



**M A T E R I A L S**

**FOR A HISTORY OF**

**T H E    W A H A B Y S .**

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INTRODUCTION.

RESPECTING the Wahábys, various contradictory and erroneous statements have been given in the few accounts hitherto published. Some anecdotes of those remarkable sectaries, collected from the best sources of information to which I could obtain access in the East, may prove interesting to many readers. I must, however, regret, that during my residence in Hedjáz this country was, on account of the war with Mohammed Aly, closed against the people of Nedjd, who, above all others, were qualified to give faithful and accurate details of the Wahábys; while those Bedouins of the common classes, who had adopted the new faith, were, in general, wholly ignorant of its true import and doctrines.

The religion and government of the Wahábys may be very briefly defined, as a Muselmán puritanism, and a Bedouin government, in which the great chief is both the political and

religious leader of the nation, exercising his authority in the same manner as the followers of Mohammed did over his converted countrymen. The founder of this sect is already known : a learned Arabian, named *Abd el Waháb*, who had visited various schools of the principal cities in the East (as is much the practice with his countrymen even now), being convinced by what he had observed during his travels, that the primitive faith of *Islám*, or Mohammedism, had become totally corrupted, and obscured by abuses, and that the far greater part of the people of the East, and especially the Turks, might be justly regarded as heretics.

But new doctrines and opinions are as little acceptable in the East as they are in the West ; and no attention was paid to *Abd el Waháb* until, after long wanderings in Arabia, he retired with his family to Derayah, at the period when Mohammed Ibn Saoud was the principal person of the town. This man became his first convert, and soon after married his daughter. These two families, therefore, must not be mistaken for each other. *Abd el Waháb*, the founder of the sect, was, by birth, of the tribe of *Temym*, and of the clan called *El Wahábe*. The *Beni Temym* are, for the greater part, husbandmen in Nedjd ; their principal place of abode is at *El Howta*, a village five days' journey from Derayah, southerly, in the direction of *Wady Dowasyr*, and the birth-place of *Abd el Waháb*. Another colony of the *Temym* inhabit the town of *Keffár*, in the province of *Djebel Shammar*, and are the descendants of families who fled from *Howta*, in order to escape the consequences of the blood-revenge. A third colony are husbandmen, under the jurisdiction of the Pasha of *Baghdad*, in the villages between *Helle* and *Mashed Aly*. The *Beni Temym* are noted for their lofty stature, broad heads, and thick beards ; characteristics which distinguish them from other Bedouins.

But the family of *Saoud*, the political founder of the *Waháby* government, is of the tribe of *Messálykh*, a branch of the *Wold*

Aly, and therefore belonging to the Aeneze. The clan of the Messálykh, called Mokren (مُكْرِن) or, as the Bedouins also pronounce it, *Medjren*, to which Saoud belonged, had settled at Derayeh, and acquired influence there; and it was to them that Abd el Waháb addressed himself. Mohammed Ibn Saoud was the first who assumed the title of *Emír*; but his force was then so small, that in his first skirmish with some enemies, as it is related, he had only seven camel-riders with him.

To trace the history of this sect, is to record facts similar to those which are daily occurring in the Desert. A tribe is fortunate, rises into power, takes booty, and extends its influence over its neighbours. By unwearied exertions and efforts, Abd el Azyz and Ibn Saoud, the son and grandson of the first leader, Mohammed, succeeded in carrying their arms to the remotest corners of Arabia; and while they propagated their religious tenets, they established a supremacy of power conformably with these tenets, which taught the Arabs to acknowledge a spiritual and temporal leader in the same person, as they had done on the first promulgation of Islám. I shall resume their history, though I am unable to give with accuracy very few dates prior to the campaign of Mohammed Aly. But it seems necessary to begin by explaining the principles upon which the religion and government were founded.

The doctrines of Abd el Waháb were not those of a new religion; his efforts were directed only to reform abuses in the followers of Islám, and to disseminate the pure faith among Bedouins; who, although nominally Muselmáns, were equally ignorant of religion, as indifferent about all the duties which it prescribed. As generally has been the case with reformers, he was misunderstood both by his friends and his enemies. The latter, hearing of a new sect, which accused the Turks of heresy, and held their prophet, Mohammed, in much less veneration than

they did, were easily persuaded that a new creed was professed, and that the Wahábys were consequently not merely heretics, but *káfirs*, or infidels. They were the more confirmed in this belief, first by the artifices of the Sherif Gháleb of Mekka, and secondly, by the alarm raised among all the neighbouring Pashas. The Sherif of Mekka, who had always been a determined enemy of the growing Waháby power, had an interest in widening the breach between the new sectaries and the Turkish empire, and therefore artfully and unremittingly spread reports of the Wahábys being really infidels, in order to render abortive all attempts at negotiation with them. The Pashas of Baghdad, Damascus, and Cairo, who were nearest to the dreaded Bedouins, were no less eager in representing under the blackest colours, the designs of these enemies of the Turkish abuses, and as they consequently inferred, of the Turkish faith. They had either to conduct, or to send an escort with the pilgrim caravans to the holy cities, and it became their interest to magnify the dangers on the road, in order to be excused if any accident should befall the caravan, or to be justified in keeping it back, which they secretly wished to do, as the departure of the caravans subjects all these Pashas to very great expenses. Added to this, were the reports of many hadjys or pilgrims who had gone by sea to Djidda and Mekka, and had suffered from the insolence of the Waháby soldiers, and in some instances were not permitted to perform the pilgrimage. Upon their return, they exaggerated their sufferings, and a description of the Wahábys could not, certainly, be given by them with impartiality. We need not, therefore, be surprised if it became generally believed throughout the East, that the Wahábys were endeavouring to establish an entirely new religion, and that they treated all Turks with increased cruelty because they were Muselmáns—a belief which the conduct of the great body of the Wahábys themselves was not calculated to invalidate. These were Bedouins

who, before they knew Wahábyism, had been almost wholly ignorant of Islám, and whose notions of it now were very imperfect. The new doctrines were therefore likely to appear to them as a new religion, and espécially so, when they learned the different customs and tenets of the Turkish hadjys, and the Arabian inhabitants of towns, and compared them with their own. The spirit of fanaticism which their chief fostered by all the means in his power, did not permit them to draw nice distinctions in a matter about which they had themselves very imperfect notions; and this satisfactorily explains, how it happened that they accused the Turks of being infidels, and were in their turn treated by the latter as such. The few intelligent Syrians or Egyptians, who, having been on the pilgrimage, had found opportunities to converse with the well-informed sectaries, might probably be convinced that the Bedouin creed was that of Islam; and although the opinions of both parties might not agree in all points, yet they felt the injustice of calling the Wahábys infidels. But the testimony of such persons, if they ever dared to give it, without exposing themselves to the charge of being bad Muselmáns, was unavailing in the general outcry; and especially after the year 1803, when the hadj caravans were finally interrupted, an opinion prevailed generally, that the Wahabys were determined enemies of the Muselmán religion. In two short treatises on the Wahabys, written at Baghdad and Aleppo, about 1808,\* by M. Rousseau, it is positively asserted, that the Wahabys have a new religion, and that although they acknowledge the Koran, yet they have entirely abolished the pilgrimage to Mekka. This was certainly the vulgar opinion about that time at Aleppo; but more accurate information might have easily been obtained from intelligent pil-

\* The first is the "Description of the Pashalick of Baghdad," the other a Memoir in the "*Mines de l'Orient*."

grims and Bedouins even in that town ; and it is surprising that it should not, as the author was professedly giving a description of the Wahábys, and as he states that he derived part of his information " du Chapelain de Saoud," implying an office in the court of Derayeh, respecting the nature of which I am not able to form any exact notion.

Since the army of Mohammed Aly established itself in Hedjaz, and the intrigues of Sherif Gháleb became no longer of any avail, direct communications too having been opened with the Waháby chiefs as well as with the inferior leaders, and the pilgrim-caravans having resumed their ancient route, the real character of the Wahábys is better known, even in the distant parts of the Turkish dominions ; and the gratitude which the people of Mekka express towards their temporary masters, is likely to impress with the most favourable ideas, every pilgrim who there inquires after the new sect.

If farther proof were required that the Wahabys are very orthodox Muselmáns, their catechism would furnish it. When Saoud took possession of Mekka, he distributed copies of this catechism among the inhabitants, and ordered that the pupils in public schools should learn it by heart. Its contents are nothing more than what the most orthodox Turk must admit to be true. Saoud entertained an absurd notion, that the town's-people were brought up in entire ignorance of their religion, and therefore wished to instruct those of Mekka in its first principles. Nothing, however, was contained in this catechism which the Mekkans had not already learned ; and when Saoud found that they were better informed than his own people, he desisted from further disseminating it among them.

The chief doctrines of the Wahabys, it will be seen, correspond with those taught in other parts of the Muselman empire. The Koran and the traditions of Mohammed (*Sunne*) are acknowledged

as fundamental, comprising the laws ; and the opinions of the best commentators on the Koran are respected, although not implicitly followed. In the attempt, however, to exhibit the primitive practices and pure dogmas of the original founder of Islám and of his first followers, as established upon these laws, they were naturally led to condemn a number of false opinions and corruptions which had crept into Islám as at this day taught, and also to point out the numerous cases in which Turks acted in direct opposition to the precepts they themselves acknowledged to be indispensable. I am not qualified by a sufficient knowledge of the controversy, to present my reader with full details on this head, and shall therefore confine myself to the notice of a few instances, which are considered as the chief points of dispute between the two parties: the Wahábys reproach the Turks with honouring the prophet, in a manner which approaches adoration, and with doing the same also to the memory of many saints. In this they seem not to be much mistaken. By once admitting the Koran as their revealed law, the Turks were obliged to believe implicitly the numerous passages wherein it is expressly declared that Mohammed is a mortal like themselves: but the fanatic love for their prophet could not be content with this modest declaration ; their learned men proved with sophistical subtlety that the prophet, although dead and buried, had not shared the common lot of mortals, but was still alive ; that his access to the Almighty, and his being dearly beloved by him, rendered it easy for him to protect or recommend any of his faithful adherents. Though Turks never address any distinct prayers to their prophet, yet they pronounce his name, as if to invoke him, in the same manner as we say "O Lord !" and this was enough to draw upon them the severe reprehension of the Wahabys. They moreover visited his tomb, with the same devotion as they do the great temple of Mekka, and, when standing before it, uttered aloud their

impious invocations, as the Wahabys called them ; so that they fully deserved the opprobrious appellation of infidels, who associate an inferior divinity with the Almighty.

In similar respect are held many sheikhs, or saints, but not to the same extent. In every Turkish town are many tombs ; and in almost every village at least one tomb of some renowned saint, whose exemplary life, (that is, great cunning or hypocrisy,) and sometimes great learning, had procured for him the reputation of sanctity. Their countrymen thought it incumbent on them to honour their memory, by erecting small buildings, with cupolas or vaulted roofs over their tombs, and in these places particularly to offer up their prayers to the Divinity, in the belief that the saint would thus be more inclined to second their supplications before the throne of the Almighty. In fact, the Mohammedan saints are venerated as highly as those of the Catholic church, and are said to perform as many miracles as the latter. The people of the East are extremely attached to their sheikhs ; and in every town and village there is annually, on a fixed day, a festival in honour of its particular patron.\* The Wahabys declared, that all men were equal in the eyes of God ; that even the most virtuous could not intercede with him ; and that it was, consequently, sinful to to invoke departed saints, and to honour their mortal remains more than those of any other persons. Wherever the Wahabys carried their arms, they destroyed all the domes and ornamented tombs ; a circumstance which served to inflame the fanaticism of their disciples, and to form a marked distinction between them and their opponents, which it has always been the policy of every founder of a sect to establish, and which was the more necessary

\* Saints were formerly as much venerated in the Desert as in the towns. The Bedouins were accustomed to kill victims in honour of a saint, and to visit his tomb in a manner not much different from the pagan sacrifices to idols.

with the common mass of the Wahabys, who are not capable of judging accurately on the other points of dispute.

The destruction of cupolas and tombs of saints became the favourite taste of the Wahabys. In Hedjaz, Yemen, Mesopotamia, and Syria, this was always the first result of their victory ; and as many domes formed the roofs of mosques, they were charged with destroying these also. At Mekka, not a single cupola was suffered to remain over the tomb of any renowned Arab : those even covering the birth-place of Mohammed, and of his grandsons, Hassan and Hosseyn, and of his uncle, Abou Táleb, and his wife, Khadydje, were all broken down. While in the act of destroying them, the Wahabys were heard to exclaim, "God have mercy upon those who destroyed, and none upon those who built them !" The Turks, who heard of these ravages, naturally believed that they were committed through disrespect for the persons to whose honour they had been erected, and disbelief in their sanctity. Even the large dome over the tomb of Mohammed, at Medinah, was destined to share a similar fate. Saoud had given orders that it should be demolished ; but its solid structure defied the rude efforts of his soldiers ; and after several of them had been killed by falling from the dome, the attempt was given up. This the inhabitants of Medinah declared to have been done through the interposition of Heaven.

The negligence of the far greater part of the Turks towards their religious laws, except what relates to prayer, purification, or fasting, was another subject against which the founder of the Wahaby sect inveighed. Alms to the poor, as enjoined by the law ; the sumptuary regulations instituted by Mohammed ; the severity and impartiality of justice, for which the first Khalifahs were so much distinguished ; the martial spirit which was enjoined by the law to be constantly upheld against the enemies of the faith, or the infidels ; the abstaining from whatever might inebriate,

unlawful commerce with women, practices contrary to nature, and various others, were so many precepts not only entirely disregarded by the modern Turks, but openly violated with impunity. The scandalous conduct of many hadjys who polluted the sacred cities with their infamous lusts; the open license which the chiefs of the caravans gave to debauchery, and all the vices which follow in the train of pride and selfishness; the numerous acts of treachery and fraud perpetrated by the Turks, were all held up by the Wahabys as specimens of the general character of unreformed Muselmáns; and presented a sad contrast to the purity of morals and manners to which they themselves aspired, and to the humility with which the pilgrim is bound to approach the holy Kaaba. Enthusiastically attached to the primitive doctrines of his religion, justly indignant at seeing those doctrines corrupted by the present Muselmáns, and feeling, perhaps, no small degree of spite at having been treated with scorn in the Turkish towns, wherever he preached against disorders, Abd el Waháb, the founder of the sect, professed nothing but a desire to bring back his adherents to that state of religion, morals, and manners, which, as he had learnt from the best historical and theological works of his nation, prevailed when Islám was first promulgated in Arabia. As this code of law was evidently framed for Bedouins, the reformers found it the more easily re-adapted to the same people; and thus showed how little the foreigners, or Turks, had sacrificed their own northern manners to the true spirit of Islam. Not a single new precept was to be found in the Wahaby code. Abd el Waháb took as his sole guide the Koran and the Sunne (or the laws formed upon the traditions of Mohammed); and the only difference between his sect and orthodox Turkís, however improperly so termed, is, that the Wahabys rigidly follow the same laws which the others neglect, or have ceased altogether to observe. To describe, therefore, the Wahaby religion, would

be to recapitulate the Muselmán faith; and to show in what points this sect differs from the Turks, would be to give a list of all the abuses of which the latter are guilty. I am strongly warranted in giving this statement, by the opinion of several of the first olemas of Cairo. In the autumn of 1815, two envoys were sent to that city by the Wahaby chief, one of whom was a perfect Wahaby scholar. Mohammed Ali Pasha wished them to give an explanation of their tenets to the principal learned men of Cairo; they, in consequence, met repeatedly; and the Wahaby had invariably the best of the controversy, because he proved every proposition by a sentence of the Koran, and the Hadyth, or Tradition, the whole of which he knew by heart, and which were of course irrefragable authority. The olemas declared, that they could find no heresy in the Wahabys; and as this was a declaration made in spite of themselves, it is the less to be suspected. A book had also been received at Cairo, containing various treatises on religious subjects, written by Abd el Wahab himself: it was read by many olemas, and they declared unanimously, that if such were the opinions of the Wahabys, they themselves belonged altogether to that creed.

As the fanatic mob of a new sect can seldom be impressed with the true spirit of its founder, it happened that the greater part of the followers of Abd el Wahab considered as chief points of doctrine such as were rather accessories, and thus caused their enemies to form very erroneous notions of the supposed new religion. Next to the war which they declared against saints, their fanaticism was principally turned against dress, and the smoking of tobacco. The rich Turkish costume is little in accordance with the precepts of the Sunne, where silk is absolutely prohibited, as well as gold and silver, except the latter, in small quantity. The Wahabys beheld the gaudy robes of the Turkish pilgrims with disdain; and as they knew that the Prophet had

worn an *abba* like them, and had prohibited sumptuous apparel, they considered 'it to be as necessary to follow his mode of dress, as his moral precepts. It was by the dress that Wahabys could be immediately recognised in Arabia. An Arab who had not embraced this creed, would assuredly have some part of his dress of silk; either the kerchief round his head would be interwoven with silk, or his gown would be sewed with silk. Respecting the smoking of tobacco, it is well known that many Turkish *olemas* have repeatedly, in their writings, declared it to be a forbidden practice. One of the four orthodox sects of the Muselmáns, the Malekys, have declared it "hateful." A great number of *olemas* in every part of Turkey abstain from it on religious principles. The Wahaby wished also to prevent the smoking of intoxicating plants, much used in the East, being directly against the Koran, but which could not well be prevented, while the pipe ~~was~~ suffered. He must, at the same time, have been aware, that his followers, in making so great a sacrifice as abstinence from smoking, would naturally become the more bitter enemies to all those who still indulged in that luxury, and had not yet embraced their creed. The prohibition of tobacco has been one of the principal means of inflaming the minds of the Wahabys against the Turks: it has become a rallying word to the proselytes; but of all the precepts taught by the reformers, it has been the most reluctantly complied with by the Arabs. Another prohibited act is praying over the rosary, a general practice with moslems, though not founded on the law. The Wahabys declared it to be an unwarrantable practice, and abolished it. It has been stated that they likewise prohibited the drinking of coffee; this, however, is not the fact, they have always used it to an immoderate degree.

It is much to be doubted whether Abd el Wahab, when he preached reform at Derayah, had any idea of establishing a new

dynasty to reign over the proselytes of Arabia. The strength of his own and of his relations' families did not 'authorise him in undertaking such a measure, which seems to have gained ground only during the life of Abd el Azyz, the son of Mohammed Ibn Saoud. In delivering his new doctrines to the Arabs, it cannot be denied that Abd el Waháb conferred on them a great blessing; nor was the form of government that ensued unfavourable to the interests and prosperity of the whole Arabian nation. Whether the commonly received doctrine considered as orthodox, or that of the Wahabys, should be pronounced the true Mohammedan religion, is, after all, a matter of little consequence; but it became important to suppress that infidel indifference which had pervaded all Arabia and a great part of Turkey, and which has a more baneful effect on the morals of a nation than the decided acknowledgment even of a false religion. The merit, therefore, of the Wahabys, in my opinion, is not that they purified the existing religion, but that they made the Arabs strictly observe the positive precepts of one certain religion; for although the Bedouins at all times devoutly worshipped the Divinity, yet the deistical principles alone could not be deemed sufficient to instruct a nation so wild and ungovernable in the practice of morality and justice.

A desire of reducing the Arabs to the state in which they were when the founder of their religion existed, naturally induced Abd el Waháb and his successors to alter likewise their political condition as soon as they perceived that their proselytes increased. Mohammed, and after him the Khalifahs, were the spiritual as well as the political leaders of their nation; and the code of Muselmán law shows in every page how necessary is the existence of a supreme chief in religious and in civil affairs. Nedjd, which became the principal seat of the Wahaby power, was divided into a number of small territories, cities, and villages, totally inde-

pendent of each other, and constantly engaged in warfare. No law but that of the strongest was acknowledged either in the open country or within the walls of towns, and personal security was always purchased at the price of individual property. Besides this, the wild freedom of the neighbouring Bedouin tribes, their endless wars and predatory expeditions, rendered Nedjd and the surrounding country a scene of perpetual disorder and bloodshed. It was not until after many hard struggles that Abd el Azyz extended at last his religion over the whole of Nedjd; and being then no longer the chief of a tribe, but of a province, he assumed the supreme power, and assimilated his authority to that which was exercised by the first followers of Mohammed.

To enslave his countrymen would have been a fruitless attempt; he left them in the enjoyment of their freedom, but obliged them to live in peace, to respect property, and to obey the decisions of the law.

Thus in process of time the Wahaby chief became governor of the greater part of Arabia; his government was free, because it was founded upon the system of a Bedouin commonwealth. He was the head of all the sheikhs of tribes whose respective politics he directed, while all the Arabs remained within their tribes completely independent and at liberty, except that they were now obliged to observe the strict sense of the law, and liable to punishment if they infringed it. Formerly an Arab acknowledged no rule but his own will; he was forced by the Wahaby chief to obey the ancient Muselmán laws. These enjoined him to give tithes or tribute to the great chief, and that he should be at all times ready to join his ranks in any expedition against heretics or infidels. It was not allowed, that in a dispute with his neighbours an appeal should be made to arms, and a tribunal was fixed, before which all litigations should be decided. Such were the main objects of the Wahaby chiefs. Tribute, military conscrip-

tion, internal peace, and rigid administration of justice. They had completely succeeded in carrying these measures into execution, and seemed to be firmly established, when the efforts of Mohammed Aly, and his gold, rather than the valour of his troops, weakened their power and reduced them to the state in which they had been several years before. I shall now enter into further details concerning this interesting government; details founded on the most accurate statements that I could obtain from many well-informed people in Hedjaz.

*Of Saoud's person and family.*

Saoud, chief propagator of the new doctrine, was eldest son of Abd el Azyz, who was assassinated in the year 1803. Besides Saoud, his mother, the daughter of Abd el Wahab, had two sons, Abderrahman and Abdallah. Saoud died, aged forty-five or fifty, in April 1814, of a fever, at Derayeh; and to his death may be attributed the misfortunes which befel his nation soon after. He is said to have been a remarkably handsome man, with one of those fine countenances for which his family has been distinguished. He wore a longer beard than is generally seen among Bedouins, and so much hair about his mouth that the people of Derayeh called him *Abou Showáreb*, or the "Father of Mustachios."

All the Arabs, even his enemies, praise Saoud for his wisdom in counsel and his skill in deciding litigations; he was very learned in the Muselmán law; and the rigour of his justice, although it disgusted many of his chiefs, endeared him to the great mass of his Arabs. From the time that his reign began, he never fought personally in battle; but always directed his army from a position at some distance in the rear. It is related by the Arabs, that he

once fought in a battle when only twelve years old, by the side of his father Abd el Azyz. ¶

By his first wife, now dead, he had eight children ; of these the oldest is Abdallah, who during his father's life-time occupied the second place in his dominions, and after his death succeeded to the supreme government. It is related that at the early age of five years Abdallah could gallop his mare ; and he is more eminent for courage than his father, as he made it a constant rule to fight every where in person. During the life of Saoud, the mental qualities of his son, Abdallah, were described as of the first order, and he was regarded as a prodigy of wisdom and sagacity ; but the measures which he adopted in opposing Mohammed Aly seem to prove that he by no means possessed such abilities as his father in those respects. He is esteemed in the Desert on account of his liberality and his social manners. He married a girl of the Záb Arabs, in the province of Hassa. Of his brethren, the most celebrated among the Arabs, is *Faysal*, reputed the handsomest man in Derayeh, and the most amiable. To him the Arabs are much attached. He has fought many battles in Hedjaz against the Turkish troops. *Nászer* was the favourite son of Saoud ; he fell in an expedition against Maskat. *El Turkey* often commanded flying corps of Wahabys in Irak and towards Syria. By his third wife, Saoud had three sons, *Omar*, *Ibrahím*, and *Feheyd*.

Saoud never permitted his children to exercise any influence in public affairs, except Abdallah, who participated in all his counsels. But he was extremely attached to them. The inhabitants of Mekka still relate with pleasure, that at the time of the pilgrimage, Saoud was once sitting under the gate of the Kaaba, while his people were covering that edifice with the new cloth, and numerous pilgrims were engaged in their sacred walk around it. At that moment the wife of his son Feheyd appeared, holding in her

arms one of his young children. She had just arrived at Mekka for the pilgrimage, and hastened towards Saoud that she might present to him the infant whom he had not before seen. He took it from her, kissed it affectionately, and in presence of all the assembled pilgrims pressed it to his bosom for a considerable time.

Besides his wife, Saoud had, according to the custom of great people in Nedjd, several Abyssinian female slaves or concubines; he resided with all his family in a large mansion built by his father on the declivity of the mountain, a little above the town of Derayah. All his children, with their families, and all his brothers had their separate ranges of apartments in that building. Of his brothers he is said to have entertained some jealousy; he never appointed them to any post of confidence, nor did he permit them to leave Derayah. In this house he kept his treasures, and received all those who came on business to Derayah. There the great emirs, or chiefs of considerable tribes, were lodged and feasted on their arrival, while people of inferior rank resided with their acquaintances in the town; but if they came on business they might dine or sup at the chief's house, and bring from it a daily allowance of food for their horses or camels. It may easily be conceived, that the palace was constantly full of guests.

Saoud granted ready admission to every person; but to obtain a private interview without his especial desire, was rather difficult. He had several Egyptians who served as porters, and for a bribe would admit people into the interior apartments at unusual hours. The surest mode of obtaining private access was to wait before the inner apartment until some great sheikh passed, and to enter with his attendants. Saoud gave public audiences early in the morning, between three and six o'clock in the afternoon, and again late in the evening. After supper he regularly assembled in the great room all his sons who happened to be at Derayah;

and all those, who were desirous of paying court to him, joined this family circle. One of the olemas then read a few pages of the Koran, or the Traditions of Mohammed, and explained the text according to the commentaries of the best writers. After him, other olemas delivered lectures in the same manner, and Saoud himself always closed the meeting by taking the book and explaining every difficult passage. It is said that he equalled, or perhaps excelled, any of the olemas in his knowledge of religious controversy and of the law in general. His eloquence was universally admired; his voice remarkably sonorous and sweet at the same time, which made the Arabs say, that "his words all reached the heart." Upon those occasions, Saoud was the only speaker; but it often happened that points of law were to be discussed, and these sometimes excited his impatience and induced him to argue with great vehemence, deriding his adversary, and taunting him for his ignorance in controversy. Thus, having continued about an hour, Saoud generally concluded by saying, "*Wa Allahou aâlem*"—"God knows best;" and those who had no particular business understood that expression as the signal for departure, and persons who had business with him remained until two hours after sun-set: these assemblies took place every evening.

Saoud was extremely indignant when any Arab endeavoured to deceive him by a falsehood. On such occasions, he sometimes seized a stick, and belaboured the man himself; but of these passionate fits he soon repented, and desired the by-standers always to interpose and prevent him from striking any person whenever they should see him angry; this was frequently done, and he expressed his thanks for the interference.

During his residence at Derayah, Saoud very rarely left his house, except when he went on Fridays to the neighbouring mosque.\* The Arabs imputed this seclusion to fear, supposing that he apprehended the fate by which his father perished—

assassination; and he certainly had enemies enough among the Arabs, anxious to avenge the blood of relations shed by him, and ready to conspire against his life, if they could see any possibility of succeeding in their attempts to kill him. But his friends declared, that he was occupied the whole day at home in study. It is well known, that for several years after the death of his father, Saoud constantly wore a coat of mail under his shirt. The inhabitants of Mekka relate, that during his stay in that city he was always surrounded by a chosen guard, and that no stranger dared to approach him alone. He would not even go to the great mosque, nor perform the circuit of the holy Kaaba without a numerous train of followers: and he chose his seat during prayers in the mosque, not as persons of distinction generally do. in the *Mekám el Hanbaly*, but mounted the roof of the *Bír*, or Well of *Zemzem*, as a more safe position, and he prayed upon that roof which forms the *Mekám el Shafey*.

Not only in his own palace, but throughout his dominions, he desired that persons should remain seated when he appeared; and at his evening assemblies (*madjlis*), every body sat down where he could find a convenient place, although it was generally understood that the great emírs should take their seats next to Saoud. His younger sons sat among the crowd, paying due attention to all that was said, but never speaking themselves. The Arabs who entered, usually shook hands with Saoud, having previously hailed him with the salutation of peace, and he politely inquired after the health and affairs of all whom he knew in the room. The great sheikh on arriving at Saoud's residence, exchanged a kiss with him, according to Bedouin custom. In addressing him no pompous title was used; the people merely said, "O Saoud!" or "O father of Abdallah!" or "O father of Mustachios!" he, too, called every man by his name without any ceremonious or compli-

mentary phrases, which are so numerous among Eastern nations in general.

In his dress, Saoud did not affect any distinction from his own Arabs; he only wore an abba, a shirt, and a keffie, or head-kerchief: yet it is said that he chose these articles from among the finest that Derayeh could afford; that he was scrupulously clean, and had his keffie constantly perfumed with civet.

The principal expense of Saoud's establishment was for his guests and his horses; he is said to have kept no less than two thousand horses and mares as his own property. Of these, three or four hundred were always at Derayeh, and the others in the province of El Hassa, where the clover pasturage is excellent. The finest mares of Arabia were in his possession. Some of those he had taken from their original owners, either as a punishment for misconduct, or as a fine, but he had purchased many at very considerable prices; it is known that he paid for one mare a sum equivalent to five hundred and fifty or six hundred pounds sterling.

To each of his sons he allowed a retinue of one hundred or a hundred and fifty horsemen. Abdallah, during the life of his father, had above three hundred. To these may be added numerous *delouls*, or swift camels, of which Saoud kept the best breed in Arabia.

The members of his own household and the strangers whom he fed every day, amounted to between four and five hundred persons. Rice, boiled corn (*borghol*), dates, and mutton, constituted the principal dishes. Saoud permitted his grown-up sons and the great sheikhs to eat with himself: their usual food was rice and mutton; common strangers were treated with *borghol* and dates. From all that I could learn of his manner of living and the prices of provisions in Nedjd, it would appear that his whole establish-

ment (exclusive of the body-guard which is paid out of the public treasury) cost him annually from ten to twelve thousand pounds sterling. Contrary to Turkish and Bedouin customs, Saoud never celebrated any circumcision feasts in his house, because, as he said, no such feasts ever took place at the first propagation of Islám. Yet he allowed his Arabs to amuse themselves on those occasions. He also observed with great splendour the nuptials of his children. When his son, Feheyd, married his cousin, the wedding-feast at Derayeh lasted for three days. On the first day, the girl's father, Saoud's brother, treated the guests, consisting of all the male inhabitants of the town and a number of strangers, with the meat of forty she-camels and five hundred sheep. On the second day, Saoud himself slaughtered for his guests one hundred she-camels and eight hundred sheep. On the third day, another of his brothers entertained all the company.

Saoud kept a number of black slaves in his house. He never would permit any of his wives or concubines to suckle their own male children; but for that purpose had always in readiness some wet-nurses, generally chosen among his Abyssinian slaves. A similar practice is prevalent among the sherifs of Mekka, who educate their little children among the neighbouring Bedouin tribes, never keeping them above eight days in their own father's house. After the same fashion, Mohammed was educated among the tribe of *Adouán*.

### *Wahaby Government.*

This is an aristocracy, at the head of which stands the family of Saoud. He divided his dominions into several governorships, which included the Arab tribes who have become settlers. Every great Bedouin tribe has also a governor or sheikh; and subor-

dinate to them are various minor chiefs. The great Bedouin sheikhs, to whom the minor tribes are obliged to pay deference, receive from the Wahaby chief the honorary title of *Emír el Omera*. The principal governorships are those of the districts *el Hassa el Aredh*, (which Saoud took into his own hands, Derayah being the capital of that province,) *el Kasym*, *Djebel Shammar*, *el Harameyn*, (Mekka and Medinah,) *el Hedjáz*, (signifying in the Bedouin acceptation, the mountains southward of Tayf,) and *el Yemen*. The governors or emírs of those provinces execute public justice, but are not the judges; for Saoud has every where placed his own kadhys. The authority of those emírs over the Arabs is very limited, not much exceeding that which an independent Bedouin sheikh possesses, except that he can enforce obedience to the law by imprisoning the transgressor and fining him for non-compliance. If he himself commit injustice, an appeal is made to the great chief; hence Derayah is constantly filled with Arabs coming from the remotest quarters to plead against their sheikhs. The principal duty incumbent on the latter (besides the execution of justice) is to recruit troops for the Wahaby army, and to assist the tax-gatherers.

In the time of war, the chiefs of these provinces, as well as the great Bedouin sheikhs, form a council; in time of peace, Saoud consulted none but the olemas of Derayah. These belong principally to the family of Abd el Wahab, founder of the sect; they are numerous at Derayah, and possess considerable influence. That family is called "*Oulad es' Sheikh*." I do not exactly know what positive rights or privileges they possess; but it is certain, that Saoud communicated to them every important affair before a final decision was given. The Wahaby chief may seem an absolute master, but he knows too well the spirit of his Arabs to attempt governing with despotic sway. The liberties of individuals are maintained as in former times; but he appears to administer

justice rather as a potent sheikh than as the lord of Arabia. He is, in fact, under the control of his own governors, all persons of great influence in their respective provinces, who would soon declare themselves independent were he to treat them with injustice. Instances of this kind have maintained that spirit of resistance against arbitrary power, to which the Bedouins never yield. The governors of provinces are controlled in their authority by a number of lesser sheikhs; and we accordingly find many small clans always ready to defend their cause against the tyranny of the great chief, who, in uniting them all under one system of government, has succeeded, after violent struggles, in establishing an order of things in Arabia, equally advantageous to public security and to private interests.

The Waháby government is now (1816) hereditary in the family of the Saouds. While Abd el Azyz lived, the principal sheikhs were required to swear allegiance to his son Saoud, who succeeded to the supreme authority, on his father's death, without opposition. In the same manner the sheikhs afterwards swore fidelity to Abdallah, while his father Saoud was still living. The Arabs, however, do not think it necessary that the chieftainship should descend from father to son. Saoud might have nominated one of his brothers to succeed him, and so far we may presume that the same system prevails at Derayah as all over the Desert in electing the sheikh of a tribe.

The chief Waháby appoints and removes at his pleasure the sheikhs of cities, districts, and tribes; but he generally confirms the election made by the Arabs themselves; and if a sheikh proves attached to his cause, he always permits his son or brother to succeed him.

*Administration of Justice.*

All the open country of Arabia, and all the towns of the interior were formerly subject to the same disorderly state of law which still prevails among those tribes that have not submitted to the Wahabys, and which I have described in my account of the Bedouins. Abd el Azyz and Saoud taught their Arabs to obey the law, to maintain public peace, and in their disputes to abide by the decision of a tribunal, without any appeal to arms. Abd el Azyz was the first who sent kadhys into all the districts under his sway. He chose them among the most able and upright of his learned men, and assigned to them annual allowances from the public treasury, forbidding them to accept fees or bribes from contending parties. Those kadhys were to judge according to the laws of the *Korán* and the *Sunné*. All the Arabs were to state their subjects of litigation before them, but might afterwards appeal to the supreme chief.

The next step was to secure the country against robbers. Before Abd el Azyz had acquired sufficient power, the whole of Nedjd, and, indeed, of Arabia, was overrun in every direction by hostile parties, and the great number of independent states rendered it impossible to establish a firm internal peace. Abd el Azyz, and, still more, his son Saoud, made the Arabs responsible for every robbery committed within their territory, should the robber be unknown; and those who were sufficiently strong to repel or resist a hostile invasion of a camp or town, and wanted the inclination or courage to do so, were punished by a fine equivalent to the amount of cattle or other property taken away by the robbers. Thus every tribe was rendered vigilant in protecting its neighbours, as well as strangers passing through their territory. So

that both public and private robberies almost totally ceased among the settlers as well as Bedouins of Arabia, who formerly delighted in nothing so much as in pilfering and plundering. For the first time, perhaps, since the days of Mohammed, a single merchant might traverse the Desert of Arabia with perfect safety, and the Bedouins slept without any apprehension that their cattle would be carried off by nocturnal depredators.

The two Wahaby chiefs seem to have been particularly anxious that their Arabs should renounce the long-established custom of taking into their own hands the punishment of an enemy, and inflicting retaliation. They, therefore, constantly endeavoured, more especially Saoud, to abolish the system of blood-revenge, and to render the Arabs content with a stipulated price, payable for the blood of a relation. But in this respect, the chief was never able to obtain complete success; he has frequently compelled the sufferer's family to accept the fine, if offered by the homicide's party; but if any act of revenge has taken place before he can give orders respecting the fine, he does not punish the man who availed himself of the old Arab rights.

If disputes arise among his people and occasion blows, and if the relations of both parties espouse respectively the cause of their friends (as is usual in Arabia), shedding blood in the affray, Saoud without any mercy condemns all those who meddled on the occasion, and punishes them either by taking away their horses, camels, and arms, or else by the confiscation of their property to the public treasury.

In a quarrel among Arabs, should one draw his dagger and wound another, Saoud levied a heavy fine upon the by-standers for allowing the matter to proceed so far. \*If, notwithstanding the laws against war, two tribes commence hostilities, Saoud immediately sends messengers to the sheikhs, and insists upon a reconciliation, levying a fine from each tribe, and obliging them to pay

to each other the price of blood for the lives of those who perished in the first onset. Tribes were commanded to bring their public disputes always before the tribunal of Saoud, whose authority was so dreaded, that a single Negro slave of his household has been known to arrest, by his order, some great sheikh in the midst of his own camp, and bring him as a prisoner to Derayah.

Saoud was acknowledged to be a man of incorruptible justice; but in his sentences against transgressors rather too severe. His great penetration enabled him soon to discover when a witness prevaricated; and this he punished always in an exemplary manner. His punishments, however, were not cruel; and I have been assured that, since the death of his father, only four or five men have been put to death at Derayah. As the Bedouins rarely possess any money, he fines them in horses, camels, and sheep. It is this severity which has excited against him so many enemies among his own Arabs. He never respects the protection given to a delinquent by other Arabs. He abolished the laws of dakheil (or protection) all over his dominions, as far as they might be used in screening a person from the hand of justice. If an Arab has killed another, he may seek dakheil at a friend's, to save himself from the immediate vengeance of the deceased man's relations; but he can remain under that protection only until the law claims him, and he must then be given up.

The great sheikhs grant a kind of protection to delinquents accused of petty crimes. An Arab, in such a case, and afraid of appearing before Saoud, places himself under the protection of some sheikh who possesses influence with the chief. This sheikh intercedes, and generally prevails on Saoud to remit the punishment, or commute it for a small fine.

The offence which Saoud had most frequently to punish was the intercourse of his Arabs with heretics. At the time that the Wahaby creed was first instituted, the most positive orders had

been given to interdict all communication between the Wahabys and other nations who had not yet adopted the new doctrine ; for it was said, that the sword alone was to be used in argument with the latter. As the inhabitants of Nedjd, however, were much in the habit of visiting Medinah, Damascus, Baghdad, and the adjacent countries, they continually disobeyed those orders ; so that at last Saoud found it necessary to relax his severity on that subject. He even tacitly connived, in the last period of the Syrian hadj, at his Arabs transporting provisions for the caravans, and took himself one dollar for every camel, belonging to his people, so employed ; but except in this carrying business of the hadj, he never would allow any of his Arabs to trade with Syria or Baghdad until after 1810, when the Egyptian expedition began. Yet the law existed, that if a Wahaby, whether Bedouin or merchant, should be found on the road going towards any heretic country, (which the direction of the road, and nature of the loads would prove,) his whole property in goods and cattle should be confiscated to the public treasury. But in returning from the heretic country, his property is respected.

Those arbitrary impositions, called *avarias* in the Levant, are wholly unknown in the Wahaby dominions, where no individuals were ever required to pay more than what he owed to the tax-gatherers, or a fine to the treasury for some offence. Wealthy individuals are perfectly secure from the rapacity of government ; and this perhaps is the only part of the East where such is the case. The rich merchants of Mekka, whose warehouses contained the finest Bedouin clothes, were never obliged to pay the smallest sum, nor even to give any valuable presents to Saoud.

The Arabs, however, murmur at a kind of forced requisition, in the frequent orders of their chief to join him on his expeditions against the heretics. In this case the Arabs must find their own food and camels, or horses, and receive in return no emolument

but whatever booty they may be able to take. Such expeditions, are therefore very expensive to them. On the other hand, any man who has incurred the displeasure of Saoud, by some minor offence, is sure to conciliate him by joining in his expeditions.

The great security which resulted from this rigid administration of justice, naturally pleased those who were most exposed to depredations and disorders of any kind. The settlers, therefore, of Nedjd, Hedjaz, and Yemen, became most sincerely attached to the new system, because they had suffered most from the defects of the old. Caravans of any extent, loaded with the produce of the ground, passed unmolested through those parts of the country; nor were the people ever afraid that their crops should be cut up, or destroyed by the wandering tribes. The latter, on the contrary, who had always lived by robberies and attacks on others, found it much more difficult to obey a government whose first principles directly opposed their mode of subsistence. It is therefore not surprising that some of the great Bedouin tribes hesitated to adopt the Wahaby creed, until it was forced upon them by a superior power; and they have proved, by frequent revolts, how impatient they are of the check which they have experienced in their manner of living; to which must be added, their repugnance with respect to paying the tribute.

If Saoud was known to be a very severe judge in cases of transgression, and implacable towards his enemies, he was equally celebrated for the warmth and sincerity of his friendship, and his regard for old and faithful adherents. Any sheikh who has evinced his attachment to Saoud, might rely on his constant protection and help under all misfortunes, even to the full indemnification for every loss, however considerable, that he might incur in his service.

The greatest punishment inflicted by order of the Wahaby chief is the shaving of the culprit's beard. This is done only

with persons of distinction, or rebel sheikhs, and is to some a disgrace more intolerable than death. An Arab thus shaved endeavours to conceal himself from view until his beard grows again. An anecdote related on this subject shows the real character of an Arab. Saoud had long wished to purchase the mare of a sheikh belonging to the tribe of Beni Shammar, but the owner refused to sell her for any sum of money. At this time, a sheikh of the Kahtán Arabs had been sentenced to lose his beard for some offence. When the barber produced his razor in presence of Saoud, the sheikh exclaimed, "O Saoud, take the mare of the Shammary as a ransom for my beard!" The punishment was remitted; the sheikh was allowed to go and bargain for the mare, which cost him two thousand five hundred dollars, swearing that no sum of money could have induced him to part with her, had it not been to save the beard of a noble Kahtány. But this is a rare example; for Saoud frequently refused considerable offers of money, to remit the punishment of shaving.

I shall here notice some Wahaby laws, founded upon the Korán, and sayings of Mohammed.

A haramy, or robber, is obliged to return the stolen goods, or their value; but if the offence is not attended with circumstances of violence, he escapes without further punishment, except a fine to the treasury. If a door be broken open in committing the robbery, the thief's hand is cut off.

One who kills his antagonist in a dispute with dagger or pistol is condemned to death: if he kills him by a blow of a stick or stone, it is deemed man-slaughter; and he only pays the price of blood, as having not been armed with any deadly weapon.

The price of blood among the Wahabys is fixed at one hundred she-camels, according to the rate established by Abou Beker. Saoud valued every camel at eight Spanish dollars; and the fixed sum is now eight hundred dollars.

'Whoever curses a Wahaby, or calls him "infidel," incurs very heavy penalties.' The terms of insult are measured among the Wahabys with great exactness; the worst (not amenable to the law) is to call a man "dog." The common insult is to say, "O doer" (that is, doer of evil or mischief), or "O leaver-off" (that is, O leaver-off of religious and social duties).

The stocks, called *debabe*, in which the feet of prisoners are confined, is only for the lower class. Saoud has a prison in his own mansion for persons of quality; those especially who, having been sentenced to pay a certain sum, plead poverty, and refuse to comply. In some cases, they are imprisoned until they pay.

The neglect of religious duty is always severely punished. I have already mentioned the penalty for omission of prayers. When Saoud took Medinah, he ordered some of his people, after prayers in the mosque, to call over the names of all the grown-up inhabitants of the town who were to answer individually: he then commanded them to attend prayers regularly; and if any one absented himself two or three times, Saoud sent some of his Arabs to beat the man in his own house. At Mekka, when the hour of prayer arrived, he ordered his people to patrol the streets, armed with large sticks, and to drive all the inhabitants by force into the mosque; a harsh proceeding, but justified by the notorious irreligion of the Mekkans. Saoud has always been extremely punctual in performing the pilgrimage to Mekka. Whenever it was in his power he repaired to that holy place, accompanied by thousands of his Arabs, men and women. His last pilgrimage was performed in the year 1812.

Saoud endeavoured to check among his people the frequent practice of divorce, so pernicious to social and moral habits. Whenever he heard an Arab say, "I swear by the divorce" (that is, from my wife), he ordered that the man should be beaten. To break the fast of Ramadhan, without some legitimate excuse, sub-

jected a man to capital punishment. Abd el Azyz (who was, however, more rigid than his son) once put an Arab to death for that offence. The smoking of tobacco publicly is forbidden ; but it is well known that all the people of Nedjd continue this practice in their houses ; and even the Wahabys, in their camps, at night. On the capture of Mekka, Saoud ordered all the inhabitants to take their Persian pipes (called *shíshe* by the Arabs) to a green piece of ground, before the house where he resided ; and having formed them into a vast heap, he set them on fire, together with all the tobacco that could be found in the shops. Some time after, one of his retinue informed him in public, that the Mekkans disregarded his orders, and still smoked. "Where did you see them smoke?" asked Saoud. "In their own houses," answered the informer. "Do you not know," replied the chief, "that it is written, 'do not spy out the secrets of the houses of the faithful?'" Having quoted this sentence of the Koran, he ordered the informer to be bastinadoed, and no further notice was taken of the private smoking.

The Mekkans still remember, with gratitude, the excellent police observed by Saoud's troops during his frequent visits to Mekka ; especially on his first taking the town. With the same vigilance he watches over his soldiers on an expedition ; and whoever receives from him the word *Amán*, or safe-conduct, may be perfectly secure from any misconduct of the troops. It was mentioned, as an instance of the Wahabys' good faith, that some of them were often seen in the temple at Mekka, looking out for the owners of lost articles which they had found, and were desirous of returning.

Saoud always protected trade in his dominions, provided that it was not carried on with those whom he called heretical Muselmáns. The principal trade of Nedjd is in provisions ; and there

the tribes from the interior of the Desert purchased what they required; and as years of dearth often occur, the rich people hoard up great quantities of corn. With these Saoud never interfered; and in times of scarcity he allowed them to sell at their own prices, however they might distress the poor; for he said, that Mohammed never forbade merchants to derive from their capitals as much profit as they possibly could obtain.

Usury, and even lending money on interest (which is not uncommon among the Bedouins), he prohibited under severe penalties, as contrary to the express tenor of the law. If money was lent, the conditions were generally to share the chances of loss, and to take one half of the profits.

The Wahabys have no particular coin. Dollars are in general currency; and articles of little value are estimated by measures of corn, or purchased with old copper money of the imáms of Yemen. Venetian zequins are likewise taken, but no Turkish coin whatever. During the late war in Hedjaz, when the Wahabys killed and stripped any Turkish soldiers, and found some piastres in their pockets, they always threw them with indignation on the ground.

### *Revenues.*

The Wahaby revenues have been established upon a plan similar to that which prevailed in the time of Mohammed. They consist in—

1. One fifth of the booty taken from the heretics. This portion must be set aside for the chief, whether he or one of his officers was present on the expedition; and the sheikh of the most distant

tribe is answerable for the remittance of it, however small or considerable the amount may be. Saoud never attempted to withhold from his soldiers the remaining four fifths. In common warfare with Arabs (when cities are not plundered), the booty consists generally of horses, camels, and sheep; those are sold to the highest bidder immediately after the battle. The money thus obtained is distributed among the troops. A cavalry soldier has three shares (one for himself, and two, as the Arabs say, for his mare); every camel-rider has one share, (before Saoud's time he had two,) every foot-soldier one share. If in battle a Wahaby should kill a trooper of the enemy, and get possession of his mare, he is allowed to keep it as his own property, and the recompence of his valour. I need not here repeat, that Mohammed took the fifth part of all booty.

2. The tribute; or, as it is called by the Wahabys, "the Alms." A fundamental law of Islam is the giving of these alms. Mohammed regulated the amount which is observed by the Wahaby legislator. Similar alms are prescribed to the Turks also, but the distribution is left to every man's own conscience; whereas the Wahabys are obliged to deliver them, for distribution, to their chief. The Muselman law has minutely fixed what proportion the alms are to bear with respect to the property; and the Wahabys have not made any alteration in this arrangement. The sums paid in proportion to horses, sheep, and camels, are according to the precepts of the Sunne, and may be seen detailed in D'Ohhson's excellent work. Saoud divided the tribute from his subjects into two parts; that from the Bedouins flows wholly into his private treasury; but the alms from inhabitants of towns, or cultivators, are appropriated to the public treasury, or "*Beit el Mál*."

From fields watered by rains only, Saoud takes a tithe of the produce; from fields fertilised by the water of wells or of foun-

tains, which it is laborious and expensive to draw, he takes but one twentieth of the produce.

The merchants pay yearly two and a half per cent on their capital, and are obliged to state its amount upon oath to the collector. It is, however, well known that they seldom return an account of more than one fourth of their property. A merchant of Khadera, in the province of Kasym, had been robbed of three thousand dollars in cash. He applied for assistance to Saoud, who directed the clerk of the Beit el Mál, or treasury, at Khadera, to ascertain how much the merchant had reported his property to be worth; and it appeared that he had only stated it as being one thousand dollars. For this false return, Saoud confiscated the merchant's mare and camels.

These alms, or *zeka*, are peculiarly galling to the Arabs under Saoud's authority, as they were formerly free from taxes of any kind. Distant tribes have frequently revolted on account of them, and driven away the collectors. Nothing but compulsion or necessity could ever induce a Bedouin to admit of taxation. It is likewise the exemption from these zekas which rendered the Hedjáz Bedouins less hostile to the cause of Mohammed Aly Pasha than they otherwise might have been; for his first measure was to declare, that not only the Bedouins, but all the settled inhabitants of Hedjaz, should be wholly free from taxes.

3. The most considerable portion of the Wahaby chief's revenues are derived from his own domains. He has established it as a rule, that whenever any of his districts or cities rise in rebellion, he plunders them for the first offence; for the second rebellion, he not only plunders but confiscates them, and all their land, to the public treasury. He then bestows some parts of them on strangers, but leaves most in the hands of the former proprietors, who now become merely his farmers, and are obliged to pay, according to circumstances, either one third or one half of the produce. The

property of those who took the most active part in the rebellion is farmed out to others, while they themselves either fly or are put to death.

As the Arabs did not adopt the Wahaby system until after repeated struggles, considerable districts were thus confiscated to the chief, and if ever he resume his power in Hedjaz, he will seize in like manner on the property of all who had joined Mohammed Aly. At present most of the landed property in Nedjd belongs to the Beit el Mál, or treasury; that of Kasym, whose inhabitants have been constantly in rebellion, is entirely held in farm; and many villages of Hedjaz, and the mountains towards Yemen, are attached also to the treasury.

4. Fines levied for trespasses against the law. The crime of disobedience is generally expiated by pecuniary fines. It is a maxim in the Wahaby courts, that an Arab who falsely accuses another must pay a fine to the treasury.

All these revenues, except the alms, or zeka, from the Bedouins, are deposited in the public treasury, or Beit el Mál. Every city or village of any note has its own treasury, into which the inhabitants pay their quotas. Every treasury has a writer, or clerk, sent by the Wahaby chief with orders to prevent the sheikh of the place from partaking in illicit gain from the revenue. The sheikhs are not allowed to collect nor to account for the money paid. These funds are appropriated to public services, and are therefore divided into four parts. One fourth is sent to the great treasury at Derayah; one fourth is dedicated to the relief of paupers in the district of the Beit el Mál; for the pay of olemas who are to instruct the kadhys and the children; for keeping the mosques in repair, digging public wells, &c. One half is expended for the benefit of indigent soldiers, who are furnished with provisions when they set out on an expedition, or, in case of necessity, with camels; also for the entertainment of guests. The money

thus allowed for guests is paid into the hands of the sheikhs, who keep a sort of public houses, where all strangers may halt and be fed gratis; it is thought just that the whole community should contribute towards their expenses. Thus Ibn Aly, the sheikh of Beni Shammar, in Djebel Shammar, has every year from the treasury of his province, two hundred camel-loads of corn, two hundred loads of dates, and one thousand Spanish dollars; with this money he purchases meat, butter, and coffee; and the whole is expended in the entertainment of from two to three hundred strangers of all descriptions, who are received and fed every day in his public rooms.

From the great treasury of Derayah, sums are applied to the relief of Saoud's faithful subjects, whose property had been taken by the enemy. Derayah is always full of Arabs who apply to Saoud for the restitution of some part at least of their lost property. If Saoud knows the man to be a sincere Wahaby, he generally pays him to the amount of one third. Other sums are given from that treasury to Arabs who have lost their cattle through disease or accidents. If upon an expedition the mare or camel (deloul) of a soldier has been killed, or dies, and that booty has been taken, Saoud most commonly gives another mare or camel to the soldier; if no booty has been taken, the Arab must bear the loss.

Besides what is paid to the sheikhs of districts, towns, or villages, for the entertainment of guests, the Bedouin sheikhs receive annual presents from the treasury of Derayah as tokens of Saoud's good-will. These donations vary from fifty to three hundred dollars, and are bestowed in imitation of a similar practice of Mohammed.

The collectors of revenue (called *nawáb*, or *mezekki*, or *aámil*) are sent every year from Derayah to the different districts or tribes, and receive a certain sum for their trouble and expenses on

the journey. Thus every collector sent from Dérâye<sup>h</sup> to the Bedouins of the Syrian Desert, receives seventy-five dollars. The sheikhs, as I have already mentioned, are not allowed any concern in the taxes. When the collector goes to receive the alms, some Arab of those who are going to pay, is employed to write a statement of the sums payable, and another collects those sums, which he hands over to the collector : thus they endeavour to prevent peculation. The collector then gives a receipt to the district or tribe for the amount that has been paid.

The Bedouins must pay this tribute immediately after the first spring month, when the camel and sheep have produced their young. The collector and the sheikh agree in appointing a certain spot, some watering-place, where all the Arabs of the tribe are directed to repair. Thus in the year 1812, Saoud collected tribute from the Bedouins about Baghdad at the watering-place called Hindye, two or three days' journey distant from that town. In the same year, the Djelâs Arabs paid their tribute at a watering-place twelve hours' distant from Aleppo.

Out of his private treasury, Saoud pays the expenses of his establishment and of his life-guard.

It cannot be denied, that the Wahaby chief shows great avidity in dealing with his subjects ; his income is much more than sufficient to defray the public expenditure, which is not considerable, as his army costs him nothing. The Arabs complain, that if a man has a fine mare, Saoud will find out some charge of misconduct to justify him in taking the mare as a fine. The great riches that he has accumulated have increased his desire of more : and the Arabs declare that since the taking of Imâm Hosseyn, where much booty was obtained, and the sacking of the Yemen towns, the character of Saoud has suffered considerable deterioration, and he has become daily more avaricious. I have not heard, however, a single instance of his depriving the meanest Arab of

his property" without a legal cause. The avarice of Saoud had alienated the sheikhs from his interests, long before Mohammed Aly attacked Hedjaz ; and if Saoud had, on that occasion, behaved as prudently as the Pasha, in distributing money among the sheikhs, Mohammed Aly would have found it impossible to gain any firm footing in that country.

Saoud did not deny, that he had been guilty of injustice in punishing culprits too severely ; and he was often heard to say, that were it not for his own and his friends' evil doings, their religion would long since have found its way to Cairo and Constantinople.

Many exaggerated statements have been made respecting the Wahaby revenue. Some well-informed Mekkans, who enjoyed frequent access to the person of Saoud and to his family, and had the best opportunities of knowing the truth and no reason for concealing it, told me, that the greatest amount ever received by Saoud into his own, or the public treasury of Derayeh, in one year, was two millions of dollars ; but that in general it did not exceed one million of dollars annually. This does not include the sums received by the treasuries in the districts and towns ; which, however, are generally expended, leaving no surplus at the end of the year.

His private expenses being very moderate, the chief may be supposed extremely rich in cash, which he has secreted in his mansion at Derayeh. Yet with so much wealth and power, neither Saoud nor his father were able to subjugate the free-born Arabs ; they were forced to leave them in possession of their individual liberty ; nor is it to be presumed, that the Arabs will ever submit to any more absolute master, and still less to a foreign invader, who may, perhaps, pass rapidly through their country, but can never bind them in lasting chains. At present their obedience is rather to the law than to Saoud, who is, in fact,

but the great sheikh, not the master of Arabia; and however they may dislike the exacted tribute, they know that much of it is expended for purposes connected with their own interests: a consolation which the peasants in Turkey can never enjoy.

*Military Affairs of the Wahabys.*

Between the Wahabys and the Bedouins there is but little difference in military matters. Without any standing army the sheikh of a tribe collects the warlike Arabs of his camp for an excursion against the enemy, and the corps is dissolved again as soon as they return. Such is also the case with the Wahabys. Except a few hundred chosen men kept at Derayah, neither Saoud nor his father had ever any regular army or body of troops. If the chief meditates an attack, he orders the sheikh of tribes and of districts to be on a fixed day at some certain spot, generally a well in the Desert. Sometimes the chief asks a certain number of soldiers from the sheikh, who then levies them by a kind of conscription from every village and camp under his control. Thus, if one thousand men be required from the sheikh of Kasym, every town of that province is obliged to contribute in proportion to its population. The inhabitants of towns (or in camps the Bedouins) then settle the matter amicably among themselves. All those who possess *delouls*, or camels fit for the saddle, divide into two bodies; one set goes to the war now, the other on the next summons. All from the age of eighteen to sixty must attend, whether married or unmarried, or fathers of families. All who possess mares must join the party on every summons, unless it be specified in such summons that cavalry is not required; if a man

abscond, the chief takes away his mare, or camel, or some sheep, as a fine. Saoud was very severe in the exaction of these fines ; and the heavy military duties imposed on those possessing horses induced them to sell those valuable creatures, and thus reduced considerably their number in the territories under his dominion.

A general requisition for troops was sometimes made without any mention of the numbers : in this case, all who possessed a deloul were obliged to attend. On some occasions the chief merely said, “ We shall not count those who join the army, but those who stay behind : ” every man, therefore, capable of bearing arms, felt himself obliged to go, the poor being furnished by the rich with camels and weapons, or by the Beit el Mál. When a very distant expedition was proposed (as that against Damascus in 1810, or against Oman), Saoud commanded his chiefs to attend him with the *Syllé* only (that is, the most select horsemen and camel-riders). In that case, not more than one out of twenty joined the army. But, on all occasions, some Arabs contrive to abscond, or evade the conscription, although they know the certainty of incurring a heavy fine. This they prefer to the great expense of equipping themselves for the expedition, and providing a stock of food for forty or fifty days, each from his own purse.

One hundred pounds weight of flour, fifty or sixty pounds of dates, twenty pounds of butter, a sack of wheat or barley for the camel, and a water-skin, are the provisions of a Wahaby soldier. Dates mixed with flour, kneaded into a cake, and baked in ashes, form the morning and evening meals. The price of those provisions, the time spent on the expedition, which might be employed more profitably, the injury done to the camel by forced exertions (which kill many on the road) ; all these considerations render the military attendance very irksome to a poor Arab. If

the summons, however, be not general, a man may hire a substitute, allowing him from eight to ten Spanish dollars for an ordinary expedition of about forty days, besides his provisions.

If camels are scarce, a man mounted upon one takes a companion (*meradif*) behind him.

A statement formerly made, respecting some landed properties held in bail, under obligation of military attendance, I now find to have been erroneous. All the male Wahabys are so far soldiers, that the great chief may call upon them to serve at any moment; and thus, at a fortnight's notice, assemble an army of excellent troops. But this system, though favourable to rapid movements towards an enemy's territory, or against invasion, does not suit a project of distant and permanent conquest.

The Wahaby religion prescribes continual war against all who have not adopted the reformed doctrine. As nearly the whole extent of Arabia had been reduced to submission by the Wahabys, their expeditions were chiefly directed towards their northern neighbours, from Basra, along the Euphrates, to Syria. It does not appear that they ever wished to extend their dominions beyond the limits of Arabia: so that they only attacked Irak, Mesopotamia, and Syria, for the sake of plunder. Sudden invasions were the most favourable to such an object; and no other kind of warfare has ever been practised by the Wahabys. Their chief undoubtedly wished to render himself sole master of all Arabia and its tribes; and those who rejected his invitation to become true Moslims, were exposed on all sides to attacks from his people, who damaged their fields and date-trees, or carried off their cattle; while their neighbours, who had embraced the new faith, continued unmolested by the Wahabys. Multitudes, therefore, affected to conform, that they might save their property and themselves from constant annoyance; but few provinces, or tribes, that had been outwardly converted, felt any real interest

in the Wahaby cause. Many leagues were formed with the Sherif of Mekka for resisting the power of Saoud's family; and the Bedouins at first considered their subjection as they would an alliance with a stronger neighbouring tribe, which they might dissolve at any hour, and convert into a war. Provinces, strong by position and population, such as the mountains of Shammar, Hedjaz, and Yemen, and others distant from the chief seat of Wahaby power in Nedjd, soon became relaxed in their obedience to the great chief's orders, and irregular in the payment of tribute. At first, he reminded them of their duty by a parental exhortation, which they regarded as a proof of weakness, and then proceeded to open rebellion. In this case, the chief informs all his sheikhs, that "such Arabs have become enemies; and that without his further orders, every person is at liberty to attack them." He then sends three or four flying expeditions against them; and they are soon reduced to obedience, by the fear of losing their crops and their cattle. Saoud was often heard to say, that no Arabs had ever been staunch Wahabys until they had suffered two or three times from the plundering of his troops.

Some very strong and distant tribes have, however, successfully resisted the payment of tribute, although, in other respects, they profess themselves Wahabys. Thus in 1810, when Saoud's power was unshaken in Arabia, the northern Aenezes refused to pay tribute; and the chief did not think it prudent to attempt the subjection of them by main force, but continued to correspond with their sheikhs, who paid him a nominal obedience, but acted according to the interests of their own tribes, whenever they came in contact with partisans of the Wahabys.

It will be easily perceived, that the Wahabys are generally in a state of warfare. Saoud's constant practice was to make every year two or three grand expeditions. The neighbourhood of Basra (being rich in cattle and dates), and the banks of the Shat

el Arab, and of the Euphrates, up to Anah, were the scenes of his annual attacks. His troops even forded the Euphrates, and spread terror in Mesopotamia, and, on the southern side of his dominions, the still unconquered provinces of Yemen, Hadramaut, and Omán, presented fertile fields of booty. Saoud did not always accompany these expeditions himself, but sent one of his sons as commander, or some distinguished sheikh; and we have even seen his black slave, *Hark* (حرك), at the head of several Wahaby corps.

When the chief plans an expedition, the object of it is known to himself alone. He assembles his emírs at a certain watering-place, which is always selected in such a manner as to deceive the enemy whom he designs to attack. Thus' if the expedition be intended for the northward of Derayeh, his army is assembled at a place many days' journies distant southward of Derayeh. He then actually sets out in a southern direction, but soon wheels about, and by forced marches falls upon the enemy, who is generally taken by surprise. This stratagem is very necessary, for the news spreads like lightning through Arabia, that Saoud had summoned his troops to meet at a certain spot; and if from the position of that spot any conjecture might be formed of the intended object of attack, the enemy would have time to prepare for resistance, or to fly.

The expeditions of Saoud were planned with much prudence and foresight, and executed with such celerity, that they seldom failed. Thus, when he invaded the Hauran plains in 1810, although it required thirty-five days to arrive at the point of attack, yet the news of his approach only preceded his arrival by two days; nor was it known what part of Syria he meant to attack; and thirty-five villages of Hauran were sacked by his soldiers before the Pasha of Damascus could make any demonstrations of defence.

Of the bravest and most renowned warriors among his' Arabs,

Saoud has formed a body-guard (*mendjyeh*), which he keeps constantly at Derayeh, and which are the only standing troops of his army. Whenever he hears of any distinguished horseman, he invites him to Derayeh, and engages him in his service, by agreeing to furnish him and his family with an annual provision of corn, butter, and dates. He gives to the man also a mare, or a good *deloul* camel. This guard constantly attends the chief on his expeditions. The name of this body-guard is dreaded by all enemies of the Wahabys, for they have never forfeited their high character for bravery. Saoud always kept them as a kind of reserve in battle, detaching small parties of them in support of his other troops. They amount to about three hundred in number, and for the greater part they fight in complete armour. Their horses are covered by the *lebs*, (a sort of quilted woollen stuff, impenetrable to lances or swords). As their service is quite voluntary, Saoud always placed great confidence in this body-guard.

Besides the *mendjyeh*, or body-guard, Saoud took with him to Derayeh many of the *agyds*, or war-chiefs of Bedouin tribes (mentioned in another place, see page 168). He lessened the power of these tribes, in carrying off their chiefs, and strengthened his own party by the accession of those renowned men; to whom, if he saw them sincerely attached to his interests, he often entrusted the direction of his expeditions.

The Wahabys make their attacks in every month of the year, even in the holy month of Ramadhán. Saoud has always shown a great predilection for the month *Zul hadje*, and his adherents pretend that he never was defeated in any expedition undertaken during that month. As Saoud, in the time of his prosperity, performed annually the pilgrimage, his enemies, especially the strong Arabian tribes of Mesopotamia, always took the opportunity of his absence at Mekka to make inroads on his territory.

If Saoud was embarrassed respecting the choice of two measures which seemed equally advantageous, he often resorted to the practice recommended by Mohammed, which is, to address a short prayer to the Almighty before going to sleep, and to interpret the next morning whatever dream he might have had either for or against the measure. He seldom allowed the sheikhs to know any thing of his plans.

On the march every emir or sheikh has his standard. Saoud himself has several of different colours. His tents are very handsome, made at Damascus and Baghdad; but his people have only the common black Arab tents, and most of them have not any tents. Saoud's provision and baggage are carried upon two hundred camels. He takes a considerable supply on distant expeditions, that he may be able to relieve those of his troops who lose their own; and whenever he passes through any district inhabited by settlers or Bedouins, it is expected that he should treat all arriving guests in the same manner as he does at Derayeh. If the army marches at night the chief and all the great sheikhs have torches carried before them. Night marches are only practised when the point of attack is fixed, and a space of four or five days is traversed in two. The Wahaby army is always preceded by a van-guard of thirty or forty horsemen (called *el Sabr*). They generally go before, a march of one day or perhaps of two days. The Bedouins have a similar custom of sending on a van-guard some hours in advance.

Approaching an enemy, the army always divides into three or four corps, one behind another. The first which attacks is composed of horsemen, as being the principal strength of the army. They are supported by the second line, consisting of camel-riders, who advance if the horsemen should be routed. Saoud for a long time had ceased to fight in person, and remained in the rear. The superiority of his troops over the enemy's generally enabled

him to send fresh reinforcements to his people engaged in battle, and the victory was seldom disputed for any length of time. It was a favourite stratagem of Saoud to fly before the enemy, and rallying suddenly, to fall with his chosen horsemen upon the fatigued pursuers.

To all his troops who die fighting, Saoud insures the enjoyment of paradise, according to the doctrine of the Korán. Whenever a sheikh is killed in battle, and his mare (as generally happens) gallops back towards the ranks of the troops, which she knows, the report of his death is made to the chief as tidings of glad import; because the sheikh has certainly gone to paradise. On this occasion the expression is, "Joy to you, O Saoud! the mare of such a man is come back!"

Whenever the flying corps of Wahabys plunder an encampment of Arabs, the women are obliged to strip themselves naked, while the Wahabys turn away and throw them some rags for the sake of decency. No further insult is ever offered to a female. When the plundering has ceased, the commanding emír distributes some clothes amongst them, and gives to every family a camel and sufficient provision for their journey to some camp of relations or friends. As their husbands may have been killed, or escaped by flight, it sometimes happens that women belonging to plundered camps remain during several days with the plunderers, and march in their company for the sake of being protected on the road.

In propagating their creed, the Wahabys have established it as a fundamental rule to kill all their enemies found in arms, whether they be foreign heretics (such as Syrian, Mesopotamian, or Egyptian soldiers or settlers), or Arabs themselves, who have opposed the great chief, or rebelled against him. It is this practice (imitated from the first propagators of Islám) which makes the Wahaby name so dreaded. During their four years' warfare with

the soldiers of Mohammed Aly Pasha, not a single instance is recorded of their having ever given quarter to a Turk. When Kerbela (or Meshed Hosseyn) and Tayf were taken, the whole male population was massacred; and in the former town the *Haret el Abasieh*, or quarter of the Abasides, was only spared because Saoud had a particular veneration for the memory of the Abaside khalifahs. Whenever Bedouin camps are attacked, the same circumstance occurs; all who are taken with arms are unmercifully put to death. This savage custom has inspired the Wahabys with a ferocious fanaticism that makes them dreadful to their adversaries, and thus has contributed to facilitate the propagation of their faith.

But the Wahaby chief is easily induced to grant safe conduct to his enemies if they voluntarily surrender; and to this they are often inclined, as it was never known that the chief on any occasion had broken his word. Here the good faith of Bedouins towards an enemy may be recognised; a noble trait in their character. The reputation of Saoud for strict observance of a promise is allowed by his bitterest enemies, and particularly celebrated by his friends since the war with Mohammed Aly Pasha, as contrasted with the treachery of the Turks.

If the threatened Arabs surrender to Saoud before his vengeance can reach them, he usually gives to them the "*Amán ullah*," or "God's security," with the condition of the "*halka*," which excludes from the safe conduct all horses, camels, shields, matchlocks, lances, and swords, and all copper vessels, which must be given up as booty to the Wahabys; the rest of their property remains untouched with the owners.

Sometimes the *Amán* is given unconditionally, and then extends over persons as well as property. All commanders of Wahaby troops have strict orders to accept any offer of submission from an enemy, and to observe inviolably the promised "*Amán*."

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Having subdued a rebellious tribe, or province, Saoud always sent (soon after peace was concluded) for the sheikhs of the rebels, and established them with his own family at Derayah, or in some neighbouring district, furnishing them amply with provisions. Thus he weakened their influence among their own people; replacing them by chiefs on whose attachment he could depend, chosen from those powerful families which had formerly been at variance with the sheikhs of the subdued parties. Great numbers of chiefs from all parts of Arabia are thus assembled at Derayah and in Nedjd. They are not, by any means, close prisoners; but cannot escape from the district assigned to them. An Arab sheikh is so well known to all inhabitants of the Desert, that he can scarcely hope to remain "incognito" for any length of time.

After the taking of Medinah, Saoud found it necessary to keep there a constant garrison of Wahabys; no other instance of that kind occurred during his government. For he never thought it advisable to garrison any district that he had subdued, but relied upon the sheikh whom he had placed over it, and the dread of his own name, to keep the vanquished in subjection. Yet he commanded his new sheikhs in some districts south of Mekka to build small castles, or towers, for the defence of their residences. At Medinah, an important hold, where he knew that the people were hostile to his religion and his person, he kept a garrison of Arabs from Nedjd and Yemen armed with matchlocks, paying to each man seven dollars every month, besides rations of flour and butter. These, inhabitants of the towns of Nedjd, who are all furnished with matchlocks, form the most select corps of the Wahaby army. To them are entrusted the most difficult enterprises. It was these troops that stormed the town of Kerbelá.

*Gháleb, Sherif of Mekka, and the Turkish Pasha of Baghdád, at war with the Wahábys.—The holy cities, Mekka and Medinah, taken by the Wahábys.*

DURING my residence in Arabia I made repeated inquiries after a written history of the Wahabys, thinking it probable that some learned man of Mekka or Medinah might have composed ~~such~~ a work; but my search proved fruitless. Nobody takes ~~notes~~ of daily occurrences, and the dates of them are soon forgotten. Some few persons, well informed of what ~~has~~ passed in their own neighbourhood, know but little of distant transactions; and before a complete and satisfactory account of ~~the~~ Wahaby affairs could be compiled, it would be necessary to make a journey through every part of Arabia. Baghdad, from its vicinity to Nedjd, the centre of the Wahaby dominion, is, under present circumstances, the place where probably the most accurate statements might be collected.

I shall here give but few details respecting the history of this extraordinary people before the Turks re-conquered Hedjáz; an event which I can describe with more accuracy, having myself resided in that country while the war still continued.\*

The Wahabys had for nearly thirty years established their doctrines, made numerous proselytes, and successively conquered Nedjd and subdued most of the great Bedouin tribes, who feed their cattle there in spring and retreat afterwards to the Desert. Yet war had not been declared, nor did the Wahabys encroach

upon the rights of the two governments nearest to them; that of Baghdad on the north, and that of Hedjaz towards the south. The pilgrim-caravans passed from Damascus and from Baghdad without any molestation through their territory. Their increase of power, and the assiduity with which they propagated their doctrines, seem first to have excited the jealousy of Sheríf Gháleb. Under his authority, and partly under his influence, were placed all the tribes settled in Hedjaz, and several on the frontiers of that country. The attempts made by Abd el Azyz to gain over these latter to his party after he had subjugated their neighbours, could not be viewed with indifference by Gháleb, whom we may consider rather as a powerful Bedouin sheikh than an eastern prince; and the same causes that produce constant wars between all great neighbouring tribes of the Desert, sowed the seeds of contest between him and the Wahabys. A few years after his succession to the government of Mekka, Gháleb first engaged in open hostility with the Wahabys, about the year 1792 or 1793. This warfare he continued until the final surrender of Mekka. His party was then strengthened by the southern tribes of Begoum (at Taraba), Beni Salem (at Beishe), Ghámed (in Zohrán), and the numerous Bedouins bordering on Tayf. These wars were carried on in the Bedouin style, interrupted only by a few short-lived truces. Sudden invasions were made by both parties on their enemy's territories; and booty was taken reciprocally, without much loss or advantage. Gháleb, who was then in regular correspondence with the Porte and received every year the pilgrim caravan, left no means untried for prejudicing the Turkish government against his enemies. He represented them as infidels, and their behaviour towards the Turkish hadjys, or pilgrims, did not remove this unfavourable opinion. The Porte listened more readily to these representations as the pashas of Baghdad had made statements of a similar nature. Like the Sherif of Mekka,

the Pasha of Baghdad exercises influence over numerous Bedouin tribes in his neighbourhood. Several of these were already at war with the Wahabys, whose expeditions were dreaded all along the banks of the Euphrates. The country about Basra was almost every year visited by a host of these sectaries, who slaughtered many of the Arab settlers on the southern side of the river, who were subjects of the Baghdad government.

The Persian hadjys, who went to Mekka by way of Baghdad and Derayah, complained moreover, at their return, of the great vexations they had experienced from the Wahabys, to whose chief they were obliged to pay a capitation, or passage-toll, to a considerable amount.

To direct an attack against Derayah, no city on the Arabian border seems so well adapted as Baghdad. The pasha of this place, however, has so few pecuniary resources, and his authority so imperfectly acknowledged even within the limits of his own province, that until the year 1797, actual hostilities could not be undertaken. An invasion of Derayah was then planned. Soleyman Pasha was at that time governor of Baghdad, a personage distinguished for bravery, energy, equity, and those talents which are necessary to a Turkish grandée, desirous of retaining his post. His lieutenant-governor was charged with the management of the expedition which marched from Baghdad. The army consisted of four or five thousand Turkish troops, and twice that number of allied Arabs of the tribes of Dhofyr, Beni Shammar, and Montefek. Their march lay parallel with the Persian Gulf, through a desert country where wells are found at every station. It was directed, in the first instance, towards the province of El Hassa, the richest and most productive part of the Wahaby dominions.

Instead of advancing from that place at once towards Derayah (only distant five or six days' journey), they laid siege to the fortified citadel of El Hassa, which they expected to take without

difficulty. The resistance was prolonged above a month; and the arrival of a strong Wahaby force under Saoud, the son of Abd el Azyz, who remained at Derayeh, excited strong doubts of success, and the Turks resolved to retreat. Saoud anticipated this measure, and, starting before them, encamped with his troops at one of the wells called *Thádj*, at the distance of three days from El Hassa. The other well of that watering-place, about two miles further off, he rendered useless by throwing into it several camel-loads of salt, which he had brought with him for that purpose. The Baghdad troops halted at this well, and it may be conceived how much both men and cattle suffered from the quality of the water; nor was it thought advisable to march, as Saoud might have fallen upon the army by surprise. On the other side, this Wahaby chief did not venture to attack the Turks, whose artillery was very formidable to him and his Arabs. Thus the two armies continued three days within sight of each other, in opposite ranks; only a single horseman from each party skirmishing occasionally in the plains between the two camps. A parley having been established, peace was concluded for six years between Saoud the Wahaby, and the pashalic of Baghdad, after which both armies returned quietly to their respective homes.

The failure of this expedition was the first cause of the misfortunes which soon after befell the Turkish party on all sides, as the Wahabys had now learned to despise the Osmanly troops. The peace was soon broken. A Persian caravan of pilgrims, escorted by a Wahaby guard, was attacked and almost totally plundered between Helle and Meshhed, by Arabs, under the Turkish jurisdiction of Baghdad. The neighbourhood of Basra was again visited by plundering parties of the Wahabys; and the sacking of Imám Hosseyn, in 1801, spread terror among all true Muselmáns, as much as it elated the sectaries. The veneration paid to that tomb of Mohammed's grandson was a sufficient