Lost and Now Found
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Lost and Now Found

Explorers, Diplomats and Artists in Egypt and the Near East

Edited by

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During the late 1770s to the early 1780s, several East India Company officers based in Madras travelled across the Middle East, including the Scottish hydrographer Alexander Dalrymple FRS (1737–1808) appointed in 1759 (Fig.8.1); Colonel James Capper (1743–1825), from Londonderry, appointed in 1773 (Fig.8.2); and Eyles Irwin (1751–1817), an Irish poet born in Calcutta, and appointed in 1767 (Fig.8.3 and Fig 8.5).

Traditionally, there were two major routes for travel between England and India: one via the Cape of Good Hope, a journey that took at least six months; and another overland via Antioch to Aleppo and across the Great Syrian Desert to Basra, then by ship to Bombay.

A further option between India and England was explored in the mid-18th century: up the Red Sea to Suez, across the Eastern Desert to Cairo, along the Nile to Rosetta and then Alexandria to catch a boat heading for Europe.

In the 18th century, European ships were prohibited from entering the Red Sea and the Sublime Porte issued several firmans reiterating this prohibition in severe terms. Yet the East India Company continued to trade intermittently in coffee at
Mocha and, by 1763, had established a factory there. By 1762, when Carsten Niebuhr sailed down the Red Sea, there was an East India Company factory in the entrepôt of Jiddah.¹ Warren Hastings (1732–1818) (Fig.8.4), Governor-General of Bengal from 1773 to 1785, saw possibilities of trade between Bengal and the Red Sea and campaigned to develop the shorter Suez route to Europe. In 1773, in Cairo, the explorer James Bruce was granted permission by the Mamlûk regent of Ottoman Egypt, Muhammad Bey Abû al-Dhahab (1735–75) for the British to trade via Suez. Bruce alerted Hastings who began to send ships from Bengal to Suez. In March 1775 John Shaw, sent by Hastings, negotiated an agreement in Cairo to enable East India Company ships to use the Suez route. George Baldwin (1743/4–1826) (see p.152, below), previously a Levant Company factor, became the East India Company agent in Cairo in 1775. By January 1776, Baldwin had facilitated the transit of despatches from India by the stoop HMS Dolphin (which, with HMS Swallow had sailed around the world under Samuel Wallis and Philip Carteret in 1766–68).

Furthermore, the significance of a fast route by sea or land for transmitting intelligence between Europe and India was appreciated by Sir Eyre Coote (1726–83) (Fig.8.6), who returned to India as Hasting’s commander-in-chief in 1779. Alexander Dalrymple, Capper and

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¹ See p. 179.
Eyles Irwin were thus encouraged to explore the feasibility of various alternative routes. The Swallow reached Suez by 8 January 1777, but its three passengers Dalrymple, Capper and C. (?Charles) Dighton, were detained by custom officials for several days until George Baldwin intervened. The travellers arrived in Alexandria by 19 January 1777. In a letter, Dalrymple described the overland journey from Suez to Alexandria via Cairo. He then crossed the Mediterranean by boat leaving Alexandria on 30 December 1777, followed the Turkish coast in poor weather, arriving in Marseilles on 25 March and, after 20 days’ quarantine there, he reached Calais on 19 April and was in London by 22 April 1777. Dalrymple, after travelling from
Madras to London in 1777, produced a report entitled ‘Correspondence with India via Suez’ in which he estimated that the trip from Bengal to Suez would take 40 days, with a further 88 days via Alexandria, Trieste or Venice, that is, a total of seven weeks. Yet Dalrymple also observed that the Sublime Porte (the Guardians of the Holy Places) was hostile to any scheme that would only benefit the local beys.

In response to correspondence from Coote, Capper produced his Observations on the Passage to India, Through Egypt: Also By Vienna to Aleppo and From Thence By Bagdad and Directly Across the Great Desert to Bassora. With occasional remarks on the adjacent countries, an account of the different stages, and sketches of the several routes on four copper-plates (London, W Faden, 1785), in which he assessed the various routes. It comprises several journals, including two by Baldwin, that are full of fascinating local detail and numerous hints for the travellers in the region. In his Observations, Capper outlined the problems of organizing times of sailing during the year, for the passage up the Red Sea was little known to Europeans and ‘is rendered extremely dangerous by rocks and shoals and the wind’. Ships’ captains needed to take note of the direction of prevailing winds, for the north part of the Red Sea has persistent north-west winds of 7–12 km/h. The rest of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden are subjected to regular and seasonally reversible winds associated with the monsoon seasons, as Capper described: ‘If they can to embark at Gedda time enough to avail themselves of the Khumseen wind which blows southerly from the end of March to the middle of May and conveys them in less than a month back again to Suez the vessels from India must also quit Gedda so as to be out of the streights [sic] of Babelmandel before the end of August.’

Eyles Irwin’s rather poetic travel account, published in 1787, was aptly entitled Series of Adventures in the Course of a Voyage up the Red Sea. Irwin also published several volumes of rather bad poems about Arabia, the Nile, the desert and so on, along the lines of:

and on thy furthest sandy shore
Which hears the Red Sea’s billows roar
May Commerce smile her sails unfold
And change thine iron age to gold

Irwin’s account reads like a Boy’s Own pastoral adventure, reminiscent of The Arabian Nights – tales also recommended by Capper to his readers as embodying life there. About Irwin’s Adventures, The Critical Review began:

The author Mr Eyles Irwin seems to be an active and spirited young man of good sense and understanding with a tender and benevolent heart who has performed the disagreeable task allotted him by his masters the East India Company with great zeal and intrepidity, met with many hair-breadth scapes and braved innumerable dangers amongst a set of unlettered barbarous and perfidious savages through dangerous and uncultivated desarts [sic] hitherto unknown to the European traveller… That insatiable curiosity and love of the marvellous and astonishing, which is implanted
in our natures, is never so agreeably flattered as by discoveries of unknown tracts, and the relation of strange and perilous adventures; voyages and travels, therefore, especially if written by men of credit, and character are generally read with more avidity than books of any other kind.5

Leaving Madras in January 1777, Irwin entered the Red Sea by the straits of Bab al-Mandab; then arrived at Mocha and then was driven onto the Arabian coast and to the Gulf of Suez but ‘by the treachery of the Arabs’ was carried to Qusayr, a port in Upper Egypt. He then travelled 120 miles with the caravan for Qena on the Nile across the Eastern Desert, was ‘carried by other treacherous guides to Banute’, and eventually reached Qena on 18 September 1777. This was followed by a journey through the deserts of Thebais during which he met a band of robbers, travelled along the banks of the Nile and saw the Pyramids. He arrived and explored Grand Cairo, where he stayed with George Baldwin; then embarked for Alexandria, where he met Baldwin’s agent, Signor Brandi, and embarked on the Cleopatra, a French ship commanded by Mr Calvi, for which journey Irwin paid a fee of 133 crowns. He reached Marseilles on 8 October 1777.

Like Capper and Dalrymple, Irwin was able to provide much useful information about the routes they took and the peoples they met. Given that Irwin endured terrible experiences in al-Qusayr and Qena, it is surprising that Capper wrote in favour of the route. Furthermore, Capper gives no indication that he shared his journey to Alexandria with Dalrymple. In fact, it is hard to work out from Capper’s descriptions that he travelled up the Red Sea rather than towards India, and he even suggests that it would be quite within reasonable limits to take only 59 days for the journey. Likewise, Irwin made no reference to Capper’s journey by the Syrian desert.

There was a much more pressing reason for Dalrymple, Capper and Irwin to travel through the Middle East, however, than to simply identify possible routes to India and the hazards travellers might encounter. All three desperately needed to inform the East India Company Court of Directors, in London of the house arrest of Lord Pigot (1719–77) (Fig.8.7) the Governor of Madras, at the Garden House, on 24 August 1776, by a large
faction of the Madras Council under George Stratton (1733–1800), who later became an MP. Basically, Pigot had wanted to reinstate the Thuljaji, Rajah of Tanjore (1738–87), in southern India, to the financial detriment of Mohammad ‘Ali Khan Wallajah (1717–95), the Nawab of Arcot, and his creditors in the Madras administration. A minority of councillors – Dalrymple, John Maxwell Stone and Claud Russell – were suspended from office and increasingly harassed by the majority.6

Eventually, Pigot secured a place for Dalrymple in October 1776 on the sloop HMS Swallow, under the command of Captain John Panton, so that Dalrymple could report to the Company’s Court of Directors, in London. Pigot sent duplicate copies of his despatches to London via a French frigate, l’Etoile, and another set with Captain Robert Wood, Mayor of Madras, on the Grenville which arrived in Plymouth by 25 April 1777. Capper, who sided with the majority, using the excuse that he needed to return to England on urgent family business, also managed to secure a berth on the Swallow and carried despatches from the Majority Council. As a Madras merchant, John de Fries, wrote to Robert Palk, a previous Governor of Madras:

1776, October 10th, Madras. ‘This goes by the Swallow, which is to put the letters ashore at Suez, to be forwarded from thence to Grand Cairo and Alexandria and so to Europe, and may probably be the first advice that you will receive of the revolution that happened in the Government of this settlement on 24th August last. Mr Dalrymple goes with Lord Pigot’s packet, and Colonel Capper with the Nabob’s, by whom I send this.’

Dalrymple, a stubborn man of great integrity, was first employed by the East India Company in 1759. Previously, he had commanded an East India Company ship to survey the China Sea, made a treaty with the Sultan of Sulu, Sharapud-Din (r.1789–1808), and established a settlement on Balabangan, now an Batavian island. He had also been the Royal Society’s candidate to lead the Transit of Venus 1769 expedition (1768–71) that was eventually led by Captain James Cook. On the Swallow, Dalrymple kept a maritime log on his journey from Madras having borrowed a chronometer from Captain Abercromby of the Grenville – from 14 October 1776 (off Sri Lanka) to 10 January 1777, when they reached Suez, where he sketched some of the Red Sea harbours.

North-westerly winds in the Red Sea lengthened their passage from Madras to Suez by three months. Dalrymple, Capper and Dighton were detained for several days by custom officials under instructions from Ibrahim Bey in Cairo, until Baldwin intervened. On 19 January 1777, Dalrymple despatched a letter to the Company’s Court of Directors (unbeknown to Capper) from Alexandria that was received overland in London on 17 March 1777, along with other relevant despatches. In this letter, Dalrymple also described the overland journey from Suez to Alexandria via Cairo. They left Alexandria on 30 January 1777, followed the Turkish coast in poor weather (with Dalrymple producing sketches and charts) and arrived in Marseilles on 25 March. After 20 days’ quarantine there, Dalrymple (and no doubt Capper)
reached Calais on 19 April and was in London by 22 April 1777. In London, Pigot’s plight was met with alarm by the Court of Directors and the matter was raised in Parliament. Unsurprisingly perhaps, neither Capper nor Dalrymple ever mentioned the other in their missives and publications.

Meanwhile, in Madras, other Company officers were keenly sensitive to the wrong done to Pigot. Claud Russell and other friends, including Eyles Irwin, Pigot’s secretary the Hon. Edward Monckton (1744–1832) of Somerford Hall, Staffordshire, and William Burke (1729–98), a putative cousin of Edmund Burke MP, objected strongly to Pigot’s treatment by the rump Madras Council under George Stratton. In an attempt to carry on as normal during the winter of 1776–77, ‘the Mount became the gayest place on the Coast’, when Monckton, Claud Russell and John Maxwell Stone all gave ‘uncommonly splendid balls’ for Christmas, New Year’s Day and Twelfth Night.8

Mr Russell made a grand entertainment of cards and supper at the Mount, both at Christmas and on New Year’s Day, and put up a handsome pandal [drapped pavilion]. Most of the civil servants, some of the officers and the principal English and Armenian residents were present. Mr Stratton found himself deserted on those occasions, as everyone went to visit Lord Pigot.9

Several were suspended by the majority, including Eyles Irwin, Dalrymple, Maxwell Stone and Claud Russell. Aiming to explain the situation to the Court of Directors in person and carrying a bundle of despatches, Eyles Irwin sailed from Madras for Suez in early January 1777 on the ‘snow’ Adventure (a square rigged vessel with two masts) under the command of Captain Bacon. After many adventures and a journey of 11 months, Irwin arrived in London in the autumn 1779 to find that he had been reinstated in his post as superintendent of the company’s grounds within the bounds of Madras.

On 11 June 1777, John Whitehill (1735–?), chief at Masulipatam, who was on leave in London, was instructed to travel to Madras, with orders for Lord Pigot’s immediate reinstatement. Whitehill’s journey back to India was extraordinarily speedy. Dalrymple had reported in his letter from Alexandria that it might be possible to send a reply back to Madras rapidly via vessels from Marseilles to Alexandria and then by the Swallow, which had remained in Suez as several sailors had the scurvy, and the winds might be favourable. Whitehill left London on 13 June, travelled to Alexandria and on to Cairo in a month (instead of the normal two), over the desert to Suez and the Red Sea and then joined the Swallow under the command of Captain Panton in Mocha then to Madras. The sea journey took 59 days to Bombay instead of at least 78, a record that remained for many years.

The situation Whitehill encountered when he arrived in Madras on 31 August 1777 was far worse than he expected. Pigot had been dead for three months. Stratton had moved Pigot from the relatively pleasant atmosphere of the Garden House, one mile south west of Fort St George, to the fort itself. On 28 April, as his health deteriorated,
Pigot was returned to the Garden House, while still under house arrest. On 11 May 1777, Pigot died and his secretary Edward Monckton immediately demanded an inquest. Following its verdict, a charge of wilful murder was brought against the majority and all council members were recalled to London. Those senior members of Madras Council who were responsible for Pigot’s mistreatment, George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer and George Mackay, were suspended on 31 August 1777. Russell and Stone left Madras in October 1777 on the *Egmont* via the Cape of Good Hope and arrived home after a journey of seven months. George Stratton and Henry Brooke eventually left Madras, arriving in Suez on 11 March 1778, a month after the news of Pigot’s death reached London. In April 1779, Pigot’s brother, Sir Hugh Pigot (1722–92) raised the matter in the House of Commons, but it was not until 27 May 1780 that the Court ‘resolved that Messrs Russell, Dalrymple, Stone and Lathom, having come home in pursuance of the Resolution of the General Court, in 1777, to have their conduct inquired into, and no objection having been made in so long a time, nor appearing against their conduct, should be again employed in the Company’s Service.’

Of course, there is also a romantic twist to the tale. In 1775, Lord Pigot’s two natural daughters, Leonora (c.1761/4–1829) and Sophy/Sophia Pigot (c.1757/60/63–1800) had accompanied their father, Lord Pigot, Dalrymple and Claud Russell on the *Grenville*, captained by Abercromby, and reached Madras after a very tedious and uncomfortable passage of nine months (during which Dalrymple maintained a meticulous logbook). On his death, Pigot left his daughters in the unfortunate position of being in Madras without a guardian. Leonora and Sophia’s dates of birth are vague and it has been suggested their mother was Leonora Jane Jackson, *née* Hepburn (1738–61), wife of a Robert Jackson ‘employed in the Country service’ – but she died in Madras probably before Leonora was born. More likely, as Howard Fry states, their mother was Indian. The sisters, Sophia and Leonora, received great wealth through their father’s will, as he had acquired a vast fortune in India, which included precious stones. Although Dalrymple was besotted with Sophia, it was Monckton who married her on 14 March 1776, six months before Dalrymple’s voyage on the *Swallow*. She brought with her a dowry of at least £20,000. Claud Russell had been planning to marry Leonora even before her father was arrested. He eventually married her in St Mary’s Church, where her father had been buried five months previously. Not wanting to leave Leonora alone in Madras, a marriage settlement was drawn up on 16 October 1777 between ‘Claud Russell, esquire of Fort Saint George, Coromandel Coast, East Indies’ and Leonora Pigot. She was then about 16, and had inherited a fortune estimated at around £20,000. The marriage took place in
haste on the day before they both embarked on the *Egmont* bound for London. They arrived in Britain about 20 May 1778, and on 28 August 1780 Claud Russell finalized the marriage agreement.\(^\text{14}\) Dalrymple never married, but remained devoted to Sophia and a close friend of the Russells and Moncktons until his death in 1808.\(^\text{15}\) In his will, Dalrymple left a portrait of himself to Leonora, an Astronomical Quadrant of six inches radius made by John Bird to Claud, and to Sophia he bequeathed ‘pearl ear rings and cross and rose set round with diamonds’ (which Dalrymple had been given by the Sultan of Sulu).\(^\text{16}\) Dalrymple was not the only person who admired Sophia: while travelling back across Egypt; Eyles Irwin in *Eastern Eclogues*, dedicated a poem in praise of her.

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**SELIMA: or, THE FAIR GREEK.**

Scene: A Seraglio in Arabia Felix,
TIME: NOON
To the Hon. Mrs. S. Monckton.
FAST by the vale that bosoms Sennaa’s pride,
By streams meander’d, and with shades supply’d;
Shades, which the boughs of breathing spices throw,
And streams that through eternal verdure flow;
Where in one form the seasons shine confest,
And blend to rule o’er Araby the blest;
A mansion, pervious to no prying eye,
Adorns the mead, and lifts its head on high:

**Afterwards...**

Eventually, they all, apart from Dalrymple, returned to India. Claud Russell returned to Madras in 1781 accompanied by his new wife but also by his brother, Patrick Russell MD FRS, who famously rewrote *Natural History of Aleppo* (1756)\(^\text{17}\) by their half-brother, Alexander Russell MD FRS (1714–68), and published his new edition in 1794.\(^\text{18}\) The immensely valuable accounts by Alexander and Patrick of their sojourns in Aleppo and their medical research are the subject of several recent publications.\(^\text{19}\) Patrick also published a series of pioneering works on the natural history of India.\(^\text{20}\) Dalrymple was appointed Company Hydrographer in 1779, and then to the Admiralty from 1795 until 1808. Between 1779 and 1794, he produced almost 550 plans and charts of harbours, navigational memoirs and 45 coastal views as well as 50–60 books and pamphlets of nautical instruction to aid East Indies navigation, based on the study of logs and journals in the Company’s archive.

In response to Hastings and Coote’s instructions, Capper produced a fuller account entitled *Observations* in which he described various routes between England and India that could be used. In the autumn of 1778, Capper left London, reaching Madras on 8 February 1779, taking five months and two days on his journey from Leghorn to Bombay.\(^\text{21}\) He crossed the Great Desert to Basra with Major Thompson.
from Aleppo, Mr Dighton, Jean Cadeo (his French valet de chambre) and his cook Babeck from Aleppo. Also travelling with them were Mr Shaw’s Armenian servant, 80 armed Arabs, ten of them being shaykhs, 60 camels with 31 loads plus another 19 camels accompanied by 19 Bedouin carrying tents, water and provisions; a Jewish merchant with 30 camels carrying grain; plus two strong camels who took it in turns to carry a howdah. Capper took the overland route ‘to explore the feasibility of opening a new channel for transmitting intelligence between Europe and India, returning to Madras via Aleppo, the Arabian desert, and Basrah’ and included an account in his Observations. According to the Gentleman’s Magazine (1784), Capper’s account of the Syrian Desert crossing to Basra in 1778 ‘is in general as dry as the Desert itself, though an account of the soil wind weather &c that occurred every day or the antelopes, ostriches etc. that they saw, may be interesting at the time, or to those who pursue the same route, it affords little amusement to others. Nothing remarkable seems to have happened.’ He was never reimbursed for the expenses he incurred during his extensive travels and in a resentful memorial he criticized the East India Company’s corrupt civil management. While nothing really eventful occurred, he did meet a party of 10,000 Bedouin ‘irreconcilable enemies’ to whom he paid a tribute of one chequin for every camel carrying merchandise. His book also includes two journals by George Baldwin about travelling between Constantinople and Aleppo and a return journey from Constantinople to Vienna. In India, Capper resumed his post of comptroller-general of the army in Madras and became an authority on winds and monsoons. He resigned in 1791 to pursue his interests in meteorology and local agriculture in South Wales.

Eyles Irwin also returned to India by land with despatches from the Directors of the India Company to the Governments of Bombay and Madras that were ‘too important to admit of delay consequently they were entitled to every attention, exertion and support which the Company’s agents had in their power to bestow.’ In a Supplement to his Adventures, he vividly described his escapades. He left London on 26 October 1780, crossed to Ostend and went on to Brussels, through the Tyrol and arrived in Venice, where he boarded a vessel on 14 November, but its captain and crew abandoned ship, so he returned to Venice, then crossed stormy seas to Latachea on the coast of Syria, continued to Aleppo (19 March), then went across the Great Syrian Desert to Baghdad, reaching Basra on 7 May, Bombay on 29 May 1781, and arriving in Madras in early June.

Irwin continued to write poems. For example, on 13 May 1781 he wrote an ‘Ode to the Persian Gulf’ on a voyage to Muscat.

FAIR Gulf! whose undulating wave
Is by the annual torrent swell’d,
Which Tygris and Euphrates pour,
When pressing Eden’s banks to lave,
By ruin’d Babylon impell’d,
They join, and haste to kiss thy shore.
“What tuneful shell may sound thy fame?
Irwin, ‘a painstaking and conscientious administrator’, was then appointed Superintendent of Tinnevelly and Madura; married Honor Brooke, a cousin of the insurgent Henry Brooke in 1778; returned home in 1786; was superintendent of the East India Company’s affairs in China from 1792, and retired from the service in 1794. Apart from more volumes of mediocre poems based on his Oriental reminiscences, Irwin wrote and produced The Bedouins, or Arabs of the Desert. A Comic Opera in three Acts that was performed for three nights at the Theatre Royal, Dublin, in 1802. Celebrating the hospitality and generosity he received during his adventures, Irwin’s main character Abdullah was modelled on Osman Abu ʿAli, a benevolent Bedouin he knew in Upper Egypt.

And what of the East India Company’s hopes of having a Suez route? Egypt slid into chaos after the death of Abu al-Dhahab in 1775. As Irwin described in a postscript, by August 1779, Bedouin raids on caravans of goods being transported from British ships between Suez and Cairo had got out of hand. Political instability combined with outbreaks of the plague and Ottoman distrust of foreign ships in the Red Sea, brought an end to the British attempt to open up Suez to European and Indian trade until the 1830s.

Endnotes

2 James Capper (1783) Observations on the passage to India, through Egypt; also to Vienna through Constantinople and Aleppo, and from thence to Bagdad, and across the Great Desert to Bassora. London, W. Faden et al.
3 Capper, Observations, xv.
4 Eyles Irwin, ‘Series of Adventures in the Course of a Voyage up the Red Sea: on the coasts of Arabia and Egypt; and of a route through the desarts [sic] of Thebais, in the year 1777…. ; and of a route through the desarts [sic] of Arabia, by Aleppo, Bagdad, and the Tygris to Busrah, in the years 1780 and 1781.’ in Letters to a Lady, &c. (London, J. Dodsley, 1787).

7 From the time George Monckton joined the Company as a Writer in Madras in 1762, he knew Lord Pigot in India. Monckton retired from India in 1778 and became MP for Stafford from 1780 to 1812.


11 Pigot’s long-term mistresses included Mrs Catherine Hill in Shropshire, who probably brought the sisters up after Pigot brought them to England in 1764. Pigot never married but had many other illegitimate children, including Amelia and George Wood; Elizabeth Surry; Harriet Sneed; Mary Green (c.1772–1852); Major George Pigot (1772?–1830), who migrated to South Africa; General Richard Pigot (1774–1868), a colonel in the 4th Dragoon Guards, and Sir Hugh Pigot KCB (1775/6–1857), Admiral of the White. Howard T. Fry (2013) Alexander Dalrymple and the Expansion of British Trade, London, Routledge: p. xxv.

12 The sisters did not inherit the ‘Pigot Diamond’ (c.47.38 carat) that Pigot probably brought back to England in 1764. The largest diamond in Britain, it was bequeathed to Pigot’s siblings, Sir Robert (1720–96) and Sir Hugh (1722–92), and his sister Margaret (Fisher). It was eventually purchased by the Albanian ruler ‘Ali Pasha (1740–1822) who deemed it unlucky and ordered it to be crushed after he was fatally wounded.


17 Alex.[ander] Russell, MD (1856 [1756]) The natural history of Aleppo, and parts adjacent, containing a description of the city and the natural productions of its neighbourhood. London, Andrew Millar.


20 Patrick Russell’s works on Indian natural history include his Preface to William Roxborough’s Plants of the coast of Coromandel (London, [W. Bulmer], 1795): pp i–vii; An Account of Indian Serpents Collected on the Coast of Coromandel (London, George Nicol,
1796); An Account of Indian Snakes collected on the coast of Coromandel 2 vols (London, The East India Company, 1803); Descriptions and figures of two hundred fishes (London, G. and W. Nicol, 1803); An Account of Indian serpents, collected on the coast of Coromandel (London, Shakespeare Press, 1805); A continuation of an account of Indian serpents containing descriptions and figures from specimens and drawings (London, The East India Company, 1801 [1809])

From 29 September to 2 October 1778, he travelled from Leghorn to Latiche; 1–4 November 1778 from Latiche to Aleppo; 10 November–18 December 1778 across the Syrian Desert.


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