorage at Cairo - - 30 ditto	- 521 30
Portorage and weighing on departure 10 ditto	- 173 70
Canvas wrappers, and packing 120 ditto	- 2,085 30
Carriage to Boulac, and Janissary 40 ditto	- 695 10
Custom-house dues - - 120 ditto	- 2,085 30
Boat hire to Rosetta - - 60 ditto	- 1,042 60
Landing and re-shipping for Alexandria - - 20 ditto	- 347 50
Factorage at Rosetta - 30 ditto	- 521 30
Boat hire to Alexandria - 15 ditto	- 260 60
Landing and housing at Alexandria 10 ditto	- 173 70

90 paras per patac, at 160 per dollar	- 56,981 66 32,052

	Dollars 160,782

No. V.

Calculation of the Cost and Expenses of 2,000 Bales of Mocha Coffee conveyed from Mocha, in a Vessel hired for the Purpose, to Suez, and thence to Alexandria.

	Dollars.
2,000 bales of 305 lbs. each, at 50 dollars per bale	- 100,000
Commission to the purchaser, 5 per cent.	
Duty to Egypt - - 7 per cent.	} 16 per cent. - 16,000
Cleaning, shipping, &c. - 4 per cent.	
Freight of a vessel from Mocha to Suez and back, for 5 months, at 2,000 dollars per month	- 10,000
Insurance on 125,000 dollars, at 7 per cent. to and fro	- 8,750
Expenses to Alexandria, as per calculation No. IV.	- 7,857
Duty at Cairo 3 per cent. on the value there, 120 dollars per bale	- 7,200
Interest on 100,000 dollars, for 5 months, at 9 per cent.	- 3,750
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At 4s. 6d. each	- * Dollars 153,557
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	£. 34,550 6s. 6d.

In the estimate No. IV. no allowance is made for the risks by land or sea, or the wastage of 10 per cent. by the drying of coffee. The Arab merchants cover this by the price, which, when 50 dollars per bale at Mocha, is at Suez 90 dollars, at Cairo 120, and at Alexandria 137.

Although three per cent. be the duty levied by the Imaum on all coffee exported beyond the Straits, yet he demands seven per cent. on all that is sent up the Red Sea, even by Europeans.

From the foregoing calculations we learn the following very important facts. That the Mocha coffee, which the East India Company brings into the English market for sale, costs £10. 3s. 8d. per cwt.; that the Americans do actually take it to America, where it costs them only £6. 18s. 9d. per cwt.; and that they are therefore enabled greatly to undersell the East India Company in the markets of the Mediterranean, where the actual consumption is: but that it may be brought direct to England, in British vessels, and only cost £6. 18s. 10d. per cwt; which being only one penny per cwt. more than it costs in America, it is evident, that it might be re-sold by the British in the Mediterranean, at a less price than it can be by the Americans, and consequently that the trade might be completely recovered out of their hands, were it not for the insuperable impediment of the Red Sea being within the charter of the East India Company.

It may also be considered as worthy of remark, that, with respect to the produce of Arabia, the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope seems to have been of but little use; since the articles, according to the present system of trade, as carried on by the East India Company, can be delivered equally cheap at Alexandria by the old route.

Independently of coffee, the export trade of Mocha is very considerable in Gum Arabic, Myrrh, and Frankincense; which is imported from the opposite coast of Africa, but chiefly from Berbera, without the Straits, where a great fair is annually held, which begins in October, and continues until April. The first caravan is always the largest. It brings down of gum arabic about fifteen thousand bahar, each 320lbs: also all the myrrh that is consumed, about two

thousand bahar. The former brings on the spot about fifteen dollars, the latter twenty-two dollars per bahar. The Frankincense is chiefly produced near to Cape Gardafui, and is exported from a harbour of the Samaulies, called Bunder Cassim, near to Jibbel Feel, called by the English Cape Felix, and is usually sold at about twelve dollars per bahar. A small quantity of these articles, at present, finds its way to Bombay, and thence to Europe, while the larger proportion goes up the Red Sea to Egypt, and some is consumed in Arabia and Persia.

The Samaulies, who inhabit the coast from the Straits to Cape Gardafui, have a kind of navigation act, by which they exclude the Arab vessels from their ports, and bring the produce of their country either to Aden, or Mocha, in their own dows. Aden is so much better situated for trade with Berbera, in consequence of both monsoons being favourable for passing and repassing, that the greater part of the myrrh and gum arabic is carried to that place, where the Banians of Mocha have each a partner established, to conduct their business. By these means a monopoly is established, and the trade is loaded by them with the most enormous profits, though they profess to clear only fifty per cent. As the Samaulies claim only half a dollar freight per bahar, the expense of bringing these articles to market will be shown by the following calculations.

GUM ARABIC.

15,000 bahars of 320 lbs. each, at 16 dollars per bahar, are		
240,000 ds. at 4s. 6d. each	- - -	£. 54,000 0 0
Expenses of unpacking, repacking, sorting, and delivery,		
at 4 per cent.	- - -	2,160 0 0
Agency 5 per cent.	- - -	2,700 0 0
Duties to the Sultaun of Aden, 3 per cent.	- - -	1,620 0 0
		<hr/>
Cost on board at Aden		£. 60,480 0 0
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Freight on 3000 tons, at 15l. per ton.	- - -	45,000 0 0
Insurance on 67,200l. at 10l. per cent.	- - -	6,720 0 0
Policy duty on ditto, at $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.	- - -	168 0 0
Interest of money on actual disbursements at Aden		
9 months on the sum of 60,480l. at the rate of five	}	2,268 0 0
per cent.		
Duty on 42,857 cwt. at 4s. 2d. per cwt. $27\frac{1}{2}$ per ct.		
and 8s. 3d. per cent.	- - -	12,127 18 6
Landing charges, housing, &c. &c. 1 per cent.	- - -	604 16 0
		<hr/>
Cost in the warehouse at London		£. 127,368 14 6

Said 15,000 bahars or 42,857 cwt. if
sold here at the low price of 10l.
per cwt. would produce - £. 428,570 0 0

Or - - - - - 28 11 5 per bahar.

Whereas the cost is only about 8 9 9 per bahar.

Which leaves a profit of £. 20 1 8 per bahar.

In the above estimate I have taken the price of gum arabic, as it was in the beginning of September 1808, when the continental markets were shut. It has frequently been sold in London at 30l. per cwt.

GUM MYRRH.

2000 bahars of 320lb. each at 22 dollars per bahar 44000 dollars at 4s. 6d.	-	-	-	£.9900	0	0
Expenses of unpacking, repacking, sorting, and delivery on board, 4 per cent.	-	-	-	396	0	0
Agency 5 per cent.	-	-	-	495	0	0
Duties to the Sultaun of Aden, 3 per cent.	-	-	-	297	0	0
				<hr/>		
			Cost on board at Aden	£. 11,088	0	0
Freight on 400 tons measurement, each bahar measuring 8 cubic feet, at 15 <i>l.</i> per ton	-	-	-	6,000	0	0
Insurance on 12,320 <i>l.</i> at 10 per cent.	-	-	-	1,232	0	0
Policy duty on 12,400 at $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.	-	-	-	31	0	0
Interest on 11,088 <i>l.</i> cost on board for 9 months, at 5 per cent.	-	-	-	415	16	0
Duty on 640,000 lbs. at 8 <i>d.</i> per lb. 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ per ct. and 8s. 3 <i>d.</i> per cent.	-	-	-	28,977	15	6
Landing charges, housing, &c. &c. 1 per cent.	-	-	-	110	17	6
				<hr/>		
Cost in the warehouse at London	-	-	-	£. 47,855	9	0
Said 2000 bahars, or 5,714 cwt. sold at 25 <i>l.</i> per cwt. would produce £. 142,850, or £. 71 8 6 per bahar						
Whereas the cost is only	-	-	-	23	18	6
				<hr/>		
Which leaves an apparent profit of				£. 47	10	0
				<hr/>		

Myrrh is frequently sold at 40*l.* per cwt, and I was informed by a most respectable broker that the 2000 bahars would find a market at that price if there were no competition; which would be impossible, as the above quantity is all that is produced. I have taken the price of September 1808.

The prices, at which the gum arabic, myrrh, and frankincense are stated to be purchased, were the actual prices at Berbera in 1805; but the competition raised at Mocha by the arrival of the Americans affected these articles in as great a degree, as it did the coffee, and raised the price there to a ruinous height. This evil is done away, at the moment these sheets are going to the press, by the American embargo; and I have not any hesitation in asserting, that the British may, with the utmost facility, secure the trade to themselves: but if Arabia should in future be as much neglected as it has hitherto been, the trade will again fall into the hands of the Americans, who will undersell us in every market in Europe, and justly laugh at our remissness and folly.

From the fair of Berbera Arabia draws her supplies of ghee, and a great number of slaves, camels, horses, mules, and asses; but the profit on these articles is much less than on the sale of India goods, which is the return made to the inhabitants of Africa, for the whole produce of the country thus brought to Berbera. Many chiefs of the interior, and particularly the sovereign of Hanim, who lives twenty days journey west of Berbera, send down caravans of their own, to purchase, with gold and ivory, the manufactures of India. It is much to be regretted, that the sale is at present clogged by the unreasonable profits of the Banians, which of course, greatly diminish the consumption. Were a regular trade carried on at Aden, whose sovereign would rejoice at the adoption of any plan likely to increase his small revenue, and the profit reduced to about forty or fifty per cent. the consumption would probably increase ten fold, for, at present, the Africans have no limit to their purchases of these articles, except the amount of their

sales of ivory, gold, &c. The profits of the Banians would indeed be diminished, but the honest manufacturer would be a gainer in an equal proportion.

It is a well known fact, that even in India, the muslins of British manufacture find a considerable market; and a few pieces of a checked pattern, which I had in Arabia, were universally admired. It is probable, therefore, that, if these were sent out to Aden, they would find a ready sale; as would, I have no doubt, our printed and quilled calicoes. The different articles of hard-ware, which are much wanted by every uncivilised nation, at present, only reach the eastern coast of Africa by the way of Bombay and Mocha, though the estimates, that I have before made, respecting the return of Arabian articles to Europe, show equally, that British manufactures could be carried to Mocha, at a little more than half the price they at present obtain.

The Samaulies, who inhabit the whole coast from Gardafui to the Straits, and through whose territories the whole produce of the interior of Africa must consequently reach Arabia, have been represented by Mr. Bruce, and many others, as a savage race, with whom it would be dangerous to have connection. I think that this is an unjust accusation, and is sufficiently disproved by the extent of their inland trade, their great fairs, and their large exports in their own vessels. A great number of them live close to Mocha, and are a peaceable inoffensive race. Some Indian vessels were wrecked on the coast between Mount Felix and Zeila; the chief immediately seized all the property, but he not only saved the lives of the crews, but maintained them till they were sent to Mocha. This might have led to a closer intercourse, had it not



1. A SAMALIE. — 2. THE SON OF THE DOLA OF MOOS.

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been for the misconduct of the commander of a small vessel, who, during the Egyptian expedition, stopped at the same place, and tried to force the chief to bring water on board, without being paid for it. On receiving a civil refusal to this unreasonable request, he sent his people on shore to storm the town. The inhabitants laid an ambush, and cut them all off. The chief immediately wrote a letter to Mr. Pringle, which I saw ; in it he professed his good will towards the English, and cited his conduct towards the wrecked mariners as a proof of his not wishing to injure that nation, but stated, that it was out of his power to oblige his people to comply with the unreasonable request of the Captain, and that the destruction of the assailants was only owing to their own misconduct. I fear that this is not a solitary instance, and that, on every side of Africa, the natives have occasionally had reason to consider a stranger and an enemy as the same thing.

In their persons the Samaulies are neither Negroes nor Arabs. They have woolly hair, drawn out into points, in every direction, but their noses are not flat. They are finely limbed, with a very dark skin, and beautifully white teeth. The expression of their countenance is neither fierce, nor unpleasing. I consulted several of the respectable merchants of Aden and Mocha, respecting the possibility of penetrating into the interior of Africa, by the caravans, which return from Berbera, and they uniformly agreed that, by securing the friendship of one of the Samauli chiefs, and learning the language, an European might, in his own character, make the journey in safety. It would certainly however be more wise that he should pass for a Mussulmaun, but not for an Arab, a nation whom they detest. I think it probable that a trade is carried

on westward from Hanim, by which a communication exists with the nations, in the vicinity of the mountains of Komri. If so, a traveller might at length reach the sources of the Nile, by departing from Berbera, which is the position nearest to them, that is accessible to Europeans.

The riches of Yemen may be considered as solely owing to its coffee, for it is from the sale of that article, that its merchants receive the dollars in Egypt, with which they purchase the manufactures and spices of India. In former times the balance of bullion, which was remitted to this latter country; amounted to twelve lac of dollars per annum. This year it will not be above two lac, a falling off, which is chiefly owing to the increase of the Muscat merchant vessels, which, under the protection of their neutral flag, carry rice to the isle of France, and bring thence prize goods, which they purchase at half their original cost; by these means, not only injuring the regular trade of Surat and Bombay, but greatly encouraging the privateering of the Isle of France, whose inhabitants would otherwise have no means of disposing of the property they capture. It is even believed, that frequently the Muscat flag is only a cover, and the goods, thus exported to Arabia, are *bonâ fide*, French property. Arabia itself consumes only a small proportion of its imports, the residue, after paying a duty of three per cent. on the import, and seven on the export, is sent, by dows, to Massowah, Jidda, and Aden, for the fair of Berbera. On the returns of gold, and ivory, a very considerable profit is also made by the Banians, who nearly monopolise the whole trade.

The number of these Gentoo merchants, at present resident at

Mocha, is about two hundred and fifty; there are also about thirty at Beit-el-Fakih, and fifty at Zebeid. Most of them come from Jeygat, a piratical state at the entrance of the Gulf of Cutch; they come young, and stay till they have made a sufficient property to live comfortably at home. They never bring their wives with them, from a dread of their being insulted by the Arabs. Nothing, but the great profits attending their trade, could induce a person of any property to live so wretched a life; yet Devagé, the Company's broker, is considered as sufficiently rich to command three or four lacs of dollars at a moment's notice. The Arabs are perfectly aware of their riches, and frequently extort money from them, particularly when about to return to India. Devagé's brother, who was, before his departure, the head of the house, escaped on board an English vessel, without having undergone the last squeeze which the Dola intended to give him. Devagé, to avoid punishment, was obliged to prove, that he had been carried on board against his will. The Gentoos live according to their own laws, and show a great obedience to the chief Banian, who acts for them in all public concerns. In private life they are inoffensive and timid; and even their religious prejudice, which prevents their destroying any thing that has life in it, is amiable. As traders, however, it is impossible to speak well of them, for no tie of honesty binds them. One merchant boasted to Mr. Pringle that, in a sale of silk, he had made ten frassels turn out twelve and a half. This, however, was after that gentleman had detected their frauds, and had procured proper weights for the use of the factory.

A very large kind of dow, which is called a Trankey, is employed in the trade between India and Mocha. These vessels have the

privilege of not paying any duty to the Imaum, while a ship that lands any part of her cargo, is obliged to pay five hundred dollars, and a brig three hundred. This prevents the vessels that come for coffee, from bringing any articles for sale, as a whole cargo would not be sold under some months, and the profits upon a few pieces of muslin or cloth, would not equal the five hundred dollars. It is however "an old custom, and cannot be changed."

Yemen has probably reached its greatest prosperity, and may indeed be considered as on the decline. The coffee country is gradually falling into the hands of the Sheriffe of Abou Arish, who has become a follower of Abdul Waheb, and has opened the port of Loheia for the exportation of coffee. The Sultaun of Aden also procures a small quantity, and will probably increase his territories at the expense of the Imaum. His port is so far superior to any other in Arabia, that I cannot but believe it will soon become the mart for all that is exported, except to Suez. The rise of Mocha has been owing to accidental circumstances, which now no longer operate, and its trade will probably remove to Loheia and Aden. As the dynasty of the present Imaum may be thus at an end, I have been induced to bring down the history of his family from the time of Mr. Niebuhr, to whose accuracy on this and on every other occasion, I am bound to pay the tribute of approbation.

According to Mr. Niebuhr, in the year 1763, the eleventh Imaum, El Mahadi Abbas, reigned in Sana. His eldest son Abdallah died before him; according therefore to the usual Mussulmaun custom, he was succeeded by his second son Ali, the present Imaum, who assumed the title of Elmansoor, on his accession in the year 1774. El Mahadi Abbas left, beside Ali, the following issue. 3d, Khassem.

4th, Mohammed. 5th, Achmed. 6th, Yusuff. 7th, Ismael. 8th, Hassan. 9th, Hossein. 10th, Abdurachman. 11th, Jachia. 12th, Ibrahim. 13th, Soolimaun. 14th, Saduc. 15th, Salauddien. 16th, Saleb. 17th, Yacoub. 18th, Sherifuddien. 19th, Shumsuddien. 20th, Abdulkerim. The present Imaum has only nine sons. 1st, Achmed. 2d, Hassan. 3d, Abdallah. 4th, Mohammed. 5th, Jachia. 6th, Ismael. 7th, Khassem. 8th, Abbas. 9th, Saiid. Achmed has three sons, Khassem, Ibrahim, and Abdallah; while his brother Abdallah has already fifteen. It is supposed that at the death of the Imaum the succession will be disputed by Achmed and Abdallah; the former, though the eldest, is the son of an Abyssinian slave; he is rich, but avaricious, is the favorite of his father, and has great power as commandant of the military force at Sana. The latter is the son of an Arab wife, is in his manner open, in his character liberal, and consequently a great favorite of the soldiers.

The Imaum is, at least, seventy-eight years old, and fast approaching to dotage; he will not hear of any danger, and endeavours still to amuse himself in his sooty harem of four hundred Abyssinian slaves. The Vizier attaches himself to the party of Abdallah, though, before the Imaum, he treats them with equal respect. As the powers of the old man decay, their hostilities become more open, and the Hadje Abdallah informed me, that, during his residence at Sana, they actually drew their jambeas on each other, in their father's presence, but were separated by the Vizier. If, while disputing about the succession, they do not exert themselves to raise a force sufficient to resist the Wahabee, they will have no kingdom to succeed to. The whole disposable force of Yemen did not then exceed six hundred horse, and three thousand foot;

not a tenth part of the force that their enterprising enemy could bring against them.

Although Sir Home Popham failed in his attempt to reach Sana, Mr. Pringle, the present acting Resident, has twice visited that capital, without meeting with any insults or difficulties. He informed me that Sana is in latitude $15^{\circ}. 20'$. N. and longitude $46^{\circ}. 45'$. east of Greenwich, and described the town as handsomely built, and surrounded by gardens. The palace is a residence not unworthy of a prince, and a considerable degree of dignity and splendour is kept up. On his first visit he carried presents to the amount of thirty thousand rupees, in shawls, satins, muslins, and other rich articles, for the harem. These were extremely acceptable to the Imaum, and Mr. Pringle's reception was consequently most gracious. On his second visit he unfortunately changed his plan, and took handsome sabres and pistols, which were by no means suited to the present taste of the Imaum. He was however very polite, and even assured Mr. Pringle, that he would issue orders that the French should receive no supplies in any of his ports. Had they actually appeared, I believe that he neither possessed the power, nor the inclination to refuse them.

The difference of climate between the Tehama and the hills of Yemen is so great, as, generally, to produce illness in those who change from one to the other. The air at Sana is cool, and, in the nights, even cold. Grain grows in abundance, and a profusion of fruit adds greatly to the luxuries of the table. A portion of these find their way to Mocha, where I have tasted apples, peaches, apricots, plums, and a variety of grapes. Of the latter, a small kind was particularly admired, which was called kismis, and had no stones.

It has been argued by Mr. Bruce and others, that polygamy is necessary in the East, in consequence of two females being born to one male. I inquired of the Hadje Abdallah if this were true, according to his experience; and he assured me that it was. I confess, however, that I received the information from the Mussulmauns with some doubt, as it is evidently used by them as an argument in support of their law, which gives them the privilege of having more than one wife. Dr. Russell, who, from his long residence at Aleppo, had better opportunities of investigating the truth, not only expresses a strong doubt on the subject, but also gives, in a note, the report of a Maronite priest, who was employed in 1740, to number that nation in Aleppo; by which it appears that there were one thousand five hundred and thirty-three females and one thousand five hundred males; a disproportion that cannot serve as the ground for an argument in favour of polygamy. Mr. Niebuhr also gives several lists, made by the Christian missionaries, of the children annually baptised by them in India; and here the males and females were nearly equal to each other, but rather in favour of the males; and though in the list of those baptised in Persia there are only one hundred and nineteen to one hundred and fifty-one females, yet this difference is far from conclusive, even if it were not supposed to be owing to some accidental circumstance: a conjecture that may by no means appear improbable, when it is observed, how greatly this list differs from the others, taken in equally hot climates, and where polygamy is as common as in Arabia. Were the fact, as asserted by the Mussulmauns, to be proved, I should still doubt whether polygamy was not the cause, instead of the effect, of the birth of the supernumerary females.

It is now above forty years since a new sect started up in Arabia, which has rapidly increased, and is likely to cause a greater change, in the political situation of that country, than any event since the time of Mohammed. Abdul Waheb, a private individual, born, according to Niebuhr, in El Aiâne, a town of the district of Darale, in the province of Nedjed-el-Ared, has given his name to his followers, who are from him called Wahabee. This extraordinary man, for many years, studied the sciences in Arabia; and, after travelling through Persia, and residing for some time at Basra, returned to his native country, and proclaimed himself the reformer of the Mussulmaun religion. The province of Nedjed was at this time divided into a multitude of smaller tribes, each governed by its own Sheik. To these, Abdul Waheb pointed out the abuses which had crept into the Mussulmaun religion, particularly the worshipping of saints, and the use of spirituous liquors and other exhilarating articles. He reprobated the doctrine of the two sects of the Sunnis, with respect to the denying that the Koran was either created, or existing from all eternity, but admitting that it was inspired by God, as a guide for the conduct of mankind. However, as the greater part of the Sheiks were Sunnis, he conciliated them by acknowledging the authority of the sayings of Mohammed. My good friend the Hadje Abdallah, who was avowedly a Wahabee, and was in Mecca at the time it was taken by Suud, gave me their profession of faith, which is as follows.

“ There is only one God. He is God; and Mohammed is his Prophet. Act according to the Korân, and the sayings of Mohammed. It is unnecessary for you to pray for the blessing of God on the prophet, oftener than once in your life. You are not to invoke the

Prophet to intercede with God in your behalf, for his intercession will be of no avail. At the day of judgement it will avail you. Do not call on the Prophet; call on God alone."

These doctrines rapidly spread among the different tribes, whose power was nearly equal, and tended gradually to the recognition of a supremely controlling power in the person of the Reformer; which completely destroyed the former balance of power, and gave to Abdul Waheb a preponderating influence in the north-east part of Arabia. The Sheiks, who did not acknowledge either his spiritual or temporal power, at length united against him, and, under the command of the Sheik of Lachsa, who was alarmed for his own safety, attacked him in his native city. Abdul Waheb defended himself successfully on this occasion; and on another, when his enemies marched against him with four thousand men. Abdul Waheb from this time gradually extended his territories, and his faith. Sheik Mekrami of Nedjeran was one of his most powerful followers, and, according to the conjecture of Mr. Niebuhr, contributed greatly to his prosperity; a circumstance that was confirmed by Hadje Abdallah, who met the Sheik twenty-seven years ago at Mecca, and had much conversation with him.

Abdul Waheb was too able a man to leave neglected any means of increasing the activity of his followers; following, therefore, the example of Mohammed, and fully aware of the influence which self-interest has over the human mind, he added to the inducements of religious zeal, the temptation of plunder, by declaring, that all the property belonging to those who were unconverted, was unholy, and to be confiscated for the use of their conquerors. Numbers, therefore, to save their property, professed themselves Wahabee

before he marched against them, and immediately began to attack their neighbours, in order to oblige them to change their religion, and give up their property. By these means Abdul Waheb secured to himself the supreme power over the whole province of Nedjed, while, by his most powerful servant, Sheik Mekrami, he carried his hostilities into Yemen. On his death he was peaceably succeeded in his spiritual and temporal power by his son Abduluziz.

I have not been able to learn the date of Abduluziz's accession, but he reigned till May 1803, when he was assassinated, while at prayers in a mosque at Darail, his capital, by an Arab, whose daughter he had forcibly carried away from her home many years before. The Arab immediately sold all his property, and with a patient perseverance followed the footsteps of his oppressor, whom, at length, though his spiritual and temporal sovereign, he sacrificed to his private revenge.

During the reign of Abduluziz, the religion of his father was extended over the greater part of the peninsula of Arabia, either by the arms of his son Suud, or by his followers. Many Arab tribes of the Great Desert also recognised him as their religious head; and even in temporal concerns, indirectly admitted his authority, by remitting him a proportion of their plunder, for charitable purposes, when they took possession of the celebrated burying place of Hossein at Arbela, and, according to their invariable practice, destroyed his magnificent tomb, so highly venerated by the Persians, and the other followers of Ali.

The Sheriffe of Abou Arish had, as I have formerly mentioned, been appointed by the Imaum of Sana, Dola of Loheia, where he soon became independent. The different Sheiks, who held many of

the districts of Yemen, under a kind of feudal tenure, which admitted the right of the soil to be in the Imaum, but who hardly paid him any thing for it, were encouraged by the success of the Sheriffe of Abou Arish, and threw off even the appearance of obedience. The Imaum was too weak to conquer them; but they had a more powerful opponent in the Wahabee, who soon reduced the Sheriffe of Abou Arish to obedience, and to the necessity of adopting their religion, plundered him of his whole property, and then told him to go and indemnify himself in Yemen. He followed their advice, or rather orders; and, recognising Suud as his sovereign, carried devastation, in his name, to the gates of Mocha. Beit-el-Fakih, and the greater proportion of the coffee country, are his, and Hodeida alone prevents him from securing the Tehama from Loheia to the straits of Bab-el-mandeb. Although this place remain to the Imaum, as a possession, it is useless; since the Dola was obliged to burn the town, to prevent the houses from being occupied in the attack on the forts. In the latter his soldiers remained perfectly safe, as the Wahabee had no cannon; but he will probably soon be obliged to embark, and fly to Mocha in search of food, when Mocha itself must expect to be attacked.

Mecca and Medina have been so long recognised as the two principal cities of Arabia, that the Wahabee who aspired to the sovereignty of the whole country, were particularly anxious to secure them. Galib, the present Sheriffe, is a monster of iniquity, having scrupled no means to accumulate treasure, and having poisoned two Pachas, and a young prince of the Maldives, who came in a vessel of his own to Jidda, on his way to Mecca. He was of course unpopular, and his subjects by no means inclined to

defend him. Even his brother-in-law, Mozeifé, had so little confidence in him, that, on being sent on a mission to Daraie, he quitted his own party, and became a Wahabee. Abduluziz, conceiving this a good opportunity to attack the holy cities, early in January 1803, intrusted Mozeifé with the command of twelve thousand men, who fought several battles with his brother-in-law, and constantly defeated him. In February of the same year he laid siege to Tayif.

Galib, who had here his finest palaces and most flourishing gardens, hastened to its relief, and defended it for several days, till his nephew Abdullah secretly retired in the night to Mecca, when, conscious of the detestation in which he was held by his subjects, and dreading lest they should place Abdullah in his stead, he abandoned Tayif, having set his palaces on fire. Mozeifé immediately entered, and his followers commenced their usual devastations. Eight hundred males were put to the sword, but the harems were respected. Many houses were burned, and the whole were plundered; but the treasure of the Sheriffe had been conveyed to Mecca with his wives and followers. All the holy tombs were destroyed, and among them that of Abdullah Ebn Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet, an edifice celebrated throughout Arabia for its pre-eminent beauty and sanctity. The grave itself, and the stone which covered it, were not disturbed. Mozeifé, as a reward for his treachery, was appointed Governor. Abduluziz had no intention that Mecca, Medina, and their sea ports of Jidda and Yambo, should be held by any descendant of the Prophet as a viceroy under him; he therefore sent his eldest son Suud to command the victorious army at Tayif, which marched so unexpectedly against

Mecca, on the 26th of April 1803, that the Sheriffe, panic struck, determined to retire, with all his treasures, to Jidda. He effected this in the night, leaving his brother to make the best terms he could with the enemy. On the following day Mecca, for the first time since Mohammed entered it in 629, was obliged to submit to a hostile invader, who, however, strictly conformed to the terms of capitulation, and neither plundered nor injured the inhabitants. The religious prejudices of the Wahabee were greatly offended by above eighty splendid tombs, which covered the remains of the descendants of Mohammed, and formed the great ornament of Mecca. These were levelled with the ground, as was also the monument of the venerable and respected wife of the prophet, Kadija. The coffee houses next felt the desolating zeal of the reformers. The hookahs were piled in a heap, and burned; and the use of tobacco and coffee prohibited under severe penalties. The holy places were plundered of their valuable articles, but the Caaba remained uninjured. The Wahabee have asserted, that the veneration paid to the black stone was idolatrous; and disapproved of the ceremonies practised by the pilgrims at the stone of Abraham, which is placed near the well of Zemzem, and is supposed to have on it the mark of the Patriarch's foot, formed while he stood there to build the Caaba. Into this mark the water is poured from the well, for the pilgrims to drink. Suud seems to have justly estimated the benefits which Mecca enjoyed from the annual influx of pilgrims; he therefore acted with moderation, and confirmed the Cadi whom the Grand Seignior had appointed. He also wrote to him the following letter.

“ Suud to Selim.

“ I entered Mecca on the 4th day of Moharem, in the 1218th year of the Hejira. I kept peace towards the inhabitants. I destroyed all the tombs which they idolatrously worshipped. I abolished the levying of all customs above two and a half per cent. I confirmed the Cadi, whom you had appointed to govern in the place agreeably to the commands of Mohammed. I desire that, in the ensuing years, you will give orders to the Pachas of Shaum, Syria, Misr, and Egypt, not to come accompanied by the Mahamel,* trumpets, and drums, into Mecca and Medina. For why? religion is not profited by these things. Peace be between us, and may the blessing of God be unto you! Dated on the 10th day of Moharem.” This answers to our 3d of May.

On the 11th of May Suud marched against Jidda; but the delay at Mecca had given time to the Sheriffe to prepare for his reception, by bringing on shore all the cannon from the vessels in the harbour, and planting them on the walls. An attempt was made by the Wahabee to storm the town, but it failed; Suud, however, contrived to cut off all supplies, even of water; in consequence of which, numbers perished by thirst, in the nine days that the blockade continued; and at length the Sheriffe was forced by the inhabitants to offer a sum of money to Suud, on condition of his abandoning the siege. The arrangements were actually made for the payment of a lac and thirty thousand dollars, when the intelligence arrived of the death of Abduluziz, which induced Suud to return instantly to Daraie, lest any rival should dispute the succession. Jidda was thus saved, and even Mecca fell again under

* The richly ornamented covering for the Caaba.

the control of the Sheriffe; but Tayif, the most lovely spot in Arabia, a spot so unlike the surrounding country, that the Arabs believe it to have been a part of Syria, detached and dropped during the general deluge, still remained in the hands of Mozeifé.

In 1804 Medina, with its treasure, which had accumulated for ages by the donations of the faithful, became a prey to the Wahabee: and the tomb of the Prophet shared the fate of those of his descendants. Jidda was again attacked, but without success, as the Sheriffe had received supplies from Egypt. Yambo fell, but was retaken on the sea side. The Pacha of Syria forced his way through the undisciplined troops of Suud, and the usual ceremonies were performed by the Faithful at the holy Caaba; probably for the last time; for the numerous hordes of the Wahabee now cover the Desert with their flying squadrons, and render a passage too dangerous to be attempted.

The Johassen Arabs, who acknowledge the religious supremacy of Suud, have occasionally entered the Red Sea, and, should they obey his call, and appear with their powerful naval force before Jidda, resistance would be unavailing, and the descendants of the Prophet would cease to reign in Arabia. The Imaum of Muscat has perished in battle, and his son is said to be under the control of a Wahabee guardian. Yemen has no natural means of resisting the vast power of her opponent, and must sink under the imbecility of her government. In the vast peninsula of Arabia, the little state of Aden alone offers any rational means of resistance to the power of the Wahabee, by the wisdom of her sovereign, and the bravery of his little army. Gratitude calls upon the British to prevent his ruin; for to them

he has ever been an attached and useful ally. During the expedition to the Red Sea, his port was open to them; and, on General Murray's quitting Perim, the British troops were, with an unbounded confidence, admitted within his walls. On the appearance of the Johassen fleet in his harbour, in 1804, while a large Surat vessel was lying there, he sent his soldiers on board to protect her from the pirates, and obliged them to put to sea, without receiving any supplies, though they offered him the half of the plunder they had already made, if he would permit them to remain. These repeated acts of friendship now call for a return, which it is perfectly in the British power to afford.

The Wahabee, conscious of their want of arms and ammunition, and fully convinced of the benefit they would receive from a trade being opened between India and their ports, have made repeated offers to the Bombay Government, of granting immunities and exclusive privileges to the British merchants, if they would establish a factory at Lohéia; they would therefore willingly comply with any request in favour of the Sultaun of Aden, as an ally of the British, and would, with little regret, give up an attack on a power, whom they have hitherto found capable of resisting them.

No answer has as yet been given to the applications of the Wahabee; and the Bombay Government behold, without concern, a revolution, which is again connecting the disunited Arabs under one supreme master. It is a circumstance well worthy of remark, that this has, for the first time since the death of Ali, occurred at a moment, when the surrounding kingdoms of Asia and Africa are sunk into the same state of imbecility and distraction, to which they were reduced under the Romans, when the dissolute and lukewarm

Christians were obliged to yield to the ardent and zealous followers of Mohammed.

Low as the power of the Turkish empire is now fallen, I do not expect that the Wahabee will completely prevail against it, unless, by a communication with Europeans, they obtain supplies of arms and ammunition, and, with them, learn a proportion of European discipline. I consider Arabia, however, as lost for ever to the Sultaun; and, consequently, that he has ceased to be the head of the Mussulmaun religion. The order of Mohammed, that his followers should, once in their lives, visit Mecca, can no longer be performed. The sacred city has heard the din of hostile arms, and is in possession of a Prince who denies to Mohammed that veneration which he has received for twelve hundred years. His descendants will soon cease to reign; and although the Koran may be revered for a longer period throughout a portion of Asia, the mighty fabric of Islamism must be considered as having passed away, from the moment that Suud entered Mecca on the 27th of April, 1803. *

CHAPTER IX.

Proceedings at Mocha during my absence.—Massacre of the officers of the *Alert* by the Arab crew.—Survey and condemnation of the *Assaye*.—Disputes with the *Dola* about *Renegados*.—Captain *Court*'s survey of the Straits of *Bab-el-mandeb* and the neighbouring islands.—Incorrectness of *Sir Home Popham*'s chart.—Badness of the Arab servants.—Observations on the *Factory*.—Preparations for the visit to *Abyssinia*.—Departure of *Mr. Salt*, *Captain Rudland*, *Mr. Carter* and their attendants for *Abyssinia*.—Arrival of *Captain Barton* from *Suez*.—Conduct of the *Americans*.—Incursions of the *Wahabee*.—Alarm at *Mocha*.—Distress of the inhabitants.—Conduct of the *Dola*.—Arrival of two vessels under *Seid Mohammed Akil* from the *Isle of France*.—Their proceedings.—Departure from *Mocha*.—Visit to *Ait*.—Arrival at *Massowah*.—Return of *Mr. Salt* with the *Baharnegash*.—Reception of him on board the *Panther*.—Departure of the *Baharnegash* for *Abyssinia*.

CHAPTER IX.

MAY 5.—On my return to Mocha, it was with very great pain I discovered that an unfortunate attachment to spirituous liquors, brought on originally by the solitude of the Factory, had so greatly gained on Mr. Pringle, that, instead of conducting himself with the prudence and discretion, which had heretofore conciliated the natives, and given respectability to the British character, he had, during my absence, thrown every thing into confusion, and was on the worst of terms with Devagé and the Dola.

Soon after my departure, a letter was received by Mr. Pringle from the Nakib, or native chief, of Macullah, informing him, that he had detained in his harbour a vessel which had entered under Arab colours, but which he had discovered to be English; that the Arab part of the crew had risen on the officers, had murdered them all, and had piratically changed the destination of the vessel. The Nakib concluded with professions of esteem for the English nation, and desired Mr. Pringle to send some person to Macullah, to receive and take charge of the property. Captain Benzoni, a respectable Italian, who had been in the service of Seid Mohammed Akil, but was discharged by him because, as Captain, he would not take a false oath that a ship, which the Seid had intentionally run on shore to cheat the underwriters at Bombay, was lost by stress of weather, was then at Mocha, and was immediately sent down to Macullah, with a letter to the Nakib.

Mr. Pringle, nevertheless, made a bargain with an American captain, to carry him there in his way home, and followed Benzoni, who had in the mean time prepared the ship for sea, which proved to be the *Alert*, from Bengal, loaded with rice and piece-goods. The Nakib had immediately given Captain Benzoni possession of the ship, and had assured him that he would account for the rice, which he had landed and consumed. Mr. Pringle, however, on his arrival, was seized with a groundless panic, and ran away in the night, without concluding any arrangement with the Nakib. He next proceeded to Aden, with the Arab colours hoisted below the English, to the great mortification of the Sultaun, whom he abused and threatened. The *Alert* had very little water, her casks were therefore landed for a supply; but in the night Mr. Pringle again moved off, leaving them behind. On reaching Mocha, he remonstrated with the *Dola* for his former ill conduct, and threatened to fire on the town. Fortunately he did not carry his folly so far, and he was brought to his senses by discovering, that he had neither water nor provisions on board. He was obliged to hoist signals of distress, when the *Dola* permitted him to receive supplies, and at length to return to the Factory.

Immediately on my arrival, the *Dola*, and the Banian of the Sultaun of Aden, waited on me, to complain of the conduct of Mr. Pringle, and I felt it my duty to assure them, that nothing could be more contrary to the orders of the India Government, than the whole of his proceedings. He was indeed perfectly convinced of this himself, and, as his many amiable qualities had now recovered their former influence, a reconciliation was established without difficulty: poor *Devagé* was deeply incensed; nor could I do more

than induce him to come to the Factory on business while I was there; Mr. Pringle having, in one of his fits, struck him on the cheek with the sole of his slipper, the deepest insult that can be offered to an Asiatic, among whom it is considered as a mark of disrespect to show even the sole of the foot.

The Assaye was surveyed by the officers and the carpenters of the American ships; who reported, that the whole of her iron-works were totally decayed, her timbers deficient in number, and together with her bows and upper works, very bad, her bottom worm eaten, and rotten, and not a bolt to be discovered in her; they therefore declared it was impossible for her to go again to sea. It is really astonishing how Mr. Sutherland, and the committee of survey, could have reported her fit for the service of the marine, since she could not have been in a much worse state than when she entered the Red Sea. I reported the circumstances to Lord Wellesley, Mr. Duncan, and Captain Money, the new superintendent of marine; and as Mr. Maxfield was now thrown out of his command, and his crew were to be returned to Bombay, I suggested to Mr. Pringle the eligibility of their being turned over, marines and all, to the Alert, and that the Assaye should be broken up. This was agreed to; and, on the 2d of April, Mr. Maxfield entered on his new command, and began to prepare for sea. On the 8th arrived the Company's cruizer Princess Augusta, Captain Bennett, having on board my friend Captain Sparks, as commissioner to Macullah, for the recovery of the Alert, dispatched by the Government of Bombay, who had learned the fate of this ship, by the means of a Banian at Muscat. The owners had turned her over to the underwriters, who had appointed Messrs. Forbes their agents

at Bombay, by whose authority a Captain Loan was deputed to take the command. Mr. Maxfield was of course superseded, but, with Captain Court's permission, returned to Bombay with my dispatches for the Government there, and for his Excellency the Governor General. He also took rough drafts of our discoveries, which Captain Court had paid me the highly flattering compliment of dedicating to me. Mr. Hurst being an acting Lieutenant, I thought it would be pleasanter for him to return, than to do duty with us as a midshipman; I therefore exchanged him for an officer of the *Augusta* of the name of Denton, who was reported by Mr. Criddle to be a friend of his, and of whom Captain Court spoke favourably. He turned out a fine, manly lad, who had been educated at Eton.

Captain Sparks declined settling the accounts of the *Alert*, with which he was by no means satisfied, the expense of bringing her up, and preparing her for sea, amounting to five thousand dollars. As he was also not quite convinced, that Mr. Pringle was right in leaving Macullah in the way he did, without settling with the Nakib, he thought it his duty to return to that place. Mr. Pringle determined to accompany him in the *Augusta*, he having engaged Captain Bennet to return to Mocha, and convoy the trade to Bombay in August. The underwriters had sent about ten thousand rupees in presents for the Nakib; but as it was evident he had so large a sum in his hands, Captain Sparks disposed of the articles here. I purchased two telescopes, and some pieces of muslin. I again wrote fully to the Governor General respecting Arabia, and the Red Sea, and took the liberty of suggesting that Mr. Maxfield should be sent back in a small vessel, to survey the outside of the shoals from Jibbel Teir to Macowar, and the coast thence to Cosseir.

The arrival of so many English had driven the Americans from the Factory; we had to regret the absence of Captain Bancroft, but certainly it was not decorous that so large a party should live at the expense of the East India Company, as they had hitherto done, even during Mr. Pringle's absence at Macullah.

Though the Dola and I were on most friendly terms, it was not possible for him to leave off his old tricks of seducing our seamen. Lynch, a Mulatto, who was formerly Captain Vashon's cook, but who, having run away from him, was now a seaman of the Princess Augusta, and Gardner, a marine boy, were reported this morning as being in the Dola's house. I was on the Pier when I heard of it, and returning to the Factory by the Square, Gardner scrambled over a wall, and came running towards me, followed by several of the Dola's people. He conjured me to protect him, declaring that he had no intention to turn Mussulmaun; that the night before he had been drinking in the Jews' town, and that he knew not how he had been carried to the Dola's; that on awaking he had requested to be liberated, but without success, and that Lynch had endeavoured to persuade him to stay. The Dola's servants were unwilling to use force to carry him back, while I was present; I therefore got him safe into the Factory. The Dola was a little ashamed, and pretended he knew nothing of the business. He will, I hope, be soon taught the necessity of conducting himself in a different manner. The ships sailed this day, leaving me to act as Resident at Mocha.

May 19.—Messrs. Forbes having again obtained a contract from the Bombay Government, to supply them with two thousand bales of Mocha coffee, had sent one of their confidential servants, Mohammed Ali, to superintend the purchase. The Wahabee having in

a great degree cut off the supply from Mocha, Mr. Pringle determined to comply with the request of the Dola of Hodeida to send there and purchase. On Mohammed Ali's attempting to embark, he was put in irons by the Emir Bahar. I instantly sent to the Dola to demand his release as a British subject, and to ask by what right he prevented any of our nation from going where they pleased. He immediately liberated the man, who he said had been arrested by mistake; but added, that he had positive orders from the Imaum, not to permit any one to go to Hodeida; that, as he was but a servant, and must act as he was ordered, he hoped I would not be angry with him. I believe he spoke truth, and consequently felt no resentment against him; but as I considered the Imaum's orders as a violation of the neutral privileges of the British flag, I thought it my duty to send off a dowlah to Aden, where she would certainly overtake the *Alert*, communicating the whole business to the Governor General of India and Mr. Duncan. It would seem, from the conduct of the Imaum, that he considered Hodeida as lost to him; or determined, in spite of all difficulties, to keep up the old custom of not permitting any coffee to be exported through the Straits, except from Mocha.

The Americans by no means feel themselves bound by the orders of the Dola. There are no less than eleven vessels of this nation in the harbour; for, as each captain kept his destination a profound secret, they were not aware of the intentions of each other. The arrival of so many vessels raised the price to fifty dollars per bale, and only about one hundred and fifty bales a week are procurable, chiefly from Oudein, in consequence of the conquests of the Wahabee in the neighbourhood of Beit-el-Fakih. The Americans have a private

agreement, by which each ship purchases in rotation, according to the time of her arrival. A captain, whose turn would not arrive these ten months, sailed this morning to the northward, evidently to Hodeida, or Loheia. The adventurers of the present season will find themselves in a very different situation from their predecessors; for, independently of paying nearly double the price for their coffee, as they have only money enough to lay in half a cargo, the expenses of freight will be double also. Many have suffered even more severely, having been obliged to quit without any coffee, and to seek for a cargo elsewhere.

I do not know whether it be of much consequence, as Yemen is changing masters, that the Americans are spoiling the road of Mocha by throwing over their ballast. The evil has already become great, for there is now no clear spot, under four fathom, and at a great distance from the shore. In another season not a ship will be able to anchor in safety. Mr. Pringle spoke to the *Dola* about it; but he did not seem to consider it as of any consequence.

The southerly gales moderated on the 25th of April, and gave us an opportunity of getting fresh ballast on board the *Panther*, preparatory to her going to the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb, which I wished to examine during the present leisure time.

June 1.—Captain Court returned from his cruize, having completed his survey, and discovered more errors in Sir Home Popham's chart, than even the leaving out of Jibbel Anish had given me reason to expect. These will appear most plainly by a comparison between the two charts; but to those who may have no such opportunity, I will only observe, that the actual distance between the Island of Perim, and the nearest part of Africa, is ten miles and

a half, instead of sixteen, as laid down by Sir Home Popham ; that the distance between the two shores in latitude 13° is only thirty-five miles, instead of fifty-two ; and that there exists a shoal in that latitude, which narrows the channel to fifteen miles, and which is entirely omitted by Sir Home Popham. This latter error is as unaccountable, as it is mischievous ; for the shoal lies in the direct course between the Straits and Mocha, and was actually discovered, during the expedition in the Red Sea, by the Antelope cruizer, on which she was nearly lost.

I took advantage of Mr. Pringle's absence to reform the Factory, and introduce a reformation among the Arab servants, who are the worst in the world ; stealing every thing which lies in their way. Not half the articles issued for daily use at the Factory were actually employed. The meat sent away from the table vanished in a moment, so that our European servants could rarely get any. Sugar, flour, fruit, were fair plunder ; even wine and pork were not safe from these harpies. They came in a morning just before breakfast, and, so soon as they had secured the remains, they disappeared, and returned again when dinner was ready. They waited at table, indeed, but it was only till the meat was removed, and the cloth taken away, when they divided the spoils. This, however, I remedied, by having the dishes placed on a side table till we had quite finished. Much dissatisfaction was at first expressed at my reformations ; but I carried them through triumphantly by the assistance of the Dola, who directed that any servant, on my complaint, should be put in prison. Indeed, on every occasion, where the orders of his master left him at liberty, I uniformly found him extremely obliging.

The British Factory has a pleasant view from the upper windows, but the ruins of a house in front keep off the breeze from the lower apartments. The Dola's stables are also a great evil, from the excuse which it gives to his followers, to be lurking about the door, and endeavouring to seduce the seamen who come on shore, to go and drink at the Jews' town, which so frequently leads to desertion. The danger of fire is great, from the vicinity of these buildings, which consist of wood and mats. If once they should be in flames, it would be impossible to save the Factory and its contents, which, at some seasons, are valuable. The building itself must also be replaced by the Company, as it is obliged at present to do all repairs, paying only five hundred dollars, instead of a thousand, when the landlord took these on himself.

If the stables were removed, and the ground on which they stand, together with that of the ruined house, converted into a garden, the comfort and respectability of the Factory would be greatly increased, and the danger of seducing the seamen equally diminished. But Arabia seems too much neglected; her trade is considered as of little value, if not as an incumbrance; and her rapidly rising political consequence is overlooked. The guard of sepoy, which formerly protected the gates of the Factory, is removed, and the Resident is obliged to employ Arabs in his establishment, who are the licensed spies of the Dola. Though the consequence of Arabia, in a commercial and political view, may at length force itself on the British Government, it is improbable that Mocha will continue to be the residence of its Factor, since Aden and Loheia offer infinitely greater advantages. I hope, however, that wherever her Factory be established, it will be placed on a footing worthy of the British name.

June 3.—I received a letter from Currum Chund, saying that he had forwarded my message to the Ras Welleta Selassé, who had sent the accompanying answer. This was in Arabic, expressing his wish that I would come up myself, or send some one to him; but it seemed doubtful whether he had not confounded me with Mr. Pringle the Resident at Mocha, as the address would suit either, or rather neither, of us. As, however, I considered it an object of the greatest importance, as well as interest, to obtain some positive information of the state of a country, which during a century had been visited only by Mr. Bruce, I determined to send Mr. Salt, with such presents as I could procure at Mocha. Captain Rudland and Mr. Carter having expressed a wish to accompany Mr. Salt, I consented most willingly; and every thing was hurry and preparation for their departure, as the season was so far advanced, and it was necessary they should be back by the end of October, to take advantage of the monsoon, which is for so short a time favorable in the upper part of the Red Sea.

On consulting Captain Court and the rest of our party, it was decided that they should go up to Massowah in the Panther, to protect them from the impertinence of the Dola of Arkeko, and to give them more importance in the eyes of the natives; and that Captain Court might afterwards examine the north of Dhalac. Andrew, a renegado boy, who had formerly attempted to escape to the Fox frigate, was, nevertheless, permitted by the Dola to attend Mr. Salt as his servant. He spoke good English, Hindostané, and tolerable Arabic. An Arab, by name Hamed Chamie, was hired to act as interpreter, a very respectable man, born at Mecca, and for some time in the service of Mr. Pringle. When he applied to



HAMED CHAMIE.

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the Dola for leave, he sent Devagé to me to ask who would be answerable for the Arab, if the natives put him in prison. I assured him he should have the same protection from the Panther that Mr. Salt and the other gentlemen had. With this he was perfectly satisfied; a proof to my mind that this protection is sufficient to insure them a safe passage to Gondar. A dow was sent off with letters for the Ras and Currum Chund, announcing my intentions.

June 15.—In the evening the *Augusta* returned with Mr. Pringle. I learned by a letter from Captain Sparks, that the S. W. monsoon being set in, it was unsafe to carry the ship to Macullah, which was open to that point, though admirably protected from the opposite; that they proceeded thither in their boats from Broom bay, where they anchored. The Nakib was extremely civil. He restored fifty bales of broad cloth, and other articles, to the amount of half a lac, and debited himself six thousand dollars for rice. He declared, that he had received from the ship no other goods. This was probably false, as a large quantity of blue, scarlet, and green cloth, had found its way to Mocha, where it sold for three dollars the gudge. He made a demand of five thousand five hundred dollars for the expenses of Ascari and men on board. Had Mr. Pringle staid and settled with him, it is probable a much greater proportion of the goods would have been recovered, as they were not then sold. Captain Sparks considered the Nakib's conduct as altogether meritorious for an Arab. He had given the first intelligence of the ship's being there; had professed the greatest regard for the English nation; and had tried to secure the murderers. He had willingly given the ship to Benzoni, when he arrived at Macullah alone, and unsupported: he had not stolen so much as he might have done,

and possibly not even so much as we suspected; for those about him might have plundered unknown to him. Captain Sparks, therefore, made him a present of the five hundred dollars balance, and they parted excellent friends on the 27th, when the Alert set sail for Bombay, and the Augusta for Mocha. The length of her voyage was owing to light airs, and strong adverse currents. At one time Captain Bennet feared he should be obliged to bear away for Bombay, which he wished to avoid, as the Augusta is a grab, and ill adapted for the heavy sea that breaks on the Malabar coast in the S. W. monsoon. Yet the Company's Marine Board have had three built; the Queen, Princess Royal, and Princess Augusta, though so perfectly conscious of their defects, that they are regularly laid up at Massagong during the rainy monsoon.

The waste of wine had been so great in the Factory, and on board the Alert, during our absence, that there was every reason to fear we should soon be totally destitute of every liquor, except indifferent spirit. By reducing ourselves to a short allowance, we hoped to have some till August, when possibly our wants might be relieved from Bombay, whither we had written to state our situation on board the Panther, and to request, if possible, a supply of necessaries for the ship, such as biscuit and spirits; the latter were procurable here only from Mr. Pringle, at a monstrous price, and the former at a still greater. Our boat was also nearly worn out, and several naval stores were wanting. Mr. Pringle wrote to one of the tradesmen to send a large assortment of things for the Factory, almost sufficient to load a vessel. However, in the mean time, we tried what we could procure from the Americans. One captain admitted he had ten pipes of Madeira on board, but said it was

meant for his owner's private use, and that therefore he could not venture to sell it but at a very high price, a price that would justify his violation of orders. At length he wrote to say, that on his return it would be worth at Boston six or eight dollars per gallon, but that he would let us have a cask at one thousand dollars. The impudence of this assertion in the first part of the letter, could only be equalled by the folly of sending, at the same time, a Boston newspaper, in which were the current prices of every article at that port. I there found that London Particular Madeira was between three and four dollars per gallon, after the duty was paid. It was mentioned as plentiful, and a dull sale. Now this wine certainly was not London Particular, for I knew that ten pipes of that quality were not sent to all America in the course of the year. But even if they had, the profit was most enormous; nearly three hundred pounds for what cost forty three pounds. Convinced that it was a mean attempt to take advantage of our situation, to which we had been reduced by entertaining his countrymen, I positively refused to have any thing to do with it.

A few days afterwards a Portuguese ship arrived direct from Lisbon. I made application to them, and offered the enormous price of five hundred dollars for a pipe of port. The captain very liberally answered that he had no wine for sale, but that he would give us all he could possibly spare, taking an order on Bombay for a similar quantity. What a contrast to the American!!! I respect a merchant; I consider him as one of the great props of our nation: but when every idea of honour and liberality is absorbed in the pursuit of profit, he becomes one of the most despicable of animals; and if his country should adopt his principles, it must inevitably

sink into insignificance. Of this, Holland has been an awful example; and if America does not take care, her decline will follow with still greater rapidity.

June 21.—On the 18th a brig arrived from Suez, bringing dispatches for India, from Major Misset, the British Consul General in Egypt. In his letter to Mr. Pringle, he mentioned that two French fleets had made their escape from the ports of France, and it was feared their destination might be India. He also forwarded dispatches that had arrived from Malta. However ill adapted for the sea the *Augusta* might be, it was thought necessary, as she was here, to send her off immediately: she sailed at four this morning. By her I wrote to my friends in England, and to Government. The *Dola* had received a letter from the Imaum, approving of his having stopped Mr. Forbes's servant; it now, therefore, became an act of the Government. I laid every thing before Lord Wellesley, and hoped that he would permit me to redress the evil.

By Captain Barton, who commanded the brig, I learned that the troubles in Egypt had induced Major Misset to remove to Rosetta, but that his agent was at Cairo. He assured me that the passing to that place from Suez was as safe as it ever was. The report of there being a British army at Alexandria was false, but had originated from Lord Nelson's appearing off that place. This was a great relief to my mind, and made me look forward with pleasure to my travels in Egypt.

On the 20th Mr. Salt, and the rest of the Abyssinian party, went on board, and sailed this morning, provided with presents for the King, and Ras, and with such conveniencies for their journey as the circumstances of our situation would allow.

This morning the dow that we had sent to Massowah, and which was to have continued there, to attend Captain Court in his survey, returned with letters from the Nayib to Mr. Pringle and Devagé, and also with letters from Currum Chund to me and Mr. Pringle. In the former, beside repetitions and extraneous matter, he observed, that he did not yet wish me to send my people; that he had not given his consent to their going: and, without his permission, who could enter Habesh? For "was not he the gates of it?" That he must consult his brothers and soldiers, and would send the result by Currum Chund, who would be here next month. Currum Chund wrote and advised me to wait till his arrival, when my messengers might return with him; that in the mean time, he would arrange every thing with the Nayib; but that if I sent them now, the Nayib would want five or six hundred dollars for permission.

The Panther had sailed, but the wind was contrary. I sent off a cutter early, but by neglect the boat was not ready till it was too late. The American boat tried to overtake them, but in vain. The loss of the dow would have been a serious inconvenience to Captain Court, and it was advisable he should know my sentiments on this new occurrence; I therefore sent Unus after him with letters, who would probably overtake him before he reached Massowah, and would stay with him. I stated, that it was evidently a trick, of the Dola of Arkeko, to get money from the messengers, under the idea that they would arrive there in a dow unprotected; that I thought, when they saw the Panther, every thing would be well; but that, if not, I recommended their urging to the Nayib, that if he were the gates of Habesh, I was the gates of Massowah; and that if he shut the one against me, I could shut the other, by not



letting a single dow enter the place. I left it to their discretion how they should act; but said I would give no present till my messengers returned. I felt perfectly easy, knowing that Captain Court would act in unison with Mr. Salt, in any transactions which might occur. We had this morning an alarm of the Wahabee, but it proved to be only some plundering Bedowee who had wounded a man at a village close to the town. The Dola immediately set off with his horse and infantry, but the robbers had fled.

July 5.—Yesterday was celebrated by the Americans as the anniversary of their Independence. On this occasion they obtained the Dola's permission to hoist their colours on their house. Mr. Pringle asked the Dola if an American factory were established here, and whether the Imaum had entered into any treaty with that nation. He said no; that the Imaum knew nothing about it; that he had permitted it for one day only. That, as a nation, they knew not America; but that the merchants here had promised to bring, next year, the proper presents from their Government to the Imaum and Dola, and to establish an American Factory and Resident. That the Imaum wished to encourage all traders coming to his port. He asked Mr. Pringle if he wished it not to be done. He said that he could have no objection to it, or to the Americans trading here; he only wished to know if they had a Factory, that he might communicate it to his Government. I was much amused by a few merchants making promises for their Government, which they must know would never be performed. Mr. Jefferson and his party are not so fond of trade, or Massachusetts, as to put the nation to the expense of one hundred thousand dollars to serve them.

July 10.—The alarms respecting an attack of Mocha by the Sheriffe of Abou Arish gained ground. The Banian at Loheia had written to Devagé to give him notice of it, and advise him to be on his guard. The Sheriffe was said to have at least fifteen thousand soldiers. We had then at Mocha about four hundred and fifty, as some arrived with an escort of coffee from Oudein on the 7th, and were detained. A few more came in on the 10th, wretchedly looking animals, and rather injurious than serviceable, as provisions were extremely scarce. If the Wahabee had surrounded the town, in a week there would have been an absolute famine among the common people. Fruit had been very scarce, and of grapes we had had no supply during the last fortnight. The weather had been extremely sultry; calm in the day time; the thermometer 90° to 95°; at night occasionally a strong breeze from the north. One night we had a wind as hot as at Lucknow, which drove us all from the upper apartments to the rooms that could be shut up. It lasted about an hour. Hadje Abdullah told us it was the true Simoom, which blows all day at Mecca during the summer months. My health was much better than it was last year.

July 16th.—On the 15th in the evening the Wahabee carried off seventy camels, loaded with coffee and goods, between this place and Moosa. The garrison was immediately ordered out, but returned the next morning, bringing in with them only one lame camel. The party they went after being too powerful for them to attack, they contrived to go a wrong road. Two Ascari were put in prison for cowardice.

July 18.—The Dola's new soldiers quarrelled with him, and marched off. There had been no provision of grain in the bazar for