

succeeded of course to this trade: but the genius of that people was ill-formed for commerce; and the very nature of their government was such, as to render their power of short duration in this part of the world; for so long only could they hope to hold it, as they followed the line marked out to them by their predecessors. On the contrary, instead of adding strength to the union that ought to have subsisted between them and the Arabians, their desire of conquest led them to take possession of their sea ports, and even to send an army into the heart of their country.\* In this expedition, however, they effected nothing of consequence, but were harassed, baffled, and driven back with disgrace. The remoteness, too, of their seat of government, was in itself alone sufficient to prevent a long continuance even of their influence here; for the viceroys of Egypt were more likely to think of enriching themselves, than of benefiting the Egyptian traders: besides that the empire itself was hastening fast to its end. These circumstances, added to the supineness and indolence of the Arabians, made an opening for the neighbouring powers, too advantageous to be long neglected; and accordingly we find, that it was shortly afterwards laid hold of, and by a nation which, until the Christian æra, had been known only by vague report.

“ These were the very Egyptian tribes, which, mingling with the ancient inhabitants of the country, had extended their conquests eastward, and had established their power at Axum, under a feudal sovereignty; a government which, more than all others, is likely to attach the neighbouring tribes to its interest, since it does not require any change in their general system of policy, to enable

\* See both Strabo's and Pliny's account of C. Gallus's expedition.

them to become an integral part of the state. From Axum, their conquests soon extended to the Red Sea; and here, finding friends in the inhabitants of the city of Adulis (which had also been built by refugees from Egypt), they together formed a very powerful nation, which was enabled to assume a consequence in the Red Sea, that the then possessors of the trade were unequal to oppose. Of these facts we have information also in the Adulitic and Axum inscriptions, and in the *Periplûs*, written, I conceive, after the time of Pliny, who, except Strabo, was the first to notice this rising nation; the latter writer having only remarked, in his account of the Ethiopians, that "as yet none of the Ethiopians had interfered with the commerce of the Red Sea." From the date of the Adulitic inscription, their power became supreme in this part of the world; and they formed a maritime barrier between the Romans and the Persians, which induced the former to conciliate them by repeated embassies, and annual presents, the magnificence of which strongly points out the consequence that they held in the scale of eastern politics,\* which consequence continued, in some degree, until a considerable time after the rise of the Arabians under Mahomet.

"As idolatry declined among the Romans, by the same channel that the worship of Mars had been introduced, the true religion of Christ found its way into Abyssinia, and at length was happily established as the religion of the country, about the year 330, in the reign of Abreha, or, as he was called by the Romans, Aeizana, (who had at this time taken his brother Abybeha, or Saeizana, to share in the empire). The persons to whom the introduction † of

\* Nicephorus, p. 719, ch. cxviii.      † Vide Fred. Spanheim *Historia Christiana*, *Secul. iv. cap. iv. viii.* and Socrates, lib. i. cap. xix.

Christianity is attributed, are Frumentius and Ædesius, according to the account given by Rufinus, who declares that he had it from Ædesius himself, who also returned from Abyssinia, and was made Bishop of Tyre: but he spoke of it as in India, which occasioned much confusion; yet it is most clearly made out to refer to the Axomites, by St. Athanasius, and Constantius's letter to Aeizana and Sazana; and that the former reigned at Axum, is clearly established by the Axum inscription.

“ Frumentius and Ædesius, two young men, Christians, but unordained, in company with one Meropius, a Tyrian, were shipwrecked on the coast, where, being captured by the barbarians, Meropius was killed; but the young men were taken before the King of Axum, and accepted into his service. Afterwards, on the king's death, they rose to great honours, even to the administration of the government, by the appointment of the Queen, during the minority of her son.

“ By their influence, the foundation was laid for the conversion of the Abyssinians; and for the purpose of promoting it, Frumentius returned to Egypt, and was there appointed Bishop of Axum\* by Athanasius, in which capacity he returned to Abyssinia. On the disgrace of St. Athanasius, Frumentius was attacked by the Arian party, as appears by a letter from the Emperor Constantius to the Kings Aiezana and Sazana, now extant in St. Athan: Apol. (vide B) requiring that they would send Frumentius to Alexandria. An embassy also was sent about this time for the same purpose into Arabia and Abyssinia, † as appears in Philostorges, an Arian writer;

\* St. Athan. Arch. Alexand. ad Imp. Constantium Apol. Paris, MDCXXVII. p. 693.

† Philostor. Ecc. Hist. Lib. iii. and Nic. Call. Cap. XVIII.



and it is not improbable, that by this embassy was sent the letter of Constantius above referred to. The chief of this embassy was Theophilus, an Arian bishop. The account of his mission is valuable, and appears to me not to have been before sufficiently noticed.

“He was an Indian, who in Constantine’s reign was sent as a hostage from the Divæi;\* and being a man of great learning and knowledge, was afterwards raised to the episcopal dignity. In this mission he is said to have carried out two hundred Capadocian horses, besides other presents, to the eastern princes. He built three churches, one at Tapharon in Arabia, another at the Roman emporium at Aden,† and another on the island of Ormuz. He then passed over to Diabé, and to many other parts of India; crossing from Arabia, he went over to the Æthiopians called Axomites, who lived on the left side, to those sailing up the Red Sea, and who were so called from their metropolis, Axum. Having there settled every thing to his satisfaction, he returned to the Roman territory. Besides his extensive learning, he is recorded to have understood medicine (*hunc enim divina virtute morbos curare fama celebris erat*). His success in Abyssinia, however, though asserted in general terms, can scarcely be allowed, when we consider the high favour in which Frumentius was held; for if we may believe the Abyssinian annals, which here are perfectly consistent with the Byzantine writers, both he and the other missionaries with him, were, on his return, received with open arms by the chiefs, treated with high honour and respect, and by the com-

\* Inhabitants of islands in the eastern seas. Vide Vincent, 495.

† This circumstance tends to make the *Periplus* of later date than this period, as Aden was then evidently not destroyed.



mon people almost venerated as divine agents. No nation, indeed, ever received the Christian religion with more willingness than the Abyssinians, so that a great part of them were in a short time baptized to the faith; lands were set apart for the priesthood; churches were erected, and others afterwards excavated out of the solid rocks, by workmen sent for out of Egypt, by the orders of the Abyssinian emperors, and which they to this day retain. One of these I saw at Abhahasuba, which is undoubtedly of great antiquity, and resembles much the architecture of Egypt. With the rites of Christianity, however, they either incorporated many ceremonies which they had borrowed from the Jews, or, which is perhaps as likely, they received Christianity mixed with many Jewish rites, which had not, in the early periods of the church in Egypt, been so decidedly separated from it. Over this church, from its first foundation, the supremacy of the Patriarch of Alexandria seems to have been acknowledged, for the Emperor Justin writes to Asterius, Bishop of Alexandria, to incite the King of the Axomites against Dupaan;\* and it was wisely determined that the chief priest, or Aboona, should be a stranger appointed by him; thus securing to so remote a country, on the death of each Aboona, a renewed supply of learning and Christian knowledge, superior at least to what was likely to be found there. In subsequent periods, from time to time, many holy men went over from Egypt, who were invariably received with reverence by the inhabitants, particularly nine or ten of great sanctity, between the year 470 and 480, whose memory is still highly respected in the province of Tigré, where as many churches were built and called after their names.

\* Vide Baronius lib. vii. A.D. 522,

“The faith which they received with enthusiasm, they maintained with firmness; for so early as the time of Justin, about the year 525, when it appears that they were absolute masters of the Red Sea, we have a well authenticated account of a formidable army having been sent over to assist the Christians in Arabia by Caleb Negus, or Elisbaas, which proved successful. It was to this prince that Nonnosus was sent as ambassador by Justin, part of whose account is still extant in Photius,\* and the Adulitic inscription was also copied at this time by Cosmas.

“This, and the succeeding reign of Guebra Maskal, or Hellestheus, who was cotemporary with Justinian, and to whom the latter sent Julianus† as ambassador, for the purpose of awing the Persians, and gaining a monopoly of the Indian trade, particularly silk, form the brightest period of the Abyssinian monarchy, as clearly ascertained in history; but I think we may presume, that it was also powerful at the time of the second Adulitic inscription being erected: to ascertain the date of this, is therefore of the greatest importance. But even computing from the time of the Axum inscription, when Aeizana was styled King of the Homerites and of the Sabæans, it will give us a space of upwards of two centuries for the duration of the superiority of Abyssinia over Arabia, and consequently of its command of the Red Sea, although the Arabian authors allow the Abyssinians to have absolutely ruled by their viceroys over Arabia Felix for no more than seventy-two years‡. Soon after Hellestheus, or in the latter part of his reign, their power began to decline in Arabia, owing to the desertion of their own troops, who became inde-

\* Biblioth N. S. pm. 2. &c.

† Procopius, C. xix, page. 60.

‡. Historia Joctanidarum, page 135, 151, and 41.

pendent settlers\* there, and to the increasing power of the Persians, who were gaining in this part a decided superiority, and who succeeded at last in driving them from the country, though they molested the coast afterwards by frequent invasions, and kept up their influence in the Red Sea even to a later period than the time of Mahomet; for we find in Abulfeda,† that the King of Abyssinia gave protection to all the refugees who then fled from Arabia, among whom were some of the first families in that country, particularly Gafar, the son of Abu Taleb, in defiance of all the solicitations made to him to give them up. Afterwards, when the Mahomedan dynasty became all-powerful in this quarter of the world, though all their Arabian possessions were taken from them, their commerce and their consequence annihilated, their country invaded, and even their capital itself endangered, yet the Abyssinians remained firm; and alone, of all the nations of the East, successfully continued to defend their faith against the ferocious attacks of the surrounding Mahomedan states. Yet the struggle in which they were engaged was severe indeed; and it is almost certain that they would ultimately, and even shortly, have sunk under it, had not, almost at this last extremity, the Portuguese arrived, after the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, to their assistance. This happened in the year of our Lord 1541, when Claudius sat on the throne, who, as well as his father David, to whom he had just succeeded, had been for some years engaged in a defensive war against Mahomet Gagné, King of Adel, one of the most blood-

\* These may be what are often called the Abyssinians in Arabia, which afterwards, confused even Ludolf.

† Abulfeda Muslemis, Vol. I.



thirsty savages history has recorded. The accession of European troops, as might be expected, soon changed the face of affairs; and after many desperate battles, in which the Portuguese were chiefly engaged, under their brave commander Diego De Gama, who in enterprize, though not in success, almost equalled his brother, the Moors were driven back, their king killed, and their armies nearly annihilated; while all hope of resources from the other coast were cut off by the Portuguese fleet, which then rode triumphantly in the Red Sea.

“ It has been usual with many to condemn altogether these crusading expeditions; yet, in this instance, the effects resulting from it were in a high degree beneficial to the empire of Abyssinia, which was, in fact, completely saved, by the mode of warfare then introduced, and by the progress in civilization which the natives made under the tuition of the Portuguese, and to which alone is to be attributed the superiority which they have to this day retained above all the nations around them. This superiority has, however, been kept up only by a continual struggle, which gradually has tended to weaken their power, and render their situation every day more and more precarious, so as to make it likely that they may not, without assistance, be able much longer to stand out against the superior numbers of the Galla.

“ Much, however, as we may admire the effects resulting from this expedition of the Portuguese, we cannot but condemn the bigotry with which their priests attempted to force the Roman Catholic religion on the Abyssinians, which succeeded only for a short time, merely from the weakness of one of their kings. For they were not content with infringing upon their ancient rites and cere-

monies; with altering their fasts, and denying them a participation in the holy supper; with burning their altars, and consecrating new ones; but they were absurd enough, which more particularly incensed the people, to treat them all as pagans or idolaters, by insisting on their re-baptism and the re-ordination of their priests; thus unnecessarily heaping, as their king complains in one of his letters, baptism on baptism, and priesthood on priesthood. To this their Patriarch added the folly, not to give it a worse term, of daring to excommunicate the legitimate sovereign of the country. Such repeated acts of aggression at length brought on them the merited punishment, and the exhausted patience of the Abyssinians gave way to a bitter rancour, which burst forth in the destruction of part of the priests; in the expulsion of the rest; and finally, in the exclusion of all strangers from the country. Yet the gratitude still felt for the services which, as soldiers, the Portuguese had rendered them, induced the Abyssinians to treat all, but the priests, with kind and continued attention, which cannot be more strongly shewn, than by an extract from a letter, written by Basilides,\* when he expelled the fathers from the country.

“ ‘ Lo, our messengers have faithfully delivered to us many things that you said, and various reasons that you urged, when they declared to you our command that you should return to your own country. First, you say, “ we did not come of our own accord, but were sent in consequence of repeated letters written to invite us.” What! do you still pretend ignorance of the numerous causes, though so clearly laid before you in our former letter, for which we have obliged you to migrate to your own country? why seek

\* Ludolf's Commentaries, page 537.

you that we should again repeat them? Recollect you not the late fierce disputes between you and the people of Abyssinia, nay, which have always existed, from the contempt in which they have held your rites, your ceremonies, and your religion; and which have been carried to such a length, that, had not God protected you on high, and the favour of our emperor below, would have prevented your staying, I will not say twenty-two years, but even half a year, in the country? It is needless to describe how many men for this cause have been sacrificed, or how many labours and troubles the late emperor suffered in your cause, since all this must be fresh in your memory. But, in truth, the Emperor finding that this change of religion could by no means stand, himself, as he had first introduced, so he again changed it; returning to the fundamental doctrines of his fathers, which is the rock of the Alexandrian faith; and this he confirmed by his public edicts, so that it may not again be altered from generation to generation. What belongs to the faithful account of those brave Portuguese, whom you have wished to recall to our memory, who, in defence of religion, came into Ethiopia in the time of the Emperor Claudius, we perfectly know that they came for a good cause, and that in the very year they entered the country, peace flowed in like a river, and one people no longer rose against the other. For they did not teach the doctrine of persecution, or assemble together for the purpose of destroying the ancient religion handed down by the fathers and Apostles, nor did they force any one to observe other rites than those which were in public use, but rather fought in the defence of them, to free their country from the hands of a plunderer and a robber, commanding an army too truly Mahommedan.



These men are worthy of every praise, and they received their reward from our kings, so that they planted their vines, and tilled their lands in a country, where they had received nothing, not even a foot of land, as an inheritance. And whatsoever they have left, it remains to their children, who to this day live among us, upon the bread granted by us, and bequeathed to them by their fathers; nor is there any one who can say to them, What do you here? or, what business have you in this country? since all know that they came for the public good.'

"From these facts it will appear, that although partial heresies and gradual corruptions may have crept into the Abyssinian church, which was the natural consequence of their peculiar and isolated situation, yet they can justly claim the honour, not only of having resisted the open and formidable attacks of the Mahomedans, but likewise the more insidious attacks of the Romish church; as also, in its earlier period, of having resisted the Arian schism, and, like the Coptic Greeks, to whom their church is nearly allied, may still consider themselves as adhering to the faith which they first received. At the present moment, however, the nation, with its religion, is fast verging to ruin; the Galla and Mussulmaun tribes around are daily becoming more powerful; and there is reason to fear that, in a short time, the very name of Christ may be lost among them. Some events have lately occurred likely to hasten their fall; namely, the death of their late Aboona Marcus, and the failure of their endeavours to procure another from Egypt. By this, the last tie which bound them to the mother country is cut asunder; divisions among the priests have already ensued; the consequence of which is, that their most holy rites are likely to become objects of

derision, from the slovenly manner in which they are performed, and the sacred character of the priesthood to fall into contempt, from the dubious authority by which the priests are now ordained to its duties. To this may be added, that the little learning they have among them will soon be exhausted, being cut off entirely from the source that supplied it.

“ It appears to me, that these circumstances call for the serious consideration of all Christians; for when so much trouble is taken, and so much expence incurred, in endeavouring to convert infidels to the faith, might it not be of equal, or more consequence, to give relief to a nation, already professing, generally, the same faith with ourselves, who at so very early a period received the Christian religion, cherished and defended it against its open and secret enemies, and who still maintain it; not pure indeed, but as their established faith; and to prove that they are a people not unworthy of our care, let us refer to what the Jesuits have said of them, at a time indeed when they were friends, but which, as Ludolf well observes, they never afterwards contradicted. In a letter from Fremona they write thus: ‘Let it be particularly noted, that although the Abyssinians have fallen into many and great errors concerning the faith, yet, excepting these, it is certain that they still preserve that excellent disposition, and good natural inclination to all virtue and piety, which, from of old, they have possessed; and that even now, according to what the Fathers have seen, much fewer sins are found among them, than in many other Christian countries in Europe, where our holy faith remains as yet uncorrupted.’\* Again: ‘They give with much willingness alms to the poor, and treat strangers with hospitality.’

\* Ludolf's Com. 194. Ex Epistolis de annis 1607-8.

“ The Patriarch Alphonso Mendez also thus speaks of them, and his authority is of great weight, considering that he retained these opinions after his expulsion from the country : ‘ They are wonderfully affected towards divine matters ; and have, from the time of the Apostles, amid the darkness of the Gentiles and Mahomedans, kept alive a spark of faith and of the Christian name. Above all things they are inclined to reading and knowledge. As to what belongs to their disposition, I can generally say, that the more noble and cultivated among them do not yield to Europeans, and that those of the lower order far excel our common people ; so that there is scarcely one among them who can be called stupid and foolish,’ &c.

“ Poncet, whose fidelity as a traveller must ever rank him high, (p. 242) bears witness to their piety, attention to the duties of their religion, and their singular moderation with regard to others differing from them in point of doctrine. In addition to these, my own observations tend fully to corroborate what I have here quoted. I believe them in general to be possessed of most excellent inclinations, with great quickness of understanding, and an anxious desire of improvement ; and I am fully persuaded that there is no part of the world where European influence might be exerted with more beneficial effects than in Abyssinia.”

HENRY SALT.



## CHAPTER VII.

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Observations upon the probable result of Mr. Salt's visit to Abyssinia.—Views of Bonaparté respecting the Red Sea.—Means of obviating them.—Present State of Abyssinia.—Advantages which she may derive from a Connection with England.—Exports from Abyssinia.—Probable increase of Trade with the Interior of Africa.—Accounts from Pearce since Mr. Salt's departure.—Death of Mr. Carter.—Proceedings in England, and Mr. Salt's departure for Abyssinia.—Observations on Mr. Bruce's Map of Abyssinia and Chart of the Red Sea.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE direct communication between Abyssinia and other Christian nations may be considered as again opened, by the visit of Mr. Salt to Tigré, after having been closed since the year 1558, when Soolimaun Basha conquered Massowah, Dhalac, and Suakin, and deprived the Abyssinians of all access to the Red Sea. In the course of the two succeeding centuries, the power of the Turks declined more rapidly than that of their Christian opponents; and the want of provision from the more fertile table land, induced the possessors of the ports in the Tehama to permit a trade to be carried on through their country, though they loaded it with the most oppressive duties.

Within the last fifty years the Turkish power has been little felt, even at Jiddah, and at Massowah not at all. The Nayib, unable by himself, to resist his more powerful neighbours, prudently yielded to the stream, and used some degree of moderation in his demands of duty on the goods imported into his harbour. Still the gate of Habesh was considered by him as his; and he probably entertained a hope, that he might one day have it again in his power, to raise the duties to an height, that would liberate him from his pecuniary embarrassments. Abyssinia itself was torn by intestine broils, and Arabia was more violently convulsed by the civil and religious hostilities of the Wahabee, against the followers of Mohammed. That, under such circumstances, the Nayib should

behold with alarm the arrival of a powerful nation in his seas, is not surprising. He must have been immediately conscious that he was at their mercy ; and he must have suspected that they would be attached to his opponents, who professed the same religion, and whose country produced those articles of trade, of which his own was totally destitute. The Banians also, who saw plainly that a direct trade, between the British and Abyssinians, would put an end to their vast profits collected both at Mocha and Massowah, added to the alarms of the Nayib, by the invention of a thousand idle tales, and probably used even bribery to excite his brothers and his Ascari, to force him into those measures of perverseness and hostility, which were, I am convinced, contrary to the natural bent of his inclination.

These palliative circumstances would induce me to wish, that the Nayib should be considered as a friendly power by the British, if any permanent arrangement should take place between them and the Abyssinians. The Island of Valentia might, with little difficulty, be procured from him, as it only yields him a revenue of a few dollars ; and all disputes respecting duties would be at an end, as the goods might pass direct to Zulla, the village mentioned by Mr. Salt, as situated on the sea shore, in the territory of the Hazorta, and which is the same I before alluded to, as being at the bottom of Annesley Bay. This amicable arrangement might prevent the immediate ruin of Massowah as an independent state ; but, as its power is merely artificial, and depends only on the troops it is able to maintain, by the revenues arising from trade, its gradual decay is inevitable, and it will soon either become a barren sand, or sink again into the empire of Abyssinia.



Independently of those occasions on which they were guided by their intolerant zeal, the Portuguese have generally acted in Asia, in a manner that other nations might copy with advantage; and I trust that Great Britain, which has succeeded to her power in India, will also follow her example in cultivating a connection with Abyssinia. The crescent of Mohammed no longer, indeed, forebodes danger to Christianity, but the equally terrible eagles of regenerated France threaten universal destruction to ancient establishments; and it is apparent, that their formidable master has more particularly formed his plans against the eastern Empire of England. It was for the fartherance of this object that Egypt was conquered; and it is a continuation of the same policy, which has brought Seid Mohammed Akil to the Red Sea, to cultivate the friendship of the Arab powers. Abyssinia is of infinitely more importance than these; but fortunately, France knew not that Abyssinia was accessible. She conceived that, by securing the Island of Camaran, with its excellent harbour, its fresh water, fuel, and provisions, she could form an establishment which would command the passage of the Red Sea; and that, by entering into alliance with the Wahabee, whose offers had been slighted by the Bombay government, and with the Imaum of Sana, who hated the British name, she should render a continuance in the Red Sea impracticable to any fleet except her own, by cutting off all the necessary supplies. These expectations are completely annihilated by the discovery of Dhalac, Valentia, and the other islands, and by the connection with Abyssinia, whence the whole British navy might be supplied with provisions. It is a source of infinite gratification to me, that the conduct of Mr. Salt, Captain Rudland, and Mr. Carter, was such, during

their visit to the Ras, as not only to conciliate his esteem, but to leave a favourable impression of the national character throughout the country. It is therefore completely in our power to form that connection with Abyssinia, which will for ever shut out the French; but if we should neglect the opportunity, they will profit by our folly, as they have done in Arabia; and the discoveries made on the eastern shore of Africa, instead of becoming a national benefit to the English, will only tend to increase the already too preponderating power of her implacable adversary.

“ The advantages that Abyssinia will obtain, by a direct communication with European nations, are incalculable. At present, she is suffering under all those evils that attend an inefficient government. Her king is invariably in the power of one ambitious subject or another; and receiving no revenue but from the nearly independent governors of his different provinces, he is incapable of securing a sufficient force to sustain himself, or to prevent them from wasting the resources of the country in mutual hostility. The consequence is, that the Abyssinian of Tigré fights against the Abyssinian of Begemder; and the Galla, taking advantage of their enmity, is gradually incroaching on both. The Governors of the different provinces are obliged to diminish the revenue by grants to their followers, who, conscious that they have no legal right to the sovereignty they assume, would otherwise desert them, and seek for a more munificent master. The result of these measures has been shewn in Mr. Salt's account of Tigré, the revenue of which seems to have been reduced to about one half of what it was in the time of Ras Michael Suhul.

Still the power of Tigré preponderates; and the Ras Welleta

Selassé is vested with the constitutional, but immoderate, power of prime minister. This is fortunate, as through that province alone can any communication be carried on, at present, with Gondar. An alliance with the British would supply him with arms, ammunition, and revenue, and thereby enable him to liberate his sovereign from the oppression in which he is now held, and to place in his hands the sceptre of the finest part of Africa. Abyssinia under one master would resume her ancient consequence; her people would cultivate their fields in tranquillity; and her eternal enemies, the Galla, would soon be driven, by the possessors of fire arms, into their own country. Nor would they, in all probability, long remain subdued. It is only difficult to fix in imagination the boundaries of the Abyssinian empire. By an alliance with Great Britain, the Christian sovereign of these realms would be rendered independent of his refractory chiefs, and those repeated insurrections and revolutions, in which the people invariably suffer equally with the monarch, would at once be at an end. He would have time to learn from his allies the arts of peace; and the amiable character of the Abyssinian, which Mr. Salt has drawn from his own experience, and the accounts of former writers, gives a fair promise, that a little labour would produce incalculably good effects. I cannot but flatter myself that Christianity, in its more pure forms, if offered to their acceptance with caution and moderation, would meet with a favourable reception; at any rate, the improvements in arts and sciences, which follow trade, would ameliorate the national character, and assist in bringing back their own religion to a degree of purity, which it has long lost. This would be greatly farthered, if the English were to use their influence with the Archbishop of Alexandria, to



send out as Aboona, a man of education and talent. Hitherto no man, who had any expectation of rising in his native country, would accept an office which was, in fact, a perpetual banishment, to live among a barbarous people, with whose language he was unacquainted, and who were surrounded by Mussulmauns, cutting off all communication with other Christians, and gradually incroaching on their territories. An Aboona, going out under British protection, would have far other ideas; and the fairer side of the picture would tempt an ambitious man to accept an office which would give him the supreme control over a numerous clergy, among a people highly reverencing his sacred character, in a healthy, fertile, and pleasant country, where, in affluence and rank, the sovereign alone could be considered as superior to him.

The restoring of tranquillity to the provinces, and a legal trade to the united empire, would also have the very important effect of putting an end to the exportation of slaves, which here is not only liable to the same objections as on the western coast of Africa, but to the still greater one, that the slaves exported are Christians, and that they are carried into Arabia, where they inevitably lose, not only their liberty, but their religion.

England has felt it an imperious duty, to step forward and liberate the unfortunate Negroes from slavery; and I trust the similarly hard fate of many thousand Christians, requires only to be known, to call equally for her active exertions in their favour; especially as those exertions will, in every point of view, be beneficial to herself.

The trade, that is at present carried on by Abyssinia with Arabia, is of considerable importance. From Jidda, she receives many

articles of European manufacture, embroidered velvets, arms, glass ware, silks, and satins; from Mocha, India goods of every quality, from fine muslins and kincaubs to the coarse Surat cloths, which are used as articles of apparel in a great part of Africa. On these, as I have before observed, when speaking of the fair of Berbera, the Banians demand what profit they please; the Imaum has a duty of ten per cent. on the export and import, and the Nayib another to the same amount. To the consumer, therefore, the article comes above one hundred per cent. dearer than it would do, were the importation direct: yet the value of the goods imported at Massowah is estimated at four hundred thousand dollars per annum, exclusively of raw cotton, which is purchased by the Abyssinians for their dresses, although the plant grows in their own country, from an ignorance of the way of cleaning it. Of this article there is, at present, so great a scarcity, that Hadje Hassan declared to me, three ship loads would find a ready market. It is worth half a dollar per rottol, though the usual price is only fifty dollars per bahar. No merchant of Massowah has a capital sufficiently large to enable him to purchase a cargo, nor even a large proportion of a cargo; but experience has given rise to a confidence in the honour of the dealers, which justifies the captain of a ship in trusting his property in their hands. Hadje Hassan or Currum Chund would receive the cargo, and consider themselves responsible for the whole; they would dispose of it in smaller quantities to people whom they knew worthy of credit, who would depart with it into the interior, and would, in about three months, return with the value in gold and other articles. A large ship belonging to the Nawaub of Surat arrived a few years ago, and actually dis-

posed of her cargo in the above manner, but the captain was obliged to pay five hundred dollars for anchorage; and Hadje Hassan is of opinion, that the Nayib, in defiance of his engagements, would insist on receiving the same from any British merchant vessel which should trade in his country. Till a regular arrangement shall have been made with Abyssinia, it is an object hardly worth a dispute, and had therefore better be paid:

The only articles of value which Abyssinia produces, are gold and ivory: but of these the quantity is sufficient to pay for the manufactures at present imported; and the former would increase, as the trade should extend to the eastward into those countries, where it is produced in the greatest abundance. A considerable caravan arrives at Massowah in February, which brings down slaves, mules, cattle, honey, zibet, ivory, rhinoceros horns, and a few trifling articles. The balance of trade is in favour of Abyssinia, so that several thousand dollars find their way there, but are hardly considered as a current coin. Two hundred wakeas of gold were brought down by the last caravan; and Currum Chund informed me, that, at a month's notice, he could procure two thousand, to pay for goods that were desirable. The wakea, or ounce of gold, costs at Massowah eleven dollars and three quarters, which, at two shillings and sixpence the dollar, is two pounds twelve shillings and tenpence halfpenny. One pound of this gold contains as follows:

	oz.	dwt.	gr.
Pure gold	9	6	6
Fine silver	2	10	0
Copper	0	3	18
	<hr/>		
	12	0	0



An ounce of this gold is worth £2. 18s. 4d. if pure gold be worth £4. which gives a profit of 5s. 5½d. per ounce. The following estimate will shew the value of the ivory trade.

1000 frassel of 32½lbs each, at 22½ dollars per frassel,	
at 4s. 6d.	dollars 22,500
	<hr/>
	£ 5062 10 0
Agent's commission on the purchase, 5 per cent.	253 2 6
Shipping, and delivery on board, 1 per cent.	50 12 6
	<hr/>
Cost on board	£ 5366 5 0
Freight on 14½ tons, at £10. per ton, being an article that might be stowed among the interstices of the cargo	145 0 0
Insurance on £ 5900. at £6. per cent. not being subject to average	354 0 0
Policy duty ¼ per cent.	14 15 0
Interest on £ 5366. first cost, for nine months, at the rate of £5. per cent. per annum	201 4 6
	<hr/>
Cost in London	£ 6081 4 6
Landing charges 1 per cent	60 16 3
Duty on 32,500 lbs. viz. 290 cwt. 0 qr. 20 lb. at £2. 7s. per cwt. 27½ per cent. and £8. 6s. 8d. per cent.	926 5 6
	<hr/>
Cost in the warehouse	£ 7068 6 3

This quantity would produce £8125. at the average price of £28. per cwt. or about £15. per cent. profit if for home consumption; but if for exportation, there is a drawback of £1. 4s. 5d. per cwt. On the larger teeth the profit would be greater.

Basha Abdallah, in his letter to me, which was delivered by Mr. Salt, strongly expresses his wish of becoming better acquainted with the English, and hopes that, if any farther intercourse should take place, he may be mentioned as a person desirous of being employed by them. His conduct to Mr. Salt and his companions was so liberal, and free from those prejudices which usually narrow the mind of a Mussulmaun, that I feel it a duty to make public these expressions of his regard. Indeed it must be the interest of every trader to Abyssinia, to attach to his interest a man, who has more property and more power in that country, than any other of his religion, and whose agent, Hadje Hassan, is the most respectable merchant in Massowah.

Should a national arrangement ever take place, and Valentia become, as I am convinced it then would, the great emporium of trade with Eastern Africa, many buildings must be erected in that island, that the barter trade may be conducted under the superintendence of proper officers, and that the goods may be warehoused till they shall be wanted. It would then be unnecessary to send them up into the interior on credit; the native merchant would bring his gold and ivory to the spot, and take, in exchange, the manufactures of Europe and India; a traffic which the want of specie renders necessary. That the consumption of Abyssinia would increase greatly, even in the first instance, by the reduction of price, and the temptation of many novel and useful articles, which the ingenuity of our merchants would soon discover, appears to me certain; but I look forward to still greater advantages, from the facility which that country will afford of supplying Kordofan, Darfūr, and the other neighbouring states, with every article, at a

much lower price than they have hitherto obtained them, either from Egypt, by the way of the caravan, direct to Sennaar, or by the more circuitous rout of Mecca, Jidda, and Suakin, or from India, by Mocha, and the fair of Berbera.

Cobbé, the capital of Darfūr, is at a distance of nine hundred miles from Siout in Egypt, whence the caravans enter the desert. It is only necessary to read the interesting travels of my friend Mr. Browne, to perceive the many, and almost insurmountable difficulties, under which the merchants labour, who pass from one country to the other. On the other hand, Cobbé is only distant from Gondar between five and six hundred miles, and the greater part of the road is through a fertile country, instead of the inhospitable deserts of the interior of Africa. Even in the present disturbed state of Abyssinia, caravans still make their way to Darfūr unattacked, and find a safer passage than among the predatory tribes of wandering Arabs.

It is so difficult to turn a trade from its ancient channel into a new course, that I should be less confident of the success of my speculation, were it not that the circumstances of the present times are particularly favourable. Egypt, whence all supplies were formerly received, is divided into two kingdoms, the upper half under the Beys, and the lower under the Turkish Pacha, without any commercial communication being permitted between them. The Mamelukes are consequently themselves distressed for all European articles, and have none to spare for the supply of Cobbé or Sennaar. The pilgrimage to Mecca having been also put an end to by the conquests of the Wahabee, the great concourse of merchants, who, in fact, only made religion a cloak for their commercial speculations, has ceased to visit Arabia, and my friend, Emir Mohammed



of Suakin, has been obliged to obtain from Mocha, those supplies, which he formerly drew from Jidda. But the difficulties of a longer voyage within the prevalence of the violent monsoons, add greatly to the expense, which was before considerable, from the necessity of passing over a dreary desert for nearly six hundred miles, in order to reach Sennaar; so that there can be little doubt, that the European and Indian goods might find their way through Abyssinia to the same place, incumbered with much less charge for carriage, as well as for prime cost. The old sources of trade being completely annihilated, it is evident that new ones must be sought for. Great Britain, as producing every suitable article within her own dominions, and being mistress of the sea, has certainly the power to succeed to Egypt, in the advantage of supplying the interior of Africa; but I feel it a duty again to repeat, that if she do not, the French will; for I know from undoubted authority, that the attention of the Government of the Isle of France has been already called to my discoveries.

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In order that the reader's attention may not be called back to Abyssinia, which I am now about to leave, I think it right in this place to lay before them the information which I have received since my return to England.

On the arrival of Captain Court at Mocha, he found a letter lying there from Pearce, dated on the 28th of February 1806, giving an account of his continuing in good health, and rapidly advancing in acquiring the language. He was in high favour with the Ras, who had placed him immediately under the protection of Ozoro Tishai,

with whom he lived, and who treated him with the utmost kindness, assuring him that she would, at any time that he might wish, send him to her friends at Gondar; whither she intended to retire herself, if any thing should happen to the Ras. The divisions still continued between the provinces; but the Ras had made a truce with the Galla, and had assembled all his forces to march to Gondar, and liberate the King from the controul of Guxo, who is supposed to be a Mussulmaun. The governors of several provinces had joined the Ras on this occasion, and the clergy universally supported him. This letter Devajé attempted to suppress; but fortunately it had been delivered to him in the presence of another person, who gave notice of it to Captain Court. This was evidently the result of those suspicions with which the inhabitants of Mocha, and particularly the Banians, beheld my attempts to cultivate an intercourse with Abyssinia, which they justly considered as likely to annihilate their monopoly.

It was with the deepest regret that I learned, by the same letter, the untimely end of Mr. Carter. Mr. Pringle having departed from Mocha, in consequence of orders from the Government of India, who had considered any connection with Arabia as useless and expensive, Mr. Carter proceeded to Aden, where he was induced, by an American Captain, Orme, who commanded the ship *Essex*, to accept the situation of supercargo in her, and go up to Loheia to procure a cargo of coffee. Seid Mohammed Akil having procured permission to fortify the island of Camaran, had rapidly advanced in his settlement, but kept his ship with him. Off the island he fell in with the *Essex*, and, professing great regard for the Americans, offered his services, not only to show them the way to Loheia, but

also to send on board some of his slaves, to assist the small crew of the *Essex* in working her up to that place. In an unfortunate hour the offer was accepted; and the same night the twenty Caffres murdered the Captain, Mr. Carter, and every white man on board, and threw their bodies into the sea. In the morning the *Seid* came on board, took out the treasure, amounting, as it is said, to one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, and then scuttled the ship. Poor Carter's body was washed on shore, where it was found, and recognised by Hyder, who was my servant during my first voyage in the Red Sea. He mentioned it to Captain Court; in consequence of which the *Dola* threatened his life; and so alarmed him, that he escaped on board the *Panther*, with a determination to leave his wife and children, his parents and country, and depart for India. This was not what the *Dola* wished: he therefore applied to Devajé, who offered himself as security, that Hyder should not be injured either in his person or property. This was considered as satisfactory by the lad; but Captain Court thought it advisable to state, in the strongest terms, to the *Dola*, that he considered Hyder as entitled to the protection of the British Government, and that they would certainly resent any injury offered to him, for having reported the cruel fate of a British subject. *Seid Mahommed Akil*, I fear, still exists unpunished; and as a retreat is ever open to him in Arabia, there are but little hopes of his meeting with the fate he merits. The *Mornington* and *Ternate* were sent from Bombay to seize him, and to drive him and his allies the French from Camaran; but he had timely intelligence of their destination, and quitted the island, leaving but little vestige of his having been there.

It was some counterbalance to this unfortunate intelligence, that



very favourable accounts were received from Massowah by Emir Mohammed, who met Captain Court at Mocha. The Nayib, roused at length by the repeated insults he received from his brothers, applied to Jidda for assistance, and, having obtained some troops, attacked and conquered the Dola of Arkeko, reducing his turbulent followers to subjection. The Sirdar of the Ascari was sent to Jidda, and the Nayib requested Emir Mohammed to assure me, through Devajé, that he was a real friend of the English; that he never had sanctioned the demands of his brothers; and that he had seen, with unfeigned regret, the hostilities which had taken place, and of which I shall give an account in the following chapter. He expressed a hope that every thing would be forgotten, and that the English would trust to his friendship, now that he had recovered the power of protecting them. This intelligence, I own, gave me the greatest satisfaction, as I ever felt a regard for the Nayib, in defiance of the disapprobation, which the timidity of his conduct could not but frequently excite.

On my arrival in England, I felt it my duty to wait on the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and to lay a memorial before them, stating my ideas on the trade of the Red Sea, on the advantages which might be derived from it, and the establishment which would be necessary to carry it on. It seems probable that they differed from me in opinion on all these points, for America has been permitted to carry on the trade uninterruptedly, to the exclusion of the British. The President and Board of Trade listened, however, with considerable attention to the application of Messrs. Jacob, who, being convinced by the statement which I have laid before the public, were anxious to send a vessel direct to the Red Sea. I

have understood that the Chairman of the India Company, on being applied to, to know whether they intended to put any part of my plan into execution, declared they did not, believing it to be chimerical, and founded on no real knowledge of trade. Such being their opinion and intentions, they could not reasonably object to granting a license to Mr. Jacob, to trade direct to Abyssinia, who accordingly obtained one, though fettered with many restrictions. He laid in a cargo according to my recommendation; and I feel confident, that the result of his voyage will be a conviction in every impartial mind, that my statements have been correct, and that the India Company have for many years neglected the most profitable trade within their charter.

The letter which Mr. Salt brought down for the King of Great Britain from the Emperor of Abyssinia, had been delivered by me to Lord Spencer, when Secretary of State for the Home Department, and by him laid before his Majesty, together with the present of fine Habesh cloth. On its being definitively settled that Mr. Jacob's ship should go the Red Sea, I stated all these circumstances to Mr. Canning, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and represented the advantages which, I thought, would result from conciliating the King of Abyssinia, and thereby excluding the French from obtaining any influence in that part of Africa. I also took the liberty of suggesting, that as his Majesty had been pleased to receive the letter, and accept the presents of the Emperor, it was but decorous, that some notice should be taken of them, when an English vessel was going direct to his ports.

Insignificant as the Abyssinian monarch might appear, the haughty sovereigns of Spain had corresponded with them at dif-

ferent times, and had treated them as equals, by giving them the title of Brother. James the First of England had written to his contemporary; and his letter, on this occasion, furnished a precedent for his Majesty's. The wishes of Ayto Galoo, the King, were, that a person should be sent to him who understood raising water, a medical man, and a carpenter. It was, unfortunately, not possible to comply with these requests by a merchant vessel; but I was directed by Mr. Canning, to prepare such presents as I thought would be acceptable, and would, at the same time, serve as specimens of our finer manufactures.

It being considered decorous that his Majesty's letter should be delivered by a gentleman sent for that purpose, I pointed out Mr. Salt, as by far the most eligible person, from his having been already in the country, from his amiable manners, and respectable character. He was accordingly appointed; and I made all possible haste in preparing the presents, which consisted of arms after the fashion of the country, but ornamented with gold and jewels; satins, cut glass, painted glass, jewelry, and fine British muslins, in the whole amounting to about fourteen hundred pounds; a sum inconsiderable in England, but which, when laid out in the above articles, has procured an assortment of novelties, that will surpass all which the court of Abyssinia has beheld since the time of Yasous the Great, and will certainly impress the present monarch with a favourable idea of the power and riches of his new ally.

A more useful and highly important part of the presents was, two pieces of curricule artillery, with the harness complete, one hundred and fifty rounds of ball, and a quantity of powder. If these should reach Antalow in safety, the Ras will be able to march from



one end of Habesh to the other without meeting an enemy, as may be easily supposed, for a cannon has not been seen there since the time of the Portuguese; and the sound alone would terrify a race of people, who have never heard a louder explosion than that of a matchlock. That the connection with England may tend to tranquillize Abyssinia, and restore it to its former independence, is the wish nearest my heart, and that such a result is now likely to take place seems extremely probable. The communication being once opened, I trust that it will never be closed by the baneful spirit of monopoly, and that the interests of individuals will not be permitted to interfere with the truly British objects of greatly increasing our foreign trade, and at the same time benefiting, in every point of view, an amiable, oppressed, and, what ought to have still greater weight, a Christian country. Mr. Salt departed for Abyssinia the end of February 1809.

I have annexed to my Chart of the Red Sea, a map of that part of Abyssinia, through which Mr. Salt travelled, as laid down by himself, chiefly from the daily observations of the bearings of his journey. I have also felt it my duty to mark the track of Mr. Bruce, as given by himself. The very great difference between the two, requires that I should state to the public some circumstances, which may enable them to judge of the credit safely to be given to the observations of Mr. Salt. Fortunately for him, Taranta, which lies close to Dixan, is visible from Massowah. The bearings of it were frequently taken by Captain Court, and perfectly confirmed the important fact, that it lay nearly due south from that place. This being so, it is impossible that Dixan should be where Mr. Bruce has placed it; indeed his own journal is as irreconcilable with his

map, as Mr. Salt's. He states, in his fifth Book, Chapter III. that on leaving Arkeko, he took his road southward; that it continued in that direction till he had passed Shillokeeb, when he turned westward through the mountains, and reached Hamhama. Unfortunately, he does not afterwards state his bearings, but reached Zila, at the foot of the mountain, where he finds a rivulet, and declares that he had constantly ascended since he left Arkeko.

According to the map it would nevertheless appear, that he had constantly, from his leaving Arkeko, moved to the eastward, till he reached Zila, on the sea shore, when he had again turned to the west. I need not observe, that his having constantly ascended during a journey of fifty miles, is incompatible with Zila's being on the sea shore, and having a current of fresh water running near it; nor can his own description of the neighbourhood be reconciled with a maritime position. Mr. Bruce's journal, and his own chart, differ also in a very unaccountable manner; Dixan is given by him, at the end of the chapter above mentioned, as lying in latitude  $14^{\circ} 51' 55''$  north, and longitude  $40^{\circ} 7' 30''$  east of Greenwich; but in the chart it is laid down in latitude  $15^{\circ} 9'$  north, and longitude  $39^{\circ} 52'$  east. It would be difficult to account for this contradiction, but it is unnecessary, both positions being due S. E. of Massowah, and therefore equally erroneous; for in that direction Ras Gedam rises to a height, that precludes the possibility of Taranta, or even a much more lofty mountain, being seen at a distance of sixty miles; but to the westward of Gedam, a valley runs all the way to the foot of Taranta; along which this object may be seen from Massowah, in, as I have before stated, a southerly direction.

The real situation of Dixan is, I conceive, sufficiently ascertained

to be where Mr. Salt has placed it, which I am the more anxious to put beyond controversy, as it is impossible to have equal evidence of the authenticity of the other parts of his map, and which also widely differ from Bruce, particularly in the distance between Adowa and Fremona. If, however, in the track from Massowah to Dixan Mr. Salt is proved to be accurate, I conceive that he is fairly intitled to credit, and that credit may be still more strongly corroborated by the positive evidence of gross errors in those by whom he is contradicted. In addition to the facts above stated respecting Zila, as laid down by Mr. Bruce on the sea shore, the account of Fremona, as given by him, will enable any person to judge of the credit due to his geographical observations.

In the map, Fremona is laid down as distant thirty miles from Adowa, yet he himself visited it from that place, as he says, on the 10th of January; which seems to imply, that it was not so far off, as to require a journey to reach it, and describes it as situated "in the middle of a large plain, on the opposite side of which stands Adowa," which, if the distance be correct in the map, would make the plain extend for sixty miles in each situation! although in the beginning of the same chapter he observes, that "Adowa is situated on the declivity of a hill, on the west side of a small plain, surrounded every where by mountains." In these two descriptions we again discover contradictions, which I believe no advocate of Mr. Bruce will attempt to reconcile; but till it is done, I conceive I have a right to claim, that his assertions shall not be adduced as throwing any doubt on the accuracy of Mr. Salt's observations. Antalow, the limit of Mr. Salt's journey, is placed in  $12^{\circ} 45'$ , from several observations made by Mr. Carter, which was confirmed by



the daily distances, and by a computation of the journeys made by the Jesuits from the Red Sea, whose route was at right angles with Mr. Salt's, but which perfectly accorded with it.

As it is possible that the accuracy of Mr. Bruce's latitudes in the Red Sea may be adduced as a ground for giving a greater degree of credit to him than to Mr. Salt, I think it right to add a copy of those latitudes; in another line the latitudes as given by Mr. Niebuhr; and in a third, the real positions that have been since ascertained.

	Mr. Bruce.	Niebuhr.	The True.
1 Jibbel Zumrud	25° 3' 0" N	—	23° 48' "
2 Macowar	24 2 0	—	20 38
3 Ras Mahommed	27 54	27 54	
4 Yambo	24 3 35	24 5	
5 Djar	23 36	23 36	
6 El Horma	23 30 30		
7 Rabac	22 46	22 45	
8 Jidda	21 28	21 28	
9 Konfodah	19 7	19 7	
10 Ras Heli	18 36	18 36	
11 Kotumbal	17 57	17 57	
12 Djezan	16 45	16 45	
13 Duime	16 12 5		
14 Camaran	15 39	—	{ 15° 30' N. extrem. 15 18 S. extrem.
15 Bab-el-Mandeb	12 39 26	12 38	12 39
16 Crab Island	13 2 45		
17 Loheia	15 40 52	15 42	15 42
18 Ras Asab	13 5		

	Mr. Bruce.	Niebuhr.	The True.
	° ' "	° ' "	° ' "
19 Fusht	15 59 43		
20 Jibbel Tier	15 38	—	15 35
21 The Bank	15 28 15		
22 Racka Garbia	15 31 30		
23 Dobelew	15 42 22	—	15 42
24 Ras Shouke	15 27 30	—	15 33
25 Ras Antalow	15 54 30	—	15 50
26 Massowah	15 35 5	—	15 35 30

To any person accustomed to nautical observations, it must appear most singular, that seven of the above latitudes should agree precisely with those given by Mr. Niebuhr, though the one was travelling by land, and the other by sea. Even with the excellent instruments which are now used, it frequently occurs that, in the same vessel, in calculations made on the same data, the result differs by a mile; how astonishing, then, must it appear, that with different instruments, and certainly more imperfect ones, the result should here be the same. It is equally extraordinary that Mr. Bruce, in a coasting voyage, should invariably find it convenient to ascertain the latitude of those places only in Arabia, which Mr. Niebuhr had before given to the public, in a work which Mr. Bruce refers to in speaking of Mocha, while he passes over many others of equal, if not greater importance. Rabac differs from Mr. Niebuhr's latitude only one mile; Yambo only a little more; Duime is not mentioned by him, nor El Horma; but the former Mr. Bruce owns he passed in the night, and does not even pretend to have made any observation to ascertain it; and the latter he describes as being close to Muftura, which is laid down by Niebuhr in  $23^{\circ} 5' N.$

Could any doubt remain after this, that Mr. Bruce had copied the latitudes in Arabia from Mr. Niebuhr, it would be removed by the publication of the original observations of the former gentleman, in the second edition of his travels, in which the situation of not one of these places appears to have been even attempted to be ascertained, except Yambo, Jidda, and Loheia.

Of the remaining observations, those respecting Jibbel Zumrud, Macowar, and Camaran, are completely false; of the islands eastward of Dhalac we have no opportunity of judging; and of those below Loheia it appears probable he was not the author; nor indeed is it probable that he actually made the voyage he has described to the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. This has been placed in so strong a light, by the anonymous author whom I have before mentioned, that I shall give his observations nearly in his own words.\*

“ On the 27th of July, 1769, Mr. Bruce, according to his travels, sailed from Loheia in the Red Sea, upon a voyage of observation to the Straits of Bab-el-Mandel, from which he returned to Loheia on the 6th of August. On the 5th of August, however, the very day preceding his return, two observations taken at Loheia appear in his journals, (vol. vii. p. 356,) in which there is no notice whatever of three observations taken during the voyage, and inserted in his travels (vol. ii. p. 208, 217). Mr. Bruce, in a letter given in the appendix to the second edition of his travels, says, “ We left Jidda the beginning of July. The beginning of August we arrived at Loheia. Here we waited till the end of September, when we embarked on board a small boat from Massoua. In this second voyage across the Red Sea,” (vol. i. p. 279,) yet this would have

\* Monthly Magazine, December, 1807, p. 549.



been the third, had he really performed an intermediate voyage from Loheia to the Straits of Bab-el-Mandel. The editor justly observes, that " Mr. Bruce does not mention here his southern excursion;" (ibid) but takes no notice of the equally striking fact that Luigi Balugani is also silent, who was employed to keep the journals from their leaving Cosseir; and the first is, " Viaggio di Cossair, à Jimbo, ed à Gidda; 2° Viaggio di Gedda à Locheia; 3° Viaggio di Locheia à Massoua," &c. containing the routes and distances measured by time; but not the least intimation is given of the pretended voyage to the straits of Bab-el-Mandel (vol i. p. 364)."

He adds in a note, "the voyage to the Straits was probably taken from a ship's journal, obtained through the same channel, and adapted by Mr. Bruce to his own adventures. As a proof of this, the observations are made with a Hadley's sextant or ship's quadrant, as it is called, an instrument which Mr. Bruce did not possess, but which would have been far more useful and portable than the large and unwieldy French quadrant which he carried to Abyssinia. That quadrant is fit only for a very able astronomer; Mr. Blunt, the optician, who had this instrument to repair, informs me, that it was so incorrect in its formation, that a good observation could not be taken with it; but Bruce was enraged, when told by Herschel, that Hadley's sextant would have served every purpose much better. His fictitious voyage, to the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, was probably suggested by Irwin's voyage up the Red sea, published in 1780."

Facts stated by an anonymous author, certainly ought to be received with caution; but no name is requisite to give weight to his arguments, particularly if they be equally conclusive with those I

have just quoted, and which, I think, prove incontrovertibly that Mr. Bruce never was below Loheia.

The chart of the Red Sea by Monsieur De La Rochette, was republished by Mr. Faden in 1781, with many additions by Colonel Capper. This, though far superior to the chart of Monsieur D'Apres de Manevillette, had many errors, by all of which Mr. Bruce was misled in his fictitious voyage. He reaches the Island of Rasab at five in the morning, passes Camaran at six, at twelve passes a low round island, and at one is off Cape Israel. This, according to Faden's chart, is perfectly correct, but unfortunately Camaran is nearer to Loheia than Rasab: and instead of its being a six hour's voyage from Camaran to Cape Israel, they are not above three miles asunder. The anchoring on a shoal, which lies immediately east of the north fort of Mocha, where no shoal actually is; his description of Perim, as five miles long and two miles broad, when in fact it is only three miles long and not one broad; his assertion, that the narrow Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb are two leagues wide, when in fact they are not one; his calling the islands in the great Straits low, when in fact they are lofty rocks; and his account of the chain of hills along the African shore, when the hills are single, and at a great distance from each other, are errors which a person who had visited the spot, could never have fallen into. Crab Island had been named and placed in the chart of 1780, by De La Rochette; from its position, it is probably designed for one of the small islands near Ras Firmah; but it is given of a much greater size than it really is.

It is a consolation to my feelings as an Englishman, that this voyage is so evidently a fiction; and the real friends of Mr. Bruce

ought also to rejoice, that the opprobrium is removed from his character, of having wantonly attempted to murder the innocent Samaulies, at Assab Bay, and having probably succeeded in his attempt.

No one, I trust, will assert, that the idea of his being on the very spot where the crew of the *Elgin* were murdered, and the more improbable conjecture of his being in company with the very people who had committed the murder, could be any justification of the firing on thirty men, who quietly kept at a distance, according to his orders, while some of their party placed themselves, with unlimited confidence, in his power, answered his questions, and endeavoured to supply his wants. I cannot, in his own story, find the least grounds for his suspicions or alarm; and even if the tale itself be a romance, the feelings which he professes must have been his own. This is too strongly exemplified by many of his former adventures; first at Thebes,\* where he declares that "he was resolved upon revenge;" and accordingly not only fired his own gun where the voices were heard, but also "took his servant's blunderbuss, and discharged it where he heard a howl" (4to. Vol. i. p. 199). Secondly, when he applied to Ibrahim, Sheik of the Ababdé, and received a promise from him that "Hassan should not die in his bed." And, thirdly, at Traitor's Island, when he hesitated whether he should not shoot the unfortunate Arabian, who did not understand his language, and feared to trust himself with a stranger, who was better armed than himself.

It is greatly to be lamented, that a man of Mr. Bruce's talents should have given way to a vanity, which has caused his book to

\* Dhalac, Vol. I. p. 135.



partake more of romance than reality. The difficulties which opposed his progress must have been sufficiently great to have obtained for him the just praise of perseverance and courage; and the country through which he travelled, afforded novelty that must have excited the interest of every reader; yet as it is, he has so mixed the truth with the falsehood, that it is impossible to separate them; and the deceptions which have been exposed, where any traveller has followed him, give but too much reason to fear, that the same would be the result, were a person of veracity to visit Ras-el-Feel, or Sennaar.

The translation which he has given of the chronicles of Axum, is interesting, and I believe faithful: but the account of the descent from Solomon is now proved to be false, by the inscription at Axum; the theories of the victories of Ptolemy fall before the same evidence; and his worship of the Dog-star at this capital of Abyssinia, vanishes, with the proofs adduced by him of the many remains of their pedestals and statues.

If Mr. Bruce be proved incorrect by the discoveries of Mr. Salt, and the ascertaining that the reliques of ancient magnificence at Axum have no resemblance to Egyptian architecture, it is satisfactory to find, that the authenticity of the author of the *Periplus* is confirmed in an equal degree, by the proof that, so late as the reign of Aeizanas, a king who spoke Greek remained on the throne of Zoskales, and ruled over the same country.

It is also satisfactory to know, that the Christians of Abyssinia, however they may have fallen from the purity of the religion they profess, are not the monsters of cruelty and depravity which Mr. Bruce describes them, and that their country is not so inacces-

sible to Europeans as he represents, I fear, for the purpose of preventing others from following his steps, conscious, as he must have been, that his own exposure would be the inevitable consequence of an impartial person's comparing his romantic account, with the real habits, manners, and condition of the Abyssinians.

## CHAPTER VIII.

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Departure from Massowah.—Danger of the Panther during a heavy gale from the North.—Narrow escape from Shipwreck, with the loss of all the Anchors, on Lightning Shoal.—Return to Massowah.—Disputes with the Ascari.—Hostilities with the Inhabitants of Arkeko.—Voyage to Jidda.—Transactions there.



## CHAPTER VIII.

NOVEMBER 14, 1805.—**W**ITH the land breeze we left Massowah; but it was five before we reached Dohool, in consequence of light airs and calms. We went to the east side of the island, where we were obliged to anchor at the distance of a mile from the shore on a hard sand, there being only a few feet water when closer in. We let go in a quarter less than three, and wore out only half a cable, yet the vessel struck in two and a half: this was owing to the swell, for we did not draw so much. After hauling off, we put out our stream anchor ahead, and lay very comfortably all night.

November 15.—Captain Court and Mr. Salt went on shore: they found the island in a wretched state for want of rain: the sheep and cattle were half starved, but there was plenty of water in a natural tank. This the people willingly let us have, but it was with the greatest difficulty they could be made to bring down their sheep and sell them; always starting some new objection, that the owner was not there, or that they did not know how to sell them. The truth seemed to be, that they had formerly received instructions from the Nayib, when Captain Court was last there, not to supply him, and they did not know whether they ought now to let us have them. By inquiries we learned that their subjection to the Nayib was merely nominal; they pay him nothing, but when they visit Massowah they take a present of sheep or goats. He appoints

one of themselves to an office something like Dola, who is changed annually. We weighed at three, and stood round the south end of the island.

November 19.—Till yesterday morning the winds, though hanging to the N. of E. enabled us to make tolerable way. The sky then began to darken, and the wind to freshen. We were running along by a new chain of islands off Port Mornington, which we named Duncan's islands, in compliment to the benevolent Governor of Bombay. Between these we understood were several passages out into the open channel.

We were within fifteen miles of the track of the Panther in 1795, when the wind freshened so much from the northward, as to oblige us to lie to, in hopes of keeping our own till morning. We had on our former voyage run along at a small distance from the main land, and thought all was clear between that and the islands. We drifted gradually to the S. W. keeping the lead going. It lightened very violently, and about eleven, by a very vivid flash, Captain Court discovered we were drifting on a shoal, and at the same time the soundings were fourteen fathom. We instantly let go the small bower—veered out two-thirds of a cable, and let go the best bower under foot. We now thought ourselves safe, and Captain Court congratulated me on the Panther's riding so well at anchor as to leave us nothing to fear, though it blew very fresh, and a very heavy sea was rolling in. However, before one, we parted from the small bower; we instantly veered out the whole of the best bower cable, and dropped the sheet anchor with a new cable, and veered out thirty fathom. In doing this, the hand of one of the poor Lascars got jammed in, and was severely bruised. At three

our alarms were greatly increased by the best bower's parting. Our only hopes now were that the sheet anchor, the whole cable of which we veered out, would hold till morning; our little stream anchor could otherwise be of no use. The swell and wind were greatly increased, so as to render rest impossible; nor could our dead lights protect the cabin from the sea, which worked in by the violent pitching of the vessel. Morning at length came, but not to bring us comfort. We discovered that we were in a kind of bay, formed by two reefs, and a sandy island at the bottom. It was so hazy that we could not distinguish whether or no there might be a small passage on either side of it. The sea broke so as to render it difficult at a distance to distinguish it from breakers. There was every reason to fear that no passage existed, as the ground under us was extremely foul. Should our anchor part, it was, as the wind then blew, impossible to weather either point of the reef; we could therefore only trust to Providence. I own, that the dread of such another night as the last; the certainty that if the cable did part in the night, nothing could save us all from destruction; the little hopes that it could hold in foul ground with an increasing swell and an undiminished gale, made me almost wish that ere night our anxiety might be ended. There was then a hope, though a faint one, that our lives might be saved, though the vessel were lost, by at once laying her ashore on the island which we then supposed to be one of Wellesley's islands. At a quarter past twelve the expected event took place. Captain Court was cool and collected. He said to me, taking my hand, alas! poor Panther! nothing can save you—we must now be all broken together, and do the best we can for each other. He accordingly determined to



run for the island. The men, both white and black, were active and steady. The sails were set most expeditiously, and we all looked with an anxious heart to our approaching danger. We attempted first to weather the western reef, but finding that impossible, wore round for the sandy island. At that moment Captain Court perceived the wind had changed a point, and instantly determined to try and weather the eastern reef, which before the change was impossible.

In a heavy gale, which carried us gunwale under water, we had the felicity of passing the point of the reef, on which the sea broke tremendously, at the distance of only two cables length. Our first sensations were those of joy for our escape, and gratitude to that almighty Being, who had so wonderfully preserved us, in the moment of otherwise certain destruction, by the change of wind. When, however, we became a little calm, other and very painful feelings obtruded themselves. We had lost four anchors and cables; we had only a spare one left in the hold without a stock. To venture to Jidda in such a situation was impossible—to run into Port Mornington without an anchor was equally so. Our first idea was to return to Massowah, and send a dow to Mocha to communicate our distress, and try to procure relief. Our fresh provisions were nearly out, and our salt store was so small as to render the using them a very serious business. We therefore put before the wind—as we advanced, and found it did not diminish, we had hopes it might, as on a former occasion, carry us all the way to Mocha—we therefore determined to make a trial.

We called the whole crew aft, and returning them our thanks for their excellent behaviour, I gave them a present of one hundred

dollars from myself, and Captain Court the same sum in the name of the Company.

We saw poor Unus Barilla when we lay to, but never afterwards. We could not but be extremely alarmed for his safety, though we greatly hoped he bore away for the south, in which case he had nothing to fear. We found by the observation at twelve, that this shoal, which we called Lightning shoal, from its having been seen in a vivid flash, is ten miles north of Port Mornington, and lies detached. There was a pilot's mark on one end of it.

November 24.—As we reached Massowah the wind died away. We did not wish to lose time in going in, so only lay to, and in the morning fired three guns as a signal for Unus, in case he should be there. As we saw nothing of him, we were more alarmed for his safety.

November 25.—As we advanced southward, we found the wind came round against us, so that we only reached the latitude of Amphila on the 24th.—At night it came on to blow so heavy a gale from the S. E. with a violent swell, that we were obliged to lay to. On consultation between Captain Court, Lieutenant Hardy, and myself, on the deck, about eleven, it was deemed advisable to recur to our first intention, and bear away for Massowah; but instead of entering that narrow harbour, to anchor in Arkeko bay, where there is an excellent mud bottom. We decided on this from the idea that it was improbable we could make Mocha against the heavy gales, which we now found blew between us and that place, and that we were losing time in not communicating our distress by a dow, in case we should be ultimately driven back. Yesterday morning, as we passed Valentia, we perceived Mr. Pringle's boat

coming out to us: we bore up, and soon joined her. We found that Devajé had supposed her return to be contrary to Mr. Pringle's orders, and had therefore directed Abdulcauder again to set off for Massowah, where he had arrived eight days ago; that he had no money, and had applied to Currum Chund, who refused to advance him a dollar; that the Nayib had then ordered him to quit Massowah harbour, or he would put him in prison. We anchored in eleven fathom, mud, with our only anchor, about eight o'clock.

November 26.—I sent Andrew on shore in the jolly boat; Mr. Crawford had orders to permit no other man to land. I directed him to see Hadje Hassan, to tell him, and the Nayib, if at Massowah, that I was come to enquire for Unus, and to beg to know if he had heard any thing of him; also to desire Hadje Hassan to procure us fresh provisions and water, and to come on board himself. In the evening they returned. The Nayib was at Arkeko, so that Hadje Hassan could not come, but said he had sent to the Nayib for permission, and would be off in the morning with fresh provision. Some people had pelted Mr. Crawford, and one of the custom-house people had asked him what business the boat had there, and ordered him never to come again. He brought off the naqueda of a dow belonging to Hodeida, who offered to carry letters for us to that place, and accompany Mr. Pringle's long boat. We agreed for thirty dollars, and that he should send his brother thence with the letters by land, who should receive twenty dollars on his reaching Mocha. We gave Abdulcauder money to buy provisions for Mr. Pringle's people; and as the Nayib's conduct was so hostile, to keep peace, if possible, I did not again send our boat



on shore with Andrew, but sent him in the long boat, in which there were none but natives.

Andrew and the boat returned early in the morning, with the information that none of them had been permitted to land, and that the naqueda of the dow had been seized for coming to us without permission. Andrew was given to understand, that the Sirdar of the Ascari had heard of our distress, and that he flattered himself with the hope, that by cutting off all supplies of fresh provisions and water, and by preventing any person from carrying our letters to Mocha, he should oblige us to surrender to him the large property which the Panther was supposed to contain.

I immediately consulted with Captain Court on the measures which it would be proper to pursue. The imprisoning of the Hodeida naqueda, and the seizing his boat, were evidently acts of open hostility, as the man was in our immediate service, and, consequently, under our protection. It was therefore determined that we should endeavour to liberate him, by securing one of the market boats, which passed daily from Arkeko to Massowah; for this purpose the cutter and long boat were manned with Europeans, and armed.

The boats appeared about two on their return, when Mr. Denton gave chase in the cutter, having received positive orders from Captain Court not to fire on them, unless hostilities were commenced by them, and on no account to land, either on the island or main. On perceiving the cutter approach, the natives made for the nearest shore, when Mr. Denton, finding he could not overtake them, inconsiderately fired two guns over their heads to bring them to; which they could not understand as a signal, but con-

sidered as an act of hostility. The first boat reached the shore, and the men escaped; but a second boat was behind and might have been secured; unfortunately, however, Mr. Denton, unmindful of his orders, and hurried on by the heat of youth, landed and followed the crew who had fled towards Arkeko.

We could easily distinguish from the ship, that the Ascari were running out from Arkeko, and that our people were advancing to meet them. Extremely alarmed for their safety, lest they should be overpowered by numbers, we immediately sent off Mr. Crawford in the long-boat, armed with wall pieces, to support them. A firing soon began between the parties on shore; when, in hopes to alarm the enemy, we fired several shot towards them, which reached the shore, but not the town, having hoisted the signal for the boats to return. This was at length obeyed, and we were rejoiced to find that not one man had been wounded belonging to the Panther, nor have I reason to suppose that much mischief was done to the subjects of the Nayib, for the boat's crew, in their impatience to land, had leaped into the water, and spoiled their cartridges; consequently, had they been pursued, many must have been cut off.

I was extremely mortified at this failure of our attempt to secure a hostage for our naqueda, and a medium of communication with the Nayib, who might possibly be ignorant of the conduct of his people at Massowah. I was also vexed at the apparent inferiority of our party, who might be considered as retiring defeated, which would diminish greatly that awe which the idea of the power of our fire arms had inspired. I was unwilling to leave them, even for a day, under this impression; but it was thought advisable to

run to Valentia, and secure a supply of fresh provisions, before the inhabitants of that place could hear of hostilities, and then to return and prevent all communication between Massowah and Arkeko, till the Ascari, and their Sirdar, were brought to their senses, and delivered up to us our naqueda, and liberated his dow.

November 28.—We began to get up our anchor at three in the morning, but the land wind was so stiff, that it was daylight before we were under sail; and I was even, at one time, afraid that we should have lost our solitary anchor. The day was remarkably calm till evening, when a strong breeze set in from the eastward, and obliged us to give up all hopes of weathering the northern point of Valentia, and reaching the anchorage off the village, where alone we could procure provisions.

Captain Court wished much to push on to Port Mornington, where fresh provisions were equally procurable, and if the favourable breeze should continue, to run every hazard of being reduced to short allowance, and try to reach Jidda. The chance of this banished from our minds all ideas of resentment, and we trusted, that when their hopes of our being obliged to surrender were removed from the minds of the Ascari by our departure, all motives for detaining the naqueda and his dow would be at an end, and he would of course obtain his liberty. As Mr. Pringle's boatmen could, without our aid, procure nothing, and as they were too ignorant to navigate the boat to Mocha with European sails, we determined to take them in tow to Jidda, and send them thence in a larger vessel. It was dark when we once again bore away for Port Mornington, leaving our enemies at Massowah to make what conjectures they pleased on our sudden disappearance.



December 1st.—The wind came round on the 29th to the southward, which determined us to lose no time at Port Mornington, but take advantage of so favourable a wind. We lay to last night, and early this morning bore away for the straits, leaving Lightning Shoal to the eastward, and making directly for Tella Tella. We kept the lead constantly going, and found, in general, a good mud bottom, with plenty of water; but, occasionally, very sudden overfalls. To the eastward were several islands, forming a continuation of Duncan's Islands, between which and Tella we passed into the open sea, through a channel about seven miles wide. The ascertaining of this passage was a satisfactory conclusion of our discoveries, as it was alone necessary to prove the great value of Port Mornington. It is now certain, that that noble harbour is accessible from the main sea, and that no danger awaits the navigation, except near Lightning Shoal, which, when once known, is easily avoided.

It would have given me great satisfaction to have surveyed the coast from Macouar to Cosseir, which, I believe, has been totally neglected since the time of Don Juan de Castro. If the ruins of Berenice Pancrysos actually exist in Foul Bay, a visit to them would be particularly interesting; and in the harbour mentioned by the Portuguese admiral, as lying between  $24^{\circ}$  and  $26^{\circ}$  north, the port of Myos Hormos may probably be looked for with success by some future navigator. The crazy state of the Panther limited our ambition to arriving in safety at Suez. The coast above mentioned is of little importance to navigators, and the headlands are already laid down with sufficient accuracy.

December 6th.—After quitting the straits on the 1st, we were

tormented by strong gales from the N. E. and N. W. On the night of the 3d, after a heavy fall of rain for two hours, it blew so fresh as to oblige us to lie under our bare poles, while the swell was so great as to preclude the possibility of keeping in our cots. The morning of the 4th brought with it but little consolation, for the gale continued; and the idea of the northerly winds prevailing at this season, excited a well grounded alarm as to our future voyage. It moderated towards evening, and only left a very heavy swell. On the 5th, at night, it was less; and on the 6th, it was calm, which gave us some chance of a fair wind. We were not forty miles from Jidda, and therefore hoped that a moderate breeze might take us there in the course of the next day. High land was visible to the eastward, in the morning.

December 9th—At length we reached the harbour of Jidda, after having been repeatedly baffled by adverse winds and currents. On the 7th it continued calm till night, when the squalls recommenced with rain, and obliged us to go under double reefed topsails. It blew, however, from the south, and in the morning of the 8th gratified us with a sight of Jidda. The current, which ran at the rate of fifteen miles in twenty-four hours, towards the W. b. N. had taken us to the north of the entrance about three miles; and this short distance we were unable to make in the course of the day, as it blew very fresh. We ran in close to the reef, and fired signal guns, but no pilot came off. In the night we had again very heavy squalls with rain, which obliged us to take in all our sails. The wind came round to the northward in time to bring us off Jidda, on the morning of the 9th. On repeating our signals, a pilot came off, and by one o'clock we were safely at anchor. I do not know that

my mind was ever relieved from so great a load as on this occasion. It seemed as if we were ever to be baffled when near a port where assistance could be procured. Our situation was such as to have excited real anxiety. We had no rice nor fresh provisions, and of salt meat or water, not a sufficient quantity to last us a month. I instantly sent Mr. Crawford on shore with the letters I received from Seid Dond, to the Vizier, and to Ibrahim Jelani. I desired him to state our wants, and to say that, if agreeable, I would pay a visit to the Vizier on the morrow. He returned in the evening with a very civil answer, that the Vizier would be happy to see me at ten o'clock, and that I might depend on being received with every compliment due to my rank. Jelani said he would do his best to serve us; but that at present every thing was very scarce at Jidda, as the Wahabee were in great force all round the town.

We were delighted to perceive that *Unus's* little dow was here in perfect safety; he came on board, and informed us that he had been obliged, in the gale, to throw his anchors overboard, but had escaped into Port Mornington, whence he sailed for this place.

December 10.—At ten I left the *Panther* under a salute of seventeen guns, attended by Captain Court, Captain Rudland, and Mr. Salt. The landing-place was in front of the Vizier's residence. Several of his officers were in waiting to receive me, very handsomely dressed in scarlet English broad cloth, lined with yellow satin. A double line of soldiers reached to the door, and extended to the hall of audience. A salute of three guns was fired as I landed. At the foot of the stairs I was met by the Vizier's secretary, who made his compliments, and preceded me. The whole of the troops made a very respectable appearance. The palace is pleasantly situated close