their sons and daughters with each other, which keeps them together, like the Jews, and all other unsocial castes of religion, who seek not to augment their numbers by converts, yet, by the selfishness of their institutions, preserve them from being lessened by mingling with others.—The heads of the few families of Subbees here are mostly mechanics and handicrafts, more particularly as smiths and workers in metals; and even in the towns enumerated, where their community is more extensive, they generally confine themselves to the exercise of these and similar trades, without attaching themselves to agriculture or the profession of arms; in which particular they resemble the Jews of Europe, where the profession of the stock-broker, or loan-raiser, the art of the goldsmith or jeweller, and the occupation of a pedlar, are those mostly followed, rather than the Jews of Asia, who confine themselves to dealing in general merchandize, and are seldom seen as mechanics or handicrafts in any way.

The Indians resident in Bussorah are chiefly Banians, and are all employed as merchants on their own account, and as brokers and agents for others. They enjoy, as well as the Armenians, the countenance and protection of the British Resident; the heads of both, indeed, are actually attached to the service of the East India Company at their factory. Some of them have direct communication with merchants of their own caste at Bombay; but more of them trade through the medium of the Banians settled at Muscat, and few or none have any immediate transactions of trade directly with Bengal. To conform in some degree to the manners of the place, the turban peculiar to the Banians of India is laid aside, and generally a red one, half in the Arab and half in the Indian form, is substituted in its place. The rest of the dress is a mixture of the Persian and the Arab, without being exactly either; though no part of the Indian costume seems to be retained, and by most of them even the sectarial mark on the forehead is omitted to be worn. There is, besides all these approximations to foreign usages, a sufficient laxity to show that the scruples even of

Hindoos, are not unconquerable; and that, as among all other sects and people, these take a colouring from the usages around them: so that they unbend from their primitive rigour before the slow but certain influence of long continued example and intercourse with those of another faith. The Sepoys of the Factory guard are also mostly Hindoos: besides which, there are some mechanics attached to the establishment; and these, as they live more among themselves, preserve their Indian habits more unchanged. Some few have their women with them; but by far the greater number, both of the Banians and the soldiers, live without wives. Their collective number may amount to about two hundred; and, as they enjoy as free exercise of their religion as could be had without actually possessing a place of public worship, and are not in any way molested, either by the Government or by individuals, they live in ease and content.

The few Koords who are found in Bussorah are not sufficiently numerous to form a distinct body; but they are mostly engaged in inferior offices of trust under the Turks, and in the profession of arms, for which the habits and character of these mountaineers are admirably adapted.

Of the European factories here, the only ones remaining are the French and the English. The former of these has merely a nominal existence, since the Baron Vigoroux, who holds the appointment, resides at Bagdad; and, except the hoisting of the white flag, which is done by the Catholic Carmelite friar on Sundays, there is no other duty which a Resident would have to execute. Some hopes of a renewal of the French trade were excited here about a month since, by the arrival of two vessels from the Mauritius to Muscat, under that flag; but the end of their voyage was a disastrous one. They were represented to be a ship and a schooner; the former armed for self-defence, the latter sailing under her convoy, but having mostly treasure on board, intended for the purchase of cargoes for both. On passing Ras-el-Had, and conceiving all danger to be over, the ship sent on the schooner,

which was the fastest sailer, towards Muscat, when, it falling calm, they became separated widely apart. At this moment, some Joassamee pirate-boats pulled down on the schooner, and, finding no resistance, plundered her of every dollar, and stripped even the vessel and her crew of every thing that was portable. The commander, complaining of this treatment towards the subjects of a nation who were not at war with them, was told, that he might congratulate himself on being known to them as a Frenchman, since, if they had been even suspected to have been English, their throats would have been cut without distinction. It appears that there was a supercargo on board, who had been formerly in the service of the Imaum of Muscat, and who understood Arabic sufficiently well to communicate with the pirates, which was the means of their lives being spared. The Joassamees were not content, however, with plundering the vessel, but endeavoured to scuttle her; and men were employed both on the outside under water, and on the inside below, to effect this, which they were unable to do from the firm way in which the vessel was built, and their want of proper implements. The French ship, in the mean time, remained becalmed at a distance, unable to render any assistance to her consort, and both the vessels afterwards reached Muscat in safety; yet the object of the voyage was entirely frustrated, and the hopes of a revival of the French trade at Bussorah consequently declined.

The English factory dates its origin from the first visit of British vessels to Bussorah, which was in the year 1640; and it has continued to exist almost without interruption ever since. The building itself, or the residence of the chief of the factory, has been frequently changed: since it was, at one time, in the very centre of the town; at another, remote from the city altogether, on the banks of the river, at a place called Margill; and it is now seated on the southern side of the central creek, leading from the river up through the town, and at a convenient distance from the dwelling of the Governor, and from the public custom-house. The present factory, which is by far the best building in

all the town, was constructed chiefly by a former Resident, Mr. Manesty, on the foundation of an old building, bought chiefly for the situation it held, and improved and added to in such a way as to make it a convenient abode for the Resident and all his dependants, and accessible to the boats of all British vessels arriving in the river. The establishment maintained here by the East India Company is most respectable, and the expense of supporting it equal to about 5000*l.* sterling per year; to compensate which, the only advantages derived, are the safe and speedy transmission of dispatches in time of war, and protection and accommodation to private traders coming here from India; since the Company are thought to lose rather than gain by the articles which they send here for sale. These are but few in number, and in no large quantities, being mostly confined to metals and woollen cloths, which they are obliged to export from England, and which they send wherever they can get a market for them, even at a certain loss.

There was formerly a Resident at Bussorah who was a member of the Civil Service of India, with an army-surgeon attached to him; but the present Agent of the Company, who acted in the capacity of surgeon to Mr. Manesty, being himself a medical man, is constituted what is called a Resident in charge, and receives the emoluments of both. There are, besides, a proper number of brokers, interpreters, chaoushes, and inferior servants, and a Jemindar, or native officer's guard of Sepoys, from the Marine Battalion of Bombay, lodged in barracks attached to the house. The influence enjoyed by the Resident is considerable, as might be expected from the respectability of his establishment; the frequent arrival of the Company's armed-vessels; the extensive trade with India in British shipping; and the presence of a superior at the Court of the Pasha of Bagdad, to whom immediate application can be made for redress of grievances; and all these advantages are still further strengthened by the personal character of the present Resident, Dr. Colquhoun, who has sufficient urbanity to extend his

protection to both Jews and Christians, without fear or favour; and yet sufficient firmness to resist all encroachments on his privileges, and to enforce the rigid observance of all existing conditions between the Government and the nation, or the Company, whom he represents.

The situation of Bussorah is so highly favourable for trade, that, under every obstacle which a bad government, and unsafe passages to and from it by sea and land occasions, it continues to enjoy a commerce sufficient to enrich many by its profits, and to furnish the means of subsistence to a large population. The history of this trade is not easy to be gathered from even the oldest residents here, since few people care about preserving memorials of the past; and the governors, as well as their dependants in office, change so frequently, that no records of a very old date remain for the examination of their successors. A period is spoken of, about fifty years ago, when the trade of Bussorah was most flourishing, and the amount of the imports in India produce, and of the exports in treasure, is stated at a sum so enormous, as to prove its origin to have been in the warm imagination of some one fresh from the tales of Haroun el Raschid. From more authentic documents it appears, that in the year 1805, the trade of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Surat, with Bussorah, left a balance of about half a million sterling in favour of British India annually. This trade is rather increased than diminished, and the value of the articles entering into it makes it amount to more than the number of vessels employed would seem to warrant. During the last year, there have been, altogether, fifteen ships from Bengal and Bombay, averaging from three to four hundred tons each. These brought Bengal muslins and piece-goods, pepper, spices, drugs, rice, sugar, indigo, silk, and cotton-yarn, Surat manufactures, shawls, china-ware, china-paper, dyewoods, coffee, lac, beads, sugar-candy, and other articles, as the produce of India; with lead, iron, cutlery, quicksilver, tin, steel, cochineal, and other articles, as the European exports to that country. The returns were made chiefly

in Arabian horses; treasure in various coins from Europe; pearls from Bahrein; dates from Arabia; copper from Tocat; gall-nuts from Koordistan; lametto, or gold-fringe, and coral from the Mediterranean, by the caravans from Aleppo; gums from Arabia; rose-water from Bussorah; assafœtida, almonds, dried fruit, and sometimes horses from Bushire, as the port of Persia; and occasionally, some few articles, in addition, from Muscat. Gold and silver coin forms, however, by far the greatest amount in actual value, and pays the most profitable freight to ships; the rate being four per cent. *ad valorem* to Bengal, three per cent. to Bombay, two per cent. to Muscat, and one per cent. to Bushire; and instances have occurred of the whole amount of treasure sent in one ship yielding a freight of 5,000*l.* sterling, and, consequently, amounting to 150,000*l.* in capital.

Horses form the most important return next to the precious metals. These are brought into Bussorah from all the surrounding country; but those of Nedjed are generally preferred. There is a standing order of the Porte prohibiting the exportation of horses from any part of the Turkish dominions, on the old principle of confining what a nation is likely to want within itself. The consequence of such a regulation, while it was adhered to, was, that no one bred horses but for his own use, or just in proportion to the demand of the market, if for the use of others. For this reason, about twenty years ago, fifty Arab horses could not have been collected in a year, for any purpose, except a military one. The exportation of them to India, offering, however, a considerable profit, the Governor of Bussorah was prevailed on by bribes to wink at their being sent off in English vessels. The precedent being once established, there was no difficulty in obtaining the same privilege every year; for the Turks have such a regard for old customs, that they will do more in favour of a former precedent, than by virtue of an order even from the Porte. The one is held sacred in proportion to its immemorial usage; the other is frequently evaded, particularly when it enjoins any

thing in the light of a novelty or an innovation. From that time to the present, the exportation of horses has increased to such a degree, that during this last year about 1500 have been sent to Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. About one-half of these go to the former place, one-third to Bengal, and the remainder to Madras.

The average prime cost of those sent to Bombay is about three hundred rupees, the freight one hundred, and the expense of groom and maintenance, from the day of purchase to that of sale, one hundred more. Added to this, is a duty of fifty Ain piastres per head, paid to the Custom-house here, besides occasional bribes for permission to ship, and other incidental expenses; making the average cost of each horse landed in Bombay about six hundred rupees, independent of insurance and risk of loss by death, which that does not cover. The average sale-price of horses at Bombay is about eight hundred rupees each; from which about one hundred will be probably deducted, for expense of landing, maintenance until sold, brokerage on sale, &c., leaving a clear profit of one hundred rupees only per head.

The horses sent to Bengal are always of a finer kind and higher price. The greatest number of these are sent from here by the British Resident on his own private account, and the average cost of these is at least 1000 rupees each. The freight to Calcutta is two hundred rupees per head, and the duty to the Custom-house from Mohammedans fifty roomies, the same as for Bombay; but from British subjects only twenty roomies. The expense of grooms and maintenance, from the day of purchase to that of sale, may be reckoned at two hundred rupees, and one hundred allowed for insurance, risk of loss by death, agency, &c.; so that the average cost of each horse landed in Bengal is at least 1500 rupees. The sales are effected at a medium of 2000 rupees, or 200*l.* sterling, which is more than is made on sending them to Bombay.

The horses sent to Madras are few, and these only when a

ship can conveniently touch there on her way to Calcutta. These are equally expensive, and of the same class of fine animals which are sent to Bengal, the freight and other charges on them being exactly the same; but, from their arriving there but seldom, they produce in general a greater profit on the sale.

The usual way of conveying these horses from Bussorah to India is in stalls, constructed by rough stanchions between the decks of a ship, while the hold is appropriated to general cargo. The stalls run along the whole length of the deck on each side, making two ranges, and admit of a third between them going right fore and aft, amidships, interrupted only by the hatchways, masts, &c. A length of six feet is allowed from the ship's side, towards the centre of the deck; and along this the stanchions are fixed, at a breadth of two feet from each other, that being the greatest room allotted to each horse, though in some ships they reduce this to seventeen inches. The front stanchions have then a cross one nailed athwart them, about three feet six inches from the deck, so as to form a breast stanchion to the horse, and prevent his coming out. This is the way in which the side ranges of stalls are fitted up. The central range resembles them, except that, from being open before and behind, there is a row of stanchions in front, with one cross one for the breast, and another row in the rear of the horse, with a cross-piece for his hind-quarters, to prevent his moving either forward or backward.

When the horses are placed in their stalls, they have their heads towards the centre of the deck, for the sake of breathing more freely the air from the hatchways, and for the convenience of being fed and watered. Their heads are secured by a double halter: one end of which is tightened short, and fastened to the upright stanchion on each side of them; and the two hind-feet are fastened by double foot-ropes to a strong eye-cleet, securely fastened to the deck. When thus stowed, there is very little space between their sides; and they occasion much trouble by their gnawing through the stanchions, breaking their ropes, and, when

it is possible, biting each other. There is usually one groom sent with every five horses, and he has often an inferior assistant. These are all maintained at the ship's expense while going to India, and furnished with a free passage back if the ship returns. The provisions for the horses are put on board by the respective shippers of them; and though the barley and straw necessary for a ship's full number take up at least fifty tons of room, yet it goes free, or is included in the freight paid for the horses. Each groom, having his own portion of provisions, feeds his horses at his pleasure; but it is usual generally to give them chopped straw twice, and barley once in the day, which is towards evening.

The quantity of water requisite to be furnished by the ship, is four gallons per day for each horse; so that a large stock must be laid in. During the long voyages and hot summers, in the Gulf of Persia, many horses die from confined air and want of water; and on these no freight is paid, since the payment of freight for horses is always made in India, and is then given only for the number landed. A well-authenticated instance was related to me, however, of some horses in the ship *Euphrates*, which drank sea-water, sweetened with dates, for three successive days, after all the fresh water was exhausted, and it produced no other effect on them than a gentle purging; but it sufficed their thirst till they reached a place where they could renew their supply.

In blowing weather it is usual to place mats under the horses' feet, to prevent their slipping and falling on the deck; but they are never slung by the middle, as is done in English horse transports, for the purpose of giving them rest. With Arab horses, it is so usual a thing for them to sleep standing, and to do so for years in succession, without ever lying down, except when sick, that their standing posture for a whole voyage is not objected to, as an inconvenience, nor do they seem to suffer from want of exercise. Ships intended for conveying horses should have a good height between decks, never under six feet; and if reaching to seven, it is still better. A regular tier of ports, going fore and

aft, is also a great advantage; since, from the close stowage and great confinement of animal heat, a free passage for air is always desirable. If ports are not in the ship, large scuttles should be cut in lieu of them, and windsails for the hatchways should be used to increase the circulation of air below.

Of the horses exported to India from hence, the general age is about four years; those above seven are seldom sent, and colts under two, rarely or never, except by express desire of any one ordering it. Mares are by no means so easy to be procured as horses; since the Desert Arabs almost every where prefer them for their own riding, from their giving less trouble on a journey; they keep them also for breeding; but it is not true, as has been asserted, that no consideration will induce an Arab to part with his mare, or that he would as soon think of selling his wife and family. The fact is, that mares are more useful to them than horses, and, being less beautiful and less in fashion to ride on in India, are less in demand by the purchasers at Bussorah. But a person desirous of procuring a mare might at any time obtain one for the payment of its estimated value in the country; and this would be but little more than that of a horse of the same class. It has been thought, too, that there was a law prohibiting the exportation of mares from Arabia; but this, as has been already explained, extends to horses of every description. Such an order is as permanent as ever, and remains unrepealed at Constantinople: but since the Pasha of Bagdad, though not versed perhaps in the doctrines of political economy, perceives that the supply of horses actually keeps pace with the demand, and that, though 1500 are exported annually, as many can be raised for the service of the Government as could have been done when not one was allowed to be sent away, his fears on that head are quieted. A more powerful motive, however, for his winking at the non-observance of this decree of the Sublime Porte is, that the exportation is productive of great returns to the Custom-house here, and increases the funds of the Governor of Bussorah, who holds his place under

him, and whose wealth, however acquired, he one day hopes to enjoy, as the Sultan, who is above him, does that of the Pasha.

A custom has of late crept in, of the shippers of horses demanding from the captain or owners of the ship, an advance of a hundred rupees per head, which is lent to them without interest; and neither this sum nor the freight is paid until arriving at the destined port, when, if the horse on which this advance is made, dies on the passage, both the sum thus lent and the freight are lost. Injurious as this practice is to the shipping interest, it seems to be fixed beyond alteration, and has been owing to competition among Arab naquodahs and agents, who, in endeavouring to outdo each other in the number of horses they could obtain for their vessels, have established a custom highly prejudicial to themselves. The average number conveyed in each ship from hence was formerly about eighty, but it is now a hundred.

The duties on imports from India are regulated by the tariff established between the nation to which the owner of the goods belongs, and the Porte; and if the trader claims no such privilege of tariff, he is considered as a subject of the Empire, and pays accordingly. The tariff of the English fixes the duty on all their imports from India at three per cent. *ad valorem*, and this is regulated by the price at which the commodity has actually sold in Bussorah; so that the duty is not payable until the sale has been really effected. British subjects have the privilege of landing their goods either at the Factory, or at their own dwelling, or warehouse, which they may hire at rent during their stay here, without taking them to the Custom-house, where the goods of all others are obliged to go. The confidence placed by the Turks in the integrity of the English is such, that their own account of sales is taken without a check on them, and their ships' boats are allowed to pass and repass from the city to the river without examination; though both of these privileges are often abused by Arab supercargoes sailing in vessels under British colours.

The duty on imports paid by all those who are not subjects of

any nation having a tariff established by treaty with the Porte, is seven and a half per cent. *ad valorem*. This, however, is not regulated by the price at which the commodity sells, as is done with the English, but by an old standard of valuation contained in a Dufter, or book of estimates, made, as some think, several centuries ago, but certainly antecedent to the earliest period of the English trade here. By this standard, the value of most Indian articles is fixed at less than half their present selling price, some even at one-fourth, and all of them at least a third below their real value at the present day. Yet such is the veneration of the Turks for old customs of this kind, that though their power to accommodate this standard to existing circumstances has never been doubted, the interest both of the individuals in office under the Government, and of the Government itself, have not furnished a sufficiently powerful motive to break in upon an established usage. By this means, though the nominal duty of the English is less than that of the other traders here, the real duty paid by them is often more; as, for instance, on a chest of indigo, by the old valuation, the duty of seven and a half per cent. makes just nine piastres and a half; but as good indigo sells on an average at from 800 to 1000 piastres per chest, the English duty of three per cent. amounts to thirty piastres!

One cause of this extraordinary difference between the old estimate and the present value, independent of the real increase of price in the article from that period to the present one, is that the size and contents of every package is increased; and, as the old estimates were neither made by measure nor weight, a chest is still considered to be a chest, whether large or small; and all other packages are numbered in the same way. Some of the native merchants here tried a similar experiment in exporting goods to Bengal, by packing up two bales together, and, to save the duty, calling them, in their manifests, only one: but the officers of the Customs at Calcutta, not being such slaves to old usages as the Turks, opened these double bales, and taking the duty on one of

them, as before, seized the others, and condemned them as smuggled goods; by which, it is said, there was a loss of two lacks of rupees, or 20,000*l.* sterling, sustained by these shrewd experimentalists of Bussorah.

It has been observed, that all nations having a tariff established by treaty with the Porte, have their duties regulated by this; and that all other traders, of whatever country or denomination, are included in the laws and regulations applying to the subjects of the Empire. This was exemplified in a late instance of the arrival of two American vessels here, on a voyage of speculation and enquiry, who brought with them a variety of articles for sale, and money to purchase returns, if no market could be found for their imports. As these were not English, the Turks were at first a little puzzled to decide whether they could be considered as Europeans, or as their own subjects. Unfortunately for their deliberations, enquiry proved them to be neither. Yet they were certainly Fringhis, or Franks, as every one might see; but they came from the Yenghi Doonya, or the New World, which, according to the opinion of some of the most learned sages of the town, was itself dropped from the moon about four hundred years ago. The Book of Estimates at the Bussorah Custom-house was made, as they all agreed, long before this New World had existed; so that no provision was made in it for the subjects of such a country: and as to their nation, as Americans, they knew of neither an ambassador from, nor a treaty with them, existing at Constantinople; so that they were, from all these considerations, a sort of nondescript people, whom they knew not how to class. Fortunately, however, for the Americans, the British Resident possessed influence enough to turn the scale; and by his suggestion they were considered as Franks, and dealt with accordingly, being subjected only to the duties paid by the English.

The duties on exports are differently regulated. On dates and grain a small duty is paid by natives to a Coasting Custom-house near the entrance of the creek, which is farmed by a dif-

ferent person from the one who holds the great Custom-house above. This duty extends, however, to such dates and grain as are shipped from the creek, or immediately opposite to Bussorah, as the same articles taken on board in the river, about a quarter of a mile below, or at Minawi, are not liable to it; and this exemption continues throughout all the river below, even to the bar. The English pay no export duty on these or any other articles, which may serve as, or can be considered in the nature of, provisions, whether shipped from Bussorah or any other part of the river. On the export of copper, gall-nuts, lametta, and all goods brought down from Bagdad, which is the point of union for all the land caravans, there is a duty of five and a half per cent. paid by the natives, and three per cent. by the English; and as the valuation in both cases is nearly the same, the advantage is on the side of the British trader. Cochineal and coral, which come in large quantities across the Desert from Aleppo, are equally subject to this duty of five and a half per cent. *ad valorem*; but though these are annually sent from this port to India to an amount of many thousand pounds in value, they are invariably smuggled off to the ships; and though the Government are aware of the extent to which this is carried, and are defrauded by it of a large sum yearly, yet no steps are taken to put a stop to the practice; nor are any boats or persons seized with it, though its conveyance is always effected openly, and in broad day. On treasure, whether in coin, bullion, pearls, or precious stones, no duty is exacted; and if it were, it would be still more easily evaded than that on the two last-mentioned articles, since the packages are always of less bulk and compass.

The naval force of Bussorah was once sufficiently powerful to command the whole of the Persian Gulf; and the Turkish fleet, as it was called, in the time of Suliman Pasha of Bagdad, consisted of about twenty well-armed vessels, which were kept in actual service in that sea. These have now dwindled away to five or six old and unserviceable vessels, not one of which could

be considered as sea-worthy. At present, indeed, no attempt is made to send them to sea; but they are moored in different parts of the river, under the pretence of keeping it clear of robbers, while one lies at the mouth of the creek of Bussorah, to act as a guard-vessel for the Custom-house; and the Captain Pasha, who is a person of very little consideration, has his flag-ship abreast of Minawi, to return the salute of vessels passing her, and to announce, by a discharge of cannon, the visits of the Mutesellim. It was about the time of Suliman Pasha, or nearly half a century ago, that the Gulf was infested by pirates to a greater degree than even at present, when for the important services which the vessels of the Imaum of Muscat rendered to the Pasha of Bagdad, in assisting to clear the sea of these marauders, and to give safe passage to ships of trade, the Imaum himself was permitted to send three vessels annually to Bussorah from his own port of Muscat, and all his own goods imported in them were suffered to be landed free of duty. This was, however, too great a privilege to last for ever, and it has been since commuted for the payment of an annual sum of one thousand tomauns, which, however, is still thought to be less than the tenth part of the gain actually derived from this exemption.

The country around Bussorah has no beauties to recommend it. On the banks of the Euphrates, on both sides, for a long way above and below the town, there are sufficient date-trees and verdure to relieve the eye; but the country is every where so flat, and so few villages or people are to be seen, that there is a tiresome, monotonous, and gloomy silence throughout its whole extent. The tract immediately surrounding the city towards the land is a desert, with a horizon as level as the sea; and as it is covered with water from the overflowings of the river on the one side, and of Khore Abdallah on the other, for about six months in the year, it may be more frequently taken for sea than for land. This water is sometimes sufficiently deep to admit of the passage of boats from Bussorah to Zobeir, a town about ten or

twelve miles distant in a south-western direction. When this water disappears by evaporation, and the remainder is imbibed by the earth, the Desert continues for a long time almost impassable, as the soil is here a clayey earth, altogether free from sand; and when it becomes entirely dry, a crust of salt is left on the surface, of sufficient thickness to yield supplies of this article to the town and neighbouring villages. It is this salt which, whether it is inherent in the soil, or comes from the Khore Abdallah as an arm of the sea, renders the whole tract of many miles in length and breadth barren and unproductive.

It is the practice to enclose portions of this plain, near the city walls, within mounds thrown up for the purpose, and to water them from the canals of the river which supply the town. During the first year nothing is produced, but the soil freshens, and in the second year is cultivated. Its fertility encreases however progressively; and after the water of the Desert has been effectually secluded for a few years only, the enclosed portions become fine garden-plots, capable of producing any thing congenial with the climate. If the Government were a provident one, and the character of the people so influenced by it as to ensure greater attention to their own interests, and some consideration for their posterity, the whole of the tract which is now desert, and extends as far as the eye can reach to the westward from the highest towers of Bussorah, might be changed to waving fields of plenty and abundance, and teem with a population made happy by their own exertions. At present, however, in riding round the walls of the city, and particularly on the western and southern sides, nothing is seen but a dreary waste, to which the imagination can place no well-defined limits, when it conceives that the Desert reaches, almost without interruption, to the borders of Syria; and within the range of view from hence there is nothing to break the sea-like line of the visible horizon, excepting only the tops of the houses of Zobeir, just seen above it, with a few modern watch-towers in the neighbourhood of that

place, and the range of Gebel Senam, covered with a light blue tint, like a thick bed of clouds just rising in the west.

The climate of Bussorah is excessively hot during the summer, or from April to October; but yet not so hot as at Bagdad, where the thermometer rises above 120°, while here it is seldom above 110°. Its greater nearness to the sea may be perhaps one cause of this difference, and also the occasion probably of the greater moisture of the air, and of more refreshing dews during the hottest weather. The autumn is acknowledged to be generally unhealthy, and few people escape without fevers, many of whom are carried off by them. The winters and the springs are however delightful; for there is a sufficient degree of cold in the first, to render the use of warm clothing, carpeted rooms, and an evening fireside delightful; and in the last there is but little rain to interrupt the enjoyments of morning rides and free exercise in the open air. It is usual for invalids to come from India to Bussorah, for the restoration of their health; and if the seasons were properly chosen and attended to, there are few constitutions that would not benefit by the change.

The extreme filthiness of the town, which surpasses that of all other Turkish or Arab ones that I remember, is a great hindrance to perambulation through it; and in the summer it is insupportable, from the heat of the air, the confined alleys, and the discharge of refuse into the streets themselves, all which must, no doubt, affect the health as well as the comfort of the passengers; and in winter, riding on horseback without the walls is sometimes interrupted for several days together after only a slight fall of rain. The worst evil, however, which would be likely to be felt by an Indian invalid, who made this his hospital, would be the total want of society, except the members of the factory at which he might be lodged. Independent of the present Resident, there is not another individual in all Bussorah, whether male or female, native, or stranger, whose company could be enjoyed after the manner of European society; and there is consequently no one

whose intercourse amounts to more than a ceremonious visit for half an hour in the morning, and none of these understand English, or any other European language. These are evils which, even an hospitable host, a good library, and a numerous stud of horses, can hardly overbalance; and for want of these, no doubt, the advantages of a bracing winter climate, abundance of the best provisions for the table, including fine fruits, variety of vegetables, and a constant supply of the choicest game, are not felt to their full extent; since there can be little doubt that agreeable occupation for the mind has as powerful an effect as any bodily remedies in restoring the tone and vigour of health to the constitution of an Indian invalid.

The character of the Arabs of Bussorah, as well as of those settled along the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, partakes more of that of the Desert Arab than is elsewhere found in towns and cultivated lands. The citizens are respectful towards strangers; and there is no place that I have ever yet visited, where the English are held in such estimation, either by the Government or the people. There is an unusual degree of tolerance also towards all those of a different religion, and, regarding them as Mohammedans, a striking indifference about religious matters generally. Notwithstanding the unavoidable distinctions of rank and wealth among the inhabitants of so commercial a city as this, there is, nevertheless, a sort of Desert rudeness and independence among the lower order of its inhabitants, which is never found among a similar class in Egypt or Syria. Hospitality is seldom wanting, and protection is claimed and given in cases even of crime; while the laws of retaliation by blood, and the severest punishments of fornication and adultery, are observed here with nearly the same rigour as in the heart of Arabia. There were, during my stay in the house of the British Resident, some of the Mutesellim's own servants, who had fled there to claim *dukhiel*, or protection; and this being granted, they remain in safety till their crimes are forgotten or pardoned. Persons offending against the Resident have also flown to the

house of the Mutesellim for *dukhiel*, and have been received and sheltered there; so that a sort of account-current is kept between the parties granting this protection; and there is either a release of individual for individual, like an exchange of prisoners in Europe, or at the removal or change of the people in office, or the death of the private citizens who may afford them such shelter, there is a tacit act of grace, like a general jail-delivery.

An instance of Arab hospitality between avowed enemies, which occurred in the neighbourhood of Bussorah, will show how far habit and usage can conquer the feelings which are natural to us. The Montefik Sheik Twiney, who possessed nearly the whole of the country from Hillah to the sea, and Sheik Gathban, who had the district of Chaub, both on the opposite banks of the Shat-ul-Arab, were enemies to such a degree, and for so long a time, that it became a proverb in Bussorah, when any one would express the violent hatred of another, to say, 'It was like the hatred of Twiney to Gathban;' as if the feeling was thought to be hereditary and inherent in the government of the provinces themselves. A reverse of fortune dispossessed Twiney of his Sheikdom, when he fled for refuge to the porch of his oldest enemy in the Chaub district. The Sheik Gathban, having heard of his flight, and receiving news of his approach, rose and went out, attended by all his principal dependents, to meet him. The interview was as that of the oldest and most sincere friends. The fugitive Sheik was set on the horse of his protector, and, being conducted to his residence, was placed there in the seat of honour, when Gathban, taking his ring and seal from off his finger, placed it on that of Twiney, saying, 'As long as you remain beneath my roof, you are not only in perfect safety, but I constitute you, by this seal, the Sheik of the Chaub, and woe be to him who spurns your authority!' This chief remained some time in *dukhiel* with his enemy, who, after the most strenuous efforts, at length effected an accommodation on his behalf with the Pasha of Bagdad, who had dispossessed him; and Twiney was again restored by the influence of

Gathban to the full authority of his own Sheikdom, and, with it, to the former enmity between the Montefiks and the Chaubs, which continued with the same force as ever!

Among the Sheiks of the Desert, many similar instances are recounted, and of the fact of their happening, there can be no doubt; but in analysing the motives and the feelings of individuals so conducting themselves towards each other, there is considerable difficulty in assigning satisfactory explanations to them. A striking instance was also related to me of the slavish obedience to one chief, which marked the days of the Sheik-el-Jebal, or Old Man of the Mountains, as he is called in our histories of the Crusades, and which still continues in some degree to be a feature of the Arab character. This same Sheik Twiney, who after his restoration was the greatest enemy to the Wahabee cause, was followed by his whole tribe with a feeling of attachment and obedience that united them as one man; and his name not only held all his dependents firmly together, but struck terror into the hearts of his enemies whenever it was mentioned. Sheik Abdallah Ibn Saood, who was then the Wahabee chief, was desirous of accomplishing the death of Twiney; and called his slaves around him, to demand from them a proof of their fidelity to their master. Of these, he is said to have had about fifty blacks from Soudan, who were always ready for the most daring enterprises of murder, and seemed to glory in imbruing their hands in human blood. The assassination of Twiney was proposed; and, though immediate death was the certain consequence of such a task, the execution of it was contended for among the slaves, with all the ardour of persons seeking the most honourable distinctions. It was confided to the most favoured one, and he accordingly set out on his errand. Arriving at the tent of the Montefik Sheik, he was received with the hospitality invariably shown to strangers; and, remaining there until the time of evening prayer, he stole behind the Sheik while he was prostrating himself, and, on his rising, thrust him through the body with a spear. As this was done in the midst of the tribe, he was

soon cut into a thousand pieces, and his body given to the dogs of the camp to devour. The consequence of this event to the tribe itself, was their entire disunion and dispersion; and according to the expression of one of the Arabs belonging to it, who was a witness of the scene, 'the very hearts who, under Twiney, were firm as those of lions, and thought that they were equal to the conquest of the world, now trembled like the leaves of autumn; and those on whom the sun rose as heroes, fled from their own shadows ere he set.'

The Wahabee chief himself, in the plenitude of his power, possessed an influence and an authority quite equal to any thing known in former or in present times; and a mandate issued beneath his seal was all-powerful from the Nedjed to the borders of Yemen, and from the shores of the Red Sea to those of the Persian Gulf. But now that he had received some signal defeats from the Egyptian army under Ibrahim Pasha, he had become a fugitive from castle to castle, and from post to post; and those who in the day of his prosperity were his most zealous adherents, had now, in the hour of adversity, become his most inveterate enemies. Nothing seems to have been more erroneous than the light in which the union of the Great Desert tribes to the Wahabee interest has been generally viewed. It was thought that the doctrines of Abd-ul-Wahab had been the torch that kindled the flames of a new crusade, and that religious enthusiasm was the bond by which these new reformers were united. But there is too little of holy zeal in the character of the Desert Arabs, who are notoriously indifferent to both the doctrines and practices of religion, to suppose that it was this alone which stirred them up to enthusiasm in the cause. The field of plunder, always alluring to them, from habit and long-established usage, which this new war opened, was a more powerful temptation than the conversion of souls; and the pillage of the shrines and temples of the corrupters of the faith by land, and of the richly laden vessels of Indian idolaters by sea, was of more weight with them than even the destruction of unbe-

lievers by the sword. A hundred facts, of alliance and treaty, as well as of war and peace, both among themselves and with strangers, might be cited to prove that their views and their motives were chiefly temporal; and that, if spiritual reasons were assigned, it was rather as a cloak for excesses, which nothing but religious wars have ever yet given rise to, and nothing but a misguided zeal in a supposed holy cause would ever seek to justify.

At present the Wahabee power is fast declining; and Abdallah Ibn Saood, who, but a year or two since, ruled nearly the whole of Arabia by his signet, is now forsaken by his friends, pursued and harassed by his enemies, and contemned and despised by both. It has been thought here that the Pashas of Bagdad and of Egypt might at any time have put an end to the war, and crushed the Wahabee power in an instant; and it is asserted that they now suffer Ibn Saood to exist, as the pretence of keeping up a force against him furnishes them with excuses for the delay of tribute, and for balancing their accounts with Constantinople, by a display of long arrears of war expenses, which never actually took place. The Wahabees are reduced to a state, however, in which they are incapable of doing much injury by land; and it wants only the extirpation of the Joassamee pirates by sea, to complete the annihilation of their power. For the execution of this task, all eyes have long been directed to the English; and the inference drawn from their neglect is, either that their trading interest is promoted by the hindrance thus offered by the pirates to all native vessels in the Gulf, or that they are afraid of attacking them from apprehension of defeat.

This plundering or piratical disposition is so general among the Arabs of these parts, that during the recent government of Bussorah by an Arab Sheik, it was really unsafe to pass from the city to the river by the creek after four o'clock, as boats were attacked and pillaged in open day, and after sun-set no one stirred from his own house; while, at any time during this government,

no one ventured beyond the precincts of the town, without an armed party for his defence. The police of the city, under the present Mutesellim, is so well managed, and a general confidence is so well established, that it is safe to visit any part of it at any hour of the night or day. This man himself takes a peculiar pleasure in perambulating the streets, and going along the creek in a canoe, disguised and accompanied only by an ugly Abyssinian slave. They often effect wonders, though alone, even before they are discovered; and when it is once known who they are that dare to interfere in rectifying abuses. the dread that they inspire is sufficient to disperse a host.

There was an order issued but lately by the Mutesellim, forbidding arms to be worn by Arabs who came into the city from without; and so much was his authority respected, that the observance of this prohibition was very general. Some persons were found, however, by the Governor and his slave, during their evening rambles, who had disregarded the mandate; and the next day they were taken, first to the Jisser-el-Meleh, or the Bridge of Salt, near the British Factory, where they were exposed to public view, by having their ears nailed to a post for several hours; they were next taken before the Palace in the Corn-market, and received several hundred strokes of the bastinado on the soles of the feet; after which they had their beards and mustachios shaved off, and were ultimately turned out of the city, and forbidden ever to enter its walls again.

Though this severity preserves sufficient safety in the town and its immediate neighbourhood, there are, nevertheless, many robbers by water on the river, both between this and Kourna above, and between this and Debbeh below. On the banks of the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Hye, and the Karoon, it is still worse; for there are whole tribes who encamp along them, for the sole purpose of attacking richly laden boats passing the stream. During fine weather, while the boats can keep in mid-channel, they are in general safe; but strong southerly winds oblige them some-

times to take shelter near the land, when their plunder is almost inevitable. The following instance of this occurred within the present month only.

A large boat, descending from Bagdad, with all the treasure of the Damascus caravan, to the amount of ten lacs of rupees, or upwards of 100,000*l.* sterling, principally intended to be sent by a ship to Bengal, was driven by a strong southerly wind into a bight of the river on the north-eastern side. After anchoring, the captain went on shore to reconnoitre the ground, and meeting with three or four Arabs, enquired of them whether a portion of the Beni Lam, who are great robbers, was not encamped near. He was assured that they were not, but that, on the contrary, the Sheik of a tribe whom he knew to be friendly, had pitched his tents just behind the trees; and was invited to go up and pay his respects to him. The captain consented; but had no sooner turned to go on his way with them, than he was seized by these four men, and bound hand and foot. The crew, seeing this transaction from the boat, and observing the small number of his assailants, jumped on shore, with arms in their hands, to rescue him, when instantly two or three hundred men rushed from among the bushes, seized the boat, and put all those who resisted to death. The treasure, which was chiefly in gold and silver coin, was landed in an hour, and carried off into the Desert, and the boat scuttled and destroyed. The captain, whom I myself saw, and who related to me the whole affair, was left bound on the earth, and wounded in three places by a sword and a spear in resisting the first four traitors who seized him; but, after much difficulty, he loosed himself from his bonds, got to a neighbouring village, and came by slow journeys to Bussorah, with his wounds yet unhealed.

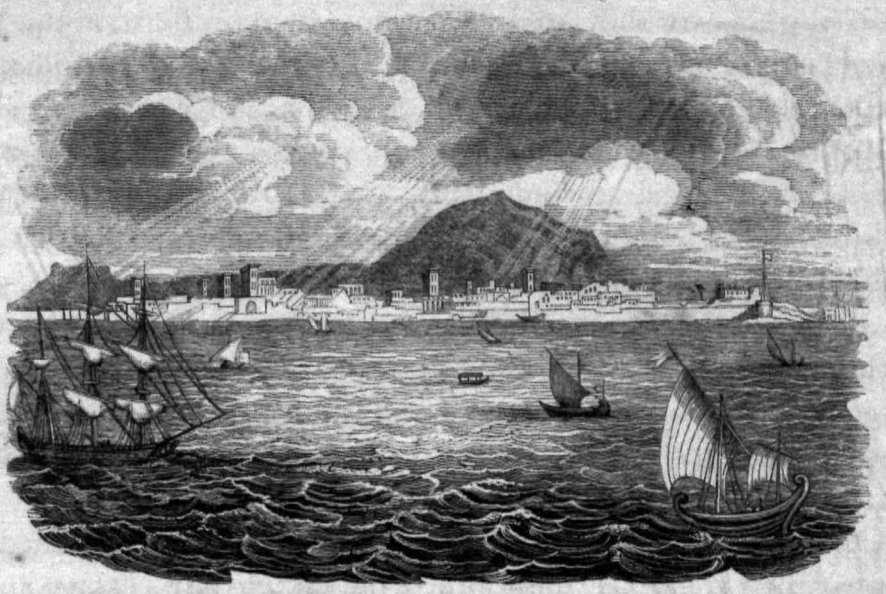
The Mutesellim sent his young son off with a party to the spot as soon as he heard of the affair, but the robbers were by that time at a secure distance; and, indeed, as the Desert is open to them on each side of the river for a retreat, preventives are more prac-

ticable than remedies, and the slightest precaution to avoid the evil, is of more worth than collected hosts to retrieve it, when once it is done

In stature and general appearance the Arabs of Bussorah and its neighbourhood are stouter than those of Yemen, Oman, and the Hedjaz, but not so large as those of Egypt and Syria. In person, both men and women struck me as uglier than either; for, besides the pale blue stains, or tattooing on the face, the women are dark, squalid, blear-eyed, and haggard, before they are thirty, and the men have a look of care and misery, which wrinkles their brow more than age. The general poverty of their dress, and the filth which is observed through all classes and conditions, except that of the very highest, increases the effect of their deformities.

The cutaneous eruption of the skin, which commences at Aleppo, and extends through Orfa, Diarbekr, Mardin, and Moosul, to Bagdad, is not known here; but there are many afflicted with leprosy, who live in huts apart from the rest of the inhabitants, on the banks of the creek leading to the river, and who subsist entirely by casual charity.

Upon the whole, therefore, the general impression likely to be made on the mind of a European visiting Bussorah, would be, that it is an ill-built and half-ruined city, seated in a climate which is for half the year intolerable, defiled by filth enough to engender of itself the most pestilential diseases, and inhabited by an ignorant, a wretched, and an ugly race of people,—without any other advantages to set against these evils, than that of a favourable situation for trade, an agreeable winter, and an abundance and variety of provisions.



CHAPTER XXIII.

HISTORY OF THE JOASSAMEE PIRATES, AND THEIR ATTACKS ON BRITISH SHIPS.

Nov. 18th, 1816.—The squadron in Bushire Roads, consisting of his Majesty's ship Challenger, Captain Brydges, and the East India Company's cruizers, Mercury, Ariel, and Vestal, were reported to be now ready for sea. Their departure was therefore fixed for to-day, and the destination of all was said to be Ras-el-Khyma, and other ports of the Joassamee pirates in the Persian Gulf; from whence, when the object of the expedition was accomplished, one of the cruizers was intended to be dispatched to Bombay, and the others would follow their respective orders.

Short as my acquaintance with the commanders of these vessels had been, it was sufficient to procure for me the offer of a

passage from each, as far as the squadron might proceed together, and the assurance of a reception on board the ship destined for Bombay, whenever they might separate. Captain Blast, of the Mercury, I had before met at Mocha on my first voyage to India, but his ill health obliging him to quit his ship, and remain on shore at Bushire, until her return from the pirate coast, the command devolved on his first lieutenant. Mr. Bruce, the resident of Bushire, and Lieutenant Taylor of the Bombay army, with an Arab Mollah, a Persian Mirza, an Armenian secretary, a pilot, and a train of native servants, were, however, all going to assist in the negociations with the pirates on the coast; and as the Mercury was the largest vessel, and the only one of the whole whose return to Bushire was certain, they were all to embark in her.

Colonel Corsellis and myself, who were both destined for Bombay, had therefore determined on taking our passage in one of the others; but the solicitations on the part of Mr. Bruce and Mr. Taylor to be of their party, were so pressingly kind, and seemingly sincere, that notwithstanding the already crowded number destined to join them, we yielded to their persuasions.

The history of the rise of these Joassamee pirates, to whose ports the squadron was destined, was, as far as I could learn, briefly this. The line of coast from Cape Mussenndom to Bahrain on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, had been from time immemorial occupied by a tribe of Arabs called Joassamees. These, from local position, were all engaged in maritime pursuits. Some traded in their own small vessels to Bussorah, Bushire, Muscat, and even India; others annually fished in their own boats on the pearl banks of Bahrain; and a still greater number hired themselves out as sailors to navigate the coasting small craft of the Persian Gulf. All, however, were so much more skilful, industrious, and faithful in their engagements, than the other tribes of the coast, that they were always preferred, and constantly spoken of as the best people throughout the Gulf.

On the rise of the reformed religion of Abd-ul-Wahab, when Derryheea, the whole of Nedjed, and all the interior of Ammaan, had submitted to his doctrine, the sea-coast next became the object of conquest and conversion, and the arms of the Wahabees were consequently directed against Ras-el-Khyma as the seat of the Joassamee Arabs, the only tribe in this part of Arabia who had not yet submitted to their doctrines.

During three whole years, it is said, these irreligious sailors resisted all the attempts that were made, both by the pen and sword, to bring them over to the new doctrines and precepts, held out to them as the only one which their own original faith enjoined, or by the observance of which they could hope for salvation.

The force of arms, however, at length prevailed; for as the Wahabee power became more extended throughout the tented deserts, in which it found its first proselytes, the chiefs and warriors were able to direct all their strength to subdue the refractory spirit of those, who had so long bidden successful defiance to their exhortations and their threats.

The town of Ras-el-Khyma, with all its dependencies along the coast, therefore, submitted, and at the same moment that they received the conquerors within their gates, they bowed submission to the new doctrines which they taught, and swore fidelity to such laws and injunctions as the most learned and holy of the leaders might pronounce these doctrines to impose.

The tenets of Abd-ul-Wahab have been too often explained to need a repetition in detail: they enjoin the worship of one God, a belief in his prophets, among whom they admit of Abraham, Moses, and Christ, as distinguished leaders, and hold Mohammed to be the seal of them all: they consider the Koran to be a sufficient guide for all the purposes of policy and morals, and insist on the strictest observance of its maxims. It is thus that the right of conquest over infidels, the promulgation of their faith by fire and sword, and the perfect disposal of the lives and

properties of their prisoners, are preached, not merely as admissible, but indispensable duties, binding on all adherents of the true faith, and both cowardly and criminal not to carry into execution.

The conquered Joassemees were called upon to abandon not only their former corrupted faith, but also their former mode of living; the merit of which in industry, sobriety, and fidelity, was far outbalanced by the defiling state of communication in which they lived with unbelievers and strangers to the true God. They obeyed the call with all the enthusiasm which new religions are so frequently found to inspire, and lived for a short time on the scanty productions of their own soil, and the fish of their own waters. This, however, could not last long; the spark of religious zeal once kindled, either bursts into a blaze, or becomes again extinguished; for if in any one state of feeling more than another a stationary medium cannot be admitted, it is certainly in the fanaticism of new converts to a proselytizing faith. The Joassamees, therefore, directed their views to war and conquest; their leaders easily persuaded them that God was on their side, and that therefore the legions of hell itself could not prevail against them; and as their own feelings accorded with the admonitions of their teachers, war and plunder was the universal cry, and destruction to infidels was vowed in the same breath that uttered the name of their merciful Creator, and implored his aid to the accomplishment of their holy labours. The local position of the Joassamees offered them no wide field of conquest by land; but as the sea was still before them, like the great high-way of nations on which men of every faith and denomination had hitherto passed unmolested, they determined to reap the harvest of their toils on what might be termed in every sense their own element.

The small coasting-vessels of the Gulf, from their defenceless state, were the first object of their pursuit, and these soon fell an easy prey; until, emboldened by success, they directed their views

to more arduous enterprizes, and having once tasted the sweets of plunder in the increase of their wealth, had determined to attempt more promising victories.

About the year 1797, one of the East India Company's vessels of war, the Viper, of ten guns, was lying at anchor in the inner roads of Bushire. Some dows of the Joassamees were at the same moment anchored in the harbour; but as their warfare had hitherto been waged only against what are called native vessels, and they had either feared or respected the British flag, no hostile measures were ever pursued against them by the English ships. The commanders of these dows had applied to the Persian agent of the British East India Company there, for a supply of English gunpowder and cannon-shot for their cruize; and, as this man had no suspicions of their intentions, he furnished them with an order to the commanding officer on board for the quantity required The Captain of the Viper was on shore at the time, in the Agent's house, but the order being produced to the officer on board, the powder and shot were delivered, and the dows weighed and made sail. The crew of the Viper were at this moment taking their breakfast on deck, and the officers were below; when, on a sudden, a cannonading was opened on them by two of the dows, who attempted also to board. The officers, leaping on deck, called the crew to quarters, and cutting their cable, got sail upon the ship, so as to have the advantage of manœuvring. A regular engagement now took place between this small cruizer and four dows, all armed with great guns, and full of men. In the contest, Lieut. Carruthers, the commanding officer, was once wounded by a ball through the loins; but, after girding a handkerchief round his waist, he still kept the deck, till a ball entering his forehead, he fell. Mr. Salter, the midshipman on whom the command devolved, continued to fight the ship with determined bravery, and, after a stout resistance, beat them off, chased them some distance out to sea, and subsequently regained the anchorage with safety.

The lives lost on board the Company's cruiser on this occasion

were considerable, and there was something so glaringly treacherous on the part of the pirates in the affair, that it was believed it would call forth the immediate vengeance of the British Government in India. No hostilities were, however, commenced against the perpetrators of this piratical attempt; nor, as far as is known, was any remonstrance, or even enquiry, made on the occasion.

Several years elapsed before the wounds of the first defeat were sufficiently healed to induce a second attempt on vessels under the British flag, though a constant state of warfare was still kept up against the small craft of the Gulf. This, however, at length occurred about the year 1804, when a new race of young warriors might be supposed to have replaced the slain and wounded, that in this period had been disabled, or fallen in battle.

About the year 1804, the East India Company's cruiser, Fly, was taken by a French privateer, off the island of Kenn, in the Persian Gulf; but before the enemy boarded her, she ran into shoal water, near that island, and sunk the Government dispatches, and some treasure with which they were charged, in about two and a half fathoms of water, taking marks for the recovery of them, if possible, at some future period. The passengers and crew were taken to Bushire, where several other vessels were captured by the French ship, and consequently a number of prisoners were collected there, as all were set at liberty, except the commander, Lieut. Mainwaring, and his officers, Mr. Arthur and Mr. Maillard, who were taken to the Isle of France, probably with a view to exchange. A number of those who were left behind, including a Mr. Yowl and Mr. Flowers, gentlemen, and one Pennel, a seaman, purchased by subscription a country dow at Bushire, and fitted her out with necessaries for her voyage to Bombay. On their passage down the Gulf, as they thought it would be practicable to recover the Government packet and treasure sunk off Kenn, they repaired to that island, and were successful, after much exertion, in recovering the former, which being in their estimation

of the first importance, as the dispatches were from England to Bombay, they sailed with them on their way thither, without loss of time.

Near the mouth of the Gulf, between Cape Mussunndom and the island called the Great Tomb, they were captured by a fleet of Joassamee boats, after some resistance, in which several were wounded, and taken into their chief port at Ras-el-Khyma. Here they were detained in hope of ransom, and during their stay were shown to the people of the town as curiosities, no similar beings having been before seen there within the memory of man. The Joassamee ladies were so minute in their enquiries, indeed, that they were not satisfied without determining in what respect an uncircumcised infidel differed from a true believer.

When these unfortunate Englishmen had remained for several months in the possession of the Arabs, and no hope of their ransom appeared, it was determined to put them to death, and thus rid themselves of unprofitable enemies. An anxiety to preserve life, however, induced the suggestion, on their parts, of a plan for the temporary prolongation of it, at least. With this view, they communicated to the chief of the pirates the fact of their having sunk a quantity of treasure near the island of Kenn, and of their knowing the marks of the spot, by bearings of objects on shore, with sufficient accuracy to recover it, if furnished with good divers. They offered, therefore, to purchase their own liberty by a recovery of this money for their captors; and on the fulfilment of their engagement it was solemnly promised to be granted to them.

They soon sailed for the spot, accompanied by divers accustomed to that occupation on the pearl banks of Bahrain; and, on their anchoring at the precise points of bearing taken, they commenced their labours. The first divers who went down were so successful, that all the crew followed in their turns, so that the vessel was at one time almost entirely abandoned at anchor. As

the men, too, were also busily occupied in their golden harvest, the moment appeared favourable for escape; and the still captive Englishmen were already at their stations to overpower the few on board, cut the cable, and make sail. Their motions were either seen or suspected, as the divers repaired on board in haste, and the scheme was thus frustrated.

They were now given their liberty, as promised, by being landed on the island of Kenn, where, however, no means offered for their immediate escape. The pirates, having at the same time landed themselves on the island, commenced a general massacre of the inhabitants, in which their released prisoners, fearing they might be included, fled for shelter to clefts and hiding-places in the rocks. During their refuge here, they lived on such food as chance threw in their way, going out under cover of the night to steal a goat and drag it to their haunts.

When the pirates had at length completed their work of blood, and either murdered or driven off every former inhabitant of the island, they quitted it themselves, with the treasure which they had thus collected from the sea and the shore. The Englishmen now ventured to come out from their hiding-places, and to think of devising some means for their escape. Their good fortune, in a moment of despair, threw them on the wreck of a boat, near the beach, which was still capable of repair. In searching about the now deserted town, other materials were found, which were of use to them, and sufficient plank and logs of wood for the construction of a raft. These were both completed in a few days, and the party embarked on them in two divisions, to effect a passage to the Persian shore. One of these, the boat, was lost in the attempt, and all on board her perished; while the raft, with the remainder of the party, reached safe.

As the packet of Government dispatches had been found only to contain papers, which the Arabs neither understood nor valued, it had constantly remained in the possession of these unfortunate

sufferers, who had guarded it with an almost religious zeal, and it still was preserved to them by being with the remnant of the party thus remaining

Having gained the main-land, they now set out on foot towards Bushire, following the line of the coast for the sake of the villages and water. In this they are said to have suffered incredible hardships and privations of every kind. No one knew the language of the country perfectly, and the roads and places of refreshment still less; they were in general destitute of clothes and money, and constantly subject to plunder and imposition, poor as they were. Their food was therefore often scanty, and always of the worst kind; and they had neither shelter from the burning sun of the day, nor from the chilling dews of night.

The Indian sailors, sipahees, and servants, of whom a few were still remaining when they set out, had all dropped off by turns; and even Europeans had been abandoned on the road, in the most affecting way, taking a last adieu of their comrades, who had little else to expect but soon to follow their fate. One instance is mentioned of their having left one who could march no further, at the distance of only a mile from a village; and on returning to the spot on the morrow, under the hope of restoring him to their party, his mangled bones only were found, as he had been devoured during the night by jackals. The packet being light, was still, however, carried by turns, and preserved through all obstacles and difficulties; and with it they reached at length the island of Busheab, to which they crossed over in a boat from the main.

Here they were detained, and money was even demanded of them by the Sheik, for his protection, or permission to land on his island. Finding entreaty would not prevail on this inhospitable chief to forward their views, they held a higher tone; and, defenceless as they were, a succession of miseries had given them fortitude enough to brave insolence with firmness, and to threaten the future vengeance of the British Government, if they were not instantly

furnished by him with a boat for the conveyance of themselves and the dispatches in their charge to Bushire. This had the desired effect: the boat was provided, and the party embarked. One of the gentlemen expired in the act of being conveyed from the shore, several others died on the voyage itself, and one after their arrival at Bushire; leaving, out of all their numerous party, two survivors,—Mr. Jowl, an officer of a merchant ship, and Pennel, an English seaman.

These ultimately reached Bombay with the packet, for the preservation of which they were thought to be adequately rewarded by a mere letter of thanks from the Government there, after these almost unexampled sufferings.

In the following year, two English brigs, the Shannon, Captain Babcock, and the Trimmer, Captain Cummings, were on their voyage from Bombay to Bussorah, both of them belonging to Mr. Manesty, the Company's Resident at that place. These were both attacked, near the islands of Polior and Kenn, by several boats, and, after a very slight resistance on the part of the Shannon only, were taken possession of, and a part of the crew of each, and these Indians, put to the sword. Captain Babcock, having been seen by one of the Arabs to discharge a musket during the contest, was taken by them on shore; and after a consultation on his fate, it was determined that he should forfeit the arm by which this act of resistance was committed. It was accordingly severed from his body by one stroke of a sabre, and no steps were taken either to bind up the wound, or to prevent his bleeding to death. The captain himself had yet sufficient presence of mind left, however, to think of means for his own safety, and there being near him some ghee, or clarified butter, he procured this to be heated, and, while yet warm, thrust the bleeding stump of his arm into it. It had the effect of lessening the effusion of blood, and ultimately of saving a life that would otherwise most probably have been lost.

The crew were then all made prisoners, and taken to a port of Arabia, from whence they gradually dispersed and escaped. The

vessels themselves were additionally armed, one of them mounting twenty guns, manned with Arab crews, and sent from Ras-el-Khyma to cruise in the Gulf, where they committed many successful piracies on maritime trade.

Had these been some of the East India Company's ships of war, it is not improbable but that the affair would have been passed over unnoticed, as was done in the case of the Viper; but belonging to Mr. Manesty, pecuniary interest urged what a regard to the honour of the flag had not yet been sufficiently powerful even to suggest. A strong remonstrance was made by Mr. Manesty to the chief of the pirates in their own port, and threats held out of retaliation, which, as they came from one clothed with official power, were probably regarded as the sentiments of the Government itself, though they are now believed to have been those of the ships' owner alone, exerting himself to recover his lost property.

The Government, indeed, were not only indifferent to the insult shown their flag, and the injury done to commerce generally, by the triumphs of these lawless plunderers, but an order was issued by the President in Council, directing all the commanders of the Bombay Marine, not on any consideration to attack or molest these *innocent* natives of the Gulf, and threatening to visit with the displeasure of the Government any among them who might be found in any way to interrupt them or to provoke their anger.

Within a year or two after this, an attack was made upon the East India Company's cruiser, Fury, of six guns, commanded by Lieutenant Gowan, when carrying dispatches from Bussorah to Bombay. The attack was made by several boats in company, and during a short calm; but the resistance made was determined and effectual, and the boats were made to sheer off, with the loss of a great number of men. On the arrival of the Fury at Bombay, the commander waited on the governor in the usual way; but on reporting the affair of the battle, instead of being applauded for his spirited resistance, and his preservation of the dispatches under

his charge, he received a severe reprimand from the Governor himself in person, for disobeying the orders given, and daring to molest the *innocent* and *unoffending* Arabs of these seas.

The Governor of that period, from ignorance of the character of this people, could never be persuaded that they were the aggressors, and constantly upbraided the officers of the English vessels with having in some way provoked the attacks of which they complained, — continuing still to insist on the observance of the orders, in not firing on these vessels until they had first been fired at by them.

The Mornington, of twenty-four guns, and the Teignmouth, of eighteen, both ships of war in the Bombay Marine, were successively attacked by these daring marauders, who were now emboldened, by the forbearance of the British Government, to attempt the stoutest of their vessels, since they very naturally imputed to cowardice a conduct which scarcely any but the members of the Government itself could at all understand or explain.

In the year 1808, the force of the Joassamees having gradually increased, and becoming flushed with the pride of victory, their insulting attacks on the British flag were more numerous and more desperate than ever. The first of these was on the ship Minerva, of Bombay, on her voyage to Bussorah, belonging also to Mr. Manesty. The attack was commenced by several boats, — for they never cruize singly, — and a spirited resistance in a running fight was kept up, at intervals, for several days in succession. A favourable moment offered, however, for boarding; the ship was overpowered by numbers, and carried amidst a general massacre. The captain was said to have been cut up into separate pieces, and thrown overboard by fragments; the second mate and carpenter were alone spared, probably to make use of their services; and an Armenian lady, the wife of Lieut. Taylor, then at Bushire, was reserved perhaps for still greater sufferings.

The ship was taken safely into Ras-el-Khyma, twenty guns of different calibre were mounted on her, and she was sent to

cruise in the Gulf. The second mate was still kept on shore, at the town; the carpenter was sent into the country, to procure materials and construct gun-carriages, &c.; and Mrs. Taylor was still held in the most afflicting bondage for several months, and was at length ransomed by Mr. Bruce, of Bushire, for a large sum.

A few weeks after this, the Sylph, one of the East India Company's cruisers, of sixty tons, and mounting eight guns, was accompanying the Mission under Sir Harford Jones, from Bombay to Persia, when, being separated from the rest of the squadron, she was attacked in the Gulf by a fleet of dows. These bore down with all the menacing attitude of hostility; but as the commander, Lieut. Graham, had received from the Bombay Government the same orders as all the rest of his brother officers in the Marine, not to open his fire on any of these vessels until he had been first fired on himself, the ship was hardly prepared for battle, and the colours were not even hoisted to apprise them to what nation she belonged. The dows approached, threw their long overhanging prows across the Sylph's beam, and, pouring in a shower of stones on her deck, beat down and wounded almost every one who stood on it. They then boarded, and made the ship an easy prize, before more than a single shot had been fired, and, in their usual way, put every one whom they found alive to the sword. Lieut. Graham fell, covered with wounds, down the fore hatchway of his own vessel, where he was dragged by some of the crew into a store-room, in which they had secreted themselves, and barricadoed the door with a crow-bar from within; while a Persian passenger, Mahomed Hussein Khan, who was attached to the Mission as a secretary, had crawled into one of the cabin lockers abaft, with the same view.

The cruizer was thus completely in the possession of the enemy, who made sail on her, and were bearing her off in triumph to their own port, in company with their boats. Not many hours had elapsed, however, before the Nereid frigate, Captain Corbett, the Commodore of the squadron from which the Sylph had separated,

hove in sight, and perceiving this vessel in company with the dows, without any apparent resistance, judged her to be a prize in possession of the pirates. She accordingly gave them all chase, and coming up with the brig, the Arabs took to their boats and abandoned her, when she was taken possession of by the frigate, and secured. The chase was continued after the dows themselves, but without success, owing to the detention here occasioned, and their own superior sailing; though it is said that the Nereid sunk one of them by a broadside.

Only three days after this, the East India Company's cruiser Nautilus, of fourteen guns, commanded by Lieut. Bennet, was proceeding up the Gulf with dispatches, and on passing the island of Anjar, on the south side of Kishma, near the Persian shore, was attacked by a squadron of these pirates, consisting of a bughala, a dow, and two trankies; the two former mounting great guns, the others having oars as well as sails, but being all full of armed men. The attack was made in the most skilful and regular manner, the two larger vessels bearing down on the starboard-bow, and the smaller ones on the quarter. As Lieut. Bennet had received the same positive orders as his brother officers, not to commence an attack until fired on, he reserved his guns until they were so close to him that their dancing and brandishing of spears, the attitudes with which they menace death, could be distinctly seen, and their songs and war-shouts heard. The bow-gun was then fired across their hawse, as a signal for them to desist, and the British colours were displayed. This being disregarded, it was followed by a second shot, which had no more effect. A moment's consultation was then held by the officers, when it was thought a want of regard to their own safety to use further forbearance, and a broadside was instantly discharged among them all.

An action now commenced between the Nautilus and the two largest of the boats, mounting cannon, and continued for nearly an hour; the trankies lying on their oars during the contest to await its result, and seize the first favourable moment

to board. As the superiority on the part of the cruiser became more decidedly apparent, these, however, fled, and were soon followed by the others, the whole of whom the Nautilus pursued, and fired on during the chase as long as her shot would tell. In this action, the English boatswain was killed, and Lieutenant Tanner slightly wounded; but the destruction in the boats was thought to have been considerable.

These repeated aggressions at length opened the eyes of the Bombay Government to the weakness of their own forbearance, and the public voice seemed to call for some stroke of revenge on the injuries and insults that had for so many years been offered to the British flag, and to those who sailed under its protection. An expedition was accordingly assembled at Bombay, consisting of European and Indian troops, and ships of war, both from the Navy and the East India Company's Marine, as well as transports for the service of the whole. The naval force consisted of La Chiffone frigate, Captain Wainwright, as Commodore of the squadron; his Majesty's ship Caroline, of thirty-eight guns, Captain Gordon; and eight of the East India Company's cruisers, namely, the Mornington, Ternate, Aurora, Prince of Wales, Ariel, Nautilus, Vestal, and Fury, with four large transports, and the Stromboli bomb-ketch. The military force was composed of the 65th regiment of foot, a detachment of the 47th, a detachment of the Bombay artillery, forming altogether about a thousand men, and about a thousand native troops, or sipahees, all under the command of Colonel Smith of the 65th.

The fleet sailed from Bombay in the month of September, and the first incident of the voyage was certainly an inauspicious one, for when scarcely clear of the harbour's mouth, the bottom of the Stromboli fell out, and the vessel sunk in an instant; drowning Lieutenant Sealy of the Artillery, and Lieutenant Taylor of the Marine, who were on board, as well as a great portion of her crew. This vessel, it seems, however, was one of the most unfit that could be selected for the service she was destined to perform.

At a period long previous to this, she had been condemned as unfit for service, and lay for nearly three years moored off the entrance to Tannah river, or the strait which separates the Island of Salsette from the Mahratta coast, as a floating battery. From thence she had been removed to the lower part of Bombay harbour, and moored at the Sunken rock as a buoy. Yet, on the fitting out of this expedition for the Persian Gulf, she was thought fit not merely to cross the Arabian Sea, but to be deeply laden with bombs and shells, the heaviest and most difficult cargo to be borne by any vessel, and requiring a frame of more than ordinary strength to support. The consequence of this injudicious, not to say blind and ignorant selection, was the loss of the only bomb-vessel, in a fleet destined for bombarding, with the lives of two valuable officers, and a portion of the crew on board her.

The voyage was still continued, and after a long passage the expedition reached Muscat, where it remained for many days to refresh and arrange their future plans; giving thus, at the same time, sufficient advice of their approach to their enemies, and ample time for them to prepare for their reception. The fleet at length sailed, and soon after reached Ras-el-Khyma, the chief port of the pirates within the Gulf. Here the squadron anchored abreast of the town, and the troops were landed under cover of the ships and boats. The inhabitants of the town assembled in crowds to repel their invaders; but the firm line, the regular volleys, and the steady charge of the troops at the point of the bayonet, overcame every obstacle, and multiplied the heaps of the slain. A general conflagration was then ordered, and a general plunder permitted to the troops. The town was set on fire in all parts, and about sixty sail of boats and dows, with the Minerva, a ship which they had taken from the English, then lying in the roads, were all burnt and destroyed.

The complete conquest of the place was thus effected with very trifling loss on the part of the besiegers, and some plunder

collected; though it was thought that most of the treasure and valuables which they possessed had been removed into the interior on the first news of their enemies approach. A journal of the second-mate of the Minerva, up to the day before the siege, was said to have been found, but he himself was not heard of; so that he was conjectured to have been killed on the first hostile steps of his countrymen.

This career of victory was, however, suddenly damped by the report of the approach of a large body of troops from the interior, and though none of these were seen, this ideal reinforcement seemed to have struck a panic on the leaders of the invading party. A general order was issued for the plunder to cease, and the troops were instantly recalled and reimbarked. This they did with some precipitation, and were fired at during their retreat by the yet unsubdued inhabitants, who had rallied to bid a second defiance, or to claim a victory over those who had thus hastily withdrawn.

The embarkation took place at daylight in the morning; and while the fleet remained at anchor during the whole of the day, parties were still seen assembling on the shore, displaying their colours, brandishing their swords and spears, and discharging their muskets from all points; so that the conquest was scarcely as complete as could be wished, since no formal act of submission had yet been shown. The officers of the expedition are themselves said to have regretted that their work was to be abandoned so prematurely; but whether the report of the reinforcements expected from the interior, or the temporizing and lukewarm instructions of the Bombay Government, guided the measures of the leaders in their retreat, is not accurately known.

From Ras-el-Khyma the expedition proceeded to Linga, a small port of the Joassamees, on the opposite side of the Gulf, on the Persian coast, and a little to the eastward of the eastern end of the Island of Kishma. From this place the inhabitants fled into the mountains on the approach of the vessels, taking all

their moveables with them. The town was, therefore, taken possession of without resistance, and burned to the ground, and such boats as were found there were also destroyed.

The force had now become separated, the greater portion of the troops being sent to Muscat for supplies, or being deemed unnecessary, and some of the vessels sent on separate services of blockading passages, &c. The remaining portion of the expedition, consisting of La Chiffone frigate, and four of the cruisers, the Mornington, Ternate, Nautilus, and Fury, and two transports, with about five hundred troops, chiefly British, proceeded from Linga to Luft, another port of the Joassamees, on the northern side of the Island of Kishma. As the channel here was narrow and difficult of approach, the ships were warped into their stations of anchorage, and a summons was sent on shore, as the people had not here abandoned their town, but were found at their posts of defence, in a large and strong castle, with many batteries, redoubts, &c. well defended by nature and strengthened by art. The summons being treated with disdain, the troops were landed with Colonel Smith at their head; and while forming on the beach, a slight skirmish took place with such of the inhabitants as fled for shelter to the castle. The troops then advanced towards the fortress, which is described to have had walls fourteen feet thick, pierced with loop-holes, and only one entrance through a small gate, well cased with iron bars and bolts, in the strongest manner. With a howitzer, taken for the occasion, it was intended to have blown this gate open, and to have taken the place by storm; but on reaching it, while the ranks opened, and the men sought to surround the castle to seek for some other entrance at the same time, they were picked off so rapidly and unexpectedly from the loop-holes above, that a general flight took place, the howitzer was abandoned, even before it had been fired, and both the officers and the troops sought shelter by lying down behind the ridges of sand and little hillocks immediately underneath the castle walls.

An Irish officer, jumping up from his hiding-place, and calling on some of his comrades to follow him in an attempt to rescue the howitzer, was killed in the enterprise. Such others as even raised their heads to look around them, were picked off by the musketry from above; and the whole of the troops lay therefore hidden in this way, until the darkness of the night favoured their escape to the beach, where they embarked after sun-set, the enemy having made no sally on them from the fort. A message was then conveyed by some means to the chief in the castle, giving him a second summons to submit, and fixing on two hours after midnight for the period of evacuation, which if not complied with, the ships, it was threatened, would bombard the castle from a nearer anchorage, and no quarter be afterwards shown. With the dawn of morning, all eyes were directed to the fortress, when, to the surprise of the whole squadron, a man was seen waving the British Union flag on the summit of its walls. Lieutenant Hall, who had commanded the Stromboli bomb vessel at the time of her sinking, and was saved by swimming, now commanded the Fury, which was one of the vessels nearest to the shore. During the night he had gone on shore alone, taking an union-jack in his hand, and advanced singly to the castle-gate. The fortress had already been abandoned by the greater number of the inhabitants, but some few still remained there. These, however, fled at the approach of an individual, either from deeming all further resistance unavailing, or from supposing, probably, that no one would come singly, but as a herald to others immediately following for his support. Be this as it may, the castle was entirely abandoned, and the British flag waved on its walls by this daring officer, to the surprise and admiration of all the fleet. The town and fortifications were then taken possession of; and as this was a settlement which had been taken by the Joassamees from the Imaum of Muscat, it was delivered over, with all that it contained, to such of the Imaum's people as accompanied the expedition in their boats.

From Luft the forces proceeded to Magoo, a small port to the eastward, on the Persian shore, between Cape Certes and Cape Bestion, and from thence to Shargey, Geziret-el-Hammara, and Rumms, three small towns on the opposite coast, near to Ras-el-Khyma, where nothing was effected but the destruction of such boats as were found at each of them; this being the extent of the orders of the Bombay Government, as it would seem, to the leaders of the expedition.

When the bottom of the Gulf had been thus swept round, the expedition returned to Muscat, where they rejoined the detached forces under the Caroline frigate, and remained some days at this rendezvous to refresh and repose.

On the sailing of the fleet from hence, the forces were augmented by a body of troops belonging to the Imaum, destined to assist in the recovery of a place called Shenaz, on the coast, about midway between Muscat and Cape Mussumdom, taken from him by the Joassamees. On their arrival at this place, a summons was sent, commanding the fort to surrender, which being refused, a bombardment was opened from the ships and boats, but without producing much effect. On the following morning, the whole of the troops were landed, and a regular encampment formed on the shore, with sand-batteries, and other necessary works for a siege. After several days bombardment, in which about four thousand shot and shells were discharged against the fortress, to which the people had all fled for refuge after burning down their own town, a breach was reported to be practicable, and the castle was accordingly stormed. The resistance made was still desperate; the Arabs fighting as long as they could wield the sword, and even thrusting their spears up through the fragments of towers, in whose ruins they remained irrecoverably buried. The loss in killed and wounded among them was thought to be upwards of a thousand men.

The fort of Shenaz was then delivered up to the troops of the Imaum of Muscat; but this being a place which afforded no shelter

to boats, none were found here. The object of the expedition was now thought to be sufficiently effected, and the troops and transports were sent from hence to Bombay, though the frigates and the cruisers again repaired to the Gulf, where they remained for several months before they finally dispersed.

Notwithstanding that the object of this expedition against the Joassamees might be said to be incomplete, inasmuch as nothing less than a *total* extirpation of their race could secure the tranquillity of these seas, yet the effect produced by this expedition was such, as to make them reverence or dread the British flag for several years afterwards.

Not long after the termination of this expedition against the Joassamees, a messenger was deputed by them to settle some disputed affair, and to conclude a treaty with the English, through Mr. Bruce, their agent at Bushire. This was effected on terms which promised a perpetual respect to the British flag, and was closed with all the professions of mutual and eternal friendship which characterize treaties of a higher order among European as well as Asiatic nations ; where, as in this, the friendship professed is neither felt nor meant, and where an intention always exists of breaking the eternal pledge of union the moment it is convenient and profitable so to do.

On the return of the Deputy to Ras-el-Khyma, he was asked by the chief and the heads of the people how he had succeeded in his mission. He replied, " admirably," under the full expectation of applause for his conduct in the negotiation, as he said he had now the satisfaction to assure them that he had made the Joassamees on a perfect footing of equality with the English themselves, and that in all their relations to each other they were henceforth to be considered on a level. Some fanatic hearer of the assembly, giving an interpretation to this assertion, which was seemingly not meant by the maker of it, insisted that the faithful followers of the Prophet, and the only remnant of the worshippers of the true God left on the earth, had been dishonoured by such

an association as that of an equality with infidels and strangers to the Word, and that the promulgator of such disgrace ought therefore to receive the punishment due to his crime. The spark once kindled, the flame of holy pride soon blazed more ardently, and, quickened by zeal, raged at length with ungovernable fury in every breast. The obnoxious ambassador was first disgraced and rendered contemptible, by having his beard plucked out by the roots, and his face smeared with human excrement; when, in this state, he was placed on an ass, with his face towards its tail, and thus driven by the women and children round the town, as an object of derision to all beholders.*

Several minor incidents of ambiguous interpretation gradually

* When the messengers of David were sent from Jerusalem unto Hanun, the King of the Ammonites, at his capital beyond the Jordan, to offer him condolence for the loss of his father Nahash, these were suspected by the Ammonitish courtiers to be spies; on which occasion, the punishment inflicted on them was that of having one-half of their beards shaved off, and their garments "docked even to their buttocks," as the Scripture phrase is, when they were sent away. This loss of the beard was thought to be of so much importance, that David, when he heard of it, sent to meet them, because the men were greatly ashamed; and the King said, "Tarry at Jericho until your beards be grown, and then return."—2 Sam. c. x. verse 1—6.

It was one of the most infamous punishments of cowardice in Sparta, to cause those who turned their backs in the day of battle, to appear abroad with one-half of their beards shaved, and the other half unshaved.—*Burder's Illustrations*, vol. i p. 72.

D'Arvieux mentions an instance of an Arab who, having received a wound in his jaw, chose to hazard his life rather than suffer his beard to be taken off to facilitate the cure.—*Ibid.*

These instances show the antiquity of the punishment, and the degree of disgrace which it is supposed to imply. Though these refer to *shaving*, cases are mentioned of *plucking* off the hair, which must have been equally infamous, and more painful. Nehemiah inflicted this punishment on certain Jews, who, as he says, had married wives of Ashdod, of Ammon, and of Moab, and like Solomon, the beloved of God, and unequalled among the kings of the earth, had been led by these outlandish women into sin.—*Nehemiah*, c. xiii. v. 25, 26.

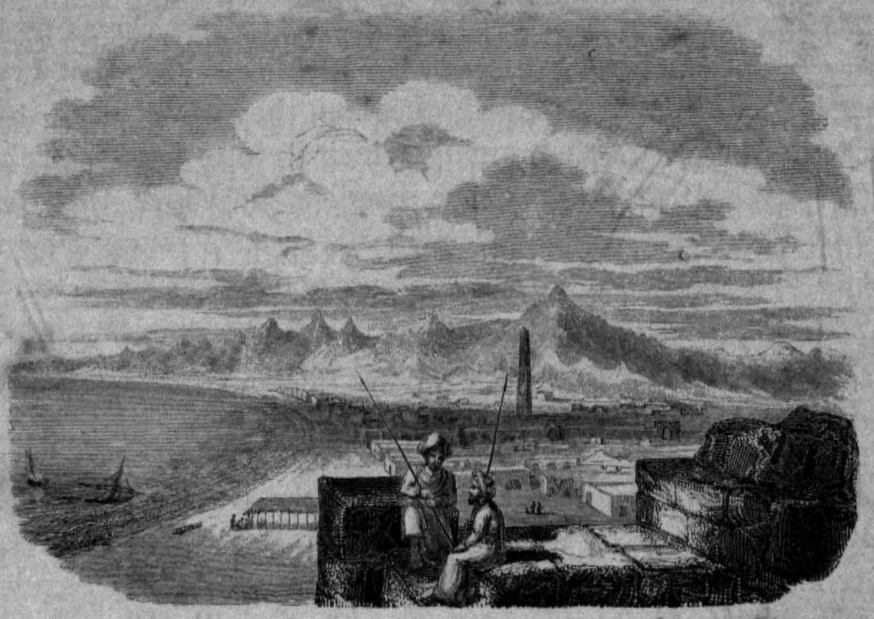
As a refinement of this cruelty, they sometimes put hot ashes on the skin, after they had torn off the hair, to make the pain more exquisite. Thus they served adulterers at Athens, as is observed by the Scholiast on Aristophanes in Nubibus. This kind of punishment was common in Persia. King Artaxerxes, says Plutarch in his Apothegms, instead of *plucking* off the hair of such of his generals as had been guilty of a fault, obliged them to lay aside the tiara. The Emperor Domitian caused the hair and beard of the philosopher Apollonius to be shaved. —*Philostratus*, lib. iii. c. 24.

occurred, to excite a suspicion of the growing pride and power of the Joassamee pirates; and some disputes had taken place between their boats and the cruisers of the Bombay Marine, as to the legality of their capturing Arab vessels under their convoy. A case at length appeared, which left no further doubt of their renewed hostile intentions, and of their desire of revenge having kept pace with their growing strength. In 1815, their boats began to infest the entrance to the Red Sea; and in 1816, their numbers had so encreased on that coast, that a squadron of them, commanded by one of their chiefs, called Ameer Ibrahim, captured, within sight of Mocha, four vessels, bound from Surat to that port, richly laden, navigating under the British flag, sailing under British passports, and being subject to British laws. The crews of these were massacred, according to their usual custom, and only a few individuals escaped to tell their story.

Some months had indeed elapsed before the details of this affair were accurately known; but on their becoming so, a squadron was assembled at Bombay, consisting of his Majesty's sloop Challenger, of eighteen guns, and the East India Company's cruisers, Mercury, of fourteen guns, and Vestal, of twelve guns, to sail to the Persian Gulf. By these, a dispatch was forwarded to Mr. Bruce, the Resident at Bushire, instructing him to remonstrate with, and to make certain demands from the chief at Ras-el-Khyma. The squadron left Bombay in the early part of September, and after a long and disastrous voyage, in which the Mercury lost her mainmast at sea, the Challenger reached Bushire in November, and the other vessels in a few days afterwards. In the mean time, the Ariel, which had touched here on her way down from Bussorah, had been dispatched to Ras-el-Khyma with a first letter from Mr. Bruce, enquiring into the circumstances of the capture alluded to, and reproaching them with a breach of faith in their departure from the terms of the treaty made by them to the British flag. The answer returned to this by the Ariel was, first, a flat denial of the capture of any vessels of any description

in the Red Sea about the time specified; and next, a declaration of total ignorance of the fact assumed regarding the ships from Surat. This denial was followed up with the remark, that even if they had captured the vessels in question, they would have strictly observed the terms of their treaty, which were to keep peace with, and respect the property of the English, by which they meant those of the "sect of Jesus" only; never once renouncing their right to destroy all idolatrous Indians, and to extirpate from the face of the earth all the worshippers of false gods.

This was just the state of things at the present moment; and it was therefore determined that Mr. Bruce and Mr. Taylor, with their writers and interpreters, should go down to Ras-el-Khyma to make the formal requisitions ordered by the Government; and the whole of the squadron were to proceed together, to give respectability and influence to the mission. The terms of the requisition pointed out by the Government were these:—To demand a restitution of the Surat vessels and their cargoes, or the amount of their value in money, which was fixed at twelve lacks of rupees; to deliver up Ameer Ibrahim, the commander of the Joassamee squadron at the time of the capture, for punishment; and to place two persons of distinction in the hands of the British, as hostages for their future good behaviour. In the event of complying with these terms, the past, it was understood, would be at least pardoned, if not forgotten; and, with the same mistaken lenity, it was simply said, that if the terms were rejected, the squadron, on leaving the port, were to signify to the chief, that he might expect the displeasure of the British Government to be visited on his contempt of their flag.



CHAPTER XXIV.

VOYAGE FROM BUSHIRE DOWN THE PERSIAN GULF.—RUINS OF ORMUZ.

Nov. 18th.—It was on the morning of the 18th of November that we all embarked on board the Mercury, when the squadron made sail from the inner roads of Bushire, with a light north-east air; but it falling calm, we brought up again in the outer roads, where we remained at anchor during the remainder of the day, and weighed again after sunset, as the land breeze sprung up.

Nov. 19th.—The wind still continued light, but the weather was most agreeable, and our occupations such as were favourable both to health and pleasure, as the most perfect unanimity prevailed throughout our crowded party. Our place at noon was

in lat. 28° 24′ north, and long. 50° 40′ east, with the distant mountains of the Persian coast in sight, and our depth of water twenty-seven fathoms.

In the afternoon we witnessed an eclipse of the sun, in which more than three-fourths of its disk were darkened, and the effect during a perfect calm was singularly impressive. The appearance was that of a bright moonlight; but though the sky was quite cloudless, no stars were to be seen, and the universal stillness that reigned around gave something of awfulness to the scene. At sun-set we had Cape Berdistan on the Persian shore, erroneously called Cape Kenn in Arrowsmith's chart, bearing south-east by east, several leagues distant, and were still in twenty-seven fathoms water.

Between Bushire and Cape Berdistan lies Khore Zeana, which, from its relative position between these projecting points, corresponds accurately enough with the Hieratis of Arrian, which is placed seven hundred and fifty stadia from Sitakus, and where, the historian says, 'Nearchus anchored in a cut which is derived from the river to the sea, and is called Hartimis.'* It would be deemed presumptuous to say that no such place as Gilla exists hereabouts; though, from its being fixed on as the site of this anchorage of the Macedonian fleet, I had been careful in my enquiries after it, and had yet met with no one who knew a place of such a name. The names of Kierazin, Zezane, &c. as derivations from Kauzeroon, were all equally unknown to the pilots and fishermen, whom we consulted; and made me almost regret that so much etymological criticism had been exercised on a nonentity, for the sake of reconciling only seeming differences of name. Zeara, which is the name of the creek, is quite as near to Hieratis as Gilla, and needs no torturing to make it appear so. It is the same which is called Khore-Esseri by Niebuhr; though not, as Dr. Vincent thought, the Koucher of Thevenot,—that being, I think, more likely to correspond with the Khueer above, as want-

* Voyage of Nearchus, c. 39.

ing only the German pronunciation of the *ch*, to make it the same name. Sir Harford Jones's conjecture that Khore-Esseri means Khore-el-Zigeer, or the Little Khore, is another unhappy attempt to display an acquaintance with Arabic etymology. Such labour would have been better applied in correcting the orthography of the stations between Hilleh and Bagdad, given in another part of the work; where there are names whose import could not have been understood, and a sight of which is sufficient to destroy all the writer's credit as an Orientalist. Dr. Vincent displayed more judgment in observing that Khore-Esseri was literally the channel of Esseri; though, he adds, that Esser doubtless has a relative sense. Zeara is the pronunciation of the pilots, and this is near enough to Esseri to suppose it to be the same; but I could learn no relative meaning that this possessed.

Tangeseer may possibly be the town called Gilla in the English charts, and thought to derive its name from Halilah. This appellation is given by the people of the country to the range of hills lying at the back of the plain on the sea-shore here, and going nearly north and south from just above Berdistan to below Bushire. The high peaked hill, called Halilah by us, is known to the pilots by the name of Koormoutche, and immediately follows the northern extreme of the Halilah range.

The Khore Khueer which remains, is close to the foot of the peninsula of Bushire, and is small, and seldom frequented, from its vicinity to this port. This may perhaps be the Koucher of Thevenot, which is however doubtful; but it is certainly not the Padargus of Arrian, the next station of Nearchus beyond Hieratis; for the historian expressly says:—'In this passage they had followed the winding of the coast round a peninsula, (on which they saw plantations and gardens, with all kinds of fruit-trees,) and anchored at a place called Mesambria.'* This, therefore, could be only descriptive of the peninsula of Bushire, to the northward of which this station is to be sought for.

Nov. 20th.—The night had been dark and heavy, and just be-

* Voyage of Nearchus, c. 39.

fore daylight a tremendous squall, accompanied with thunder, lightning, and rain, burst upon us from the north-west, and blew for some time with irresistible fury. The ships of the squadron were reduced to the topsails on the cap, and yet felt the fury of the blast, though flying right before it. When it broke at sunrise, the wind settled into a steady breeze from the north-east, and the violence of the change in the weather was considered as an effect of the eclipse of the preceding day. In the course of the morning two ships passed us in-shore, on their way to Bushire; but though the Vestal chased them and displayed signals, no communication could be effected.

At noon, the ship's place was in latitude 27°. 30′. north, and longitude 50°. 50′. east, with the Hummocks of Khan, north-east half north, in thirty-five fathoms, the winds light and variable through the afternoon, and our water gradually deepening to thirty-nine fathoms at midnight.

The low woody land beneath the mountains of Khan, in sight of which we now were, is called by the natives Umm-el-Goorm, which last word was interpreted by the Indian name of jungle, meaning, a thick brush-wood, or what would be called in England, a wilderness, and in America, 'uncleared land.' We were assured also, that near this Umm-el-Goorm, at the foot of the mountains of Khan, was a small khore or creek for boats, retaining the name of the place itself, though the people knew of no town existing there now, or of any ruins of an old one.

This creek corresponds accurately enough with the Sitâkus of Arrian, who might easily have given the name of a river to an arm of salt water, long and narrow, and affording shelter to vessels; as in India, among our own countrymen even at the present hour, the arm of the sea which separates Salsette from the Mahratta territory, is called the Bassein and Tannah river, though it is connected both at its entrance and exit, or source and mouth, (if it may be so said,) with the ocean. As no town is mentioned by the historian, no one is to be sought for now; but there is great probability that the broad valley which we saw going up from the sea-

side into the interior, is one of the passes leading through the mountains to Firouzabad.

This city lay at the distance of a degree and a half only from the coast at Berdistan; and as Nearchus, during his stay here of twenty-one days, to refit, received supplies of corn, which were sent down to him by Alexander, it has been conjectured, with great probability, that the division of the Macedonian army under Hephestion, was halting here at Firouzabad, while Alexander was yet to the eastward beyond the mountains, and that it was from the stores of Hephestion's division that the supplies came. It has been thought that a river called Sita Reghian, descended from hence to the sea, and the name of Sitakus was conceived to be perceptible in this; but all my enquiries after such a stream led to no confirmation of its existence. It is certain that there was water in the neighbourhood of Firouzabad; but even this seems to have been artificially conducted hither from the mountains, and to have been afterwards exhausted in cultivation before it reached the sea.

In some loose extracts and notes now before me, and made for my journey through Persia, I find the following confirmations of this fact. "During the reign of Firouz, there was a great famine, in which, however, from his precautions, only one subject died of hunger at Arderschir." This city, says De Sacy, in a note on the passage above, from Mirkhond, is no doubt the same that the Persian geographer calls Arderschir Khoureh, and which was afterwards called Firouzabad. It is placed by Eastern writers in the third climate, and one of the most remarkable objects it contained was, according to them, a lofty edifice in the centre, for a pure air, which building was called Ivan. Around the place was a large platform, and water was conducted there from the mountains. When Alexander conquered Persia, he could not master this place, say they, from the difficulty of getting at it; but turning the waters of the brook Khanikan from their course, he laid the edifice under water, and made the whole town a lake. Ardeschir

employed an artist to drain the place, who dug a subterraneous canal, and when he opened it, was himself chained round the middle for safety, but was borne away by the strength of the current. The passage itself then fell into ruins. Ardeschir subsequently built on the same place the city of Ardeschir Khoureh, which was afterwards repaired by Adhad-el-Dowla, a Dilemite prince, who called it Firouzabad. Here the same writers assure us that all the water which was used for drinking was procured from the brook of Khanikan, since called Beraveh, or Bezazeh, and that the air of the place was bad and corrupt.

Notwithstanding these defects, however, this capital of the district of Ardeschir was celebrated, as Dr. Vincent observes, for its gardens, its vineyards, and its roses, as pre-eminent in Persia, as those of Pæstum in Italy; and Eastern geographers, while they praise the inhabitants as being a sensible and honest race, do not omit to mention, that there was finer rose-water made here than in any part of the other provinces of the kingdom.*

The ruins of this city are still very considerable, according to the reports given by a native of Fasa to Mr. Morier, and by him, the Atesh Gau, or chief fire-temple of the Guebres, is placed in a cave at Firouzabad. Col. Kinnier, however, who seems to speak from personal observation, makes the Atesh Kudda, or fire-temple of Firoze Shah, to be a building with three *immense* domes, and three small apartments before and behind, arched with small rough stones, and cemented with lime. This, I should think, was much more likely to be the remains of the lofty edifice of Ivan, which was reared in the centre of the city for catching a pure air; and the style of a building with three immense domes would be more suited to such a purpose than to a fire-temple.

I remember a similar error of Captain Lockett, who is said to have pronounced the Birs, or Tower of Belus at Babylon, to have been a fire-temple also. It is well known, however, that caves and elevated places, on the tops of mountains, were frequently chosen by the fire-worshippers for their devotions; and

* De Sacy, Mémoires, p. 346.