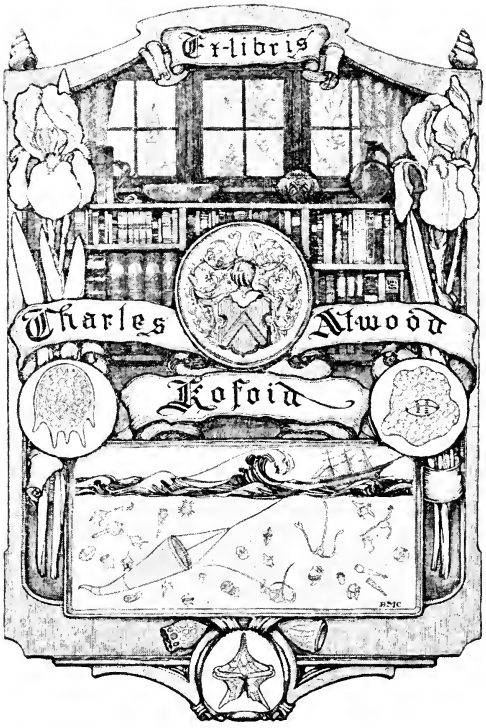
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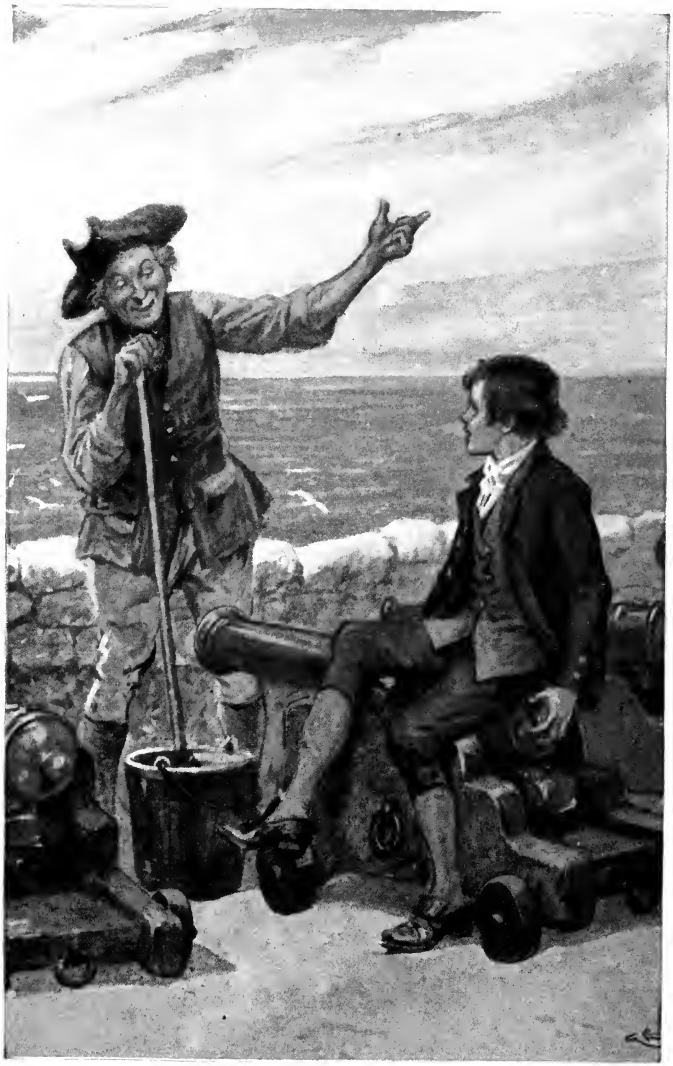

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A STORY OF THE DEEP

Stories of the sea in former days.

Preface

The experiences of those "that go down to the sea in ships" have ever been of the greatest interest to young readers. Stories of shipwreck, famine, mutiny, and the other misfortunes which befall the mariner, always will be appreciated by all who love to read of deeds of daring, and to ponder on the lessons which may be drawn from them. They may serve as examples to be imitated in times of necessity; of dangers, once encountered, to be afterwards avoided; or as beacons to indicate the rocks and shoals which beset nearly every path in life.

In the present volume will be found narratives of occurrences, such as the ever-memorable mutiny of the *Bounty*, which have become historical, and many others of equal interest. They have been compiled from authentic sources; and it is hoped that they will be read with that attention which is ever roused by the perusal of *true* stories of suffering and courage under trying circumstances.

London
Gresham
1905

Contents

ADVENTURES OF PIETRO QUIRINI, A VENETIAN

(1431)

Impelled by a strong desire to increase his fortune, Pietro Quirini, a Venetian merchant established at Candia, undertook a voyage to Flanders, in a vessel whose cargo was composed of cotton, wines, and other Candian products. His son, whom he designed to accompany him, died five days before his departure, a calamity which proved too correct a presage of the misfortunes which the future concealed for him.

He sailed from Candia, which then belonged to the Venetians, on the 25th of April, 1431. His ship springing a leak, through the carelessness of the pilot, he was compelled to put into Cadiz to get her repaired. He again put to sea on the 14th of July, but a north-east wind drove him out into the open, near the Canary Isles, shores with which he was unacquainted, and which seemed to him very perilous. Provisions ran short, and the fastenings of the helm giving way, it was necessary to replace them. Thus he was driven into Lisbon, where he arrived on the 29th of August, and from whence he departed on the 14th of September.

Hardly had the ship got out to sea before a terrible tempest overtook her, which lasted several days, and drove her beyond the Scilly Isles, at the very time that she ought to have been sailing up the Channel. On the

10th of November the fury of the storm was much increased, the helm was again unshipped, and the vessel drifted far away to the westward. The crew contrived to repair the helm with some stout cordage, but once more it was rendered useless, and it was only after three days of incredible exertions that they were able to repatch it. In this extremity the greatest economy became needful in the distribution of the provisions, and everybody cheerfully submitted to very limited rations.

The danger grew imminent. The Venetian merchant retired into his cabin. After having collected himself a little, and uttered a few brief earnest prayers, he regained his courage, and returned on deck to reanimate and inspire his crew. After some fruitless trials at new rudders, the 25th of November found them battling with the utmost fury of the winds and waves. But a sudden pause ensued, and delayed the last hour of the ill-fated vessel. The sails, however, were so much damaged that when the crew attempted to hoist them they rent into fragments. Thus deprived of helm and canvas, the ship tossed to and fro on the seething waters, and leaked so rapidly that it was with difficulty she was kept afloat.

On the 4th of December four great waves broke upon the deck, and the ship plunged deeper and more heavily in the sea. The crew, in spite of their fatigue, and though working up to their waists in water, succeeded in pumping her free of water. For the three following days the weather moderated; but on the 7th the hurricane so agitated the ocean that the billows rolled mountains high. At one time the ship was carried up to the skies, at another dashed into an abyss in the middle of the waters, and the profound darkness was only relieved by an occasional flash of vivid lightning. The vessel so hung over to larboard, and the water poured down the hatches in such

abundance, that the sailors, expecting every moment she would founder, looked at each other with a mournful air, as if inquiring what could be done to relieve her. As a last resource they cut away the mainmast. At the moment that it fell the sea threw the ship nearly on her beam ends, and the mast rolled over into the waves. Immediately the ship righted, and the crew, during the dark and miserable night, applied themselves to the pumps. But Quirini called them together, and addressed them in a few sensible words: " You see, my friends," he said, " that it is no longer possible to steer or govern our ship. Our provisions are rapidly diminishing. To remain here is to resign one's self to certain death, either by famine or drowning. Let us then take to the boats with what provisions we have left, and so, with Heaven's help, we may hope to save ourselves if the weather moderates."

The crew consented, believing the nearest coast to be that of Ireland, about twenty leagues distant, and prepared to abandon the ship on the first favourable opportunity. Quirini proposed to draw lots for the forty-seven persons who should embark in the shallop, leaving the other twenty-one to find shelter in the cutter. The number of men required for the latter frail and dangerous skiff voluntarily stepped forward, and Quirini, with the officers, entered into the shallop, though they would have preferred the cutter as the post of honour. Every exertion was then made to get the boats afloat.

The operation was long and troublesome; but at length, on the 17th, was terminated. The provisions were equally divided, but the two boats could only contain a very small quantity of wine.

The moment of parting was a cruel one for all. They embraced each other with lively expressions of regret. The captain was overwhelmed with grief when at last

constrained to bid adieu to the graceful ship he had constructed with so much labour, and upon whose rich cargo he had founded such brilliant hopes of future fortune.

In a mist which gathered over about evening the skiff got separated from the shallop. On the following morning the crew of the latter looked about eagerly for her, but she was no more seen, and never more heard of. They deeply deplored the fate of their comrades, whom they necessarily supposed to have perished, but soon they were menaced with a similar doom. The sea became so furious that a monstrous billow broke over the stern of the shallop, and nearly filled her with water. All hands set to work to bail, and in their frantic terror flung overboard everything on which they laid their hands—wine, provisions, clothing. The loss of a portion of their wine compelled them to restrict each man to one glass per day, and at the end of a week this ration was further reduced one half.

The sufferings of these poor wretches did not diminish. Day and night they were under the necessity of bailing the shallop of the water which constantly flowed into her. They had never experienced at Venice a winter so bitterly cold. The sailors felt it most keenly, being lightly clad, scantily supplied with provisions, and exposed to the inclemency of nights which lasted twenty hours. Their feet grew benumbed, and an entire loss of sensation gradually spread over every limb. Tormented by hunger, they devoured whatever they could grasp, then, stricken suddenly, they fell forward, and breathed their last sigh.

Thus perished two and even four men daily between the 19th and 29th of December; by the 5th of January twenty-six had perished. They were buried in the waves by their trembling comrades.

All the wine was now consumed. The poor sufferers, seeing no prospect of a termination of their miseries, prepared themselves anew for death. Quirini himself regretted that he was not among those whose troubles and agonies were ended. Animated by a love of life, some drank the sea water to quench and satisfy their thirst, but the draught only prolonged their sufferings for a few hours. Five days were passed in this deplorable condition. On the 3rd or 4th of January, a sailor perceived, about daybreak, something which resembled the snowy summits of lofty rocks. He communicated his discovery, with some inquietude, to his comrades, who, turning their anxious gaze in that direction, impatiently awaited the coming of the light. With what inexpressible joy they beheld before them—land!

At this sight their strength seemed renewed; but the wind blowing contrary, they could not hoist the sails, and their wasted frames could not endure the fatigue of the oar. Day lasted but two brief hours. The wind and the current together drove away the shallop, and the welcome land disappeared! Surprised by night, they fell into a cruel uncertainty. Dawn revealed to them some high mountains to the eastward, and the day passed in eager hopes of being drifted towards them. Not to lose their course during the second night, they calculated their position by the compass.

About three o'clock in the morning they found themselves in the midst of shoals and rocks. A wave leaping over their boat exposed them to the most imminent danger, and they commended themselves to the mercy of Providence. The shallop was dashed against a rock, but happily another billow took her clean over the reef, and carried her ashore out of further chance of peril.

As soon as she grounded, five sailors, tormented by an

irrepressible thirst, leapt overboard, and eagerly swallowed an almost incredible quantity of the cool pure snow; then they bore some handfuls to their comrades, who were exerting all their strength in forcing off the shallop from the rocks. They, too, essayed to moderate their burning thirst. Quirini states his belief that he swallowed as much snow as he could have carried, and attributed to its salutary effect the preservation of his life, while two men died from having drank salt water.

The crew, who had neither cables, nor any other means of mooring their wave-worn craft, remained all night busily engaged in keeping her in shore. On the morrow, sixteen men—the sole survivors of forty-seven who had originally embarked in her—went ashore. They laid themselves upon the snow, and thanked Heaven for their wonderful deliverance. Hunger compelled them to examine the extent of their provisions—some fragments of biscuit in a bad condition, a ham, and a small piece of cheese. They kindled a fire with the benches of their shallop, and prepared their scanty repast.

Having discovered that the place where they had been saved was but a barren rock, they resolved to quit it on the following day. They filled five water-barrels with snow, and set out without knowing whither they should direct their course; but the moment they got on board the shallop, the water rushed in on every side, because, during the preceding night, the precaution had not been taken of keeping her off the rocks. Two of the men charged with this important duty, growing impatient at the delay of their comrades in returning, had gone ashore to warm their frozen limbs. The shallop had been so damaged that she began to sink when they attempted to board her, and all were compelled to return ashore.

In the eighteen days that had elapsed since their

abandonment of their ship, they calculated that they had drifted 2500 miles without seeing land, and that they were now landed on the Isle of Saints, situated on the coast of Norway, but subject to Denmark. Although their position was deplorable, they reflected that it was preferable to the perils of a tempest-tossed sea. With the sails and oars of the shallop they constructed a couple of tents for their shelter, and split up the other portions of the wreck to serve as fuel.

The only aliment they could procure was sea herbs, mussels, and other small shell-fish which they picked up on the shore, but scarcely in sufficient quantities to appease their hunger. They divided themselves into two detachments, thirteen men under one tent, three men under the other. One division lay in the snow, the other was seated round the fire; but the extreme dampness of the wood rendered the smoke so insupportable as to peril the eyesight of those unfortunates. The secretary of Quirini had his neck eaten up by disease even to the very nerves, and died. Three vigorous and healthy Spaniards died of drinking salt water. The thirteen men who survived were so weak and exhausted, that for three days and three nights they were incapable of dragging from their tent the corpses of their dead companions.

Thus twelve days passed by, at the end of which dreary period, Quirini's servant having gone out to collect some mussels, discovered on a distant part of the rock a wooden hut, and near it some traces of cattle. The hut being in good condition, the shipwrecked crew resolved to establish themselves in it. They all repaired thither, except two or three who were too weak to walk, and carried with them several bundles of firewood. Although the distance was but a mile and a half, Quirini could hardly accomplish it, and experienced much difficulty

in making his way through the snow. On arriving there he felt a lively sensation of joy from the conviction that he must be in the neighbourhood of human habitations.

Two days afterwards, one of the sailors, who was out mussel gathering, found an immense fish weighing not less than 200 lb. It was perfectly fresh, and appeared to have lain on the shore for a very short time. Unfortunately, at this epoch, dissensions had sprung up among the shipwrecked crew, and divided them into two factions. The sailor who had discovered the fish endeavoured to conceal it from the party opposed to his own, but these latter, obtaining intelligence of the discovery, determined to profit by it, either by force or in peacefulness. Quirini interposed his mediation, and ordered the fish to be equally divided. It was then cut up into pieces, and carried to the hut, where the men broiled or boiled them. Some, too impatient for the culinary process, ate their shares raw. Thus they feasted for four days, when it became evident the supply would soon fail. By a prudent re-division, it was made to last ten days longer, for the tempest was so violent that they could not go out to search for provisions. They had then recourse again to the mussels cast on the shore, up to the 31st of January, 1432.

Meanwhile, a fisherman who lived on the small island of Rüst, distant about eight or ten miles, came with his two sons to this desert island in search of some missing cattle. The father remained on the shore to take care of the boat; his sons proceeded towards the hut, and discovered, to their extreme surprise, smoke circling above its roof. This smoke, on an uninhabited island, excited their surprise, and became the subject of their conversation. The sounds of their voices fell upon the ears of Cristoforo Fioravanti. " Do you not hear human

voices?" he cried to his desolate companions. "It is but the cries of the birds of prey," replied his neighbour, "who are watching for our end, that they may feed upon our corpses, as they have already fed upon those of our comrades." At this very moment some crows were tearing to pieces the dead bodies of some of the shipwrecked crew.

However, these voices grew more distinct; the sailors rushed from their hut, and perceived two young persons, who grew pale with fear at seeing so many strangers. But soon perceiving their misery and distress, they addressed them and informed them of the place of their abode. Quirini did not understand their language. After this, two of his men went down to the fisher's boat, in the hope of obtaining some provisions; as they found none, they concluded that the visitors had made but a short voyage. It was then agreed that two of the shipwrecked crew should go in the boat, which was unable to hold a larger number. Some were of opinion that one of the two lads should be retained as a hostage for their speedy return; but Quirini justly pointed out the impolicy of offering the slightest injury to those upon whom depended all their hopes of relief. Gherardo di Leone and Cola di Otranto, who understood a little French and German, embarked. The boat sailed away, leaving the rest of the crew in a state of terrible anxiety. A day and a night passed, and they did not return. Quirini began to fear that the boat, overloaded, had perished.

But the cause of the delay was simply that the inhabitants of Rüst, having gone fishing, could learn no sooner the pitiable position of the shipwrecked. The curé, who was a German Dominican, then depicted to them in pathetic terms the sufferings of the unfortunate ocean waifs, showed those two who had arrived, and promised

the blessing of heaven to those who should be the first to render assistance.

With what indescribable joy did the unfortunate crew behold the approach of six boats loaded with provisions! The curé accompanied his flock on their errand of mercy. On arriving, he asked in Latin who was the captain of the shipwrecked ship. Quirini making himself known, they received some rye bread, which seemed to them like heavenly manna. The monk next gave Quirini some beer for their drink; then, taking him by the hand, desired him to select two of his people to embark with him. Quirini selected Francesco Quirini, of Candia, and Cristoforo Fioravanti, of Venice. These four embarked in a boat belonging to the principal inhabitant of Rustène; he was a fisherman. When they landed, Quirini, who was too weak to walk, was supported in the arms of the fisherman's son. The remainder of the crew was distributed in five other boats.

On entering into a house, he was met by the mistress, followed by a servant. He was about, in imitation of the Greek slaves, to fling himself at her feet, but she prevented him. Moved by his miserable condition, she led him near the fire and gave him a bowl of milk. During the three months he spent in this house, the mistress constantly showed him the most generous attention. His companions, ten in number, billeted in other houses, were treated with the same humanity. They were abundantly supplied with fish, butter, and milk, and sometimes meat.

There remained, however, two men detained by their feebleness on the desert island. They were too far off to be apprised of the brighter fortunes that had dawned. The inhabitants of Rüst went to their assistance, but they found one already dead and another in extremity.

They interred the body of the first, with the remains of eight other unfortunates, and celebrated a funeral service over them. He who still survived was removed to Rüst, and there he died two days afterwards.

Rüst contains about twelve huts, and one hundred and twenty inhabitants, mostly Catholics. These are fishers by profession, and as barley will not grow in such a region of frost and ice, their principal food is fish, which they eat in incredible quantities. They dry in the sun a species called stock-fish, weighing about 200 lb., and export it to Germany, in exchange for provisions, clothing, and, above all, timber, in which the island is totally deficient. These poor people are of most exemplary honesty: nothing is kept under lock, for the precaution would be absurd and unnecessary. Thieving and all such crimes are unknown in this glacial Eden. Marriages are made in conformity with the Divine precept. Neither oaths nor blasphemies are permitted; the utmost moderation and piety are observed; and the community more closely resembles the famous Pitcairn islanders than any other of which we have heard.

Their clothes are principally made from English cloth; their caps are usually of Danish manufacture. Some wear coverings of red and black fur to protect them from the extreme humidity of the climate. Their houses, of wood, are circular in shape, with an opening in the roof instead of a window. During excessive cold they cover this aperture with a piece of transparent fish skin, which admits the light without the keen air. To strengthen their children, they place them, almost as soon as born, under the opening, and allow the snow to fall upon them —a regimen which, it is said, so inures them to the cold, that they learn to regard its severity with indifference! During Quirini's residence in this island, it snowed

almost incessantly from the 5th of February to the 14th of May.

At the beginning of spring, large troops of wild geese, called Mouxi by the inhabitants, migrate hither, and construct their nests in the rocks, or against the walls of the houses. When at sunset the cries of these birds are suddenly silent, the inhabitants accept it as a signal that the hour of repose has arrived. They are very tame, and hover about the human habitations like pigeons: when the housewife goes to collect the eggs in the nest, the bird flies tranquilly away, and returns when the work of spoliation is completed.

From the 20th of November to the 20th of February a dull and dreary twilight prevails. From the 20th of May to the 20th of August the sun is constantly above the horizon. The island, which is three miles in circumference, is low, except in the inhabited quarter. Situated at seventy miles to the west of Norway, its people have named it the extremity of the world. The surrounding seas are studded with numerous rocky islets, some inhabited, but most of them desolate.

The shipwrecked mariners remained three months and eleven days in the isle of Rüst, waiting for the month of May, when the exportation of the stock-fish to the mainland takes place. The inhabitants then prepared to conduct them to Bergen. Some days before their departure, the news of their abode at Rüst reached the ears of the wife of the deputy who governs all these islands; she sent to them her chaplain, in a six-oared canoe, and bearing a gift of sixty dried fish, three loaves of rye bread, and a cake. She also recommended the inhabitants to treat them with hospitality, and convey them to Bergen. In returning thanks to their benefactress, the Venetians bore grateful testimony to the kindness of their hosts.

Quirini had preserved a string of amber beads brought from the shrine of St. James of Compostella: he sent it to this generous lady, as a mark of gratitude, and commended himself and his companions to her prayers, that Heaven might favour them with a safe return to their native land.

However, when the time of their departure arrived, the islanders, at the instigation of the German monk, their curé, who thus gave the lie to his first manifestations of humanity, demanded of the Venetians two *gros écus* per month for their board, amounting to seven crowns per head. Unable to make up such a sum, they gave six cups, six spoons, and as many forks of silver, with several objects of lesser value. Most of these treasures fell into the monk's hands, and he did not hesitate to retain them, on the ground that he had acted as interpreter. The unfortunate mariners, to whom there now remained but little of what they had saved from their unfortunate voyage, received from the islanders a present of dried fish, and at the moment of saying adieu, the women and children burst into tears, nor could Quirini and his companions repress their own.

They sailed from Rüst on the 14th of May. The days had greatly increased in length, and by the end of the month the sun remained above the horizon for forty-eight hours. Continuing their voyage to the south, they lost sight of the sun for one hour in the twenty-four; but the skies were still so bright and luminous, as to confirm the truth of the islanders' account of their summer. About two hundred miles from Rüst, the adventurers discovered, upon the rocks, the wreck of the cutter of their ship, and concluded that the men who had embarked in it had perished. They threaded their way among a great number of islands, some desolate, and some inhabited.

Thus they sailed with a favourable wind for sixteen days. Quirini observed several headlands projecting into the sea. He fell in with the Archbishop of Drontheim on a visit to the islands of his diocese, with a *suite* of two hundred persons, on board two large galleys. When the Venetians were introduced to him, and told the tale of their misfortunes, he consoled them earnestly; and, to facilitate their kindly reception, gave them several letters of recommendation.

The next day—the Feast of Ascension—Quirini and his followers arrived at Drontheim. They immediately attended mass at the magnificent church of St. Olaf, King of Norway, who sleeps within its stately walls. After this act of devout gratitude, they waited upon the governor, who displayed a lively interest in the story of their sufferings. He inquired of Quirini if he could speak Latin, and receiving an answer in the affirmative, invited him and his companions to dinner, and banqueted them most hospitably.

Quirini was advised by him to seek out his countryman, Giovanni Franco, who had been knighted by the King of Sweden, and lived at a chateau about fifty days' journey from Drontheim. After resting himself for a week, Quirini set out from Drontheim. The governor presented him with two horses and furnished him with a guide. In acknowledgment of these attentions, Quirini gave the governor a casket and girdle of silver; the governor returned a pair of boots, spurs, a hat, a small hatchet engraved with the governor's arms and the image of St. Olaf, four Rhenish florins, and some bread and herrings. Attended by his followers, he commenced his journey on the 9th of June.

For fifty-three days the Venetians journeyed onwards. In some places they met with the scantiest accommoda-

tion; often they could procure no bread, but substituted a cake made of the pounded bark of a tree, which they ate with milk and butter. Fortunately they could always procure milk and cheese. At other points their accommodation was excellent, and they regaled themselves upon meat, beer, and other nourishing provender. Everywhere they found a friendly and hospitable welcome.

Four days before their arrival at Stichimbourg, the residence of the Chevalier Franco, the travellers paused at Wadstena, the birthplace of St. Brigitta, who founded a monastery, which is administered on most rigid principles. The Norwegian princes have built in her honour a magnificent church, roofed with copper, in which Quirini counted two-and-sixty altars. As the great wealth of the monastery is appropriated to the relief of the poor, the strangers were generously entertained here, and their needs abundantly supplied. After a repose of two days, they set out for Giovanni Franco's chateau. On their arrival they received a kindly welcome. He spared no exertions to minister to their comfort, and for a fortnight they were treated like members of his own household.

The Venetians were now apprised that at Lodesa, a seaport eight days' journey from Wadstena, two ships were on the point of sailing, one for Rostock, in Germany, the other for England. They, therefore, took leave of the Chevalier Franco on the 3rd of August. He abundantly supplied them with money to defray the expenses of their voyage, and sent his son, Matteo, to accompany them to Lodesa. At Lodesa the travellers were lodged in a house which also belonged to Franco, and the son paid them the same liberal attentions as his father had done.

The ship chartered for Rostock being ready, Miccielli, Fioravanti, and Di Leone embarked in her. A few days

later, the eight other Venetians sailed for England. Favourable winds wafted them speedily to Ely, where the captain of their ship, having learned their misfortunes, presented them with four nobles. Five days afterwards they set out *en route* for London.

Before Quirini's arrival at London, some of his people had announced his coming to the Italian merchants, and you may imagine the joy with which he found them awaiting him on his road. They, on their part, received him as one who had risen from the dead, and embraced him with tearful eyes.

A few days afterwards, Bernardo di Caghiri, the pilot, and Andrea di Piero, seaman, set out to accomplish a vow they had made in the days of their distress. Quirini remained at London with his faithful domestic, Nicolo, Alvisio di Nasimber, Francesco Quirini, and Pietro di Gradenigo. He gave to the devotees sufficient money to defray their expenses.

The remainder of the little band remained for two months longer at London. It was against their will they tarried, but they were still so weak and feeble, so exhausted by their toils and sufferings, that their friends insisted upon their remaining tranquil. All were suitably clothed and treated according to their rank, and Quirini's friends would not hear of accepting any kind of recompense.

At length Quirini quitted London with Theronymo Bragadini, one of his generous benefactors. On reaching the continent, some of his sailors separated from him to perform their vows; others took a different route. He himself, with his compatriot, took the Bâle road, and arrived at Venice in forty-two days. He learned at Bruges that the ship which he had seen, at the outset of his misfortunes, in the latitude of Cape Clear, on the

Irish coast, had perished on the 11th of November, 1431.

Quirini was naturally of a weak and delicate frame, but after enduring the rude experiences which we have thus briefly narrated, his constitution changed, and he became remarkably robust and healthy.

The Venetians who had embarked at Lodesa for Rostock, arrived at Venice on the 12th of October, 1432, after a long and very wearisome voyage.

SUFFERINGS AND ESCAPES OF BONTEKOÉ

(1618)

Wilhelm Cobrantz Bontekoé was named in 1618, by the Dutch East India Company, captain of the ship *Nieuw Hoorn*, of 1100 tons burden, intended for the Indian trade, and manned by a crew of 206 men.

Bontekoé set sail from the Texel on the 20th of December. On the 5th of January, 1619, he had just cleared the English Channel, when the ship was struck with three furious blasts of wind, which almost covered the decks with water. In the midst of the alarm and apprehension of the crew, Bontekoé, always active, especially in danger, ordered them to bail out the water with their leather buckets; but the decks were so encumbered with merchandise that, in the continual rolling of the ship, which dashed one chest against another, no space could be found to work in, and those goods which were most in the way of the sailors were summarily tossed overboard.

At length the peril was over, and on the 20th Bontekoé profited by a spell of milder weather to continue his voyage. Two Dutch vessels which successively joined him—the *New Zealand*, commanded by Captain Peter Thyoz, of Amsterdam; and the *Enckhuysen*, by Jean Janoz—brought him some assistance and extra stores.

They crowded on all sail to cross the line; but it fell a sudden calm, which detained them three weeks, and compelled them afterwards to push on with all speed to pass the Abrojos—a group of rocks in the sea of the Antilles—with a south-west wind. When near this dangerous point they were again becalmed. They contrived, however, to steer clear of them, and made for the island of Tristan d'Acunha, in whose latitude they unexpectedly found themselves. The winds, however, were so variable, that Bontekoé resolved to direct his course towards the Cape of Good Hope; but they blew with such strength that he was compelled to drift under easy sail without venturing to approach the land. Apprehensive of losing his ship, Bontekoé summoned a council of his officers, and, taking into consideration that the crews were healthy and vigorous, and the supply of fresh water abundant, the officers of the three ships resolved to double the Cape without touching at it. This resolution was safely carried out, and they coasted along the shore of Natal in a time of very favourable weather. It was now the end of May, and five months had passed since Bontekoé left the Texel.

The *Enckhuysen*, which was destined for the Coromandel coast, now separated from her consorts to pursue her route between the shores of Africa and those of Madagascar. Soon afterwards, some differences arising between him and her captain, Bontekoé also parted company with the *New Zealand*; he lost sight of her in 23° S. lat.

On board Bontekoé's ship disease now made its appearance, and made such rapid inroads that in a very short time forty men were placed on the sick list. Most of the others being also in a sorry condition, he steered his course towards Madagascar to gain the Bay of St. Louis.

But as no good anchorage could be secured, Bontekoé lowered his longboat and entered in it, while the ship kept upon short tacks. The sea broke so violently on the shore, that he found it impossible to approach it. They perceived some of the islanders, however, and a sailor swam towards them to speak with them. They made signs with their hands, and appeared to indicate a convenient landing place. But as he could not quite understand them, and they offered no refreshment, he returned on board having accomplished nothing. The sick men, seeing Bontekoé return with empty hands, were grievously disappointed. Sail was now made towards the south as far as lat. 29°, where, changing his tack, he resolved to make the island of Mauritius or of Mascarenhas. In effect, having steered to pass between the two, Bontekoé made the latter, and found forty fathoms of water near the shore. But as the place did not seem very secure, on account of its proximity to the coast, he would not drop anchor there. The sick sighed earnestly for land, but the breakers prevented any attempt to disembark them. The longboat was despatched to examine the island. The crew found on the shore a large quantity of tortoises. The sight increased the burning desire of the invalids, who believed they should be half cured immediately they reached the land.

The supercargo of the vessel, named Hein-Roe, objected to their disembarkation, under the pretence that the ship might drive out to sea, and so they should risk losing those who might be ashore. The sick uttered their prayers with such painful eagerness that Bontekoé was much affected; he went upon deck, and cried aloud that everybody should land. This promise was received with transports of joy. Bontekoé gave the invalids some canvas for a tent, provisions, utensils, and a cook. He

himself landed to serve as their guide. It was a touching spectacle when these poor creatures placed their feet on the fresh green sward, and flung themselves upon it as upon a bed of roses. They declared that already they felt a mitigation of their pains.

They discovered on the beach a prodigious number of pigeons, which suffered themselves to be knocked down with the hand or a stone, without making any effort to fly away. On the first day they killed more than two hundred. Nor were the turtles more difficult to catch. Bontekoé, well pleased to see them so abundantly supplied, left them to the number of forty, and returned on board.

The anchorage appeared so insecure to the captain that, on the following night, he took his boat, and went in quest of a better roadstead. At a distance of five miles he found an excellent bay, with a sandy bottom, and, a few yards inland, discovered a lake of brackish water. Bontekoé saw a number of geese, pigeons, grey parrots, and other birds. Sheltering under a lonely tree he found five-and-twenty turtles; they were so fat that they could hardly move.

After examining the bay thoroughly, Bontekoé carried the news of his discovery to the sick, who re-embarked in the hope of finding a still more convenient asylum. The anchors were dropped in thirty-five fathoms of water. The captain allowed the crew to go ashore in turns; then he commanded eight men to drag the lake with a net. They caught some splendid fish—carps, pollards, and a species of salmon, fat and of excellent flavour. In the bay they found some *drontes*, a species of fish with very small fins, whose fatness renders them very heavy. Finally, they discovered some fresh water in a river, bordered with trees, which descended from the hills.

The island being uninhabited, the seamen could ramble over every part of it, and enjoy without apprehension the pleasures of fishing and hunting. They made some wooden spits for roasting the birds, and, larding them with the oil of the turtle, rendered them infinitely delicate. They discovered another stream of excellent fresh water, and observed with joy that it swarmed with fat eels. They caught a great number, and found them very savoury. They saw some bucks, but could only catch a venerable old patriarch, whose horns were half eaten by worms, and whose flesh no one would eat.

This plentifulness of food was very beneficial to the sick, and they soon returned to their duties on board, except seven, whose weakness compelled them to remain on the island until the ship was on the point of sailing. Bontekoé did not fail to lay in a good stock of birds and fish, which had been carefully dried.

They weighed anchor, with the intention of putting into the Mauritius, but the ship having dropped down too low, they found themselves too far off. As a few of the crew had not yet recovered their health, Bontekoé regretted that he had so soon quitted the isle of Mascarenhas; besides, he foresaw that he should have to keep some distance to the south before meeting with the trade winds that would take him to Bantam or Batavia, and that he might be carried away by the strength of the currents. This apprehension induced him to resolve on making straight for the island of St. Mary, which lies close to Madagascar, opposite the Bay of Antongil. In due time he arrived on the east side of the island, in eight fathoms of water—so clear that the bottom could be plainly seen—and dropped anchor in an indentation of the coast, in a depth of thirteen fathoms. The islanders, although less accustomed to the sight of Europeans than

the natives of Madagascar, boarded them with hens, lemons, and a little rice, and gave them to understand by signs that they had cows, sheep, and other provisions. Bontekoé gave them some wine in a silver cup. They drank it with avidity, thrusting their entire face into the cup; but, as soon as they had emptied it, they began to shout like madmen. They were naked, with the exception of a cloth about their loins. Their skin was of a yellowish black colour.

The Dutch landed daily to barter with them. Bells, spoons, yellow-handled knives, and beads of glass or coral appeared to the natives an equivalent in value for calves, sheep, and pigs, rice, milk, and water-lemons. They carried the milk in large leaves skilfully interwoven one with the other. But as they had few lemons and oranges, Bontekoé resolved to go to Madagascar in an armed boat, and carry some merchandise which he hoped to exchange for the much-needed fruit. He entered into a river which he ascended for about a league, when his further progress was checked by the branches of the trees on either bank which mingled with one another, and let fall an impenetrable screen upon the water. Having found no sign of fruits or habitations, he was compelled to return on board. Another day he was more fortunate in the island off whose coast his ship lay at anchor. At some distance along the shore he found a supply of oranges, lemons, milk, rice, and bananas.

During the nine days that he spent in these convenient quarters, his men regained the health and strength which they had enjoyed on leaving Holland. Frequently when they went ashore they were accompanied by a musician who played the violin. The islanders listened to this instrument with the greatest surprise; some of them seated themselves around the musician and kept time

with their fingers, others danced with joy. In some places, the Dutch observed behind the houses heads of oxen elevated upon stakes. These seem to be designed for idols, as the natives are in the habit of falling on their knees before them apparently in worship.

The ship had been thoroughly cleansed to her very keel, and so carefully repaired, that if the Dutch still entertained any apprehension or distrust, it could not be on this score. So they again set sail, and directed their course towards the strait of the Sunda.

On the 19th of November, 1619, when they were in 5° 30′ S. lat., which is that of the strait, Bontekoé heard a cry of " Fire! fire!" In all haste he descended to the hold, but could detect no appearance of conflagration. He asked where it had broken out. " Captain," was the reply, " in this cask." He put his hand upon it, but did not feel it burning.

The sailors told him that the purser having descended in the afternoon, according to custom, to draw the brandy for distribution on the morrow, had fastened his iron candlestick to a barrel placed in a tier above the one he was about to tap; a spark, or rather a small portion of the burning wick, had fallen exactly into the bunghole, the fire had caught the brandy in the hogshead, and the two heads having exploded, the ignited brandy rolled away to the charcoal of the forge. But having thrown some pailfuls of water on the fire, it appeared to be extinguished. Bontekoé, somewhat reassured by this recital, caused several buckets of water to be emptied on the coal, and, perceiving no trace of fire, repaired to the upper deck with a tranquil mind.

" Half an hour later," says M. Bontekoé, " some of my people began to shout ' Fire! fire!' I was thunderstruck, but descending immediately, saw flames spring-

ing up from the bottom of the hold. The combustion was in the coal which the brandy had penetrated, and the danger was all the more pressing because three or four tiers of casks were raised one above the other. We began to throw upon the place buckets full of water in prodigious quantity.

" But a new incident occurred to increase our troubles; the water falling on the coal caused a smoke so thick and so offensive, that it almost suffocated those who were in the hold. I therefore ordered the sailors to take it in turn to go on deck that they might obtain a little relief. I feared that already several had been choked before they could reach the hatchways. For myself, I was suffocating. Not knowing what I did, I went at intervals to rest my head upon a cask, turning my face towards the hatchway to breathe a moment.

" At length, finding myself forced to quit the hold, I said to Roe that it appeared to me advisable to empty the powder overboard. He did not quite agree with me. ' If we throw overboard the powder,' said he, ' what would become of us if we met with any enemies? What means should we have of defending ourselves?'.

" However, the fire did not slacken. We took a hatchet, and cut some large holes between decks, through which we poured vast quantities of water, without ceasing at the same time to make use of the hatchways. Three weeks ago we had put the longboat to sea; we now towed the shallop because it was in the way of those who drew up the water. We could discern nothing but the fire and the water, by which we were equally threatened, for wherever we gazed we could see no land and no vessel. The crew, gliding from every part of the ship, descended upon the larboard shrouds, from whence they dropped into the water, and swimming towards the shallop or the

canoe, they got on board, and concealed themselves under the benches or under the sails, waiting until they mustered in sufficient numbers to make their escape.

" Roe having accidentally gone into the galley, was surprised to see so many men in the boats; they cried out to him that they should pull off, and exhorted him to embark with them. Their entreaties, and the sight of the coming peril, induced him to comply. On reaching the longboat, he said to them, ' My friends, we must wait for the captain.' But his orders were not listened to. As soon as he was on board, they cut the small cable, and pulled away from the vessel.

" As I was constantly occupied in giving my orders and urging forward the work, some of those who remained came to me in a state of dismay, and exclaimed, ' What will become of us, captain? The shallop and the longboat are both at sea.' ' If they are leaving us,' I replied, ' it is with the intention of returning no more.' And immediately running upon deck, I saw plainly the manœuvre of the fugitives. The vessel's sails were brailed up. I cried to the sailors, ' Up aloft, quickly, and set our canvas; let us bear down to overtake them; and if they refuse to receive us into their shallop, we will run our ship into it, and teach these cowards their duty.'

" And, indeed, we got within three ships' lengths of them; but they gained the weather-gage, and began to increase their distance. I then said to the mariners who surrounded me, ' You see, my friends, that there remains for us no more hope but in God's mercy and our own exertions; we must redouble our energies, and endeavour to extinguish the fire. Run to the powder-magazine, and heave the powder into the sea before the flames get at it.' On my own part, I took with me the carpenters, and ordered them to make immediately some holes with

their largest augers, so as to let the water into the ship nine feet high; but their tools would not penetrate the bulwarks, which were lined with iron.

" This obstacle produced the greatest consternation, and the air resounded with groans and cries. But we continued to pour down the water, and the conflagration seemed to diminish. Unhappily, a few minutes afterwards, the fire seized the oils. It was then that we looked upon our loss as inevitable. The more water we threw, the more the fury of the flames augmented. The burning oil spread its flames on every side. In this frightful condition the men gave utterance to groans and shrieks so terrible that my hair stood on end, and I felt myself covered with an icy sweat.

" Meanwhile the work continued with unabated ardour; we poured water into the ship, and powder into the sea. We had already got rid of sixty demi-barrels, but more than three hundred remained. The fire seized it; the vessel gave a violent leap, and in an instant was shattered into a thousand pieces. We were still 119 in number. I found myself still upon the deck, near the main hatchway, and saw before my eyes 63 men contending with the water. They were carried away; eight disappeared with the swiftness of lightning. All the rest met with the same fate. For myself, who expected to perish like my companions, I stretched my hands towards heaven and cried, ' O Lord, have mercy on me!' I preserved, nevertheless, my clearness of judgment, and felt in my heart a sparkle of hope. My courage returned, and I felt myself another man. Looking around me I saw the mainmast on one side and the mizzen on another. I got astride of the mainmast, from whence I surveyed all the melancholy objects that surrounded me. Then, with broken heart, I said to myself, heaving a bitter sigh, ' O

my God, has then this noble ship perished like Sodom and Gomorrah?'

" It was some time before I perceived any other person. Then I descried a young man emerging from the deep, and swimming with his hands and feet. He seized a portion of the figure-head that was floating on the water, and said, as he climbed upon it, ' And I am still in the world!' I heard his voice, and cried, ' Is there then any other person alive besides myself?' This young man was named Harman Van-Kniphuysen, and was a native of Eider. I saw floating near him a small spar. As the mainmast on which I was seated rolled so ceaselessly as to cause me great pain, I cried to Harman, ' Push me that spar; I will get upon it, and propel myself towards you.' He obeyed my orders; or otherwise, shattered as I was by the explosion, my back hurt, and wounded in the head in two places, it would have been impossible for me to join him. These misfortunes, which till now I had not noticed, began to make themselves felt with so much keenness that I suddenly felt as if I could neither see nor hear. We were now close to each other, each clinging to a broken portion of the ship's figure-head. We cast our gaze on every side in the hope of discovering the longboat or the shallop. We perceived them, but at some distance from us. The sun was below the horizon. ' My poor friend,' I said to Harman, ' all hope is lost for us. It grows late and the boats are far distant. It is not possible for us to maintain ourselves all night in this situation. Let us lift up our hearts to God, and ask of Him our salvation, with an entire submission to His will.'

" We engaged in prayer, and hardly had we finished addressing our vows to Heaven, when, raising my eyes, we saw the shallop and longboat close upon us. I cried immediately, ' Save, save the captain!' Some sailors

who heard me began also to exclaim, ' The captain is still alive!' They approached the wreck, but dared not advance farther, lest they should be crushed by the massive floating timbers. Harman, however, felt strong enough to swim to the boat, which he reached in safety. For myself, I cried, ' If you wish to save my life you must row up to me, for I have no power to swim.' The trumpeter, springing into the sea with the sounding-line, brought one end of it into my hands, and fastening it round my waist, I was safely hauled on board. I found there Roe, Wilhelm Van Galen, and the second mate, named Meinder Kryns, who was a native of Hoorn. They regarded me a long time with astonishment.

" In the stern of the shallop there was a small cabin, which was of sufficient size to hold two men, and into this I now entered to obtain a little repose. I felt so ill that I thought my end was near at hand. My back was bad, and I suffered agony from the two wounds in my head. However, I said to Roe, ' I think we shall do well if we remain near the wreck to-night. To-morrow, by daylight, we shall save perhaps some provisions, and find a compass.' For the boats had left the ship with so much precipitation, that they were almost without provisions, and the compasses had been removed from the binnacle by the first mate, who suspected the designs of the crew.

" Roe, neglecting my counsel, made his men work hard at the oars all night. But, after having toiled for hours in the hope of discovering land at sunrise, he found himself equally out of sight of the land and of the wreck. ' Captain,' they cried to me, ' what will become of us? There is no sign of land, and we are without provisions, without chart, without compass.' ' Why did you not heed me last night?' I replied; ' I remember that when I

floated on the mainmast, I was surrounded with lard, cheese, and other provisions.' 'Dear captain,' they said with suppliant voice, 'come out from the cabin and take the command.' 'I cannot,' was my answer; 'I am so bruised that I cannot move.'

"However, with their help, I seated myself on the deck. I inquired what provisions they had among them; they showed me seven or eight pounds of biscuit. 'Cease rowing,' said I; 'you fatigue yourselves vainly, and you have nothing to eat which will recruit your exhausted strength.' I desired them to remove their shirts in order to manufacture some sails. I made them take the spare ropes stored in the shallop; they found among them some cables, rope yarn, and sheet-ropes. Our example was followed in the longboat; and thus we contrived to tack all the shirts together, and make out of them some small sails.

"Our next business was to count our numbers. We found six-and-forty in the shallop, and twenty-six in the longboat. In the shallop were a sailor's blue cloak and a cushion, which were given up to me in acknowledgment of my situation. The surgeon had recourse to some masticated biscuit to dress my wounds, and, through the mercy of Heaven, the remedy healed them.

"The first day, while labouring at the sails, we abandoned ourselves to the waves. Our canvas was ready before night; we hoisted it, and put our boats before the wind. It was the 20th of November. We directed our course by the stars, whose rising and setting we knew very well. All night we suffered from the severe cold, and during the day the heat was insupportable; the sun shone vertically upon our heads. On the 21st, and two following days, we were occupied in constructing a quadrant to take the altitude. Teunis Sybrandsz, the

ship's carpenter, had a compass, and some knowledge of the manner in which the point should be marked. By helping each other we contrived to make a serviceable quadrant. I engraved a maritime chart upon a plank, and traced thereon the islands of Sumatra and Java, and the strait of Sunda that lies between them. On the day of our misfortune, having taken an altitude at noon, I had noted that we were in 50° 30′ S. lat.; following the point marked upon the chart at twenty leagues from land, I again designed thereon a compass, and every day made a computation. We steered for the mouth of the strait, with the view of more easily choosing our route when we came in sight of land.

" Seven or eight pounds of biscuit were our only provision; I regulated the rations for each day, and, as long as they lasted, distributed to every man his share. But we soon saw the last of them, although the allowance for each was but a morsel of the thickness of a finger. We had nothing to drink; when any rain fell, we hauled down the sails, and spread them out to collect the water, and to make it roll into two small casks, the only two we possessed; this scanty supply we held in reserve for days that passed without rain.

" This extremity did not prevent the seamen from urging me to take abundantly all that was necessary for my health and comfort. Rejoiced to perceive their friendly sentiments towards me, I was unwilling to take any more than others received. The longboat used every effort to keep up with us; but as we sailed more quickly, and no one on board of it understood navigation, its crew eagerly besought us to take them in, as they feared to be separated from us by some accident. Our people opposed this strongly; for such a course was certain to further endanger the lives of all.

" We speedily reached the climax of our misery; the biscuit wholly failed us, and we could discover no land. I used all my efforts to persuade the most impatient that we were not far off an inhabited shore; but I could not long sustain them in this hope; they began to murmur against me, averring that I was deceived in my calculations of the route, and that I steered the boat out to sea instead of towards land. Hunger had become very pressing, when Heaven graciously permitted a flight of sea-gulls to visit our shallop. They flew within easy reach of our hands, and each of us caught a few; we plucked the feathers immediately, and ate them raw. Their flesh appeared delicious, but so poor a food could not long maintain life.

" We passed the remainder of the day without sighting any land. Our people were panic-struck. The long-boat having drawn near, our crew resolved that, as death appeared inevitable, they might as well receive the other on board, so that all might perish together.

" There were thirty oars on board the shallop, which we arranged across the benches, so as to form a deck. There was also a main-sail, a mizzen, and a mizzen-stay-sail. The longboat was so deep that a man could easily sit under cover of the oars. I divided my troop into two parties; one remained under cover while the other stayed on the temporary deck, and they relieved each other in turn. We were seventy-two of us, sorrowful and desolate.

" Just as despair began to succeed to sorrow, we saw a host of flying-fish emerge from the sea; they were of the size of the largest whitings, and fell into our boat. As each one dropped they were distributed and eaten raw. This supply was scanty, but no one on board was ill. Spite of my warnings, however, some of them com-

menced drinking the salt water. ' Beware,' I said, ' how you do so; it will not appease your thirst, and will cause a flux in the stomach which you will not be able to withstand.' Some even gnawed at bullets and stone balls in their agony of thirst.

" They now began to regard each other with a ferocious air, as if ready to deal in mutual slaughter. There were even those who spoke of proceeding to that fatal extremity, and of commencing with the young people. So atrocious a proposal filled me with horror; my courage gave way; I vainly endeavoured to express my feelings when I saw some sailors disposed to begin the massacre, and resolved to seize on the boys. ' What would you do, my friends?' I cried, with imploring voice; ' we are not far from land, I assure you; suffer a little longer with patience, and pray Heaven to come to the relief of our misery.'

" Then I pointed out to them the course and latitude of each day. ' You are always holding this language,' they replied, ' and the land does not appear. You deceive us, or you are yourself deceived. We must make an end of this; and if our lot does not change in three days, nothing shall prevent us from carrying out our design.' This frightful resolution wounded me to the very heart. I renewed my prayers that our hands might not be contaminated by the most abominable of all crimes.

" Time glided by, and it was with difficulty I prevented myself from sinking into that despair for which I reproved others. I heard them say around me, ' Ah, were we but on land we would eat the grass like wild beasts.' I did not cease to repeat my exhortations; but on the morrow strength began to fail us, as well as courage. Most of us were not able to rise from the place where we were seated, nor to stand upright. Roe was so reduced that he could not move. Spite of the weakness

caused by my wounds, I found myself still sufficiently strong to go from one end of the boat to the other, and endeavour to reanimate the spirit of my companions.

" It was now the 2nd day of December, the thirteenth since our shipwreck. The atmosphere grew heavy; some rain fell and afforded us a little relief; it was accompanied by a calm, which enabled us to haul down our sails and stretch them along the shallop, so as to catch the grateful shower. Each of us drank at his ease, and the two small casks were filled. I was then at the helm, and according to my reckoning we could not be far from land. Meanwhile the thickness of the fog and the incessant rain made me experience so keen a cold that I called one of the quarter-masters to take my place, and seating myself among the others, I recovered a little warmth.

" The quarter-master had scarcely been an hour at the helm, when, the weather having cleared, he began to cry with joy, ' Land! land!' Everybody found strength enough to rise to assure himself with his own eyes that it was no delusion. Yes, there certainly was the land. We immediately hoisted all our sails; but, on nearing the shore, found the breakers so violent that we dared not venture to cross the surge. At length, in a small bay which we had the good fortune to enter, we cast one grapnel into the sea; another small one we cast upon the beach, and then everybody hastened to leap ashore.

" Their eagerness was extreme to ramble into the woods and into all nooks and corners where there was a chance of procuring something to serve for food. As for myself, no sooner had I touched the land than, throwing myself on my knees, I kissed it with delight, and returned thanks to God for the mercy He had shown us. This

was the very day at the expiration of which the poor cabin boys were to have been slaughtered.

" The island, for it was one, yielded cocoa-nut trees, but we could not discover any fresh water. We thought ourselves too fortunate, however, in being able to enjoy the agreeable liquor which is supplied by the fresh nut; we ate the oldest, whose rind was the hardest; but, everybody having eaten to excess, we speedily suffered from the most insupportable pains and spasms, which compelled us to bury ourselves in the warm sand close to one another. They did not pass off until the following day. We traversed the whole island without observing the slightest trace of human dwellings, although there were signs that it had often been visited by men. Cocoa trees were the only natural products we discovered.

" After filling our shallop with nuts, we weighed anchor towards evening, and steered for the island of Sumatra, of which we caught sight on the day following. We sailed along the coast while our stock of provisions lasted. Necessity then compelling us to land, we kept in shore without discovering any channel in the breakers. In this perplexity we resolved that four or five of our best swimmers should endeavour to reach the land, and seek along the shore some suitable place of disembarkation. They swam ashore in safety, and walking along the coast —while we followed them with our eyes—discovered at length a river, where they made signals for us to enter.

" On approaching it we perceived at the mouth a bank, against which the sea broke with terrible violence. I was of opinion that we ought not to attempt the passage, and only consented in obedience to the general wish. I ordered that on each side of the stern quarters an oar should be kept ready, with two rowers to each, and I took the handle of the rudder in order to cut straight

through the surge. The first shock of the sea half filled the shallop with water; we promptly bailed it out with our hats, shoes, or with anything which would answer the purpose. But a second wave so incapacitated us from steering or supporting ourselves that I looked upon our loss as certain. We bailed with the utmost eagerness, when a third wave struck us; fortunately this was a short one, or we must infallibly have perished; the tide began to rise, and we finally passed through the roaring breakers. We tasted the water and found it sweet; this good fortune made us forget all our troubles. We landed on the right bank of the river; it was covered with beautiful herbs, and among them some small beans such as are found in various parts of Holland. Our first occupation was to eat greedily of these.

" Some of our people having wandered beyond a ridge of land that rose opposite our landing-place, found a fire and some tobacco. A new subject of joy and congratulation! According to these two signs, we could not be far from those who had left them. In the shallop we had two hatchets, with which we cut down some trees, and made large fires at various points; all our people seated themselves around, and began to smoke the tobacco they had discovered.

" Towards evening we increased our fires, and to guard against surprise, I placed three sentinels at the avenues of our little camp. In the middle of the night they apprised us that the natives were approaching in great numbers. Their design could only be to attack us. We were in no condition to receive them; our only weapons were the two hatchets and a rusty sword, and we had scarcely strength enough to move our limbs.

" However, the warning reanimated us, and taking in our hands some burning torches, we advanced towards

our enemies. The sparks flew about on every side and produced a terrifying spectacle.

" Happily for us, the islanders were not aware that we were without arms. So they took flight and withdrew into the wood. Our people returned to their fires to pass the night in continual alarms. Roe and myself thought it prudent to retire to the shallop to assure ourselves at least of that resource in case of any deplorable misadventure.

" On the morrow, at sunrise, three islanders emerged from the wood and advanced toward the shore. We sent to meet them three of our own men, who, having already made a voyage to the Indies, knew something of the customs and language of the country. The first question put to them was, To what nation did they belong? After satisfying this inquiry, and representing ourselves as unfortunate merchants whose ship had perished by fire, we demanded in our turn whether they would barter with us for any provisions. During this colloquy, the islanders continued to approach the shallop, displaying great audacity, and wished to know if we had any arms. I had stretched the sails over the shallop, because I mistrusted their curiosity, and we now replied that we were well provided with muskets, powder, and balls.

" Then they quitted us, with a promise to bring some rice and hens. We managed to collect twenty-four reals, and offered them to the three islanders for some chickens and boiled rice which they brought down to us. They appeared very well satisfied with the price. I exhorted my men to maintain a firm countenance. We seated ourselves freely on the grass, and agreed to hold a council after we had been fortified by a good meal. The three islanders assisted at the feast, and appeared to admire our appetite. We remained persuaded that we had

reached Sumatra, since the natives pointed out with their hands that Java lay beyond. It appeared to us certain that we were in a fair wind for that island, and this knowledge gave us the more satisfaction, because, having no compass, we had hesitated in all our manœuvres.

" We now wanted but some provisions to complete our happiness. I took the resolution of embarking with four of the sailors in a small piragua which lay on the shore, and of ascending the river to a village which we could discern in the distance; I wanted to collect as many provisions as possible with the money which still remained. Being in a hurry to start, I had soon purchased some rice and fowls, which I sent to Roe with the same diligence, recommending impartiality in the distribution, so as to give no cause for complaint. My companions and myself made a good meal in the village.

" While we ate, the inhabitants were seated around us, and followed our morsels with their looks, devouring them with their eyes. After our repast, I purchased a buffalo, which cost me five reals and a half, but he was so wild that we could neither catch it nor drive it away. The day began to decline; I wished to return to the shallop. My companions entreated me to allow them to pass the night in the village, pretending that it would be much easier for them to catch the buffalo during the night. I was not of their opinion, but yielded to their requests, and quitted them, abandoning them to their own guidance.

" On the river bank I found near the piragua a great number of the natives, who seemed to be quarrelling among themselves. Perceiving that some among them wished to detain me, while the others were willing that I should depart, I took two of them by the arm, and led them towards the piragua with the air of a master.

" Their looks were ferocious, but they suffered themselves to be led to the boat, and entered it with me. One seated himself at the stern, and the other at the prow: they began to row. I observed that each had at his side a kris, or poignard, and that they were masters of my life. After we had gone a short distance, he who was at the stern came to me, where I stood upright in the middle of the boat, and declared to me by signs that he wanted some money. I drew from my pocket a small coin, and offered it to him. He took it, and, having contemplated it for a few moments with an uncertain air, wrapped it up in the cloth which girded his loins. The savage at the bow came in his turn, and made the same signs. I gave him another coin, which he looked at on both sides; but he appeared still more uncertain whether he should take it or attack me, which would have been an easy task for him, as I was wholly unarmed. I felt all the greatness of my danger, and my heart beat violently.

" However, we continued to descend the river, and all the more quickly, because the tide was running out. About half way, my two guides began discoursing among themselves with much warmth. All their movements indicated that they had a design upon me, and I trembled in every limb, while silently addressing my prayers to Heaven. By a sudden strange inspiration, I began to sing with all my strength, until the woods, with which both banks were covered, re-echoed with the sound. The two savages burst out laughing, opening their mouths so wide that I could see half-way down their throats. Their looks showed that they thought me free from all apprehension and mistrust. While I continued to exercise my voice, the bark moved so rapidly, that I could soon descry the shallop. I made signs to our people,

and I saw them hasten down to the river bank. Then, turning myself towards my two rowers, I made both of them sit at the bow, with the intention that one of them at least should not attack me in the rear. They obeyed me without resistance, and I disembarked tranquilly on the river bank.

" As soon as they saw me in safety amidst my companions, they asked where so many people had passed the night? They were told under the tents which they saw yonder. Then they inquired where Roe and I, whom they observed were treated with the most respect, found shelter? We told them that we slept in the shallop, under the canvas; after which they re-entered their piragua, to return to the village.

" I recounted to Roe and the others the various incidents of my voyage, and cheered them with the hope of seeing our four men return on the morrow with the buffalo. The night passed in profound tranquillity; but, after sunrise, we were alarmed at the non-arrival of the men I had left at the village, and began to apprehend some misfortune. A few minutes later, we saw some islanders approach, who drove a buffalo before them, but it was not the beast which I had bought. One of our people, who partly understood the language of the country, asked the natives why they had not brought down the buffalo which had been sold to me, and what had become of our four countrymen? They replied that it was impossible to drive away the other buffalo, and that our men, who were coming after them, would bring a second beast. This answer having somewhat dissipated our inquietude, I observed that the buffalo was as wild as the one I had purchased, and caused it to be hamstrung. Immediately the two savages gave utterance to the most frightful shouts and cries.

" At this sound two or three hundred islanders, who had been concealed in the depths of the wood, rushed out abruptly, and ran towards the shallop, with a design of intercepting our passage. Three of our men, who had kindled a small fire at some distance from the tents, penetrated their intentions, and hastened to give us warning. I issued from the wood, and observed forty or fifty savages preparing to attack us on the other side. ' Stand firm,' I cried, ' the number of these wretches is not so considerable as to cause us any alarm.' But now appeared so large a body, and mostly armed with bucklers, and a species of sword, that I shouted loudly, ' Friends, run to the boat; if the passage is cut off, we are all lost!' We took our way towards the shallop, and those who could not get there soon enough, rushed into the water to swim towards it.

" Our enemies pursued us even on board. Unfortunately for us, nothing had been got ready for a sudden departure. The sails were stretched in the fashion of a tent from one side of the shallop to the other, and while we made haste to enter it the islanders stabbed with their sagays several of our men who were in the rear. Nevertheless we defended ourselves with our two hatchets and our old sword. The baker of the crew, a tall and stalwart man, made use of the sword with good effect. We were moored by two grapnels, one at the bow and the other at the stern. Drawing near the mast, I cried to the baker, ' Cut the cable.' But it was impossible to do so. I ran to the stern, and pulling the cable on the stern-post, I cried, ' Cut!' And it was then easily severed. Our people in front seized it, and drew the shallop towards the sea. The islanders vainly attempted to follow us into the water; they lost their footing, and were compelled to abandon their prey.

" Those of the wounded who had not received a mortal blow, now re-embarked, and, through the favour of Heaven, the wind which had previously been blowing from the sea veered round, and blew from the land with great violence. We hoisted all our sails, and passed at a single bound and with surprising facility, the sand-bar and the breakers which had caused so much difficulty on entering the mouth of the river. Our enemies, imagining that we should be shipwrecked, had advanced to the extreme point of the cape to wait for us and massacre us; but the wind continued favourable.

" Hardly were we out of danger when we perceived that our brave baker had been wounded with a poisoned weapon. His wound was above the navel; the flesh was already of a horrid black. I made them cut out deeply the poisoned part, to arrest the progress of the venom, but it was in vain; he fell dead before my eyes, and we cast his body into the sea. On counting over my men we found that sixteen were wanting, eleven of whom had been killed upon the bank. The fate of the four unfortunates who had remained in the village was bitterly regretted. We were under the cruel necessity of abandoning them; but probably they had perished long before.

" We kept before the wind while ranging along the coast. The remainder of our provisions consisted of eight hens and a little rice; these I divided among us, who still numbered fifty souls. Hunger soon made itself felt, and we were compelled to return ashore. The islanders who had assembled on the beach in great numbers, took flight on seeing us disembark. We had suffered too fatal an experience of the barbarity of these savages to hope for any provisions; but we procured some fresh water, and the neighbouring rocks supplied us with oysters and periwinkles.

" After we had satisfied our hunger, each person filled his pockets, and we returned into the shallop, with two small casks of fresh water. I proposed, on quitting the bay, to keep a little farther out at sea, to make more way, and this counsel was adopted.

" At daybreak we descried three islands right before us. We took the resolution of bearing down upon them, though we did not suppose them to be inhabited, but we flattered ourselves we might secure some species of food. The island whereon we landed was overgrown with bamboos. Cutting some of these we pierced one end with a stick, and filled them with fresh water like small cylinders, stopping them up with corks. There were also some palm trees, whose tufted tops were sufficiently soft to serve as a repast. We traversed the island without lighting upon aught more acceptable.

" One day, finding myself at the base of a tolerably lofty mountain, I could not conquer my desire of ascending to the summit, in the vague hope of making some discovery which might be useful in our future course.

" When I gained the crest sight seemed to lose itself in the wide expanse of sky and sea. I flung myself on my knees, my heart full of bitterness, and addressed my prayers to Heaven with many sighs and groans. On rising I thought I perceived on my right that the clouds drifted out from some land. Directly afterwards I discovered two mountains which appeared of a blue colour. It immediately occurred to me that when I was at Hoorn I had heard Schonten, an experienced mariner in the Indian seas, remark that at the extremity of Java were two mountains which appeared of an azure hue. I thereupon concluded that there was no error in the route we had adopted.

" I descended full of gladness, and hastened to inform

Roe that I had seen the two mountains. 'Assemble our people,' I said, 'and let us steer in that direction.' The information which I communicated to them stimulated their utmost efforts to load the shallop with water, bamboos, and palm tree tops. They hoisted sail with the same eagerness; the wind happily proved favourable. We took a straight course for the gap between the two mountains, steering ourselves during the night by means of the stars.

"On the morrow at daybreak we were retarded by a calm; we had arrived, but knew it not, on the Javanese coast. A sailor, who had been sent to the mast-head, exclaimed that three-and-twenty ships were in sight. Our joy instantly found vent in utterly indescribable transports. We took to our oars on account of the calm and pulled direct for the fleet.

"These twenty-three ships were Dutch, under the command of Frederick Houtman van Alkmaar. The admiral was at this moment in his stern-gallery, and with his telescope observed us approaching. Surprised at the singular character of our sails, and desiring an explanation of a spectacle so novel, he despatched his boat to meet us, and ascertain who we were. Her officers recognized us, for we had sailed from the Texel in company, and had not separated until we reached the Spanish seas. They made Roe and me enter their boat, and conducted us on board the flagship. After having expressed his gratification at seeing us, divining without explanation our most pressing needs, he caused his table to be spread, and seated himself in our company. When I saw the bread and meat of my country appear, I felt my heart so overcome and affected that the tears poured down my face, and I had not the strength or will to eat. My companions in misfortune, who came on board

immediately after us, were distributed through the different vessels of the fleet.

"The admiral made us relate our adventures, and listened to the recital with the liveliest interest; afterwards he put us on board his yacht, and despatched us to Batavia. We still numbered fifty, and arrived in the colony on the day following. Friends whom we had met with in the fleet had furnished me, as well as my crew with raiment, and we therefore made our entrance into the city in a decent manner. We immediately repaired to the mansion of Johann Pieterz Cohen, General of the Indian Company, who had not been informed of our arrival, but received us with the greatest affability. We were called upon to satisfy his curiosity—a task of which I acquitted myself in a very few words.

"The general was deeply interested by the story of our strange and thrilling adventures, and entertained us with a most splendid hospitality for seven or eight days. He then put into my hands my commission as captain of the ship *Bergeboot*. Two days afterwards Roe was appointed supercargo on board the same vessel. Thus were we once more reunited in the same positions that we had held on board the *Nieuw Hoorn*."

To this plain unvarnished story it is only needful to add a few concluding words.

Roe, at a later date, obtained the government of a fort in Amboyna (one of the Molucca Islands), where he died. Bontekoé was employed in several expeditions, and finally set out on his homeward voyage on the 6th of February, 1625. He landed in Zealand on the 15th of the following November, and retired to the village of Hoorn, the place of his nativity, where he died, full of years and honours, and loved and esteemed by all those who knew him.

WRECK OF THE DUTCH SHIP "HAWK", AND CAPTIVITY OF HER CREW IN COREA

(1653)

On the 10th of January, 1653, the ship *Hawk*, with a complement of sixty-four men, and chartered on account of the Dutch Company of the East Indies, sailed from the Texel, under the command of Captain Eybertz, of Amsterdam. He arrived in the roadstead of Batavia, the capital of the rich island of Java, on the 1st of June.

On the 14th of the same month, having re-victualled, he again set sail, by the governor-general's order, for Tay-Oran, in the island of Formosa, where he dropped anchor on the 16th. On the 30th, under an order of Council, the ship set sail for Japan. On the morrow, towards evening, on emerging from the Formosa channel, it fell in with a tempest, which continued to increase throughout the night.

On the morning of the 1st of August, the Dutch found themselves in the vicinity of a small island, where they dropped anchor with much difficulty. As soon as the fog began to clear they were surprised to see the Chinese coast close at hand. They could easily distinguish an armed crowd, waiting to profit by the wreck of their ship. Although the fury of the storm continually augmented, they kept at the same anchorage all night

and the following day, always in sight of the natives, who did not cease to keep watch. On the third day the storm had driven them thirty leagues out of their course, and they again sighted the island of Formosa. They passed between this island and the continent. The weather was somewhat cold; up to the 15th, it was stormy and variable.

However, the continual violence of the sea had damaged their ship; and the rain, which did not pause, preventing them from making the usual observations, they were obliged to take in all their sails and abandon themselves to the mercy of the waves. During the night of the 16th, their shallop and the greatest part of the bridge were carried away by the fury of the waves which dashed against the bowsprit and the prow. At length a billow which broke over the deck carried away all the sailors thronged upon it, and poured so much water into the ship, that the captain exclaimed they must cut away the mast immediately, and look to Heaven for help. One or two more such waves, and all was lost!

To this pitiable extremity were they reduced, when at daybreak the look-out man exclaimed, "Land! land!" assuring his comrades that they were within gun-shot range of the shore. The rain and the thick darkness had prevented its being seen before. It was impossible to drop anchor, as no bottom could be found; and while they made the attempt, a great leak suddenly became evident. All the men at the bottom of the hold were drowned by the inrush of the waters before they could make their escape. Some of those who were on deck leapt into the sea; others were swept away by the waves; only fifteen succeeded in gaining the shore, and most of these were naked and sorely bruised. But on the following day they were joined by some more of their

comrades, until their total number amounted to thirty-six, out of a crew of sixty-four. Almost all were dangerously hurt.

Of those who had perished, only the body of Captain Eybertz floated ashore, and was buried as decently as circumstances permitted. Of their supply of provisions the sea spared them but one sack of flour, one barrel of salted meat, a small quantity of lard, and a cask of red wine. The wind and the rain diminished towards evening, and the wrecked sailors set to work collecting wood, which they covered with the canvas saved from the shattered vessel.

On the 17th they discovered within a cannon-shot's range a man, whom they called by various signs, but who took to flight as soon as he perceived them. In the afternoon they saw three others, one of whom was armed with a musket, the others with bow and arrow. These approached within musket-shot, but observing that the Dutch advanced towards them, they turned their backs.

At length, some of the Dutch having contrived to overtake them, the native who carried the gun willingly yielded it, and they made use of it to kindle a fire. These three men were dressed as Chinese, only their bonnets were made of horsehair. The Dutch, in great consternation, feared they were Chinese savages or pirates. Towards evening a hundred armed men, attired like their precursors, made their appearance, who, after counting them to ascertain their number, kept them confined all night.

On the following day at night about two thousand men, partly on horseback and partly on foot, placed themselves in order of battle before their tent. The secretary, two pilots, and a cabin-boy presented themselves to the enemy; they were conducted to the chief;

a heavy chain of iron with a small bell was fastened round their necks, and they prostrated themselves before him. Those who had remained in the tent were treated in the same manner, while the islanders testified their satisfaction by loud cries. After having left them some time in this situation, a sign was made to them to kneel. Several questions were put to them, which they could not understand. They succeeded no better in endeavouring to explain that they had been bound on a voyage to Japan. The chief, losing all hope of comprehending their discourse, caused a glass of arrack to be brought, of which each partook in turn. They were then dismissed to their tent, and soon afterwards regaled with some rice boiled in water.

After noonday the Dutch were surprised to see several of these barbarians enter with cords in their hands. They doubted not but that they were to be strangled. But their fear vanished when the savages hastened to the fragments of the wreck, to haul on shore every object of utility. The pilot, having made his observations, determined that they had been cast upon the island of Quelpaert, situated in 32° 32′ of N. lat.

The islanders were engaged on the 19th in drawing ashore all the wreck, drying the stuffs and cloths, and burning the wood to extract the iron from it, which they highly valued. The Dutch offered to the commandant of the island and a rival chieftain a telescope and goblet of red wine, as well as the captain's silver cup, which had been found among the rocks. The telescope and liquor were accepted. It soon appeared that the wine was not disdained, since the two officers drank of it until its effects were clearly visible. But they returned the captain's cup with many proofs and signs of friendship.

On the 20th they finished burning the wood of the vessel. But the fire having approached two pieces of ordnance loaded with shot, they went off with so loud a report that all the islanders took flight, and did not dare to return until they had been reassured by signs. The same day they supplied the Dutch with a double quantity of rice. On the following morning, the commandant made them understand by signs that they must deliver up to him all that they had stored in their tent, in order that they might be duly sealed. This formality was executed in their presence. At the same time some natives were brought before him, who had converted to their own use the iron, leather, and other portions of the cargo. He punished them immediately, to show the strangers that it was not the design of the inhabitants to injure them in their persons or property. Each robber received thirty or forty blows with a stick upon his feet, the stick being six feet long, and as thick as a man's arm.

Towards noon the Hollanders had to prepare themselves for a journey. Horses were provided for the strong and healthy, and the sick were carried in hammocks. They set out on their march, attended by a numerous escort of horse and foot. After having advanced four leagues, they halted at evening in a small town named Tadiane; their supper was very scanty, and they were lodged for the night in a storehouse which had all the odours of the stable. On the 22nd, at daybreak, they arrived at a small fort, in whose vicinity they noticed two galliots. There they dined, and at nightfall arrived at Maggan or Mosko, the city where resided the governor of the island. They were all conducted into a square, open area, opposite the town hall, where about three thousand men were assembled under

arms. Some came forward and offered them water; but noting their arms and ferocious aspect, the Dutch imagined that they designed to kill them.

The secretary was conducted before the governor with his other companions. They were kept for some time prostrated near a species of balcony, where he sat throned like a monarch. Afterwards he demanded of them, by signs, whence they came, and whither they were going. They replied that they were Dutch, and were bound for Nagasaki in Japan. The governor appeared to understand; after which he caused them all to pass before him, four deep. They were then conducted to a building where the king's uncle, accused of conspiring for his nephew's crown, had been imprisoned for the remainder of his days.

They were guarded, in this species of prison, by a troop of armed men. Every day they received twelve ounces of rice per man, and the same quantity of corn flour, but little else. The governor sometimes granted them a little meat and other sorts of food, with permission to go out for a daily walk, six at a time, or to wash their linen. He often summoned a few of them to his presence, and made them write before him, either in Dutch or Corean. By this means they obtained some slight knowledge of the language of the country. The benevolence of this excellent man inspired them with the hope of reaching Japan at some future time.

On the 29th of October, the secretary, pilot, and surgeon's assistant were conducted before the governor. They found there, seated, a man with a great red beard. "For whom do you take this man?" said the governor. They replied that they believed him to be one of their own compatriots. "You are mistaken," he rejoined, laughing; "he is a Corean." Thereupon the bearded

man, who had hitherto kept silence, asked them in Dutch who they were, and of what country. They satisfied his curiosity, and added to the explanation a recital of their misfortunes. He told them that his name was Jean Wettevri, and that he was born at Ryp, in Holland; that in the year 1627, in a voyage which he had made to Japan, in the frigate *Ouderkeres*, he had been driven by stress of wind upon the coast of Corea. Being despatched with a party of sailors to procure a supply of fresh water, he had been taken prisoner, as well as two others who had since died in Corea; he was now fifty-eight years old, and the king had deputed him to ascertain who they were, and what was their business in his territories. He added that he had frequently asked permission of the king to cross over into Japan; for sole reply, that prince had informed him that he would never reach there unless he had wings to fly. For it was the custom of the country to detain all strangers, but never to allow them to want for aught—clothing and provisions being gratuitously supplied to them throughout their lives.

This discourse terribly depressed the Dutch, until their spirits were revived by the consolation of meeting with a countryman, and with one who could so well interpret between them and the natives. But Wettevri had so far forgotten his native tongue, that at first they had some difficulty in comprehending him. He had need of an entire month to refresh his memory. The governor faithfully sent their depositions to the king. Wettevri and the officers who accompanied him were permitted to see them at any time, and to relieve their necessities.

At the beginning of December, the three years' administration of their benefactor having expired, he set out for the capital. One can hardly imagine, says the

author of this narrative, what proofs of kindness and generosity the Dutch received from their generous protector before his departure. Seeing them ill-provided for the winter, he presented each of them with two pairs of shoes, a very warm thick coat, and a pair of leather stockings. To this generous beneficence he added the most noble conduct. He declared that he was sorely grieved at his inability to send them to Japan, or take them in his escort to the continent. He added that they must feel no anxiety or apprehension at his departure, because, on arriving at court, he would exert all his influence to obtain their liberty, or, at least, permission to follow him. He returned to them the books which they had saved from the shipwreck, and a portion of their effects, presenting them, moreover, with a bottle of precious oil. Finally, he persuaded the new governor, who had already reduced them to an allowance of rice, salt, and water, to furnish them with somewhat better and more abundant rations.

But after his departure, which took place in January, 1654, they were treated with more severity than ever. Barley was given them instead of rice, and barley flour instead of wheaten flour. They were constrained to sell their barley to purchase other food. This harshness inspired them with a determination to make their escape in the spring. After protracted deliberations, six among them formed the design of seizing a boat. But the boldest, having climbed upon a wall to ascertain the exact place where the boat was moored, was noticed by some dogs whose loud barking gave the alarm.

At the beginning of May the pilot having been granted permission, with five of his companions, to take a walk, discovered while passing through a small hamlet near the city a boat tolerably well equipped, with no person

in charge of her. He immediately attempted to carry her away to make their escape in her. But some of the natives, descrying them, sought to compel their return to the village. During the contest the boat's mast and sail fell into the water, and the fugitives were brought back to the village in another bark.

They were conducted before the governor; stretched full length on the earth; their hands tied to a large piece of wood. They were questioned if their companions had any knowledge of their attempt to escape. With a firm air they replied " No ". Wettevri was ordered to probe to the bottom of their design. They protested that they had no other but to betake themselves to Japan. Thereupon each of these unfortunate wretches received twenty-five blows with a stick upon the naked back. The blows were applied so vigorously that they were forced to keep their beds for more than a month. The others were confined more closely, and guarded day and night.

At the end of May the governor received orders to conduct the Dutchmen to the royal court, which was held in the capital, which was situated on the continent. Six or seven days afterwards they were placed in four boats, their feet in irons, and the right hand fastened to a block of wood.

After having struggled for two days against a contrary wind they were driven back to the isle of Quelpaert; the governor removed their irons, and shut them up again in prison. Four or five days later, at early dawn, they were re-embarked, and towards evening they arrived near the continent. They passed the night in the offing. On the following day they were landed, their irons removed, but their guard was doubled. Furnished with horses, they went on their way to the city of Hayram; there all were reassembled; for, having been separated by

the wind, the four boats disembarked at different points.

After having passed through several towns, they crossed a river, which did not appear to them so broad as the Meuse at Dordrecht. A league farther, and they arrived at Sior, the capital of the kingdom. From the place of their disembarkation to this city they counted seventy-five leagues, in a north-by-west direction. For two or three days they were all lodged together in the same house. Afterwards they were billeted, by threes and fours, in small huts, in the *quartier* appropriated at Sior to the Chinese. They were conducted in a body before the king. The prince having questioned them through the agency of Wettevri, they humbly supplicated him to permit of their transportation to Japan, where the Dutch had a commercial settlement. The monarch replied that the laws of Corea did not allow strangers to quit the kingdom, but that they should want for nothing. He ordered them to practise in his presence those exercises in the song or the dance in which they had any skill. They were then supplied with refreshments, and each person received two pieces of cloth, with which to attire himself in the manner of the Coreans.

On the morrow they were presented to the commander-in-chief of the army, who declared to them, through Wettevri, that the king had admitted them among his body-guards, and that in this capacity each of them would be supplied monthly with seventy katis of rice. Each received a paper on which were inscribed his name, his age, his country, his profession before he entered Corea, and the position which he held in the service of the Corean king. This patent was written in the Corean character, sealed with the great seal of the king and that of the commander-in-chief—the latter being simply an impression from hot iron. With this commission he

received a musket, powder, and balls. They were ordered to discharge their arms on the 1st and 4th day of every month, in the presence of the commander-in-chief, and to be always ready to march in his *suite*, whether to accompany the king, or on any other state occasion. The Dutch at this period numbered thirty-five. A Chinese and Wettevri were appointed to command them.

Curiosity induced most of the grandees of the Court to invite them to dinner, that they might see a dance performed in the Dutch fashion. But the women and children were still more impatient to see them, because of a general report that they belonged to a race of monsters, and had noses of such prodigious dimensions that, when they wished to drink, they were compelled to tie them up behind their ears. Their astonishment was great when they perceived them to be better made than their own husbands and brothers. They particularly admired the whiteness of their skin. A great throng pressed around them, and at first they could hardly effect a passage through the streets, or obtain a moment's repose in their huts. Finally, the commander-in-chief was constrained to issue an edict forbidding the natives to approach the Dutch quarter without his permission. This prohibition was the more necessary, because even the slaves of the great nobles forced them to come out of their huts to afford diversion.

In the month of August a Tartar ambassador arrived, who came to demand the annual tribute. The Corean king despatched the Hollanders to a great fortress, six or seven leagues distant from Sior, where they remained until the ambassador's departure in the following month.

Towards the close of November, the cold became so keen that, the river being frozen, three hundred loaded horses crossed on the ice at a time. The general, alarmed

for the safety of his Dutch soldiers, expressed his anxiety to the king. Some half-rotten skins, which had been rescued from the wreck, were then distributed among them, that each might dispose of his share, and purchase some clothes. Two or three employed the proceeds of this transaction in procuring a small hut, which cost nine or ten crowns. They preferred suffering from the cold to being continually tormented by their hosts, who would send them to gather wood in the mountains, some three or four leagues distant from the city.

The Tartar ambassador having again returned to Sior in the month of March, 1655, they were forbidden, under penalty of the most terrible punishments, to set foot outside their dwellings. However, on the day of his departure, Heinrich Jans and Heinrich-Johann Bos resolved to throw themselves in his way, on the pretext that they were going to the wood. As soon as they saw him appear at the head of his *suite*, they pressed close to his horse, and seizing the reins with one hand, threw open their Corean robes with the other, to expose to his sight the Dutch costume. At first this incident caused a great confusion. The ambassador demanded with much curiosity who they were; but, not being able to make him understand, he ordered them by signs to follow him. In the evening, inquiring for an interpreter, he was informed of Wettevri. He sent for him immediately. Wettevri did not fail to make the king acquainted with the whole affair, and a council was held, whereat it was determined to make a rich present to the ambassador, to prevent him from revealing it to the khan. The two Hollanders were then sent back to Sior, and flung into a close dungeon, where their lives were not of long duration. After the return of these unfortunate men, all the others were conducted before the council of war, to

be closely examined. They were asked if they had any knowledge of the flight of their companions, but their denial did not prevent them from being condemned to receive fifty blows on the soles of their feet. But the king pardoned them, and they were suffered to return to their huts, but forbidden to go out without the king's special permission.

In the month of June the commander-in-chief informed them, through an interpreter, that a ship having run aground on the island of Quelpaert, and Wettevri being too old to undertake the journey, those among them who understood the Corean language must prepare to set out for Quelpaert, with orders to inquire into the circumstances of the shipwreck. The surgeon's assistant, the second mate, and a gunner, accordingly set out on their mission two days afterwards.

The Tartar ambassador returned in the month of August; the order not to quit their quarters until three days after his departure was renewed for the Dutchmen with the most rigorous menaces. On the eve of his arrival they received a letter from their companions informing them that instead of being conducted to Quelpaert, they had been closely confined on the southern frontiers of the kingdom. If the khan, informed of the death of their two compatriots, demanded that the others should be remitted to his presence, they must reply that three of them had died on the voyage to Quelpaert.

The Tartar ambassador again returned towards the end of the year. Several Corean grandees hastened to persuade the king to put all the Dutchmen to death. A council discussed the proposition for three days, but the king, his brother, the commander-in-chief, and some others rejected it, both on account of its ferocity, and because the khan might sooner or later hear of the deed.

The commander-in-chief proposed that they should be engaged to fight each against two Coreans with Corean weapons; by this means, he said, they might rid themselves of the troublesome strangers without exposing the king to the reproach of having ordered their massacre. They were secretly informed of this resolution by some charitable persons. The king's brother happening to pass through their quarters, they threw themelves at his feet, and inspired him with so great a pity for their misfortunes that he became their protector. However, several persons appearing offended at the favour he showed them, it was resolved to send them into the province of Thillado, allotting to them monthly 50 lb. of rice for their subsistence.

Obeying this order, they set out from Sior on horseback, in the month of March, 1657, under the conduct of a sergeant. Wettevri accompanied them for about three miles as far as the river which they had crossed on their way from Quelpaert. At length they arrived at a considerable town named Diu-Siong, or Thilla-Pening, overlooked by an immense citadel. This was the residence of Pening-Si, who commanded there in the governor's absence. The sergeant who had acted as their guide remitted them into this officer's hands, with letters from the king. Afterwards he received directions to fetch their three compatriots who, in the preceding year, had quitted Sior, and were then confined at a place about twelve leagues from Diu-Siong. They were afterwards lodged together in one of the public buildings, to the number of thirty-three.

In the course of the month of April, some skins which had been left at Quelpaert were forwarded to them. Their only occupation was to gather the grass twice a month which grew in the open area of the castle. The

governor and all the people of the town treated them with great kindness, but his successor proved less humane. He compelled them to collect wood in a forest about nine miles from the town. An attack of apoplexy delivered them from this odious taskmaster in the month of September following.

They had then to endure the harsh treatment of two other governors, who guarded them rigorously up to 1660. At this date a governor was appointed, a mild and generous man, who regretted that he had not the power to restore them to their native country. His humanity rendered their condition more supportable, but a terrible famine desolated the country for two years, and compelled them, in 1662, to quit the town of Diu-Siong, which could no longer support them all. Twelve were sent to Say-Syané, five to Siun-Sehien, and five to Ramman, sixteen leagues farther off. This separation was cruel, but it became the opportunity of their escape, and consequently of their safety.

They set out on foot; the sick, with their baggage, mounted some horses which were gratuitously supplied them. On the third day, they arrived at Siun-Sehien, where the five intended for that city were left behind. On the following day, about noon, the others entered into Say-Syané. Their escort delivered them to the governor or admiral of the province of Thillado, who resided in this city. This grandee appeared to them a man of distinguished merit, but his successor became their scourge. The greatest favour which he granted them was permission to cut wood to fashion into arrows for his people, the servants of the Corean nobles having no other occupation than the pastime of archery, because their masters make it a matter of vanity to support in their establishments the most skilful bowmen.

At the commencement of winter the Dutch solicited the governor to allow them to beg that they might procure some clothing. They obtained permission to be absent for three days—half of them at a time. The leading citizens, moved with compassion, favoured their journeys, which occasionally lasted a whole month. They continued to lead this life until the recall of the governor, who was created generalissimo of the royal army —the second dignity in the kingdom. His successor largely ameliorated the lot of the Hollanders at Say-Syané by ordering them to receive the same treatment as was experienced by their compatriots in other towns. They were relieved of all painful labours; were not compelled to parade before the governor oftener than once a month, or to acquaint the secretary in what direction they were going when permission was accorded them to walk abroad.

Among many other favours, this good governor sometimes invited them to dine with him; he sympathised with their misfortunes, and demanded why, when they were so near the coast, they did not attempt to pass into Japan. They replied that they durst do nought which would displease the king; besides, they did not know the route, and were in want of a vessel. "What," he replied, "are there not sufficient boats upon the coast?" They thought fit to answer that these did not belong to them, and that, if they did not succeed, they feared they should be treated like thieves and deserters. The governor laughed at their scruples, and did not imagine that the Dutchmen only held this language in order to dispel his suspicions.

Towards the close of this year a comet appeared; it was followed by two others, which shone simultaneously for about two months. These appearances filled the court

with such terrible apprehensions that the king caused the guards to be doubled in all his ports and on all his ships. He gave orders that all his fortresses should be well supplied with provisions and military stores, and that his troops should undergo a daily drill. His panic fear lest some neighbour should attack him proceeded to such an extreme that he forbade fires to be kindled at night in any house which was visible from the sea. Similar phenomena had been seen before the Tartars ravaged the country; the same signs had preceded the war of the Japanese against Corea. The inhabitants never encountered the Hollanders without asking them what was thought of comets in their country? They replied that they were considered the prognostics of some terrible event, such as pestilence, war, or famine; and, sometimes, of all three calamities!

As the years 1664 and 1665 passed in great tranquillity, all their exertions were directed to the great end of making themselves masters of a boat; but they had the misfortune not to succeed. They occasionally went rowing along the shore, in a boat which served well enough to assist them in procuring food. Occasionally they made a survey of the little islands, to take note of any circumstance that might be favourable to their escape. Their companions, distributed in two other cities, came at intervals to visit them; and they returned these visits whenever they obtained the governor's permission.

In 1665 they lost this good governor, who was elevated to the highest dignities, in reward of his great virtues, and the success and ability of his administration.

After his departure, the town remained three days without a governor. Custom accorded this delay to the new nominee to choose, with some soothsayer's assistance,

a moment favourable to his inauguration. The new governor proved a harsh tyrant to the unfortunate Hollanders. Among other injuries, he wished them to toil continuously at the erection of an earthwork—a proposal which they rejected, on the ground that after having discharged their daily duties they needed some time for themselves; the king had not designed them to labour in so rude a manner, and, if they were to be treated with such extreme rigour, it would be far better to renounce the daily rations allotted to them, and demand to be sent to Japan, or to some other region frequented by their countrymen. The governor's reply was a threat to enforce obedience, but he had no time to execute it. Some days afterwards, while visiting a new and handsome vessel, a spark accidentally fell in the powder-magazine, which was situated before the mast, and blew up the fore part of the ship, with a loss of five lives. He contented himself with neglecting to forward information of this event to the intendant of the province, in the hope that it might be quietly concealed. Unfortunately for him, the fire had been perceived by one of those spies whom the court maintained upon the coast, as well as in the interior of the kingdom. The intendant, by this means, becoming apprised of the misfortune, hastened to render an account of it to his sovereign. The governor was immediately recalled, and condemned to perpetual banishment, after having received ninety blows with a stick on the back of his legs.

The governor who succeeded him was still harsher and even more rigorous in his treatment of the poor captives, whom he subjected to the severest labours. During a temporary illness of this tyrant, the misery of their situation induced them to profit by this moment of respite to procure a boat, whatever might be the peril.

For this purpose they employed a Corean who owed them many obligations. They charged him to purchase a bark in which they might carry cotton for sale in the neighbouring islands, and promised him, in return, a considerable share of the profits which they pretended they should infallibly amass. The bark was bought, but the fisherman who sold it, learning that it was intended for their use, wished to recall his bargain; he feared he should be punished with death if they made use of it for their escape. However, the offer of double the price quieted his scruples and dissipated his fears, and the bargain was concluded, much to the satisfaction of the Hollanders.

As soon as they found themselves at liberty they furnished their boat with a sail, an anchor, rigging, oars, and other necessary articles. They retained two of their companions who had come on a visit, and they also sent to Ramman for Jean Peters de Vires, a skilful sailor, to serve as their pilot. Although their immediate neighbours were not without some suspicion, the Dutchmen set out on the night of the 4th of September, 1667, as soon as the moon's light was quenched, and gliding along the wall of the town, loaded with their provisions, which consisted of rice, with some pots of water and a saucepan, they gained the shore without being discovered. Only sixteen Hollanders were now alive out of the thirty-six who had escaped from the wreck; eight now attempted their escape, eight others were left in Corea, where they probably died, as no news of them was afterwards heard. They had now been twelve years in captivity.

They began their enterprise by filling a cask with fresh water at a small island, scarce a cannon-shot from the town. They then had the boldness to pass before the ships belonging to the town, and even the royal

frigates, keeping as far out in the channel as was possible. At sunrise, the wind failing them, they plied their oars. About noon the breeze freshened. They bore to the south-east, and doubling the point of Corea in the course of the following night, had no longer any fear of being pursued.

At six o'clock in the morning they found themselves in the vicinity of the most southerly of the Japan islands, and the wind continuing to favour them, arrived, without knowing it, off the isle of Firando, where they did not venture to put into port, because they knew nothing of the channel; besides, they had heard it said among the Coreans that there was no island at all on the route to Nagasaki. So, continuing their course with a fair wind, they coasted on the 7th along a number of islands which seemed to them inexhaustible. In the evening they hoped to drop anchor near a small islet, but the omens of a coming storm which were visible all around, and the numerous fires they could perceive upon its shore, made them resolve not to interrupt their course.

On the morning of the 8th they found themselves in the very place which they had left on the preceding evening; this drawback they attributed to the force of some powerful current. After sailing across a bay they anchored about noon, though ignorant of the neighbouring coast. While they were preparing their food, some of the natives passed and repassed very near them without speaking. Towards evening, the breeze having declined a little, they descried a bark manned by six men, each with two knives suspended to his girdle, rowing rapidly towards them. They raised anchor with all possible speed, and employed their oars and sails to escape from the bay; but the boat pursued and soon overtook them. They might have made use of their

long bamboo canes to prevent these strangers from boarding them; but, after discovering several other boats filled with Japanese, pushing off from the shore, they determined to wait for them tranquilly.

The crew of the first boat demanded by signs where they were going? For answer they unfurled the yellow flag, embroidered with the arms of the House of Orange, and exclaimed, "Holland! Nagasaki!" Thereupon they motioned to them to take in their sail. The Dutch obeyed. Two men who stepped on board then put to them various interrogatories which they did not understand. Their arrival had so alarmed the coast that no person made his appearance who was not armed with at least two swords! In the evening a boat brought on board an officer, who held the third rank in the island. Recognizing them as Dutchmen, he gave them to understand by signs that there were six vessels of their nation at Nagasaki, and that they were then lying off the island of Goto. They passed three days in this place, closely guarded. Fuel and provisions were supplied to them, with a matting to cover them from the rain, which fell in torrents.

On the 12th they set out for Nagasaki, well stored with provisions, under the conduct of the officer who had boarded them, and who carried letters to the Tycoon. On the following evening they discovered the Bay of Nagasaki, and anchored there at midnight. Five Dutch ships were then lying in the bay. On the 14th they were conducted ashore and received by the Japanese interpreters of the Dutch East India Company, who, having put to them several questions, took down their replies in writing. They were afterwards conducted to the governor's palace, and at noon introduced to his presence. When they had satisfied his curiosity by the recital of

their adventures, he warmly praised the courage which had made them overcome so many dangers. They were afterwards handed over to the Dutch authorities, who received them with a kindly welcome, provided them with lodging, and in a few days despatched them to Batavia, where they arrived on the 29th of November. The governor showed the liveliest interest in their surprising story, and promised to put them on board the first vessel which might be bound for Europe. In effect, they embarked on the 20th of December, and safely arrived at Amsterdam on the 20th of July, 1668, after an absence of fifteen years.

ADVENTURES OF A PORTUGUESE SHIP ON THE AFRICAN COAST

(1686)

The King of Portugal had sent to the King of Siam an embassy for the purpose of renewing their commercial alliances: the Siamese monarch thought himself obliged to respond to this extraordinary mark of consideration by despatching to Lisbon three grand mandarins in the capacity of ambassadors, and six mandarins of an inferior rank. They embarked towards the end of the month of March, 1684, in a Siamese frigate commanded by a Portuguese captain. Although Goa is at no great distance from Siam, the voyage occupied more than five months, and whether from a lack of skill on the part of the officers and pilots, or whether from adverse winds, they did not gain that harbour until after the departure of the Portuguese fleet.

The mandarins embarked for Europe on a Portuguese vessel, manned by a crew of 150 men, and mounting thirty guns. She also carried several monks belonging to different orders, and a great number of passengers—Créoles, Indians, and Portuguese. She set sail on the 27th of January, 1686.

[The narrative of this disastrous voyage was drawn up by M. Tachard, a Jesuit missionary, from the lips of Occum-Chamnam, one of the Siamese ambassadors.

Its authenticity was confirmed by the evidence of several of the Portuguese officers and seamen. It runs as follows:]

From the day that we sailed out of Goa harbour until the 27th of April, says Occum-Chamnam, our voyage was sufficiently smooth and prosperous. On the latter day, about sunset, several seamen had been sent aloft to examine the coast, which for three days had been on our larboard bow. According to the report of the sailors, and from other signs, the captain and pilot concluded —but, as it proved, erroneously—that it was the Cape of Good Hope. Upon this supposition they continued their course for three or four hours after sunset. Then they bore away a little to the northward. As the weather was clear and the wind fresh, the captain, convinced that he had doubled the Cape, placed no look-out man aloft. The seamen in the watch were on the alert, it is true, but only as to the management of the vessel, and neither perceived nor suspected any danger. I was the first to discover land. I had found it impossible to close my eyes, and leaving my cabin, had ascended upon deck, where I amused myself with watching how the ship flew through the waters. Looking out across the waves, I suddenly descried, on the starboard bow, and very nigh us, a thick heavy cloud. I pointed it out to the pilot, who was at the helm. At the same moment a cry arose from the bows of the vessel, "Land! land, right before us! We are lost! All hands about ship!" The steersman immediately drove his helm aport to change her course, but in tacking she struck her stern thrice against a rock, and instantly all command over her was lost. These three shocks were horrible; one would have thought the vessel had split in twain. All hands to the pumps! How-

ever, not a single drop of water as yet had entered, and the crew gained a little courage.

There was no time to cut away the masts. The waves, driven landward by a strong wind, propelled our unfortunate ship towards the shore. Mountainous billows, which seemed to break upon a hidden reef, lifted the vessel up to the clouds, and then let her dash headlong upon the rocks. We heard her crack and strain in every timber. Her planks were one by one detached, and one could plainly see the enormous mass of wood breaking up into pieces with a frightful crash. As the stern had first struck, so it was the first to sink. The masts were now cut away, and the guns thrown overboard, but in vain; the ship sprung a leak beneath the powder magazine, and the water soon gained the lower deck and filled the magazine itself. A few minutes, and between decks it was as high as a man's waist.

At this sight everybody flies for refuge to the upper deck, with loud cries and in terrible confusion, which increased the danger. The ship sinks sensibly beneath the waves, and her keel touches the bottom.

Alarm and consternation pervade every heart; on all sides ascend to heaven the most frenzied weepings and the loudest lamentations. One crosses himself; another strikes his breast; some, on their knees, implore God's help; others fling into the sea barrels and empty chests, with planks and yards, to construct a raft.

I armed myself with resolution. Clothing myself with a couple of coats, one over the other, I essayed to reach the sea-shore on some timbers which I had bound together. Our second ambassador was already in the water. He took with him the king's letter, having attached it to the handle of a sword which his sovereign had presented to him. We both reached the land together. We found

there several Portuguese, who awaited, as we did, some new misfortune. We were without water, without wine, and without biscuit. The cold was piercing. Afraid that I might not be able to withstand it, I resolved to return on the following day to the ship for some thicker clothing and provisions. I placed myself upon a kind of hurdle, and reached the vessel in safety.

I had flattered myself that I should find some gold, jewels, or articles of luxury, easy to carry, but every cabin was water-logged, and all I could secure was some pieces of gold stuff, a little biscuit, and six flagons of wine. I placed this small booty upon the hurdle, which I propelled before me with great difficulty and danger, and I gained the shore much more fatigued than on the first occasion.

There I found some Siamese who had saved themselves, but were absolutely naked. Seeing them trembling with the cold, I shared among them the stuffs which I had brought from the vessel. But fearing that the wine-vessels, if entrusted to their hands, would not long hold out, I placed them in the custody of a Portuguese, my friend, on condition that we should share them between us. But the frightful position in which we were cast destroyed every sentiment of justice and humanity. This " faithful " friend gave me half a glass for the first two or three days, when, feeling himself athirst, and fearing no fresh water might be discovered, he absolutely refused to let me partake of the treasure which was actually my own. He replied to my entreaties that he would not spare a drop of it even to his own father. The biscuit was of no benefit to us, because the sea-water had rendered it insupportably bitter.

Two hundred of us were now assembled on the shore; wherefore, we concluded that only seven or eight persons

had been drowned. Some among us had taken the precaution of bringing their guns and powder, to defend themselves from the Caffres, and to kill any game they might discover in the woods. These arms, moreover, proved very useful in kindling our fires throughout our dreary wanderings.

The second day after our shipwreck was Sunday. The Portuguese having performed their devotions, we set out on our march. The captain and pilots assured us we were not more than twenty leagues from the Cape of Good Hope. This assurance determined most of those who had brought some provisions from the vessel to abandon them, in the hope that, unembarrassed with any burthen, they might walk more easily and quietly. Thus we passed into the wood, or rather thickets. We marched all day, and halted only twice to take a little repose. We soon began to feel the first symptoms of hunger and thirst. About four o'clock in the afternoon, a vast mere interrupted our progress, and the Portuguese were of opinion that we should spend the remainder of the day and the following night on its bank. A fire was kindled. Those who found any crabs in the water roasted and ate them. Others, and by far the greater number, after having quenched their thirst a second time, resolved to seek refreshment in slumber, being far more overcome with the weariness of their long march than with the hunger which had tormented them during the last two days.

On the morrow, after drinking heartily by way of precaution against future thirst, we set out early in the morning. The Portuguese took the lead, and we remained with our chief ambassador, who was feeble and languishing. But as it was needful not to lose sight for a moment of those who preceded us, we divided our party into three divisions. The first kept closely in the footsteps

of the Portuguese, and the two others, marching at equal distances, watched their movements. A signal from the first division indicating that the Portuguese had halted, we felt assured they had discovered some fresh water, and redoubled our pace. However, spite of all our efforts, we could not conduct our sick compatriots thither until the evening. Our people then informed us that the Portuguese had refused to wait for us, under the pretence that they could serve us better by pushing ahead in quest of food.

At these sad tidings the chief ambassador assembled all the Siamese who remained near him. He told us it was impossible for him to follow the Portuguese; he exhorted those whose strength permitted to use every exertion to rejoin them; and, the Dutch settlement not being far distant, he simply ordered us to send a horse and litter and some provisions, to transport him to the Cape if he should be still alive. This separation bitterly grieved us, but we felt that it was absolutely necessary. Only a youth about fifteen years of age, the son of a mandarin, refused to forsake the ambassador, by whom he was warmly loved, and for whom he entertained a sincere affection.

The second ambassador, another mandarin, and myself, took leave of him with the assurance that we would despatch assistance as soon as it was within our power, and we resumed our march in the hope of overtaking the Portuguese. A signal made by the more advanced Siamese from the summit of a mountain augmented our courage and quickened our steps; but we were unable to rejoin them until about ten o'clock in the evening. They informed us that the Portuguese were still far ahead, in fact we could discern their camp by the fires they had lighted. The hope of finding at least some

water sustained our spirits. After two hours of weary marching through woods and over rocks, we gained their encampment. The Portuguese were posted on the crest of a high mountain, and were sleeping around a great fire. Our first question was for water. A Siamese had the humanity to bring me some, for the brook which they had discovered was at some distance from the camp, and I had not sufficient strength to drag myself towards it. I then stretched myself near the fire, and slept until the cold awoke me.

Tortured by cruel hunger, I resolved to await death in the place where I was lying. But the example of the Siamese and Portuguese encouraged me. Exercise restored to my limbs a little warmth; I even outstripped my companions in the ascent of a hill, whose summit I found covered with a very high and thick vegetation. The quickness of the march had finally exhausted my strength; I was compelled to lie down on this beautiful verdure and fall asleep. A mandarin, my particular friend, and my servants, thinking I had gone astray, sought for me for a considerable time; at length they found me, and awaking me, the mandarin eagerly exhorted me to summon up all my courage. We rejoined the Portuguese, who had halted near a brook. Hunger had forced them to set fire to the half-dry grass, to drive out of their covert any lizards or serpents. One of them found some leaves on the margin of the water. He had the boldness to eat them, spite of their bitterness, and felt his hunger appeased. All our troop hastened to the spot with eagerness, and partook of them with inconceivable relish.

The next day was the fifth of our march. We set out very early in the morning, encouraged by the idea that we should not fail to arrive at the Dutch settlements.

After having marched until noon, we perceived some men on a distant elevation. Then did we congratulate ourselves that the end of our weary sufferings was at hand; but our hopes were deceived; they were three or four Hottentots who came, armed with their sagays, to reconnoitre us. Their fear seemed equal to our own, at the sight of our numerous troops and weapons. But, persuaded that their companions could not be far distant, and believing ourselves on the point of being massacred by these barbarians, we resolved to let them approach, in the idea that we might just as well finish our miserable lives without further delay or struggle. But as they had discovered our numbers, they in their turn waited for us to approach. They pointed with their fingers to three or four wretched cabins upon a hill, and made a sign to us to follow them. At the foot of this hill they turned into a small path, which conducted us to another village.

On arriving at this village, composed of forty or fifty huts, thatched with branches of trees, the inhabitants, who probably amounted to between three and four hundred, drew near us to examine us at their leisure. They took a special pleasure in observing the Siamese, as if they were much struck by our attire. We wished to enter their huts in search of food, for our signs only made them laugh with all their might, without their appearing to understand us. Some repeated only these words, "Tobacco! Pataque!" I offered them two large diamonds, which the chief ambassador had given me on parting, but they did not appear to value them. At length, the chief pilot, who had some pataques, the only species of money known to these barbarians, gave them four. They brought us, in return, a bull, which they will not generally sell to the Dutch but for his entire length in tobacco. But of what use was one ox among so many

men half dead with hunger, who for six days had lived upon a few handfuls of leaves? The pilot only shared it with his best friends and countrymen; no Siamese obtained a morsel. The Portuguese did not the less forbid us to touch any of the herds belonging to the Hottentots, and threatened, if we did, to abandon us to their fury.

A mandarin, observing that the Hottentots refused gold in money, bethought himself of decorating his head with some golden ornaments, and in that guise appeared before them. The novelty was admired; and for these small decorations, worth more than a hundred pistoles, they gave him quarter of a sheep. We ate this dainty half raw; it served but to whet our appetite. The Portuguese had flung aside the skin of their bull, after flaying the animal; we eagerly seized upon it, and put it upon the fire to broil. It served us only for two meals, since we could not refuse to share our good fortune with our compatriots. A Hottentot having stopped to admire the gold buttons on my coat, I made him understand that he might have them in return for something to eat. He consented; but instead of a sheep, which was the least I had expected, he gave me a small quantity of milk.

We passed the night near a large fire, which we had lighted in front of the Hottentot cabins. The savages did nothing but dance and sing until daybreak, which compelled us to keep constantly on our guard. We set out again in the morning, and taking the road towards the sea, arrived on the coast about noon. After collecting all the mussels we could find among the rocks, each of us took care to make provision for the evening, since it was needful to return into the wood in search of water. We discovered none until night, and then only a pool of very foul water. None of us, however, allowed it to

settle before drinking of it. We encamped on its border, but kept good watch all night, for fear of the Hottentots, whose intentions we mistrusted.

The following day we found ourselves at the foot of a lofty mountain, which we ascended with extreme suffering. Hunger tormented us more than ever, and nothing could we find to appease it. Having gained the summit, we saw a hillock covered with green herbs and some flowers. Of these we ate the least bitter, but while they deadened our hunger they sharpened our thirst. We found no water until nightfall, when we reached the foot of the mountain, on the other side. As soon as all were reassembled, we held a council, and with one consent—the captain and pilot confessing that they had been deceived, and that they knew not where we had been wrecked—resolved to penetrate no farther into the interior, but to follow the shore-line, where at least we should find mussels and other shell-fish. And as most rivers, brooks, and fountains flow seaward, we hoped to suffer less from thirst.

At daybreak we resumed our journey towards the coast; we reached it about two hours before noon. We discovered at first a vast tract of sand, terminated in the distance by a lofty mountain; a spectacle which rejoiced everybody, because the pilot assured us it was the Cape of Good Hope. The agreeable news reanimated our spirits. Without resting a moment, we continued our march until evening. After having accomplished five or six leagues, we perceived it was not the Cape! A sailor reported that he had discovered, at a little distance, a small islet, covered with mussels, and possessing a good spring of water. We repaired thither to pass the night, and on the morrow resolved to remain there that day and the following night. The long rest refreshed

us greatly, and the abundance of food partially restored our strength. In the evening, having assembled, as we were wont to do, at some little distance from the Portuguese, we were surprised by the absence of one of our mandarins. We sought him on every side; we shouted loudly after him, but our cares were useless: his strength had failed him on the road. The extreme aversion which he felt towards the grass and flowers eaten by the others had prevented him from tasting even a mouthful; he had died of famine, unable to make any one hear, and unperceived by all. Four days previously, another mandarin had met with the same fate. At any other time, the death of a friend would have caused me the keenest affliction; on this occasion I was scarcely sensible of it, so grievously does misery harden our heart against the miseries of others!

During the day and the two nights which we passed in this island, we remarked certain dry trees, of good size, and very light, which were entirely hollow throughout. Each person provided himself with one of these long tubes, and having thoroughly stopped it up at one end, filled it with water for a day's supply. Towards evening, we descried, about half a league distant, a troop of elephants feeding in an immense pasturage. We passed the night on the shore. The sun not having yet declined, we hunted on every side for food, but in vain. I had been in search of herbs and flowers, and finding none which were not intolerably bitter, had returned after my fruitless fatigue, when I perceived a serpent as thick as my thumb, and about as long as my arm. I pursued it, and killed it with a blow from my dagger. Skin, head, and bones, we ate all. After this strange meal, which appeared to us delicious, we remarked that one of our three interpreters was missing.

On the morrow we broke up our camp a little later than usual. We were inconvenienced by a cold wind, which blew with such impetuosity that we could only advance by crossing alternately to the right and to the left. About two hours after noon, the wind brought up a heavy rain, which lasted until the evening. In the impossibility of marching, some sought shelter under arid trees, others hid themselves in the rocky hollows, and those who could find no covert supported themselves against the steep sides of the ravine, pressing closely together, so as to warm themselves a little, and resist more easily the violence of the storm. Although we had passed the day without eating, and had drunk nothing but rain water, hunger appeared to us the least of our misfortunes.

After a cruel night (*une cruelle nuit*), our extreme feebleness did not prevent us from thinking about rejoining the Portuguese. But what was our astonishment —how great our grief—at not perceiving them! In vain our anxious glances roved in every direction; . . . not only could we not discern a single individual, but it was impossible for us to determine what road they had taken. At this moment of bitterness, all the misfortunes we had hitherto endured—hunger, thirst, weariness, sorrow—seemed combined to overwhelm us; despair took possession of our souls. We looked at one another, astonished, half-dead, in profound silence and mortal dejection! At length, the second ambassador assembled us to deliberate. After having represented to us that the Portuguese would not have abandoned us without strong reasons, and that we ourselves had been compelled to leave the first ambassador behind us in a frightful solitude, " Can we not," said he, " like them, continue to follow the coast? One single thing ought to occupy our thoughts. You are witnesses of the profound respect

in which I have always held the letter of our great king. My first anxiety, in our shipwreck, was to save it; I can only attribute its preservation to the guardian fortune of our royal master. You have seen with what circumspection I have carried it. When we have passed the night upon the mountains, I have always placed it beneath us, and posted myself at a suitable distance for watching over it; when we have halted on a plain, I have always attached it to the summit of some tree. During the journey I have carried it on my shoulders as long as I was able, and only entrusted it to others when my own strength was exhausted. Doubtful as I am whether I shall long be able to follow you, I order the third ambassador to take, after my death, the same care of this august letter. If, alas, not one of us be spared to reach the Cape of Good Hope, he who shall last have charge of it shall not fail to bury it, before he dies, on the loftiest ground he can find; and this precious deposit thus protected from insult, he will die, prostrated before it, with the respect which during our lives we owe to our king. With such sentiments, my friends, regain your courage; we will never separate. We will take only short marches. The fortune of the great king our master will always protect us."

This discourse inspired us with fresh resolution. However, instead of following the coast, it was agreed we should attempt to overtake the Portuguese. We had before us a great mountain, and on the right some gentle hills. We easily persuaded ourselves that, fatigued as they were, they would not select the roughest and most difficult road; we therefore ascended the first hill. The preceding night had already rendered my limbs stiff and benumbed; they, as well as my body, began to swell. We seemed to walk very quickly, although in effect we

made but little progress. Towards noon we arrived, very weary, on the bank of a river, which might be sixty feet wide and seven or eight deep. Some Siamese attempted to cross it, but the current was so rapid that they quickly retraced their steps, afraid of being carried away. However, they resolved to attempt again the passage; we fastened together all our scarfs, and a mandarin of great strength undertook to attach one end to the trunk of a tree which we saw on the other bank, in hope that by this species of chain each might succeed in passing over. But hardly had the mandarin reached the middle of the river, when, unable to stem the force of the current, he was obliged to let go the end of the scarf to swim across; spite of all his skill, he was flung against a point of land, and wounded in various parts of the body. He reascended the bank, until opposite to us, and cried out that it was impossible for the Portuguese to have taken that route. He afterwards rejoined us, by going higher up the stream and swimming.

We concluded that the Portuguese had followed the bank where we already were. A tattered stocking that we found about half a league farther confirmed us in this opinion. After infinite pains we arrived at the foot of a mountain whose base was naturally excavated; in the cavern thus formed there was space sufficient for all of us to lodge together. We passed a cold and pitiful night. For some days I had been unable to wear either shoes or stockings; the swelling of my legs increased hourly; and when I awoke in the morning I observed that the ground under me was covered with the water and matter which had issued from my feet. However, I summoned up all my energies to resume our journey.

During the day we followed the river bank, impatient to rejoin the Portuguese, who we thought could not be

far distant; we found at intervals the traces of their march. One of our people caught sight of a gun and box of powder which a Portuguese had apparently left behind from inability to carry them any farther; they proved of extreme utility to us. While we had continued to ascend the river bank we had found no kind of nourishment, and were half dead with hunger. For myself, since I could no longer make use of my shoes, and was even embarrassed by the useless burden, I separated all the pieces and boiled them. We ate them greedily. We endeavoured to eat the hat of one of our slaves after roasting it a long time, but it was impossible to chew it; we were compelled to reduce the pieces to cinders, and in this state they were so bitter and unsavoury as to revolt the stomach.

We soon obtained a pitiful proof that the Portuguese had followed, as we were doing, the bank of the river, for we found the corpse of one of our interpreters, who had joined their party, and died on the road. He had evidently perished of the cold, and was kneeling on the ground, with his hands, head, and the upper part of his body resting on a small hillock. The knoll was clothed with fine verdure, and each of us made provision for our evening repast by gathering the sweetest herbs and leaves. Our belief that the Portuguese were too far ahead to be overtaken, and that we had fatigued ourselves in vain, began to make us regret having abandoned the little islet, where we had rejoiced in so great an abundance of mussels and in such excellent water; and our chagrin and embarrassment were increased by the circumstances in which we suddenly found ourselves placed.

Two routes lay before us—on the one hand rose a steep and rugged mountain, and on the other a morass intersected by numerous arms of the river, which in

various places inundated the level. The Portuguese could not have adopted either of these impracticable roads. We deliberated for some hours whether we should push forward or retrace our steps. All were of opinion that the former course was impossible. How could we cross the morass without perishing a thousand times? To pass over the mountain was to die of thirst, for we could not hope to make the journey in less than two days. We resolved to return to the little island which we regretted having quitted, there to await for a few days some tidings of the Portuguese division of our party. If we received none, when we had consumed our provisions we would voluntarily go in search of the Hottentots, and offer ourselves as their slaves to take care of their flocks and herds.

We retraced our steps with so much vigour, in our anxiety to regain the much-coveted islet, and to appease the hunger which each day became more insupportable, that we arrived there in three days. We burst into transports of joy at the sight of so pleasant a spot. Each wished to be the first to enter into it, but the diligence of the most ardent was useless; the tide had closed up the passage. This island was but a rock, of considerable elevation, of circular form, and about a hundred paces in circumference at high water. It appeared of greater dimensions when the sea retired, and we could then perceive that it was entirely surrounded by small rocks. We waited impatiently for the ebb, which at length permitted us to accomplish the passage. Everybody hastened to pick some mussels. After having gathered sufficient for a whole day, we ate a part of them, and exposed the rest to the sun that they might be cooked by the evening. But hardly were we asleep before the cold and damp aroused us. Wood soon failing us upon the

shore, some of us went to seek it farther inland; but all around there stretched deserts covered with sand, and full of scarped rocks, treeless, and bare of all verdure. We found a quantity of elephants' excrement, which served for three or four days as fuel for our fire. At length this last succour having also failed us, the severe cold during the night compelled us to abandon a place which had furnished us with food for six days. We resolved to go in quest of the Hottentots, and abandon ourselves to the mercy of the most barbarous of men. But to what would we not have exposed ourselves to preserve a life which had already cost us so dear.

We set out, bitterly regretting the mussels and fresh water which we left behind us in the island. We had been induced to come to this determination in a great measure by the idea that the Portuguese might have perished on the road, or that they would think we ourselves were dead. Before beginning our march, each person obtained a supply of fresh water and mussels. We went to pass the night on the bank of a pond of muddy water, very near a mountain where we had previously encamped. At daybreak we eagerly searched about for a few herbs or some leaves, so as to preserve the remainder of our mussels for more pressing occasions. Some descended into the lake in search of fish, but it was only a slough of muddy and stagnant water.

While we were thus scattered about, those who remained in the vicinity of the lake perceived three Hottentots advancing towards them. A preconcerted signal recalled us all immediately, and we waited the arrival of these men, who advanced with rapid steps. When they drew near we perceived, by the pipes they held in their mouths, that they had had some commerce with Europeans. They made signs to us with their hands, lift-

ing up six fingers, and crying with all their strength, "*Hollanda! Hollanda!*" Some of our Siamese suspected them to be the spies or scouts of the Hottentots we had originally encountered, and who, perhaps, were seeking, in order to massacre, us. Others imagined that their signs were intended to express our distance from the Cape as a six days' march. After a moment's hesitation we determined to follow these guides, for this reason only, that nothing worse could happen than we had already endured.

[The unfortunate Siamese accompanied the Hottentots, leaving behind seven of their number who were incapable of further fatigue. After various adventures one of the Hottentots became their guide, and conducted them towards the Dutch settlements.]

At length, on the thirty-first day of our march, and the sixth after our fortunate *rencontre* with the Hottentots, when descending a hill, about six o'clock in the morning we perceived four persons on the peak of a very lofty mountain which was in front of us, and which we were compelled to climb. We took them at first for Hottentots; but as they advanced towards us and we towards them we soon discovered our error. It was easy for us to recognize two Dutchmen with the two Hottentots who had quitted us on the road. Our emotion reached its height, and our joy augmented more when our liberators demanded of us if we were Siamese, and who among us were ambassadors from the king our master. We pointed them out; they paid them many civilities; after which, inviting us to seat ourselves, they bade the Hottentots approach with their burthen of refreshments. At the sight of the new bread, cooked meat, and wine, we were unable to restrain our emotions of gratitude.

Some cast themselves at the feet of the Hollanders, and embraced their knees; others addressed them as their fathers, their liberators, their saviours. For myself, I wished them to perceive immediately how high a value I set upon their friendly attentions. Our chief ambassador, when bidding us leave him and go in quest of some conveyance, had divested himself of several jewels with which the king our master had entrusted him for the purpose of making the necessary presents. He had given me five large diamonds set in as many rings of gold. I presented each of the Hollanders with one of these rings.

After having eaten and drank, we felt so feeble that none of us could raise ourselves but with incredible agony. The Dutch had informed us that it was but an hour's journey to their habitations, but not one of us had sufficient strength or courage to undertake so brief a march. Our generous guides, perceiving that we were really incapable of advancing a step, sent the Hottentots to fetch some vehicles. In less than two hours they returned with waggons and horses, and we were speedily conveyed to the Hollanders' mansions. There we passed the night, sleeping upon straw, with greater pleasure and a keener sense of enjoyment than we had ever experienced in the days of our brightest fortune. On the morrow, when we awoke, how indescribable was our joy!

Our first anxiety was to solicit the Dutch to send a waggon with refreshments to the seven Siamese whom we had left on the road. After seeing their conveyance set out we repaired in two others to a Dutch mansion four or five leagues distant from the first. Scarcely had we arrived there when several soldiers appeared, despatched by the governor of the Cape for our escort, and two horses for the two ambassadors, who, however, were too ill to make use of them. We re-entered our waggons,

and in this state and condition were conducted to the Dutch fortress at the Cape of Good Hope. The commandant, apprised of our arrival, sent his secretary to meet the ambassadors, and pay the customary compliments. We entered the fort through a double file of soldiers, drawn up as a guard of honour. We were immediately conducted to the governor's mansion. He received the ambassadors and the mandarins in their *suite* with the utmost marks of respect and affection. We implored him to despatch assistance to our chief ambassador, but the rainy season prevented him from complying, though he undertook to send out a convoy as soon as it terminated. For ourselves, he suffered us to want for nothing. His secretary was ordered to conduct us to apartments already prepared, and furnished us liberally with every kind of provision. He kept, it is true, an exact and minute account of our expenses, which he forwarded to Siam, to the minister of the king our master, and which was immediately paid. Even the pay of the soldiers and officers who had acted as our escort and guard of honour was reimbursed by our sovereign.

The Portuguese had arrived there eight days before us, after enduring sufferings worse than ours. A Portuguese monk of the order of St. Augustine, who accompanied the ambassadors destined for the court of Portugal, drew a picture of their misery which moved us to tears.

From the Cape we proceeded to Batavia in a ship belonging to the Dutch East India Company. There we passed six months. We then set sail for Siam, and arrived at our native land in the month of September. The king, our master, received us with extraordinary marks of favour; he immediately presented us with raiment and money, and in the end did not forget to advance our fortune.

WRECK OF THE "DEGRAVE", AND ROBERT DRURY'S ADVENTURES IN MADAGASCAR

(1701)

I displayed at an early age, says Robert Drury, so strong an inclination for a maritime life, as compelled me to resist my parents' wishes, who in their hearts had destined me for a commercial employment. Nothing they could urge, however, was able to conquer my love of the sea; I was deaf even to the supplications of a tender and beloved mother, who, on her knees, and with tearful eyes, prayed me to renounce my project. I resolved on undertaking a voyage to the East Indies, where I had a kinsman engaged in the service of the new East India Company at Bengal.

My father supplied me with every necessary for my voyage, and, with a credit of £100 sterling—a sum amply sufficient for a young man of my age—I embarked in the *Degrave*, an East Indiaman of 700 tons burthen, mounting fifty-two guns, and commanded by Captain William Young.

We sailed from the Downs on the 19th of February, 1701. After a voyage of three months and twenty days, we arrived at Fort St. George (now Madras), and from thence proceeded to Masulipatam, where we sojourned a month; then we set sail for Bengal. My relative, in-

formed of my arrival, came on board to see me. He wished to take me and all my traps on shore; but Captain Young, charged by my father to gain some information respecting the character and position of this kinsman, prevented me from accompanying him, interesting himself in my affairs, took possession of my letter of credit, and, indeed, disposed of it.

A few days afterwards, my kinsman died. We remained nine months on this country, and lost by disease forty of our crew. The captain was among the number, and his son succeeded him in the command. The only advantage which I gained from my voyage to Bengal was, that I learned to swim, which, in the event, proved the means of preserving my life and liberty.

At length we quitted Bengal. Our crew numbered 120 men, besides two women and several passengers, among whom I was included. In descending the Ganges, our boat grounded. The tide disengaged her; but, once out at sea, she showed so great a leak that we were compelled to keep two pumps continually going.

For two months we remained in this condition. At the end of that time we sighted the island of Mauritius, which lies to the east of Madagascar. We erected a tent upon the shore, and removed into it a great portion of our cargo. Having thus lightened our ship, we endeavoured to discover the leak, but without success.

A shipwrecked pirate had left fifty Lascars in the island. We took these men on board, in order to relieve our own crew, who for two months had had scarcely any relaxation from the labour of the pumps.

After a month's sojourn in the Mauritius, we steered direct for the Cape of Good Hope. The leak gained on us more and more, and it was with incredible difficulty

we kept our vessel afloat. The crew were exhausted with fatigue, for night and day we had to pump or bail out water. About a hundred leagues to the south of Madagascar, we hove overboard several cannons and some heavy merchandise, to lighten the vessel. The captain wished to continue his voyage to the Cape. The crew were of a contrary opinion; they thought that we could not keep the vessel sufficiently long afloat to reach the Cape, from which we were fully six hundred leagues distant, while we were but one hundred from Madagascar. The captain, therefore, decided, though not without regret, to bear up for the island.

The wind being favourable, the captain sent me aloft, on the third day after this, together with a cabin-boy, to discover the land. He could only employ us two on this errand, for everybody was busily engaged; and in this critical moment, although I was a passenger, it was needful for me to labour like the others. After three hours' vigil, I distinguished a white beach and a cloud of smoke at no great distance: I cried, "Land! land!"

Several of the crew and the captain himself immediately mounted the rigging; one of them asserted that he knew the locality, and that we were approaching Fort Dauphin. The chief of that part of the island was, he declared, the implacable enemy of white men, and treated Europeans in the most barbarous manner. This partially erroneous statement—for the ferocity of the Malagasys is only directed against the French, whom they have good cause to hate—was the cause of our destruction, by preventing us from landing at this point.

The wind blowing from the north-east, we were unable to continue our voyage northward; while it would have occupied a week to gain the western parts of the island. The captain, therefore, resolved to follow up the western

coast, and look out for a creek wherein our ship might be moored.

We ended by running close in shore, but could not discover any convenient anchorage. The hold was now full of water. The sailors declared to the captain that the ship could not float any longer. He withdrew for a few minutes into his cabin, and, on issuing from it again, exclaimed, "Do you wish that at all hazards I should run the ship ashore?" "Yes," they unanimously replied; "do all, do anything, to attempt to save our lives."

Off this part of the coast lay a sandbank, about two leagues in length. We drove within a quarter of a mile of the shore, and cast out an anchor among the breakers; then we cut away the masts and rigging. The guns hove overboard, we essayed every imaginable means of lightening the ship, so as to run her ashore. We had lost at Bengal our longboat and pinnace. Having nothing left but a little skiff, we constructed a raft with some planks and yards.

During these efforts of ours, several natives who were fishing kindled a fire on the beach to serve us as a landmark. But we had heard so many evil reports of these islanders, that we delayed some time before putting off.

The raft was finished in one night. On the following morning the chief mate and four sailors got into the shallop, carrying with them a long cable to moor on the shore. The boat was dashed in pieces by the surf; but our men were near the land, and, with the assistance of the natives, saved that part of the shallop to which the cable had been attached.

One of the women passengers and the captain refused to trust themselves to the raft; but the other woman and about fifty men hazarded the attempt. I undressed myself, and fastened round my body a purse and silver

cup. We hauled ourselves towards the shore by means of the cable; but scarcely had we got within reach of the breakers before a great wave capsized the raft; those who regained it by dint of strong swimming were carried away anew by the sea. I dived several times, and only gained the beach with great exertion, as did all those who clung to the raft; only the poor woman was drowned by my side. The surf was so strong, and the sea broke with so much violence, that we durst not risk sending the raft aboard. The captain then ordered us to cut the cable, so that the ship might drift nearer inshore; a few moments, and she was dashed to pieces.

The captain landed, carrying his father's heart in his hand. The latter, when dying, had besought him to transport it to England in a vase, and bury it at Dover. At last everybody succeeded in getting ashore. The second female had swallowed so much salt water that we were constrained to roll and rub her to make her relieve herself of it; we employed the same remedy for several men who were in a like condition; afterwards we placed them before a large fire, and by degrees they were restored to life.

We now numbered about one hundred and sixty, including Lascars. The natives began to assemble. We soon had collected around us more than three hundred negroes, who began to help themselves to the pieces of silk and fine calico contained in the packages of merchandise flung ashore.

A Malagasy brought us a bull, and made signs to us to kill it; we gave him to understand that we had neither powder nor fire-arms; he handed us his own gun, loaded, and we slew the animal. We remained in this place two days and two nights without adopting any resolution as to our future action. We ascertained that

Fort Dauphin was but sixty miles distant; but our fatal prejudices against the inhabitants of that district prevented us from setting out for it.

In the evening of the following day we heard, at a great distance, a man calling to us in English; when he approached us we recognized him to be one of our own countrymen. He demanded who we were; on our replying, he informed the captain that the chief of the country had sent him to inform us that, although strangers, we had nothing to fear, and that he would pay us a visit on the morrow.

This Englishman told us the following story:

"The ship on board which I was voyaging to the Indies was captured by a pirate, who, seizing upon myself and nine of my comrades, abandoned the vessel. While lying in the roadstead of Mattalan, I pretended I was ill; the pirate sailed without me. I remained at Mattalan for three months, until a Scotch captain, named Drummond, arrived for trading purposes; three days afterwards he was also captured by the pirates. He was accompanied by a Captain Stewart. The freebooters permitted them to go ashore, with four sailors, in the ship's longboat. Another Englishman and his wife found their way to the same locality, and we welcomed all three Englishmen into our huts. Captain Drummond, who bitterly regretted the loss of his vessel, having resolved to gain, if it were possible, St. Augustine's Bay, we all agreed to accompany him. After three days' sail the wind changed, and we could not hoist our canvas. We were driven ashore about four leagues from this place, but saved our money, powder, shot, and arms. The natives treated us hospitably, and conducted us into a neighbouring town. The chief despatched his son and fifty men to escort us into the interior of the country.

We were compelled to submit; and after three days' march arrived at the residence of the king, who told us we should want for nothing. Captain Drummond demanded permission to repair to some port from whence he might embark to return to his own country. The king positively refused him. About two months before the shipwreck of the *Degrave* we attempted to escape by concealing ourselves in the woods, and we set out one night by moonlight; but we were overtaken by the islanders, and, after some resistance, led back to the king. He, however, though one of his people had been slain in the affray, contented himself with the threat that if we ever again made the attempt, we should repent it."

Such was, in substance, the recital of the Englishman Sam. As it was late, we betook ourselves to repose under some thickets, but with heavily aching hearts. And as for myself, the remembrance of my foolish obstinacy and obduracy to my mother's tears caused me bitter regret.

We were all afoot at daybreak. We had saved neither arms nor munitions; this might cause our destruction, for nearly one hundred and seventy men with arms in their hands might have forced a passage across the country; but for us there remained only the frightful prospect of slavery without end.

About one hour after noon the chief came with nearly two hundred negroes armed with sagays. On seeing them approach, we drew ourselves up in good order, and with the captain at our head, confronted them face to face. When close upon us, the king summoned Sam and asked who was our commander; him he immediately saluted, taking him by the hand; the latter returned the salute, making use of the terms which Sam had told him to employ. The king gave us four oxen and some other

provisions, as well as vessels in which to cook them. After remaining with us two hours, he retired to the cabin, where he intended to pass the night. He told the captain that he was grieved for his misfortunes. But, on the contrary, he was really very glad, for he proved himself in the end more brutal and more cruel than most of the other chiefs of the island, and his people, for several years, were clothed in the stuffs of which he despoiled us.

On the morrow, the chief paid us another visit, and ordered us to follow him to the town where he resided, and where, he said, we should want for nothing. Captain Young thanked him a thousand times, through an interpreter, for all the favours he had already bestowed upon us, adding that we should not wish to cause him the trouble and expense of supporting so many people. The king replied, that had there been as many more of us he should have considered himself amply repaid by the satisfaction of having so many white men in his dominions.

The captain begged of Sam to represent to the chief that we had each of us a family from whom we could not always live separated, and that we requested his permission to repair to some port where we might obtain the means of returning to our own country. The king, after prolonged reflection, replied that we should remain with him until the arrival of some vessels to trade, and that then we could return home. The captain, well aware that there were no seaports in his dominions, judged that this was but an excuse for our detention, and desired Sam to inform the king that he would think over what he had said and give his answer on the following morning. Therewith the king quitted us.

As soon as he had gone, the captain addressed us in the following terms:

"I am now but on an equality with yourselves; my

fortune is no better than your own, and my life is not more precious. I cannot pretend to command, I only wish to deliberate with you in this extremity. It is a consolation to me that I am not the cause of your misfortunes, for I would rather have trusted to Providence and continued my voyage to the Cape than have landed on these shores. We have neither arms nor stores for our defence; the king refuses us permission to cross his dominions on our way to a seaport; now, agree among yourselves; I am ready to consent to any resolution you may arrive at. As for my life, I set no value upon it; it does not now deserve to be saved."

After listening to these touching words, we consulted together, and arrived at the only decision which it was possible to take. We resolved to follow the king into the interior of the country, where perhaps we might meet with Captain Drummond.

On the morrow the chief came to see the captain. They saluted each other as before, and seated themselves on the sand; we stood around them. He asked the captain if he was ready to set out, for it was much better to travel in the fresh morning, and rest about noonday. The captain replied that we were ready to march as soon as he pleased. The negro king appeared satisfied, and told Sam to inform us that he was going to breakfast, counselling us to do the same, that we might be the fitter to undertake the journey.

Our repast was very sorrowful; we sat in front of that sea which we were about to take leave of, and which seemed to offer our only path to freedom. Deep, too, was our humiliation at being constrained to obey the caprices of a troop of wild and ignorant negroes.

The order was given to march. We quitted the seacoast with hearts heavy and sad, and often turned our

heads to gaze at its gleaming expanse. The negroes busied themselves in opening the bales of merchandise, and in enriching themselves by pillaging us. The booty was so great, that only a small escort accompanied their chief.

Labour and want of sleep had exhausted all our energies. Several among us had been wounded in getting ashore; others had lost their shoes, or those they had preserved were worn to tatters. The country near the sea-coast, and for some miles inland, was thickly wooded, and covered with thorns and brambles which rent our clothes into fragments. The soil was sandy, and the path very narrow. As soon as the sun had risen a little above the horizon, the sand so blistered and burnt our feet that it was impossible to walk.

Towards noon we arrived at a small village consisting of a dozen huts. Our people broke into them through the gate, which was only three or four feet high, to rest therein, and procure some provisions, for the chief had given us permission to take whatever we could. The inhabitants were absent; the men had hastened to the sea-coast to share in the plunder of the wrecked ship; the women and children had fled into the woods at our approach. After resting there until the heat of the day was over, we set out again in the evening.

We soon arrived in a more open country. As we had travelled several miles from the sea-coast, the chief moved forward in advance to gain the place of his abode, and left us to the care of one of his officers. At night-fall we halted at a village like to the first, and quitted it at daybreak.

The next day passed in the same manner, except that it was rather more painful for those who had no shoes, because their feet were much lacerated when passing through the woods. On the third day we were obliged to

march more quickly, because we had a greater distance to accomplish.

The royal residence was about fifty miles distant from the sea-coast, for we had daily marched some sixteen or seventeen miles. It was situated in a wood, and defended by rows of trees which appeared to have been planted when very young. These trees were straight, slender, and so closely planted that a little dog could not pass between them; their thorns prevented one from climbing them, or penetrating into their depths. To this wooded covert there were but two gates or passages, one on the north, the other on the south; two men only could enter abreast. The whole was about a mile in circuit.

On approaching this spot we halted. Sam went forward to intimate our approach to the king, who quickly summoned us to his presence; we marched in order, four by four. He was seated, cross-legged, before the door of his "palace"; a musket on his shoulder, and a pair of pistols on the earth by his side. His sons and his kinsmen supported him on either hand, seated on the ground in like fashion to himself, and armed with guns and lances; while around the whole the people were gathered in a semicircle.

Once seated, the king bade the captain welcome, and sent for ten calabashes of *tank*, a species of drink commonly used in this country. Six he handed to our men, three to his own attendants, and one he kept to share between himself and the captain. He also summoned to his presence Captain Drummond, Captain Stewart, and the rest of their crew. Captain Young rose to receive them. After reciprocal courtesies, the two captains seated themselves side by side. The cup presented to Captain Young was besmirched and foul—it was sent

away to be cleansed—and I offered him my own. When it was empty, the king demanded to see it, and was so delighted with it that he begged it as a gift. The captain replied that it did not belong to him, but to a young man seated behind him. I then arose, and besought Sam to inform the king that, since so many persons had drank out of it, I did not think it worthy of his majesty. This observation provoked a burst of laughter from the king and everybody. He ordered me to stand for some time, that he might see me. However, he left me my cup.

Dreading the presence of so great a number of strangers in his capital during the night, he made them all go forth, with the exception of the captain, myself, and a few others. A hut was prepared for us close to that of Captain Drummond and his companions. The others slept under the trees.

In this fashion we lived for some time. Every morning we repaired in a body to visit the king. One day he informed us, through Sam, that he had in the west a very powerful enemy, whose forces until now had been superior to his own; but that, the gods having sent him so many white men, he should seize the opportunity for another struggle with his rival, and meanwhile he would distribute us in the various towns honoured by the presence of his sons. He then demanded of me my silver cup, which I durst not refuse him.

This separation was a terrible blow, and we returned to our huts in a very melancholy mood. The three captains, with some other Englishmen, then discussed the matter. Captain Drummond proposed to seize the person of the king, and, with him in our possession, to impose what conditions we pleased upon his subjects as the price of his deliverance. This resolution was

universally approved. I was sleeping profoundly when I was aroused by a sudden noise, occasioned by the execution of the plot, of which I was ignorant. At a signal, given by firing a pistol, the king and his wife and son were seized together.

All the town was speedily in commotion. I rose at a bound, and mingled among the negroes, who were flying into the country. One of our people recognized me, and made me return. I was as surprised as the natives on seeing the king, his wife, and one of his sons, with their hands bound behind their backs, and in the custody of our men, who soon pillaged his house in search of powder and shot. They found there about thirty small-arms, a little powder and lead, and some lances.

The natives, having assembled their forces in the neighbourhood, besieged the town, and began to fire upon us. One of us was wounded in the thigh. But Captain Young assured the king he would put him to death unless his subjects ceased firing.

We marched out of the town in good order. Six men preceded us; six went before the king, and six followed him; six men guarded his son; six others, namely, the Lascars, composed the rear-guard. Captain Young, moved with compassion, released the chief's wife, but she would not quit her husband.

We had proceded four miles, when our wounded comrade was taken ill. Unable to transport him, we were obliged to leave him on the margin of a pond; and I afterwards learned that the natives terminated his sufferings by killing him with blows from their sagays. Three miles farther, we emerged from the wood, and entered upon a vast open plain. The negroes, who had now collected in great numbers, prepared to attack us. We turned and faced them, our armed men at our head,

and the king in advance, with his hands bound. Sam was instructed to tell him that we had no intention of injuring either him or his son; that we wished only to retain them as hostages for our safety while traversing his territory; that, immediately we arrived on the confines of the kingdom of Fort Dauphin, they should be set at liberty; but that, if they offered the least violence, they should be sacrificed.

Then the king summoned one of the chiefs, who, after depositing on the ground his gun and sagay, was allowed to approach him. Informed of our intentions, this chief assured us that his people should not fire a single gun as long as the king was alive and well treated.

We halted, and traced out a circular trench, in the centre of which the king and his son were entrusted to the care of our captain and some men. The armed seamen were divided into four troops to watch over our own safety. The chief who had parleyed with us came with three negroes, leading an ox; he carried some roast meat in his hand, and a vessel full of water for the king and his son. These took a small quantity of each and gave the remainder to Captain Young.

We killed the ox, and requested the king to send some of his people in search of wood in the forest. We had no water; there was no pond nearer than the one where we had left our wounded comrade, about ten miles distant. This news grieved us exceedingly, for we were devoured with thirst. However, after dividing the ox into pieces, we broiled them, ate them, and then laid ourselves on the ground to sleep. Our three captains agreed to keep watch alternately. The king persuaded his wife to return to the town to console their children. She set out weeping; the king and his son also shed tears on parting from her.

On the morrow, at daybreak, after feasting on what remained of the ox, we resumed our march, in the same order as on the preceding day.

Towards noon the chief of the natives brought some roast meat and a vessel full of water. He made the king and prince eat and drink, although we would not allow their hands to be untied; and he afterwards demanded of us, through Sam, if we would release the king for six guns. This proposition gave rise to a lively discussion. The result was that we offered, if they would give us six good guns, and promise not to follow us, but to return with the king to their chief town, we agreed to set the latter at liberty. We added that, on arriving on the bank of the Mandera, which separates the territories of this monarch from those of Fort Dauphin, we would likewise send back his son. The chief, surprised at this unexpected condescension, despatched a messenger to the king's other sons. Soon he returned with the six guns. Having satisfied ourselves of their good condition, we restored the king to liberty. He was overjoyed, and his people were equally delighted. His sons embraced his knees; his principal officers kissed his feet; and the rest of the islanders exhibited their delight by firing their guns and raising loud and joyous shouts.

We then pursued our route. In the afternoon our thirst had terribly augmented, and the weakness of our people had sensibly increased. Having reached by sunset a sandy spot, we halted there and established our camp. The islanders did the same; they had divided into six bands, who almost completely surrounded us. We began to feel some alarm. The thirst which tormented us made us crawl on the earth in order to lick up the dew.

The next morning the same chief requested a conference with the king's son, and, after some conversation,

informed the captain that if we would release the prince three leading dignitaries of the kingdom would offer themselves as hostages in his place. The proposition was accepted. The three chiefs came as substitutes, and the king's son, shaking hands with the captain, rejoined his compatriots.

We continued our march as well as our weakness permitted, having nothing either to eat or drink; and we soon perceived the great blunder of which we had been guilty. The Malagasys drew nearer to us; some of them got ahead. We expected every moment to be attacked. Among us was a young man with a wooden leg. As we redoubled our pace he could no longer keep up with us. When the natives overtook him they removed his wooden leg and amused themselves with it; then they pierced him with their sagays and left him bathed in his blood. We could now understand the doom that awaited us at the hands of these barbarians, and we marched as quickly as our weakness permitted until sunset. We met with a tamarind tree, up whose trunk we were forced to climb to eat its leaves.

The three negroes who were with us as hostages, observing all that passed, began to tremble for their lives, if their countrymen should attack us. They therefore proposed to us to resume our march at nightfall; to this we consented, and broke up our camp in silence. Captain Drummond could not walk; none of us being strong enough to carry him, we resolved that the Malagasys should alternately perform this service, but one of them contrived to make his escape.

We were informed on the morrow that we should speedily arrive at the bank of the Mandera: we therefore quickened our march during the night, but discovered, at sunrise, that the river was still several miles away;

some of us, therefore, seated ourselves in the belief that the savages would pursue us no further. But when about a mile from the river, they overtook us, and murdered those of our comrades who were resting under the trees. I was one of the number who were thus reposing, but there were at least twenty behind me, and seeing that the barbarians massacred them as they came up with them, I threw off my coat and waistcoat, that they might not incommode my movements, and began to run at the moment that the most advanced of our troop had crossed the river. The report of a gun made me turn my head. I saw the woman who was with us fall, and the savages, rushing upon her, pierced her body with their sagays. I had reached the river bank when they fired upon me; I, however, succeeded in crossing under the protection of those of our men who had reached the other bank. The islanders did not dare to cross. The captain asked me if I thought that any of our comrades still survived; I replied that they were all killed. However, we tarried a little while, after which, resuming our march, we plunged into a wood. The islanders again resumed their pursuit, and concealing themselves behind the trees, slew three or four men. Two miles farther, we arrived on a sandy plain, where they separated into various troops, with the view of attacking us from different sides. We also divided into four bands, under the command of the three captains and Mr. Benbow. We had among us only thirty-six guns, and very few men were in a condition to fight. What resistance could a handful of dispirited and exhausted men offer to a host of more than 4000 savages, full of vigour and furious with the lust of revenge?

We succeeded, however, in keeping them at a distance from morning until six o'clock in the evening; but then

our munitions failed us. Our two hostages expected every moment that we should kill them; but as their death could not have benefited us, we spared their lives. We sent the woman who had come with Samuel, as well as her husband, to bear to the islanders a flag of peace, consisting of a piece of red silk fluttering from a lance. She told them that we would return our arms and hostages, provided we were allowed to continue our journey. The negroes replied that, if we consented to make this surrender immediately, they would allow us to proceed next morning, but not on that same evening. They thought that if we set out during the night, we should send against them their mortal foes.

The Malagasy proposal caused warm debates among us. We felt a great repugnance to abandoning our arms. Captains Drummond and Stewart, and the men of their party, as well as Mr. Benbow, opposed it with all their energy: Captain Young was of a different opinion, and the majority unfortunately agreed with him. The woman, therefore, took back their answer, and the negroes sent a party to receive the arms; but Captain Drummond and his men refused to give up those which they possessed.

Captains Drummond and Stewart, Mr. Benbow, the woman, her husband, and five other Englishmen, set out silently in the night. As soon as it was quite day the savages arrived, and the king's son asked Sam what had become of Captain Drummond. Another of the princes seized upon me and four other young persons of my age, and caused us to be tightly bound. I saw him afterwards drive his sagay into the chest and loins of poor Captain Young. When he was killed the prince attacked another, and the savages in his train imitating his example, all my unfortunate companions were speedily

massacred. The negroes then began to pillage the dead bodies, and disembowelled some of them. As for myself, I thought that the same fate was reserved for me, when one of the chiefs came running towards me with uplifted sagay; but a negro who was guarding me arrested his hand, addressing him in language which I did not then comprehend.

After the savages had massacred my countrymen and decked themselves in their attire, they departed in great haste, apprehensive that Captain Drummond and his followers might have given the alarm at Fort Dauphin. I learned afterwards that the ruler of the territory of Fort Dauphin had arrived, but too late, with 2000 men to effect our deliverance.

Our plan of escape, well conceived, had been at the outset equally well executed, but it was not so ably carried out towards the end. Our blindness was pushed to the extreme verge of stupidity. We felt a great attachment towards Captain Young's father, but the fatal issue of our attempt proved that his son was wanting both in experience and ability; and I remember that Captain Drummond frequently differed from him in opinion.

Only myself and three other young men, of whom the oldest was not more than sixteen, had escaped death. The savages now separated us. The Englishman Sam followed the islanders, and I never saw him again; but I afterwards ascertained that he lived unmolested under the protection of a chief named Crindo. This circumstance induced me to think that his loyalty towards us was, to say the least of it, doubtful.

Throughout our journey in traversing the woods to gain the river bank, my eyes were greeted with the pitiful spectacle of the corpses of my compatriots. I was so weak, having eaten nothing for three days, that I had

scarcely strength to support myself. We took some nourishment, and were allowed to rest for about an hour. During the remainder of the day we journeyed very slowly, on my account. In the evening we arrived near a wood, where the savages determined to halt. We again received a supply of food. Our repast finished, everybody began collecting grass to make a couch to sleep upon. The man who had me in charge gathered enough for both of us. We lay down, one beside the other. I had continually before me the horrible spectacle of my murdered friends, and this ghastly remembrance awoke me suddenly every time that I closed my eyes.

We rose at daybreak. After the usual repast, we marched until noon. We halted near a pond in the midst of some tufted trees. The day before, when dying of thirst, we had passed within quarter of a mile of this pond, and yet the natives had declared that there was no water in the neighbourhood.

In the evening we came to a small town. I was exposed to the laughter of the women and children up to the moment that my guardian arrived to drive them away. All the huts which were found empty were occupied by my master and the other chiefs; we slept out in the open air. A thousand distracting thoughts overwhelmed my mind. I imagined that my life was only preserved in order that I might be led in triumph before the king and his son, and subjected to the most frightful torments. I slept at last, out of sheer weariness; but, agitated by terrible dreams, I rose suddenly, trembling in every limb, and for the remainder of the night could not close my eyes.

At daybreak we resumed our journey. After four hours' marching, we arrived at a town of considerable size, before which flourished a plantation of tamarinds. One of the negroes then began blowing an enormous

conch. The women betook themselves to a very large house about twelve feet high, situated in the centre of the town. This house belonged to a chief named Mewarrow. He was seated in front of the doorway; his wife approached him, crawling on her hands and knees, to kiss his feet. All the women of the town paid similar homage to their husbands. Mewarrow's wife was the daughter of a neighbouring monarch conquered in battle; she had been made prisoner, and Mewarrow had espoused her, although she was his slave. The feelings inseparable from her own condition inspired her with compassion for me.

I passed several years in captivity, occasionally changing my abode, and taking part in the wars of the savages. A short time after my capture, the king of the Fort Dauphin territory offered to purchase me for two guns; Captain Drummond and the other white men of his party were present; he called me by my name, and asked me how I was. I was about to reply, and supplicate him to interpose for my deliverance, when Mewarrow put his hand upon my mouth and threatened to kill me if I said a word. Captain Drummond, supposing that I did not understand him, drew nearer with his followers; my master imagined that they wished to carry me off by force, and without paying the two guns as a ransom. He fired upon them; a skirmish followed, and I was despatched into the wood under a strong guard; they bound my legs with rope for fear that I should attempt to escape.

A long time afterwards, in the course of an interview which I had with a chief called Riunano, he showed his surprise at the sight of a white man moving among the negroes, and added that if the king of St. Augustine's Bay had held me he would give me some clothes and take care of me until a ship manned by whites should receive

me on board. Having an opportunity of speaking to him without witnesses, I told him the story of my shipwreck and my misfortunes; I informed him of the cruelty with which my master treated me, and of the hardships of my servitude. This recital drew tears from his eyes, and he promised to endeavour to purchase me from Mewarrow. He accordingly announced to him on the morrow that he wished to exchange a buccaneer's gun for the young white man. My master refused to let me go, saying that, to look after the herds or go in search of wild honey, I had not my equal; that he would not part with me for less then a couple of muskets. Riunano then offered him several slaves in exchange; Mewarrow declared positively that he would not give me at any price, and I was despatched into the woods. . . .

I therefore resolved to make my escape and gain St. Augustine's Bay, according to the advice and indications of Riunano, who assured me that food was abundant on that particular route. But Mewarrow changed the place of his residence, and consequently deranged all my plans.

In an expedition against the enemy which Mewarrow soon afterwards undertook. I was permitted to carry a gun in the assault of a town; it was my good fortune to make prisoners of the hostile chief's wife and daughter. The latter, aged about sixteen, was very pretty. My master offered me the choice of either of the two I preferred. I was not long in making up my mind, and the young daughter offering no objection, I took her for my wife.

Through this event my condition became more supportable. In the end, however, having fully resolved to make my escape, I accomplished my project during the night, after having vainly attempted to persuade my wife to follow me, and grieving very much at being constrained to abandon her, for I loved her sincerely. I traversed

the woods and plains, and arrived in a town subject to a chief named Afferrev, distant about sixty miles from Mewarrow's residence. I went directly to him, claimed his protection, and related the sufferings which I had already experienced, adding that my life was every day in danger, and at present more so than ever. The chief rejoiced at my arrival, promised to protect me, and told me that from thenceforth I was no longer a slave.

Mewarrow sent to demand me; Afferrev replied that I was at liberty to go where I chose or remain where I was, and that his protection would never fail me.

I changed masters several times, and underwent much suffering and many hardships. A chief named Trougha showed me more than ordinary kindness; unfortunately, he was killed. Another, named Rer-Moume, assisted me to recover my liberty. At Moharbo I met with William Thornbury, a young Englishman, who nine years before had been abandoned on the island. The chief of the district in which he resided attended to all his needs. We mutually agreed that he of the two who should first succeed in returning to England should convey tidings of the other to his family.

Thornbury found an opportunity of returning to our country by a ship which was trading on the Madagascar coast. The master in whose service I was then labouring kept me constantly in sight, so that my hopes were cruelly deceived; however, I had every confidence in Thornbury's promises. On his side, he did not forget me. Two ships arrived; one was commanded by Captain William Macket, who made it known that he had a letter for me from my father. Rer-Moume, with whom I was then residing, begged me to remain with him, but did not oppose my departure; and when I asked him what ransom he would expect, replied, nothing at all; but that

if my friends and myself chose to present him with a gun, he should preserve it carefully in remembrance of me. We gave him, accordingly, a very elegant weapon, with some gunpowder, flints, and a cask of brandy.

When I perceived the two captains I was as abashed as if I had then seen white men for the first time. I was quite naked, all but a piece of stuff which I wore around my loins. My skin was black, and covered with spots, my hair long and intertangled; my general appearance was frightful. They cut my hair, shaved me, and attired me in a light suit of sailor's clothes. Three days afterwards I went on board, when the sea and the alteration in my diet and mode of living rendered me very ill for a considerable period. Here, however, under the shadow of my country's flag, I experienced a sensation of happiness and a freedom from anxiety to which I had long been a stranger.

The English captains were engaged in shipping negroes; I assisted them in concluding their negotiations.[1] I learned that Captain Drummond had been killed, but that Mr. Benbow had returned to England.

On the 20th of January, 1717, I bade farewell to Madagascar. At St. Helena, where we touched, I went ashore, and took charge of the sick slaves. We afterwards made Barbadoes, where we remained a week; then we sailed to Jamaica and disposed of our cargo of negroes. The captain showed me all the kindness of a father while under his care; he furnished me with money to supply my wants at every place where we anchored.

I quitted Jamaica on the 5th of July, and on Saturday, the 9th of December, I arrived in England, after an absence of sixteen years and nine months.

[1] Drury appears to have profited little by his bitter experience. Just escaped from slavery, we find him actively engaged in preparing the same hard fate for the unhappy negroes.

WRECK OF THE "NOTTINGHAM", AND FEARFUL SUFFERINGS OF THE CREW FROM FAMINE

(1710)

We condense and adapt the following narrative from the story told by Captain John Deal himself, the commander of the unfortunate vessel, the *Nottingham*. She was a galliot of 120 tons, armed with ten guns, and carrying a crew of fourteen men, and loaded with a cargo for Boston, in the then British province of Massachusetts.

I sailed, says Captain Dean (and to preserve the liveliness of our recital, we shall throughout allow the worthy mariner to speak in nearly his own language) on the 25th of September, 1710. Baffled by adverse winds and heavy weather, I did not catch sight of land until the beginning of December, and then discovered the coast lying eastward of the river Piscataka. We then directed our course to the southward, to gain the Bay of Massachusetts. It blew a hurricane from the north-east, accompanied by rain, hail, and snow, which prevented my taking an observation for several days. We took in our lighter canvas, and stationed a man forward to keep a strict look-out. Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening I saw breakers ahead! I sung out immediately to put the helm a-starboard, but my directions

were not executed with sufficient rapidity; before the ship could wear, she touched on the western extremity of a rock called Boon Island, seven leagues to the east of Piscataka.

The second or third wave took us amidships; and the billows rolled over us so heavily that we could scarcely stand on deck. Although the rock could not be more than two hundred feet distant, it was impossible to see it. I immediately summoned all the crew into my cabin, where we passed a few minutes in earnestly commending ourselves to the Divine protection. But well convinced that prayer will avail us nothing if we do not maintain a bold heart and exercise a ready arm, I ordered my men to return to the deck and cut away the masts. A few, tormented by the pangs of conscience, had no strength or power of motion. Those who came upon deck obeyed my orders, and the masts went by the board without doing any damage.

A sailor who had gone out upon the bowsprit returned to tell me that he could discover something black ahead, and that he would attempt to gain the land if any others would volunteer. I immediately directed my mate and another excellent swimmer to accompany him, requesting them, if they reached the rocks, to make known their good fortune by shouting loudly, and thus indicating to us the safest point.

I went below to procure a little money and some papers that might prove of utility, and to make an attempt to save some brandy and munitions; but the vessel lying on her side, her decks split open, her stern was dashed to pieces, and every timber so strained and cracked that I had scarcely time to rush on deck to escape a certain death.

Meanwhile we had no tidings of our comrades, and I

resolved to make the same attempt as they had done, with the help of the mizzen-mast, which, after I had thrown off my clothes, I seized with a stout grasp. I was carried gradually upon the waves, and at length, letting go of the mast, I propelled myself with all my force towards the rock; but as the tide was low, and the rock extremely slippery, I could not retain my hold of it, and lacerated my arms and hands in the most frightful manner. Each return of the wave dragged me farther from the rock, and it was only by dint of almost incredible exertions that I contrived at last to secure a footing on it. In the end, through the gentle mercy of Heaven, we were all saved.

After having attempted to void the salt water which I had drank, and dragged myself a little farther on the rock, I heard the voices of our three comrades whom I had believed to be dead. We returned thanks to Providence for having delivered us from so great a peril; then we essayed to shelter ourselves on the leeward side of the rock; it was narrow and inconvenient, being but 300 feet long and 150 broad, and offered us no covert or asylum. The weather was very bitter, and it did not cease to rain and snow.

As soon as the day broke I proceeded towards the point where we had landed, in the hope I might find some provisions among the shattered timbers of the vessel; but nothing could I see except masts and yards, in the midst of old rope and cable, which the anchors had prevented from being carried away, and had kept afloat at some distance from the shore. Some part of the rigging, a good many timbers, old sails, and sailcloth, had been flung on the beach. We saw some small fragments of cheese, which we picked up among the seaweed clinging to the rock.

We next endeavoured to kindle a fire by means of a tinder-box, a gun flint, and a piece of rag; but as all had been soaked for some time in the water we did not succeed. During the night we huddled closely together under a sail so as mutually to preserve our warmth.

On the day after our shipwreck, the weather having cleared a little, I perceived that the land which we sighted was the Cape of Neddock. I encouraged my companions with the hope of being soon discovered by the fishing smacks or other boats which repaired to this point, and set them to work collecting all the timbers they could, the carpenter's tools, and everything else which was necessary for the construction of a canoe.

The cook, nearly dead with hunger, remained with two or three of his comrades whom the cold had weakened. Towards noon they announced to me his death. His body was placed on the shore where the waves could easily carry it away.

At the end of two or three days the weather became excessively cold, and the frost very keen. The feet and hands of most of us were deprived of all feeling; and at length, from their swelling and whiteness, we feared they would be gangrened. We cut away our boots; but, on removing the stockings, some of us whose legs were covered with blisters, also removed the skin, and even their toe-nails. We wrapped our legs with tow and sailcloth to keep them warm, but those who used the most exertion preserved their health the best.

A tent was constructed of triangular form; each side of it measured about eight feet. We covered it with sails which the sea cast up on the rocks. In the interior there was exactly space enough for each of us to recline on his side, but no one could move unless the others also moved, and for this purpose a signal was given every

two hours. Upon the summit of the tent we planted a pole, to which, whenever the weather permitted, we fastened a piece of sailcloth in the fashion of a flag, so as to attract the attention of any ships which might pass in our neighbourhood.

We then commenced the construction of a canoe with the planks and timbers saved from the wreck. For tools we had the blade of a cutlass transformed into a saw by the help of our knives, a hammer, and a calking-mallet. We found some nails in the crevices of the rocks, and extracted others from the ship's sheathing. We calked the seams with tow extracted from the old cable, and closed all the openings with long strips of sailcloth. Some pieces of sheet-lead and leather proved of very great utility. In the centre of our boat we stepped a mast, to which we rigged up a square sail; we made six oars for rowing purposes, and one longer than the others to serve instead of a rudder. The carpenter being ill, could give no advice or assistance; and all the others, except myself and two men, were so weak and enfeebled that they could with difficulty move; while, to sum up our miseries, the weather was so rigorous that we could rarely remain more than four hours outside the tent, and on some days we could not work at all.

After having passed nearly a week without any other food than the cheese of which I have already spoken, and some beef bones which we ate after having pounded them into powder, we descried three boats at about five leagues' distance from the rock. One can easily imagine the joy with which this welcome spectacle inspired us; for we thought that the day of our deliverance had arrived. I bade all my men drag themselves out of the tent, and shout together as loudly and as long as their strength permitted; despite these cries, despite all the

signals which we could invent, we were neither heard nor perceived. However, the sight of these boats restored our courage; for they came from the south-west, and the wind blowing from the north-east, we concluded that the wrecks flung ashore had made known our misfortune. We therefore supposed that they had put out in quest of us, and that they would continue the search whenever the wind and weather permitted.

Shortly before our boat was finished, Providence willed that the sea should drift the carpenter's axe upon our rock; this fortunate chance enabled us to complete our work. About the 21st of December the boat was finished; the weather was calm, and the sea more tranquil than we had ever yet seen it.

We now deliberated who among us should first attempt to gain the continent. I immediately offered myself as leader of the forlorn hope: my offer was accepted, because I was the strongest, and therefore best able to support the extremities to which we might be reduced. The master proposed to accompany me; and, finally, my brother and four others joined our party. We issued from the tent and pushed down our miserable boat to the margin of the sea. As the waves rose very high, we were compelled to enter waist-deep into the water; a seaman and myself got on board, but the rolling billows lifted up the feeble boat and dashed it into fragments.

Deep was our sorrow, which the loss, at the same time, of our axe and hammer greatly augmented. We nevertheless had cause to admire the goodness of God; for, in the night, the wind rose and became very violent. If we had been out at sea in our frail bark, we had very probably perished, and the fate of those left behind us would have been in no whit better, since they were not in a condition to help themselves.

Speedily we were reduced to the most deplorable and sorrowful condition that can be imagined; excepting myself, all were perishing of hunger and cold. Their hands and feet were frozen, and nearly gangrened. To dress their wounds they had only a piece of sailcloth. No fire; while the wind continued bitterly cold. Our scanty provision of cheese was exhausted; to support our attenuated bodies we relied upon marine herbs and mussels, which we could only procure in small quantities and with extreme difficulty, each person being confined to two or three daily. To swell, if it were possible, this accumulation of evils, we lived in constant apprehension of the high tides, which, accompanied by violent winds, entirely covered the rock whereon we had established our precarious abode. It is impossible to describe all the horror of this situation.

I used every effort to maintain my own courage, and I exhorted the others to place their confidence in God, and submit themselves in devout resignation to His will. Providence, in some measure to solace our pains and fortify our faith, sent a " goëland " within reach of my mate, who killed it, and hastened to bring it to me. I divided it among my little band in equal portions. Although there was scarcely a mouthful for each, we received and ate it, raw as it was, with indescribable thankfulness.

We resolved, as a last effort for our deliverance, to construct a raft capable of carrying two men; one of my crew, a Swede by birth, a man honest and robust, whom the cold had deprived of the use of both his feet, specially urged this measure upon us. He frequently importuned me to adopt this expedient, and offered to accompany me on the raft, or, on my refusal, to go alone. After mature deliberation, we resolved to construct a raft with the

main-yard; we split it into lengths, and added some other planks and timbers; on this hasty construction we raised a mast, and out of two hammocks we made some sails; finally, we provided a pair of oars, and one in case of accident as a spare oar. But our feeble condition, our small numbers, and few tools rendered this work peculiarly painful and difficult. When at length it was accomplished, the Swede asked me if I intended to accompany him, giving me to understand that if I refused another was ready to take my place.

At this epoch in our mournful history, we observed a sail beating out of the river Piscataka, about seven leagues distant to the east. But the wind blowing from the north-east, and the ship steering eastward, she was soon out of sight, without having drawn near us for a single moment.

The next day the weather was tolerably favourable, and the wind blew towards the land. The two adventurers who had agreed to start with the raft showed the keenest desire to launch it immediately into the sea. But this the mate opposed, because it was already two hours after noon: they insisted, saying that the nights were clear, and demanded my consent. At length I yielded, after imploring the blessing of God upon their enterprise. The two men embarked on the raft; but the violence of the surf soon overturned it. The Swede swam ashore; his comrade, who was not so good a swimmer, remained some time under water; on his rising to the surface I seized him and drew him ashore. This accident discouraged him so sorely, that he refused to make a second essay.

Thereupon I requested the Swede to help in drawing the raft ashore that we might await a favourable opportunity; but although this man had hardly strength to

stand upright he persisted in his resolution; and kneeling, caught my hand and eagerly besought me to accompany him on the raft. "I am sure to die," he said, "but I have great hopes of being able to save the lives of yourself and my comrades; if you will not come, I am determined to attempt the adventure unaided."

I endeavoured to dissuade him. He was inflexible, and added, with an oath, that he would rather perish in the sea than remain another day in so frightful a situation.

Another sailor, moved by this conversation, now volunteered to accompany the Swede. When they were upon the raft, they invited us in the most touching manner to pray for them, and begged us to watch closely what became of them. At sunset, I judged that they were half-way on their route to the mainland, where, I supposed, they would arrive about two o'clock in the morning. But, victims of their courageous self-devotion, they perished without doubt in the turmoil of the breakers, or the violence of the sea overturned the raft, for the wind grew very strong during the night. Two days afterwards, the raft was found on the shore opposite to us, and, a mile farther, a dead man, with his hand clasping an oar; but we never again heard speak of the poor Swede.

Two days later, we observed some smoke issuing from the woods. It was the signal we had decided upon with our comrades, in the event of their fortunately reaching the mainland. This smoke continued every day; and as we were disposed to think it was made for us, although we could perceive no signs of any persons coming to our succour, we concluded that the delay was occasioned by the impossibility of procuring a boat.

The high tides, thanks be to God! had caused us no

serious accident, but we had very great difficulty in procuring marine herbs and mussels. When it was impossible for my men to move, often, at low water, I traversed the shore, and collected two or three mussels for each individual. My stomach, however, refused this food; I much preferred the marine herbs. More than once I ran the risk of losing my arms and hands, through plunging them so frequently into the icy water.

On our first coming to the rock we had seen several seals. Supposing that they had retired to it only during the darkness, I made an exploration of the rock at midnight, but could not catch any. We had also perceived a number of sea-birds, but these returned no more, on discovering that we were settled here. Our misery weighed most hardly upon my brother and another young man, who had never been at sea, nor undergone any trials; they were reduced to the last extremity.

We never wanted water; the rain and the snow, in melting, filled up the hollows of the rocks. During the frost, we preferred the ice, some pieces of which I carried to the side of our tent. We made use of a powder-flask for a drinking-cup, and we employed the same articles for the invalids, who could not be exposed to the open air.

The sea having thrown up on the rock a piece of green leather, nailed to a portion of the main-yard, the crew implored me to convey it to the tent. It was divided into very minute portions, and devoured with voracity.

About this time I employed my people in pulling to pieces an old cable; and, when the weather was not too cold, I overlaid, as well as my strength permitted, the tent with the oakum, so that we might be a little more sheltered from the rigour of the climate. I made the tent stout enough to resist a rain of three hours' duration, and to preserve us from cold and piercing winds, from

which we had suffered severely. Finally, this oakum served for some bands in which I wrapped myself at night on taking off my clothes.

Towards the close of December, our carpenter, aged about forty-seven years, a corpulent man, of an indolent and phlegmatic disposition, complained of excessive pain in the back and stiffness in the neck: he died in the night.

We watched the body until dawn, and I besought the strongest among us to carry it away. Then I dragged myself out of the tent to see if Providence had sent us aught to satisfy our hunger. I returned before noon, and saw that the corpse was still in the same place. I asked why it had not been removed. They replied that they had not had sufficient strength. I fastened a cord to the corpse, and, with some difficulty, it was hauled out of the tent. But fatigue and the consciousness of our misery so overwhelmed me that, feeling myself growing ill, I returned into our asylum. Scarcely had I seated myself, before my men, as if to crown my sufferings, importuned me to give them the body of their comrade for food, in order to prolong their wretched existence.

I confess that nothing which I had hitherto experienced had appeared to me so cruel or so frightful as this execrable proposition.

After mature deliberation and reflection—on one side debating the lawfulness of such an action, and, on the other, the absolute necessity to which we found ourselves reduced—reason, conscience, and all moral considerations were compelled to yield to the arguments of a devouring hunger; and we resolved to satisfy it.

[The reader will wish to be spared the disgusting details which follow in the original narrative. After

describing the dissection and allotment of the corpse, he continues:]

I apportioned to each man an equal share, so as to avoid all risk of dispute and envy; in a few days I observed a total change in the character of my unfortunate comrades. They were no longer men of a peaceful disposition, and inspired by mutual affection. Their gaze was fierce and fixed, their laughter ferocious and barbarous; instead of eagerly obeying my orders, as they had previously shown themselves, my prayers and my entreaties became vain and useless.

With throbbing heart I trembled at the coming time, when, having finished our ghastly provision, we should fall to eating the living. Happily the goodness of God began to show itself in our behalf. It inspired the gallant souls who dwelt on the sea-shore near the place where our raft had been stranded with the idea of coming in search of us.

On the morning of the 2nd of January I could scarcely crawl out of my tent, when I perceived, about midway in the channel which divided us from the mainland, a sloop steering directly towards us. You will find it difficult to imagine our excessive joy when so suddenly assured of a speedy deliverance.

The sloop dropped anchor at about fifty fathoms to the south-east of our rock. The breakers prevented her from approaching nearer; but as the anchor would not hold, she remained in the offing until noon, waiting until the ebb-tide reduced the violence of the waves.

I informed the strangers of all our misfortunes, especially of our want of food. I dreaded lest the fear of being constrained by the bad weather to remain with us might prevent them from landing. I begged of them

instantly to attempt our salvation, or at least to provide us with materials for kindling a fire. They immediately despatched a boat with one man, who, after infinite difficulty, succeeded in reaching the rock.

I assisted him to get ashore in safety. I asked him if he could light us a fire; he replied in the affirmative. Astonished at my wan and feeble aspect, he had not, at first, sufficient strength to speak. He accompanied me to our tent, and stood aghast at the miserable spectacle presented to his eyes. Our leanness, our haggard looks, rendered us most frightful to behold.

With some trouble we kindled a fire. Having resolved to embark with the stranger, and afterwards to send for my companions one by one, I entered with him into his boat, but the sea drove us back so violently against the rock that we were capsized, and plunged into the water. It was a long time before I recovered my consciousness.

The stranger then re-embarked without me, but the task was very difficult. He told me that if the weather permitted he would return on the morrow with all the things necessary for our comfort.

God, who disposes of all things, having undoubtedly permitted our preservation, saw fit in His wisdom to deny us the mode of safety which apparently now presented itself. Happy was it for us! For, in fact, the wind veered in the evening to the south-east, and blew with extreme violence; the weather was very gloomy. The strangers lost their sloop, and only saved their lives by the greatest exertions. It is probable that if we had been on board with them we should have perished, not having sufficient physical energy to assist us in escaping from the danger.

As soon as they had got ashore, the strangers des-

patched an express to Portsmouth, a town on the Piscataka River. The inhabitants resolved to fly to our assistance as soon as ever the weather permitted; but, to our extreme grief, the tempest lasted all the following day. Although well assured that the inhabitants of the mainland would come to our aid with as little delay as possible, our condition was not, therefore, the less wretched. However, the fire was a great boon, for we could warm and broil our food. We had kindled it in the centre of our tent, and banked it up with stones. We fed it with old rope cut into pieces. The smoke seriously inconvenienced us at first, and some of us fainted; but we provided a means of escape by making an opening in the top of our tent.

My companions earnestly pressed me on the morrow to bring them some food; I gave them a rather larger portion than usual, but not so much as they desired, for there was left but enough to make one more meal.

In the night the wind declined. In the morning, while at our devotions, we heard the report of a gun; and putting our heads outside our tent, perceived a sloop bearing down upon our rock. On board were three captains, my intimate friends, and three sailors. They brought with them a large piragua, and within two hours had removed us all on board. They were obliged to carry most of us on their backs, from the tent to the piragua, and to take us by twos and threes at a time.

When we had got on board the sloop, a piece of bread and a cup of rum were given to each. We were nearly all attacked with sea-sickness. After tasting some warm and nourishing meats we were seized with a hunger so urgent and so voracious that, if our worthy friends had not interfered, we should have choked ourselves by eating to excess.

Two other vessels also came to our assistance! But this succour was superfluous; and as soon as the newcomers saw us safely on board the sloop, they returned to port.

We reached the mainland about eight o'clock in the evening. We were treated with the kindest attentions; some of us were provided for at the expense of Government, which permitted us to want for nothing; one other and myself, who had sufficient credit to disburse our own expenses, were boarded in a private house. Some humane and beneficent persons furnished our poor companions with all they needed, procured a surgeon to take charge of them, and women to nurse them until their recovery was completed.

Two days after our arrival on shore, my apprentice lost a great part of one foot. All the others saved their limbs, but did not entirely recover the use of them; however, their health did not suffer. As for myself, I must render my devout thanks to the Almighty Providence that showed so signal a goodness towards me, for I experienced no painful consequences from this horrible catastrophe.

They were dispersed; the mate and two other sailors are now in England, when I publish this relation, and return thanks to the reader who has had the patience to peruse my dismal story to its end.

[Captain John Dean was afterwards named English consul in the ports of Flanders. He resided at Ostend, where he died in 1761.]

LIFE AND MELANCHOLY FATE OF LA PÉROUSE, THE FRENCH NAVIGATOR

(1741–1788)

The name of La Pérouse is associated with one of those sorrowful catastrophes which overshadow the annals of maritime discovery, and is remembered rather through his melancholy fate than through any remarkable incidents of his career. Nevertheless, the story of his life is not without a certain interest, and as told by M. Léon Guérin, we propose to tell it to our readers.

1. Early Services

La Pérouse was a navigator and a mariner almost from his infancy. At fifteen years of age he left the Naval Schools to essay a maritime career. He was a witness of the naval disasters which clouded the latter years of the reign of Louis XV. When serving on board the *Formidable*, under the command of Saint André Duverger, at the fatal battle of Belle Isle,[1] he was captured with his vessel, after a vigorous defence. Restored to liberty, he made three more voyages as a cadet on board the ship *Robuste*. After the peace of Paris he was named a midshipman (*enseigne de vaisseau*) October 1, 1764, and was almost continually afloat until the year

[1] Won by Admiral Hawke, in 1759, over M. de Conflans.

1778, when France flung her powerful sword into the balance in the war of American Independence, and made England pay dearly for her conquest, in previous years, of the colony of Canada.[1] La Pérouse had been promoted lieutenant on the 4th of April, 1777. With this rank he commanded the frigate *Amazon* when she protected, in 1779, the descent of Vice-Admiral d'Estaing upon Grenada; he moored his ship within pistol-shot of the hostile battery. And when D'Estaing, after his capture of Grenada, winning at one blow a double victory, sailed forth to combat and conquer Admiral Byron,[2] it was La Pérouse, with his frigate, who carried the orders of the French commander along his battle array.

On the 7th of October, in the same year, La Pérouse, still with his flag flying in the *Amazon*, a vessel of twenty-six guns,[3] captured the English frigate *Ariel*, of the same force, on the coast of Georgia.

Two months later, on the 8th of December, he took the privateer *Tiger*, of twenty-two guns, after a fiercely-contested struggle. These gallant feats of arms, and his increasing reputation as a skilful and active sailor, obtained his promotion, on the 4th of April, 1780, to the rank of full captain.

In the following year, when commanding the frigate *Astræa*, and having under his orders the *Hermione*, Captain Latouche-Tréville, he accomplished a brilliant crusade. With these two frigates only, he gave chase on the 22nd of July, in the waters of *Ile Royale*, to a merchant fleet of Great Britain, convoyed by six ships

[1] This is a French exaggeration. The American War was never popular in Great Britain, and never called forth all her energies or resources.

[2] This is how French writers trifle with history. It is a well-known fact that the engagement between Byron and D'Estaing was at best a drawn battle, in which neither admiral had much to boast of.

[3] A French frigate of twenty-six guns, owing to her heavier calibre and greater tonnage, was a fair match for a British ship of thirty-two guns.

of war.[1] Five of the latter having formed line to receive him, he ran past them, under a press of canvas, got to windward, and cannonaded them with such fury and success as to throw them into disorder. He compelled the frigate *Charleston* to strike her flag, after having carried away her mainmast, while Latouche-Tréville obliged the *Jack* frigate (?) to surrender.

So skilfully was the combat conducted by these two valorous commanders, that the three other ships of the enemy would have been also infallibly forced to yield, if a foggy night had not offered them the protection of its darkness.[2] This glorious victory, which had dealt death and destruction on board the British ships, was won by the French at a cost of only three men killed and twenty-three wounded.

In the following year, 1782, La Pérouse made a memorable campaign, recalling those of Herville's, under Louis XIV. He was ordered to destroy the English settlements in Hudson's Bay. Sailing from Cape Français on the 31st of May, 1782, with the *Sceptre*, line of battle ship of seventy-four guns, and the frigates *Astræa* and *Engageante*, of thirty-six guns each, commanded respectively by Lieutenant de Langle and De La Saille, he sighted Resolution Island on the 17th of July. But scarcely had he made twenty leagues in Hudson's Strait before obstacles of every kind multiplied around him. His ships were imprisoned in the ice for several days, and much damaged. The sailors walked with dry feet from one to the other.

[1] These six ships of war were one small frigate, a corvette, and four other insignificant vessels.

[2] La Pérouse ought to have been made an admiral immediately, and then, as with two frigates he defeated six British ships of war, capturing two, it is reasonable to suppose that with eight he would have defeated a British fleet of twenty-four ships, and, if a thick night did not intervene, captured—say, twenty.

On the 30th he was off Cape Walsingham, situated at the western extremity of the strait. Until then he had had no other guide than some points astronomically determined, inserted in the *Practical Navigator*, and by means of which, assisted by Mansay, a captain of engineers, he had laid down a chart that he gradually corrected as the fog, occasionally lifting, enabled him to discover "the lay" of the land. He arrived in time at Prince of Wales Fort, which he proposed to attack in the first place. There was not a moment to lose, the severity of the season compelling all vessels to quit these seas in the early days of September.

His impatience, however, was subjected to a new trial, for as soon as he began to navigate Hudson's Bay with some success, he was surrounded by a dense mist, and soon embarrassed with huge ice floes, which compelled him to signal for his little squadron to lay-to. In this situation he was afraid the season for active operations would soon pass away, and he almost decided upon sending his ship and a frigate back to the Windward Islands, and wintering in the bay with the other vessel. He was not, however, reduced to this extremity. On the 5th of August the fields of ice which had shut him up began to break, and he determined to break through them under all sail at whatever risk to his ships.

His boldness was rewarded with success, and on the evening of the 8th he discovered the British flag waving on the Prince of Wales Fort. The troops landed unopposed about two miles from this post,[1] and Major de Rostaing, with from two hundred to three hundred men, pushed forward within cannon-shot, and summoned the enemy to surrender. The resolution displayed by La Pérouse

[1] These small military posts were manned with from thirty to fifty men.

did not permit the English governor to hesitate. He surrendered at discretion, and the fort and English settlement were immediately destroyed and burned.

La Pérouse, with three small ships which he had found in the roads, immediately set sail to attack York Fort, on the Hayes River. In his voyage thither he experienced far greater difficulties, if possible, than those which he had previously overcome. He steered in six or seven fathoms of water, with a rocky bottom, along a coast thickly sown with reefs. At length, on the 20th of August, after having encountered innumerable dangers, he arrived, with his ship, his two frigates, and three prizes, at the mouth of the Nelson River. He then reconnoitred the Hayes River, which is but a branch of the former, separated from it by an island of the same name, bearing York Fort within its circuit.

He ordered accurate soundings to be taken, and his officers prepared to pilot the division, which awaited their guidance at anchor about eight leagues off the shore. La Pérouse having nothing to apprehend from any hostile ships, then entered the boats, with De La Guille to preside over the disembarkation of the troops.

Knowing that the enemy's main defences were situated on the Hayes River, whose entrance was defended by a British ship, he decided on pushing up the Nelson, although by so doing a march of four leagues would have to be accomplished to reach the fort. Having ordered his boats to moor off the river's mouth, he advanced in his gig, with the Chevalier de Langle, his friend, Major de Rostaing, and Captain de Monneron of the Engineers, sounding the river where he apprehended the British might have placed some obstructions. He found the Nelson River impracticable, and that even the smallest

boats could not approach nearer to the bank than about a hundred paces. The space then to be traversed was a soft mud, and the tide ebbing much farther than was expected, the boats remained aground until three o'clock in the morning of the 22nd of August.

The gallant De Langle then proposed to Major de Rostaing to make their way ashore through the mud. This hazardous counsel was adopted. All the troops disembarked, and, after pushing through a quarter of a league of swamp and mire, up to their knees, they arrived at a meadow, distant about a mile and a half from the woods. Falling into order of battle, they marched towards the woods, in the hope of discovering some by-path which would lead them to the fort. None such existed. Then La Pérouse decided on making one, with the help of the compass, through grove and marsh, and went himself to the aid of the engineers De Monneron and De Mansay, to bring the toilsome enterprise to a successful termination. But a gale of wind, which arose during the night, compelled him to return to his vessels, not without a narrow escape from shipwreck, while several of his *suite* owed their lives to their skill in swimming.

He soon learned that his troops, which he had left under the command of De Rostaing, after traversing two leagues more of swamp, in which they had sunk knee-deep, had arrived at York Fort; and that the English, dismayed at being attacked on a side which they had believed sufficiently protected by nature, had thrown open their gates at the first summons. From his ships La Pérouse could perceive the flames, started according to his orders, consuming the British settlement. After making himself master also of Fort Severn, and having on board three English governors (!) as prisoners, he set sail from the stormy seas where, with so much difficulty,

perseverance, and courage, he had achieved so glorious a success![1]

If La Pérouse, as an officer, had been compelled to obey the rigorous instructions he had received, and destroy the British establishments, he did not at the same time forget the respect due to misfortune. Having learned that at his approach the English had fled into the woods, and that the destruction of their forts exposed them to die of famine, or fall defenceless into the hands of the Indians, he had the humanity to leave them some provisions and fire-arms.[2] The true character of the man is seen in this noble action!

The peace of 1783 terminated the military career of La Pérouse, and we have now to regard him in a new and more illustrious capacity.

2. His Voyage of Discovery

The French government, unwilling that its navy should rest supine upon its laurels during the "piping times of peace", determined upon employing some of its most meritorious officers in those exploring and colonizing voyages by which Great Britain had reaped so much profit and honour.

Several new expeditions were planned by Louis XVI himself, and that amiable monarch personally selected La Pérouse to conduct a voyage of circumnavigation and scientific discovery. The project was worthy of a prince who, in the heat of the war, had ordered his ships to

[1] This is an amusing example of the national vaunting to which French historians are so prone. Hudson's Bay colony was then in its infancy, and a purely commercial settlement, which the French ought to have spared. Its forts were small military posts, erected for the defence of the fur-traders, and the "governors" were the supercargoes employed by the Hudson's Bay Company.

[2] M. Guérin is here compelled to admit, by implication, the cruel and inglorious character of the enterprise in which his hero was engaged. It required no very large force to capture two or three deserted block-houses!

respect the vessels of Captain Cook wherever they might encounter them. Louis XVI admitted La Pérouse to frequent interviews; they discussed together the project of the expedition; the king annotated with his own hand the instructions given to the navigator. This special recommendation was, however, that La Pérouse should never be the first to employ his arms against the new races and tribes whom he was about to visit. "Convey to them," he said, "whatever of good Europe and Civilization can furnish; do not show them what they have invented for the destruction of humanity." It was with instructions such as these that Louis XVI bade farewell to La Pérouse.

Two frigates, the *Boussole* and the *Astrolabe*, had been equipped at Brest. Reserving to himself the command of the former, and having been allowed to choose his own officers, he selected the Chevalier de Langle, who had been promoted to a captaincy, for the command of the latter. This was an acknowledgment of the services which De Langle had rendered in the difficult but successful expedition in Hudson's Bay.

On board the *Boussole* La Pérouse had under him Lieutenants de Closnard and D'Escures, Midshipmen Nul de Saint Céran, De Montarnal, De Roux-d'Arbaud, Frédéric Broudon; the captain of engineers, De Monneron; the geographer, Bernizet; the surgeon-in-chief, Rollin; the astronomer, Lepaute-Dagelet; De Lamanon, physician, mineralogist, and meteorologist; the Abbé Mongès, as chaplain; Duché de Vancy and Prévost, as artists; the botanist, Collignon; and the horologist, Guéry; 9 officers, and a crew of 77 men.

Under De Langle, on board the *Astrolabe*, were—Lieutenant de Monti; Midshipmen Freton de Vaujuas, D'Aigremont, De la Borde-Marchainville; Blondelá,

lieutenant of frigate; the cadets, De Laborde-Boutervilliers, Law de Lauriston, Raxi de Flassan; Lavaux, surgeon; the astronomer, Monge; De la Martinière, physician and botanist; Dufresne, as naturalist; Père Receveur, monk and naturalist, as chaplain; Prévost, the artist, uncle of the Prévost who served in the *Boussole*; and the Russian vice-consul, Lesseps, as interpreter; with 8 subordinate officers, and a crew of 82 men.

The total *personnel* of the two ships was, therefore—2 captains, 34 superior officers and men of science, 17 inferior officers, and 159 sailors and soldiers; in all, 212.

The expedition sailed from Brest on the 1st of August, 1785, and after touching at Madeira and Teneriffe, cast anchor, on the 6th of November, in the channel which separates the small island of St. Catherine from the east coast of Brazil. Here the two frigates were detained by contrary winds for thirteen days.

On the 21st of January, 1786, they were about three leagues distant from the coast of Patagonia. Doubling Cape San Diego, and steering for the south-east, they entered the strait of Le Maire, keeping a little to windward of Tierra del Fuego, but without anchoring, because the weather proved favourable for the passage round Cape Horn. That famous headland was doubled without difficulty, and, on the 24th of February, the two frigates cast anchor in the bay of La Concepçion, on the coast of Chili.

During their sojourn there, the French were feasted and *fêted* by the Spaniards, as well as by their own countrymen. To give the inhabitants of La Concepçion a proof of their grateful sense of so warm a welcome, La Pérouse entertained them at a sumptuous banquet given in a tent erected on the shore. After the repast, to which 150 Spaniards were invited, a ball and display of fire-

works concluded the evening. The tent served on the following day as a pavilion for a great dinner to the crews of the two frigates. Everybody sat at the same table, La Pérouse and De Langle at the head, and all the others, down to the lowest sailor, in his proper rank. Around this table, which was covered with wooden platters instead of plates, the freest gaiety prevailed; but no one, perhaps, was happier than La Pérouse, whose paternal heart thoroughly enjoyed the air of joy and health visible on the countenances of his sailors.

On the 19th of March the ships sailed from the Bay of La Concepçion, and on the 8th of April made Easter Island, which is completely isolated, and, so to speak, lost in a vast region of the Southern Sea. They anchored in Cook's Bay, and soon saw themselves surrounded by naked and unarmed natives, who mounted on board with the greatest confidence. On the following day, the Frenchmen, seventy in number, disembarked, and were received with the greatest marks of joy. In an excursion which they made at Easter Island, to sow in the interior some seeds of orange, citron, cotton, maize, and other plants, with which they hoped to enrich the natives, they saw those remarkable monuments which distinguish this little island from all other lands in the Great Ocean. These were colossal busts, rudely shapen out of a soft, light, volcanic stone called *capillo*, which had most probably been erected as memorials of the ancient chieftains of the island.

One of these figures which they measured was more than fourteen feet high by seven feet six inches at the shoulders. In nearly every place where they discovered them, and they were all of ancient construction, they remarked a great quantity of human bones, which led them to conclude they were cemeteries.

Although wanting in fresh water, and but thinly supplied with timber, Easter Island did not appear to the French so desolate as former navigators had depicted it. They observed there a carpet of verdure on the gentle slopes of the mountains, and some plantations of a very agreeable appearance. The only trees which they remarked were mulberries, with whose bark the natives made a species of stuff for clothing, and which they protected from the winds with three-feet walls, for they never grew beyond that height. The extraordinary dryness of the air and soil having deprived the islanders of most of their domestic animals, La Pérouse gave them some goats and sheep, which, requiring but little water, would probably be acclimatized.

On the 10th of April the *Boussole* and the *Astrolabe* raised anchor, and sailed from Easter Island, followed by a shoal of fishes, which did not quit them for some fifteen hundred leagues.

On the 28th of May they caught sight of the mountains of Owhyhee, the island in the Sandwich group where the famous Cook met with so cruel a death. On the following day La Pérouse coasted without being able to approach the island of Mowee, whose verdurous glades and beautiful waterfalls presented a most attractive landscape. Its shores were covered with huts to so great an extent that a single village might be said to measure from three to four leagues.

The islanders pushed off in their canoes, which were loaded with hogs and fruits, and drew near the frigates to commence a barter; but the latter, through the swiftness of their course, completely swamped these feeble skiffs. But the islanders, nowise discouraged, took to swimming, made after their hogs, caught them in their arms, and raising the canoes upon their shoulders,

emptied them, and got on board to attempt once more, and not unsuccessfully, to overtake the French ships.

After anchoring for some hours near the isle of Mowee, and making a descent on shore, where an amicable reception was accorded them, and where they procured some curiosities and refreshments, the frigates pursued their voyage.

It was on the evening of the 1st of June that they bade farewell to the last of the Sandwich group; twenty-three days later, and they gazed upon the high bulk of Behring's Mount St. Elias, on the north-west coast of America. But the sight of these sombre shores awakened in our navigators only melancholy feelings. The sea broke with fury against a barren table-land denuded of all verdure, whose gloomy hues contrasted vividly with the whiteness of the snows which covered an extended range of mountains, covering a space of fifteen leagues from west to east. At their base, and on the borders of the sea, spread some low lands, well wooded, which offered no shelter for vessels.

The French frigates, therefore, kept along the coast until they discovered a bay, to which the name of Lieutenant Monti was given from his having approached it in a boat. As it would not protect the ships from dangerous winds, they did not anchor there. They perceived a great causeway of rocks, behind which the sea was very calm, and which, being about four hundred fathoms in length from east to west, abruptly terminated at about two cables' lengths from a point or projection of the mainland. The space between afforded a sufficiently wide passage.

The boats despatched to sound this bay rowed in and out by this channel several times; they found nowhere a less depth then five fathoms, and the sea, beyond the

reef where the waters broke into a cloud of foam and spray, was smooth as a mirror, a sure indication of its great depth.

The frigates, not without incurring serious risk, succeeded in clearing the opening, and dropped anchor about two leagues from the head of the bay near an island whose mountain sides were bright with leaping cascades, which poured their sparkling tribute into the ocean. As this bay (in 58° 37′ N. lat. and 139° 50′ E. long.) had never before been explored by any navigator, La Pérouse bestowed upon it the name of Port des Français.

While taking on board a provision of wood and water, which the country furnished in abundance, constant intercourse was maintained with the inhabitants. They were indolent, revolting in their manners, and very ugly in their persons, and decorated themselves in such a way as to present an aspect at once hideous and repulsive. In their ears and the cartilage of the nose they wore ornaments of various kinds, whilst their teeth were filed down to the very edge of the gums. Their bodies were covered with a frightful mixture of ochre, soot, and sea-wolf's oil, and their arms and chests were lacerated with deep gashes so as to increase their terrible appearance. Their hair they powdered with ochre and birds' down, and on their heads wore two-horned bonnets decked with eagles' feathers, or wolves' heads with wooden skull-caps inside of them. These coiffures, and a simple skin, dried but not tanned, which they flung over their shoulders, composed their whole attire. The rest of the body was naked.

The chiefs wore elks' skins tanned, bordered with a fringe of deer's hoofs and birds' teeth, which rattled like hailstones; the women, not less ugly and disgusting than the men, disfigured themselves, in a manner customary

on the north-west coast of America, by cutting in the under lip a gash nearly as large as the mouth itself, and wearing in it a kind of wooden cup or basin.

The picture which La Pérouse has delineated of the character of these savages is not more flattering than that of their *physique*. He found them barbarous, deceitful, indifferent to their children, tyrannical towards their wives, upon whom they imposed the heaviest burdens, and so inclined to theft that nothing could bridle that passion in them. Those whom he loaded with caresses and presents did not appear to experience any sensations of gratitude, and often took advantage of the very moment when he was distributing his gifts, to appropriate everything upon which they could lay their hands. In a word, the inhabitants of Port des Français were as savage as the scenery of their frightful country.

In the proper season they inhabit the coast, and live upon the products of their fishery; but in winter they retire into the interior, and hunt the bear, the castor, the red fox, the ermine, the squirrel, and many other animals, valuable for their furs, with which those climes abound. Some days after the arrival of the French the savages went on board the *Boussole* in great state, and, after a medley of songs and dances, their chief proposed to sell his island to La Pérouse. Although he did not appear to be its proprietor more than the other chiefs, he concluded the barter, and received in exchange several ells of red cloth, some hatchets, adzes, and other iron instruments. Afterwards taking possession of his acquisition with the usual formalities, La Pérouse buried near a rock a bottle containing an inscription, and one of the bronze medals which had been struck in France for this expedition.

Wood and water having been got on board, La Pérouse, who congratulated himself on having accomplished so

long a voyage without one invalid on board, was about to sail from Port des Français, when the expedition encountered its first reverse. It is simply and concisely described in the following epitaph, which was composed by the learned and unfortunate Lamanon, and engraved on a modest monument erected on a small island in the fatal harbour, to which was given the name of Cenotaph Island.

EPITAPH

"At the entrance of this harbour perished twenty-one brave seamen. Whoever thou art, mingle thy tears with ours!

"On the 4th of July, 1786, the frigates *Boussole* and *Astrolabe*, which sailed from Brest on the 1st of August, 1785, arrived in this port. Through the exertions of M. de La Pérouse, commander-in-chief of the expedition; of M. le Vicomte de Langle, captain of the second frigate; of Messieurs de Closnard and De Monti, lieutenants of the two vessels, and of the other officers and surgeons, none of the maladies which are the usual results of prolonged voyages had attacked the crews. M. de La Pérouse, and all of us, congratulated ourselves on having sailed from one end of the world to the other, through every kind of peril, having visited peoples reputed to be barbarians, without losing a single man or shedding one drop of blood. On the 17th of July three canoes set out at five o'clock in the morning to correct the soundings for a chart of the bay, which had been prepared. They were commanded by M. d'Escures, lieutenant, Knight of St. Louis. M. de La Pérouse had given him his instructions in writing, expressly forbidding him from approaching the current, but at the moment when he thought himself still some distance from it, he found his boat was

whirling in its vortex. Messieurs de La Borde, brothers, and De Flassan, who were in the second frigate's boat, were not deterred by any apprehension of danger from flying to the succour of their comrades; but, alas, only to experience the same fate. . . . The third boat was under the orders of Lieutenant Boutin. This officer, courageously struggling with the breakers, made for several hours great but useless efforts to succour his friends, and no doubt owed his safety only to the better construction of his boat, his enlightened prudence, the skill of Lafrise-Monton, his second in command, and the activity and prompt obedience of his crew, composed of Jean Marie, cockswain; Lhostis, Le Bas, Corentin Jas, and Moners, all four seamen. The Indians appeared to share our grief, which is extreme. Affected, but not discouraged by this misfortune, we set out on the 30th of July to continue our voyage."

3. The Voyage Continued. Death of De Langle

On quitting this fatal spot, of which he lost sight on the 1st of August, 1786, La Pérouse, still following the American coast in a southward direction, in the midst of dense fogs, ascertained that it was fringed, between lat. 56° and 55° N., by a considerable archipelago, separated from the mainland by a channel five leagues broad, which forms some beautiful bays. To one of these bays, and to the cape which borders it on the south, he gave the name of Tschirikow, in honour of the celebrated Russian navigator who visited these regions in 1741. The first group of islands which he afterwards encountered received the name of the French geographer, La Croyère, who, having embarked with Captain Tschirikow, died on the voyage.

On the 19th of August, after sailing along the coast for ten days, and for an extent of fifty leagues, exploring some islands detached from the continent from which Captain Cook was driven by contrary winds, La Pérouse discovered a very bold and abrupt promontory running southward, which he named Cape Hector, and beyond which land could be perceived to the eastward. Between this cape and the coast he traversed a gulf about thirty leagues to the north, but the weather not permitting him to ascend any higher, he contented himself with laying down exactly the opening of the gulf, from Cape Hector to the east extremity, which he named Cape Fleurieu.

Still continuing his route to the southward, La Pérouse gave the name of the Sartine Islands to a group which he met with, August the 24th; and, on the 5th of September, that of the Necker Isles to nine small bare rocks of a frightful aspect—was it an epigram addressed to that celebrated minister? Finally, on the 14th of September, he cast anchor in the harbour of Monterey, in the territory of California. Since his first view of Mount St. Elias he had accomplished, in less than three months, an accurate exploration of the north-western coast of America for an extent of more than six hundred leagues.

After a stay of more than six weeks in Monterey Bay, he again set sail, having sent his first despatches to France, and once more traversed the seas in the neighbourhood of the Sandwich group. For a second time he gave—evidently with the same satirical meaning—the name of Necker to a dry and barren rock. On the following night, while the two ships were sailing in close company, they narrowly escaped shipwreck on a reef which was discovered very suddenly. The next day, before quitting its vicinity, he determined its exact position for the

behoof of navigators who might follow in his track, and named it the "Reef of the French Frigates".

The *Boussole* and *Astrolabe* next sailed through the Marianne group, passing close to the volcanic isle of the Assumption, which they left behind them without any regret at not being able to anchor there. After sighting the Bashee Islands, the ships arrived, on the 3rd of January, 1787, in the Macao Roads, where they had hoped to find despatches, and dropped anchor joyfully alongside a French vessel of war. At Macao, La Pérouse sold, with the unanimous consent of his officers, the furs and skins which had been purchased on the American coast, and immediately distributed the proceeds among his crews.

On the 5th of February, the *Boussole* and the *Astrolabe*, having received no news from Europe, weighed anchor from the Macao Roads, carrying with them twelve Chinese sailors to fill up the places of those who had perished at Port des Français. They steered for the fair and fertile Spanish colony of Luçon, the principal of the Philippine group, and anchored in the harbour of Cavite. While the frigates were undergoing necessary repairs, and taking on board fresh provisions, La Pérouse, De Langle, and several officers embarked on a visit to Manilla, the largest city of Oceania, in one of the finest localities in the world. The river which meanders there divides into numerous channels, all leading to the Lake de Bay. This lake, situated about seven leagues inland, reflects in its waters more than one hundred Indian villages built on its banks, and offers one of the most charming pictures imaginable.

They learned at Manilla that the French ship *Resolution* commanded by D'Entrecasteaux, who was charged with a commercial mission to the Chinese Government, and

the frigate *Subtle*, commanded by La Croix de Castnis, had arrived at Canton. Seventy days from Batavia, these ships had passed to the eastward of the Philippines, had coasted New Guinea, threaded seas bestrewn with rocks, of which they had no chart, and finally arrived in the Canton River, where they had anchored on the day after the departure of the *Boussole* and *Astrolabe*. The *Subtle* visited the Philippines, with despatches for La Pérouse, and brought the French some news of their beloved country. But to their great regret she had no letters from their families and friends, letters which they most ardently desired. Two officers of the *Subtle*—Guyet, a midshipman, and Le Gobien, cadet—with eight men, were transferred to the vessels of La Pérouse to fill up their diminished complements. The cadet De Saint Céran, being too ill to continue his voyage, was sent back to the Isle of France on board the *Subtle*, which was despatched by La Pérouse to convey to France some news of his expedition.

On April the 9th, the *Boussole* and *Astrolabe* weighed anchor from the beautiful roadstead at whose extremity Manilla is situated, and on the 21st they sighted the island of Formosa. Prevented by bad weather from threading the channel between this island and the Arctic continent, they passed her to the southward, and then steering in a northerly direction, sailed through the Liken archipelago, off the north coast of China.

Fogs as dense and as persistent as those of Labrador now beset them, and they were also baffled by calms which forced upon them long and wearisome delays. At length, on the 19th of May, the wind blew from the north-west, and they made the small island of Quelpaert, without however, any wish to land there, knowing that the King of Corea, its lord, had retained in slavery for eighteen years the crew of a Dutch ship wrecked on its coast in 1653.

On the 25th, the expedition entered the Japanese waters, keeping so near the Corean shores that they could discern both the towns and houses on the mouths of its various bays. Continuing his course, La Pérouse gave the name of Dagelet to a very precipitous island, clothed with luxuriant vegetation, which that astronomer had been the first to perceive, and which is not laid down in the charts of the missionaries, the only ones relative to these regions which they possessed.

Still steering to the north-west, they discovered, on the 11th of June, the coast of Tartary, striking it at the point of junction of Corea with Mantchoux-Tartary. Sailing onwards, with the sky cloudless and bright, and the weather wonderfully fair, they met with an atmospheric illusion on the 18th, which is thus described by La Pérouse:

"At four o'clock in the evening a very serene sky succeeded to the densest possible fog; we discovered the mainland stretching from W. to N.E., and soon afterwards, in the south, a considerable extent of land which inclined westward towards Tartary, and left between it and the continent a passage of about fifteen leagues in width. We could distinguish the mountains, the ravines, indeed every feature of the country, and we could not conceive how we had entered this channel, knowing it could not be that of Tessoy, which we had abandoned looking for. In this situation I conceived it advisable to hug the wind and steer S.S.E., but soon both mountain and ravine disappeared! A cloud-bank, the most extraordinary I had ever seen, had occasioned our error; we now saw it gradually vanish; its various colours arose to lose themselves in the region of the upper air, and the day was sufficiently long to convince us of the non-existence of this fantastic land."

At length, on June 23rd, to the great joy of our navigators, they dropped anchor in a bay to which La Pérouse gave the name of Ternay, on the coast of Tartary, the only part of the globe which had escaped the indefatigable activity of Cook. Ever since their departure from France all minds had been occupied with this land which, for the first time, Europeans were about to visit. Three boats from the two frigates landed in an inlet of Ternay Bay, which offered to voyagers, with a beautiful and limpid water, a great abundance of vegetables and herbs, the picture of a smiling nature and the pleasures of fishing and the chase. Some rude huts and utensils discovered in this locality led the French to conclude that it was frequented by the Tartars in the hunting season. La Pérouse saw in this bay a Tartar tomb, composed of branches of trees and the bark of the birch, which did not appear to be more than one year old. It contained the bodies of two persons clothed with a bear's skin, which was kept in its place by a girdle filled with small Chinese coins and different copper jewels. According to the custom of these people, the grave also held some silver ornaments, a hatchet, a knife, a wooden spoon, a comb, a small blue nankeen bag full of rice; in a word, all those objects of which the Tartars suppose they may have need in the other life. La Pérouse took but a very small portion of these articles as a souvenir, and replaced the remainder with religious care where he had found them.

After depositing in the earth various medals, with bottles and inscriptions setting forth the date of the voyage of the two frigates, he set sail on the 27th, and closely hugging the coast for more than three hundred leagues, without perceiving either canoes, houses, or inhabitants, he arrived in three degrees farther north, at another

bay, which he named Suffrein. He afterwards anchored off the island of Saghalien, in a bay which received the name of De Langle; and here he entered into the most friendly relations with the inhabitants, who at first had fled into the woods, but, recovering their courage, returned to the shore. La Pérouse loaded them with presents, and obtained from them some geographical information. One of the old men traced upon the sand, with the end of a spear, an outline of the Tartary coast, the island, and the channels in the vicinity, indicating that therein the vessels would find a passage. Another islander, who more clearly comprehended the questions put by the French, observing that the marks on the sand were soon effaced, seized a pencil and some paper which an officer had in his hand. He drew upon it a map of his own island, which he called Tschoka, and the neighbouring countries, indicating the number of days occupied by a canoe in going from one to the other, and replying by the most ingenious gestures to all the demands addressed to him, as well with respect to his own country as to the island of Saghalien, which he knew, and whose name he pronounced as the French did.

These islanders were well made, of an agreeable physiognomy, and great mildness of character. Their manners appeared truly patriarchal.

Continuing their voyage along the coast of Saghalien, one of the longest islands in the world, La Pérouse convinced himself that the channel in which he was sailing was closed at its northern extremity by a bar concealed beneath the waves, which admitted of no passage whatsoever. He therefore put into a bay on the coast of Tartary, so overgrown with marine plants that it might well be taken for a meadow. In this bay, which he named De Castries, he engaged in friendly intercourse

with a tribe called the Orotchys, who inhabited the shore, and with the Bitchys, who came from the south.

On quitting the Bay of Castries, August 2, 1787, the frigates steered southward, to get clear of the channel, and anchored off the southern point of Saghalien Island, which was named Cape Crillon. Between Saghalien and Chicha Islands, La Pérouse discovered, in 45° 40′ N. lat., a strait which has preserved his name. This discovery apprised them of what they had not known before, that all the lands north of Japan, previously confounded under the name of Jesso, formed two islands—Saghalien and Chicha. La Pérouse explored the Kurile Islands, which, with those of Chicha and Saghalien, form a second sea, communicating with that of Okhotsk. Between Company Island and Murikan Island, he discovered a strait about fifteen leagues broad, to which he gave the name of La Boussole.

He continued his voyage, surrounded by almost continual fogs. However, the weather clearing a little, on the 5th of September they were able to perceive the coast of Kamtschatka, whose enormous masses of rock, which the snow still covered, and which no vegetation appeared ever to have adorned, presented the most terrible appearance. However, the base of those stupendous summits, crowned with eternal ice, was clothed with the most glowing verdure, and, on approaching the shore, our voyagers conceived a more favourable opinion of its aspect.

On the 7th of September they entered Avatscha Bay, or the Harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, and in that savage country our voyagers were welcomed with the most affectionate hospitality. To their great regret they found no letters from France at Avatscha; but, at the end of a few days, the courier arrived at Okhotsk with a

heavy mail, containing packets addressed to La Pérouse and his officers. Although they were then attending a ball, where some most grotesque *danseuses*, rolling on the ground, gave a lively representation of a bear-hunt, their hosts would not allow them to deny themselves the pleasure of perusing their letters, and permitted them to retire. Good news had arrived for everybody! La Pérouse had been promoted to the rank of commodore (*chef d'escadre*), and everyone appeared as gratified as if the honour had fallen upon him individually. All the artillery of the place, by order of the commandant, Kasloff, fired salutes in honour of the event, and the Kamtschatdales joined their sincere congratulations to those which our able and excellent chief received from his officers.

Winter drawing near, La Pérouse gave orders for the necessary preparations for the departure of the two frigates. They sailed from Avatscha on the 30th of September, leaving there the vice-consul, Lesseps, who, after traversing Kamtschatka, Siberia, European Russia, and Germany, reached Paris in safety with the commodore's journal of his expedition from Macao to Avatscha Bay.

After a monotonous voyage of about two months, during which, and over a vast extent of sea, from north to south, La Pérouse discovered no new island, he arrived, on the 6th of December, in sight of Bougainville's group of the Navigators' Islands, whose examination he completed. He dropped anchor before the chief island, Maouna, where he perceived numerous populous villages, at the base of which fell limpid waterfalls. On the following day he lowered his boat and went ashore, receiving a cordial welcome from the inhabitants. While an exchange of commodities was taking place in the

principal village of the island, La Pérouse wandered into an enchanting country which, without cultivation, offered to its inhabitants so great a profusion of blessings, that they disdained all the useful presents which the strangers offered them. Women, children, and old men followed him, and offered him admission to their houses. La Pérouse gave the preference to the abode of a chief, who introduced him into a large cabinet of trellis-work, whose *enceinte* was formed by a row of trunks of trees artistically carved, between which finely-woven mats, placed one over another, like a fish's scales, were raised like lattices. The trees which shaded it spread a delightful coolness, and the French admired the happiness of these islanders, who seemed to lead a gentle and innocent life in the bosom of peace and abundance.

On his part, Captain De Langle visited, in his own little boat, another inlet, distant about a league from the beautiful and commodious anchorage which they had chosen. He returned so enraptured with the place where he had landed that, in spite of the representations of La Pérouse, he insisted upon filling some water-casks there before quitting the island. La Pérouse, yielding to the urgency of an officer in whose wisdom he had the greatest confidence, consented to send ashore on the following day two shallops and two boats under his command.

De Langle took with him the naturalist Lamanon and several officers of both frigates—in all, sixty-one persons. He was truly surprised, on disembarking, to find, instead of the wide and convenient bay which he had visited at high water, a creek enclosed with coral reefs, and bristling with rocks, where the shallops ran aground, while the boats remained at the mouth of the passage, and at some distance from the shore. They began to take on board

fresh water, in the midst of a crowd of islanders, whose numbers gradually increased from 200 to 1200, and who every moment became more turbulent and annoying. De Langle, however, succeeded in filling his water-casks and getting on board his shallops. It was then discovered that a party of the islanders had entered the water in pursuit of the French, while others were gathering stones upon the shore. Although the savages became every moment more hostile, De Langle was unwilling to commence the attack, and it was not long before he fell a victim to his merciful patience. His magnanimity was mistaken by the savages for fear, and, joined to their consciousness of superior physical force, emboldened them to hurl upon the French a storm of stones. Then only did the seamen fire, but they had not time to reload their arms. De Langle, stricken by several stones, fell overboard his shallop, and was immediately murdered by the Indians with their patows or clubs. They then fastened his corpse by the arm to his shallop lest they should lose his spoils. Lamanon, who had said on the preceding day, in the simplicity of his heart, " The savages are better men than we are," and ten other Frenchmen, had met with a similar fate; indeed, in less than five minutes there remained not a single man alive in the two stranded shallops. The forty-nine who escaped owed their safety only to the position of their two boats, and made their way to them by swimming across the channel, notwithstanding the numerous wounds which they had received. The two boats remained afloat at the mouth of the strait, and by their aid, though not without great difficulty, they regained the two frigates.

Vengeance would have been easy for La Pérouse. A great number of canoes still surrounded the *Boussole* when the boats returned on board, but he was unwilling

that the innocent should pay for the guilty; doing violence to his own natural inclinations, and restraining with some trouble his sailors, who would have massacred all the natives then in their power, La Pérouse took his leave, with a bleeding heart, of that perfidious island, where, in return for all their benefits and all their proofs of friendship, his dear friend and comrades had met with so tragical a death![1]

4. Disastrous Termination of the Expedition

Towards the close of December, La Pérouse arrived in the midst of the numerous islands which compose the archipelago of Tonga, or the Friendly Islands. They entered into friendly relations with the inhabitants of the island which gives its name to the group. They found them gentle, honest, and hospitable. The custom in vogue among several peoples of the South Sea, of cutting off the two joints of the little finger as a sign of grief at the death of their parents or friends, was adopted by them.

On the 26th of January, 1788, La Pérouse cast anchor

[1] The geographer Rienzi gives the following account of this deplorable catastrophe "The plan of Pérouse's voyage included a complete survey of these islands, which Bougainville had only been able to explore very cursorily. He arrived off Maouna on the 6th of December, 1787, and it was after a stay of ten days that Captain De Langle, his friend, and one of the ablest officers in the French navy, the naturalist Lamanon, and nine soldiers and seamen, were murdered by the natives. It is on this occasion that the great navigator, who apprehended a greater calamity, observed, 'I am a thousand times more angry with the philosophers who flattered the savages than with the savages themselves. The unfortunate Lamanon, whom they have massacred, said to me, the day before his death, that the Indians were better men than ourselves.' It seems that this massacre occurred because La Pérouse had given some glass beads and other trifles to some of the chiefs, and had forgotten the others.

"The crews of the two frigates were loud in their rage and desire for vengeance. A hundred canoes surrounded the vessels, and it only depended on this brave commander to sacrifice a frightful hecatomb to the *manes* of his friends, his seamen, and his soldiers. This excellent man resisted the entreaties of the French, and satisfied himself with dispersing the flotilla by firing a gun loaded only with powder. But it was the last time that he employed such an artifice against the savages."—From "G. Dominy de Rienzi, Océanie," iii, p. 23.

in Botany Bay, on the coast of New Holland or Australia, where he found the English engaged in establishing their new colonies in New South Wales. It was from thence that he wrote, when on the point of setting sail, February 7, 1788, to the Minister of Marine, the following despatch:

"I shall visit the Friendly Islands, and carry out to the letter my instructions with reference to the Southern portion of New Caledonia, the island Santa Cruz of Mendaña, the south coast of Surville's land of the Arsacides, and the Louisiade region of Bougainville, endeavouring to ascertain whether the latter is separated from, or a portion of, New Guinea. I shall pass, towards the close of July, 1788, between New Guinea and New Holland, by another channel than that of the *Endeavour*, if such should exist. I shall visit, during the month of September and a part of October, the Gulf of Carpentaria and all the western coast of New Holland as far as Van Diemen's Land, but so that I may be able to steer northward in time to arrive at the isle of Fama early in December 1788."

These were the last news received of La Pérouse. Since then many years rolled by without the world's hearing what had become of him; it seemed that he had disappeared as in a cloud, and those who, in the vortex of a great revolution, still gave a thought to the great but unfortunate navigator—esteeming him happy, perhaps, in not being a witness of those scenes of terror, of which he would assuredly have also been the victim—did not imagine him a prey to savages, like Cook or Marion-Dufresne, but fancied him thrown by shipwreck on some savage island, where his genius refined the manners of the inhabitants, and sowed the germs of an oceanic civilization. "He is less to be lamented

than we are," said many of his ancient comrades who, like D'Estaing and the Kersaints, perished on the scaffold.

They were right, for it were far better to serve as a repast for the cannibals of far-distant shores, to whom one is purely a stranger, than to fall under the knives of those whom one's devotion has covered with glory. " He will return," said the most sanguine of his friends; " he will return when order and tranquillity shall be restored, and then we will cover him with garlands, and from the port where he disembarks, even to Paris, his path shall be strewn with laurels, and he will once more assist us to conquer the English—the eternal cause of all our misfortunes!" In fine, hope prevailed quite as much as fear, and very few doubted but that he and his comrades would eventually be discovered in some isle of the south.

But alas! as is too well known to-day, it was not to be so. After much fruitless searching a voyager, whose misfortunes proved of a different character, discovered near the rocks of the Vanikoro Islands the relics of the shipwreck of La Pérouse, and it must henceforth afford great consolation to believe, as is possible, that he perished in the waves, and that he and his comrades were spared the fate of Cook, and did not serve as a horrid feast for murderous cannibals. Everybody knows that out of the noble souvenirs of the wreck, religiously preserved and transferred to France by Dumont d'Urville, a monument of glory and sadness has been raised in the halls of the Louvre, in the midst of curiosities obtained from the savage inhabitants of the seas where the great navigator perished, a monument that none can pass without emotion, without a tear of melancholy moistening his eyelid. To perish so far away! To perish so full of life and talents without having completed his work! When, O Pérouse, it seemed so much glory awaited thee on thy return!

To perish, perhaps devoured by monsters with the semblance of humanity, whom thou hadst visited to endow them with the benefits of civilization, and, it may be, after having seen all thy comrades—whom thou didst look upon as thy brothers—carried, one after the other, in bleeding morsels to the horrid orgies of cannibals! To perish when thou knewest how many were waiting for thee in France—who appreciated thee, who cherished thee, who were very proud of thee! And yet, if La Pérouse had known when dying that the king whom he loved, and from whom he had received his instructions, had fallen on the scaffold after the most terrible sufferings; and that his best friends, his comrades in victory, had perished, one after the other, under the axe of a revolution—grand without doubt, but which did not distinguish its victims, and often confounded the loyalest servants of their country with her enemies—he would have been consoled for dying so far from his native land.

Thus perished, leaving no issue, Jean François de la Pérouse de Galaup, born at Alby in 1741; a man who united in himself all excellent qualities of heart and mind —a man as brave as he was virtuous, as compassionate as he was brave, as full of talent as of modesty, as skilful a tactician and admirable a seaman as he was an able and intrepid navigator.

SHIPWRECK OF THE "GROSVENOR"

(1782)

On the 15th of June, 1782, the *Grosvenor* quitted the port of Trincomalie, in the Island of Ceylon, to return to England. On the 3rd of August, Captain Coxon, who commanded her, believed that he was a hundred leagues away from land. That day and the next, the wind blew "great guns": on the 4th, which was Sunday, the ship was put under her foresail and mizzen-stay-sail only, and yet went before the breeze at a rapid rate.

Before day, John Haynes, seaman, being aloft with Lewis and some other of his comrades, engaged in hoisting the yard of the fore-topgallant-sail, asked Lewis if he did not think he saw, to leeward, a coast foaming with breakers? Lewis declared that he was of the same opinion, and the two descended rapidly to inform the officer then in charge of the quarter-deck of this alarming circumstance. The officer burst out laughing; Lewis hastened to the captain's cabin to inform him of what had passed; Mr. Coxon rushed on deck, and ordered the ship to be put to windward. The helm was accordingly put hard-aport; the foresail was let loose, the standing jib and fore-topsail were set, and the mainsail braced aback. The ship had almost entirely veered, but before quite getting round, her keel touched. Everybody instantly rushed on deck. Terror was depicted in every countenance. The captain hastened to dissipate alarm and tranquillize the

passengers, assuring them that he hoped to secure their safety.

They sounded the pumps, and found no water in the hold, because the ship's stern being thrown up on the rocks, and the forepart being thus sunk very low, the water had all collected there. Five minutes later the wind began to blow off land; the captain feared he should be driven out to sea, and so deprived of the only chance of safety which existed.

He had been anxious to fire a signal of distress, but the powder-room was filled with water. Then he ordered the mainmast to be cut away; but it did not lighten the vessel.

The confusion which prevailed on board cannot be described; all was disorder; all was alarm and anxiety. The most self-possessed occupied themselves with devising the means to gain the shore. At last they set to work to construct a raft with the masts, yards, and all the spars they could collect.

A lascar and two Italians endeavoured to gain the shore by swimming, with a sounding-line attached to their persons. One was drowned, but the two others arrived safely. With this line they drew ashore a stouter rope, and by means of that, a cable. The wind and the current soon brought to land the masts, which the natives, as soon as they could reach them, stripped of their iron bands.

As soon as the cable was landed, they fixed one end round a rock, and the other round the capstan, with which they drew it taut. Meanwhile nearly all the crew were employed in finishing the raft. After having surrounded it with a hawser nine inches thick, they guided it round to the ship's stern that the women and children might embark on it more easily through the cabin win-

dows. Four sailors went on the raft to help to conduct it, but although the hawser was new, the violence of the surf snapped it in two; the raft, driven towards the shore, capsized, and three of the sailors were drowned.

Before cutting away the mast, the yawl and the canoe had been got afloat, but hardly had they righted before the violence of the waves dashed them into fragments. It was then that the whole crew gave way to the instinct of self-preservation. Some had recourse to the cable which had been drawn ashore, and essayed, by clinging to it with their hands, to get to land. Many availed themselves successfully of this expedient; others, weakened by fatigue, succumbed before the extreme exertion, and were drowned; fifteen persons perished in this pitiful manner.

The ship at last split in two, a little before the mainmast. At the same instant the wind, by an unlooked-for good fortune, began to blow from the sea, directly towards the shore—a circumstance which in a great measure contributed to the safety of those who were still on board. They all gained the poop, which was nearest to the shore. The wind, aided by the current, upraising them, the poop detached itself from the body of the ship, and the deck split in twain. At this frightful moment everybody rushed to the larboard quarter, which soon floated into comparatively tranquil water, while the other portion continued to break the violence of the waves, which otherwise must have swept us all away. All who remained on board, however, even the women and children, got safely ashore—except the cook's mate, who was intoxicated, and would not quit the ship.

Night came on. Happily the natives, who had retired at sunset, had left the remains of their fire, which supplied us with the means of kindling some fresh fires out

of the ship's timbers, cast ashore by the surf. We killed and cooked some pigs and poultry which we had brought ashore, and made a sorrowful repast.

We found upon the shore a barrel of beef and another of flour, which the captain divided equally among us. Two sails had also been cast ashore; with these we constructed two tents for the women.

On the morning of the 5th the natives of the country, whom we found to belong to the Caffre tribe, cruel savages, with short and woolly hair, and skin of a deep black, gathered around us in great numbers, and began to carry away everything which caught their fancy. The shipwrecked sufferers, and especially the women, conceived the keenest fears for their personal safety, but grew calmer on perceiving that the natives contented themselves with plunder. On the morrow we busied ourselves in collecting everything which might be useful during the journey we had resolved upon undertaking by land to the Cape of Good Hope. But first, the captain prudently emptied into the sea the contents of two casks of brandy, for fear the natives should become intoxicated, and fall into an uncontrollable fit of fury.

He then assembled all the persons who had survived the shipwreck, and after having divided the provisions among them, he represented that, as while on board he had held the command, he trusted they would all agree to continue their obedience to his orders. They unanimously replied in the affirmative. He stated that, according to his calculations, they would arrive at a Dutch settlement in fifteen or sixteen days.

Encouraged by these words, we all set out on the 7th. The chief mate, who had been ill for some days, was carried by two sailors in a hammock suspended to a pole. Each person in turn gladly took his share of this painful

burden. A sailor named O'Brien, who was suffering from a swollen knee, would not accompany us; he said he would rather rest, as he should be unable to walk as fast as we could. He relied upon discovering among the *débris* of the ship some fragments of lead and pewter, which he might fashion into trinkets for the amusement of the natives, and so interest them on his behalf.

All our band, having begun their march, were followed by some Caffres. A sort of road led from one village to another. The Caffres followed us for about three miles, begging of us whatever pleased their fancy, and sometimes assailing us with stones. We met a troop of thirty natives, who wore their hair made up in the fashion of a sugar-loaf, and their faces painted with red. There was among them a Dutchman named Trout, who, having committed some murders in the colony, had taken refuge among the savages. He asked us who we were, and where we intended going? Upon our informing him, he replied that we should have to cross numerous deserts, and repel the attacks of beasts of prey. This answer alarmed us, and we offered Trout as much money as he might like to ask, if he would lead us to the Cape. But he refused our proposal, alleging his dread of falling into the hands of the Dutch. He added that he was married to a Caffre woman, whose countrymen would never allow him to leave her, alive, however much he might desire it.

Sorely discouraged, we continued our journey, without further adventure, for five days. The natives often flocked around us and took whatever pleased them, but always retired at sunset. We saw many villages, but kept as far apart from them as possible, so as not to expose ourselves to the insults of the inhabitants. Logie, our invalid chief mate, was now well enough to be able to

walk without support. On arriving at the mouth of a deep gorge or ravine we met with three natives, who several times aimed their sagays at the captain's throat; driven to stand at bay, he seized one of their lances, wrested it from the hands of the savage, broke it, and handled the iron as a weapon. The natives then retired, as if indisposed to harass us again; but the next day, on approaching a large village, we found our assailants, with about four hundred of their compatriots, all armed with sagays and large bucklers of elephant's hide. These savages arrested our progress, and after insulting and plundering us, began to strike us. We resolved to defend ourselves to the last extremity, and sell our lives as dearly as might be. We therefore placed the women and children in a sheltered spot under the protection of a dozen picked men, and the rest, numbering about ninety, fought the enemy for about two hours and a half, and maintained during that time a kind of rolling fire. Having gained at length an elevated plateau, where we could not be surrounded, we concluded a truce with our opponents.

On both sides there were several wounded, but no one killed. The wood of a sagay entered the ear of Mr. Newman, one of our passengers, and the violence of the blow rendered him insensible for two hours. When peace was concluded, several of us stript the buttons from our clothes and gave them, with some other trifles, to the Caffres, who then departed, nor did they again return.

Mr. Newman having a little recovered, our whole party resumed their march, and that evening we slept round a fire in the open air. During the night we were so harassed by the howlings of wild beasts that we set guards to prevent them from surprising us.

We were overtaken next day by our former visitor, the Dutchman Trout; he told us that he had been on board the wreck, from which he had collected the lead, copper, iron, and pewter, and carried it to his kraal. [He had heard of their dispute with the natives. He advised them to make no resistance; the deficiency of their arms rendered all attempts at defence useless, and they would thus meet with fewer obstacles.] He was alone; after a very brief conversation he quitted us.

We now entered into a deep ravine, where we passed the night. Our slumber was disturbed by the roar of beasts of prey, whom our sentinels had much difficulty in driving off by means of lighted torches. At daybreak we resumed our march. About noon, the natives came, according to custom, to plunder us, and begged from us our tinder-box, flint, and steel—an irreparable loss, as we were afterwards obliged to travel with a lighted torch in our hands. Arriving at a small river which the rising tide had caused to overflow, we were unable to cross, and had to pass the night upon its banks. The natives, who had continued to follow us, now became more troublesome. They seized upon our watches, and the hair of the women falling down, and revealing the diamonds which they had sought to conceal there, these, too, were carried off.

The next day we forded the river. We were without water; Colonel James proposed to dig in the sand to procure some. The attempt was successful. Our provisions were almost exhausted, and it had become very fatiguing to travel with the women and children. Our sailors began to murmur; each seemed determined to think only of himself.

In consequence, Captain Coxon, the chief mate and his wife, the third mate, Colonel James, Mrs. James, Mr.

and Mrs. Hosea, Mr. Hay, the supercargo, Mr. Newman, and Mr. Nixon, with five of their children, agreed to keep together and travel as slowly as they had done hitherto. Several sailors, engaged by the large promises which Colonel James held out, consented to accompany them, and carry the few provisions which remained, and the wrappings with which they covered themselves at night

Shaw and Trotter, second and fourth mates; Harris, the fifth; Captain Talbot and his cockswain; Messrs Williams, Taylor, D'Espinette, Oliver, and their servants; the purser, carpenter, gunner, and carpenter's mates; and the remainder of the sailors, including myself, John Haynes—in all, a troop of about forty-three persons—started in advance. A child of seven or eight years old, named Law, a passenger on board the *Grosvenor*, began to weep at the departure of one of our troop, to whom he had become warmly attached. We agreed, therefore, to take him with us, and to carry him each in turn when he was unable to walk.

This separation was not effected without a feeling of deep regret, for neither of us ever expected to see the other party again. Shaw, the second mate, led the foremost troop, who, having waited all night for the tide to ebb, in order to cross the river, was rejoined next morning by the rear division. We experienced sincere satisfaction in thus reuniting, and for the moment the inconveniences which had led to our separation were forgotten.

We passed the river. The next day we arrived at a considerable village. There we discovered Trout, the Dutchman, who showed us his wife and child, and asked for a piece of salt pork. He told us that this kraal was his place of residence, and repeated his assurance that the natives would never permit him to leave them, even if his inclination led him to return among his countrymen.

He gave us some advice for the continuance of our journey, told us the names of the places we should have to traverse, and the rivers we should have to pass. We thanked him, and set out.

On the following morning, our provisions being exhausted, a few of us descended to the beach at low tide, and collected some oysters and other shell-fish, which were divided among the women, the children, and the sick. About noon we arrived at a village, where the natives ill-treated us, so that we continued our march for four hours longer.

We now resolved anew to separate. While united, we were not sufficiently strong to resist effectively the attacks of the natives, and yet were numerous enough to cause them alarm. We hoped also to procure more easily the means of subsistence. Thus we separated, and this time it was for ever.

The first troop marched until twilight. By the next morning we had accomplished little less than thirty miles. The following day we fed upon the wild sorrel, and on such berries as we observed the birds to peck at. We reached the bank of a broad and deep river, where we ended our journey for the day.

The next day, the width of the river rendering hopeless any attempt to cross it, we ascended it towards its source. We passed through several villages, but could not obtain any assistance from their inhabitants. After a fatiguing journey, we arrived at a point where the river narrowed considerably. With our handkerchiefs and some reeds, we tied together all the dry wood we could collect, and formed a kind of raft, wherein we put the boy Law and those who could not swim; then the good swimmers of the party pushed the raft before them, and thus traversed the river without any accident, although

it was two miles wide. For three days we had been travelling inland, but we now resumed our progress towards the coast, following the right bank of the river, and rejoiced greatly at finding a good supply of shell-fish, for in the interior we had had nothing but water and wild sorrel.

Four days later we arrived at the foot of a lofty hill, well wooded on the side towards the land. At daybreak we pushed into the forest. Our progress was slow and very wearisome. We were compelled to make ourselves a way through the thickets, and frequently to climb a tree to examine in what direction we were going. On the summit of the hill, we found a spacious plain, watered by a brook, on whose bank we encamped, after having lighted a larger fire than usual, because wild beasts frequented this locality, for the sake of the water. It was with great trouble we kept them off, and we passed the night in peril.

At daybreak I climbed one of the tallest trees to ascertain whereabouts the coast lay. Between this point where we then were and the foot of the mountain I perceived another forest. Overcome by fatigue, we could not attempt to penetrate it until the evening, and then discovered no other paths than those tracked by lions and tigers.

Having at length gained the sea-shore, we discovered there a whale lying dead. The sight of such an abundant supply of food gave us great pleasure, but we were at a loss for some means of cutting up the animal and dividing it. At last we hit upon a novel expedient. We kindled a fire upon the whale, and cut away with an oyster shell the parts which had thus got broiled. This supply lasted us for several days.

There were some amongst us who thought it would be

better to push into the interior of the country; others, on the contrary, thought it much safer to follow the coast. After a long discussion, we again agreed to separate. The former party included the fourth and fifth mates, Messrs. Williams and Taylor, Captain Talbot, his coxswain, myself, and twenty-five other sailors. The coasting party comprised the carpenter, purser, gunner, D'Espinette and Oliver, their servants, and about twenty-four of the *Grosvenor's* late crew.

For three days and three nights my companions and myself crossed a fertile country, and fell in with several deserted villages. All this time we had nothing for our subsistence but the oysters which we had brought from the sea-coast, and the berries and wild sorrel we collected as we went along. We therefore judged it prudent to regain the shore, where we found enough shell-fish to satisfy our hunger. Shortly after we had separated from our comrades, and while ascending a steep mountain, Captain Talbot several times lay down to rest; all of us did the same. But the captain, overcome by excessive lassitude, ended by reposing so often that we were constrained at length to leave him behind. But his faithful coxswain, deeply affected by his master's painful position, insisted on remaining with him, and we left them seated side by side. We never again heard of them.

Our party, on the morrow, at noon, arrived upon the bank of a small river, where we met two men of the carpenter's division, who, not knowing how to swim, had been left behind.

Four days after crossing this river we met with another. In pursuing our route along its bank, we arrived at a village, where we saw a watch-case which a person of the carpenter's troop had exchanged for a little milk. Shaw offered the natives a part of his own watch-case

in exchange for a calf. They appeared to consent, and led the animal into an enclosure; but no sooner had they got the stipulated price in their hands than they took back the calf, and led it away. We continued for some days to ascend the river, and encountered several villages, whose inhabitants permitted us to pass without molestation. At last, upon a roughly-constructed raft, we crossed the river where it was about a mile and a half broad; but two of our party took fright at its width, and would not follow us. After four days of weary walking, we again reached the sea-shore by following a diagonal or slanting course. The next day we found some shell-fish, but could not procure any fresh water.

Soon afterwards we fell in with a numerous host of savages, from whom we received the cruellest ill-treatment, and being in no condition to offer the least resistance, they loaded us with blows. We only escaped at last by taking refuge in a wood, and waiting until the natives withdrew, before we resumed our march. Three days later, we overtook the carpenter's party, and found that their leader had been poisoned by the fruits which hunger had induced him to eat. Messrs. D'Espinette and Oliver, as well as their servants, had remained behind, unable to advance any farther; but young Law had miraculously supported the fatigues of the march.

Our two troops, thus freshly reunited, discovered upon a sandbank a couple of planks, one of which was full of nails. Transported with joy at so precious a discovery, we set fire to the plank, and having withdrawn the nails, flattened them between two stones, so as to make them serve for knives. A little farther, and we fell in with a spring of fresh water, and passed the night in its neighbourhood.

The next morning, after we had passed the river, we

were agreeably surprised to perceive another dead whale upon the shore; but a great number of Caffres, armed with sagays, came down upon us. These savages, however, took pity upon our deplorable condition, and seeing the impossibility of our making any resistance, behaved themselves peaceably, and one of them even lent us his lance to help to cut up the whale. By means of this weapon and our two knives, we cut the flesh into slices, which we put into our bags, to cook as soon as we should find some wood and water.

Next day one of our party was taken ill on the bank of a river. Necessity compelled us to leave the poor fellow behind. For four days, having an abundance of provisions, we travelled with great speed. However, the rivers were frequently troublesome obstacles. Near one of these we determined to pass the night. We found a great quantity of fruit, which we ate to quench our thirst. On the following morning the cold and the strong wind prevented several of us from crossing the river; but myself and about ten others, eager to continue our route, got across by swimming, and walked on until we came to a place where we found water, wood, and shell-fish. We remained there two days, hoping that our companions—among whom was poor little Law—would rejoin us. Concluding at length that they were detained by the bad weather we set out.

We discovered on the strand a dead seal. We cut it into slices with some oyster shells and one of the knives which we had with us; we then cooked a portion, and carried away the rest. Our comrades rejoined us after two days' separation, and had their share of the seal. They had been sorely maltreated by the natives, and lost five of their party. After the carpenter's death the leadership of his troop had been conferred upon the

purser. The child, whose tender years rendered him incapable of enduring the fatigues of so terrible a journey, and whose courage rendered him so interesting, became the object of our brave comrade's tenderest solicitude. He sought by every means he could devise to alleviate his fatigue, and listened to his complaints with all a father's interest. He gave him to eat whatever he could procure, and lavished upon him his consolations and caresses. What praises should we not bestow upon a course of conduct so humane and so generous—a devotion so sublime—in a situation where the instinct of preservation develops man's love of self with terrible force!

In attempting to shorten the route by turning a scarped rock projecting into the sea, we were nearly swept away by the violence of the billows which broke against it. Indeed, it was only by a species of miracle that we escaped. Some of us lost our portions of the seal, and every one of the torches was extinguished. We afterwards drew near some women, who, as soon as they perceived our approach, took to flight. Arriving at the place which they had just quitted, we found they had been engaged in digging for mussels, and had left the remains of the fire that had served for their working operations. We rekindled our torches with intense pleasure, and rested there for a few hours.

Next day we obtained in a village an ox in exchange for a watch-case and a few buttons. We slew the animal with a Caffre's sagay. That the distribution of our treasure might be effected with the strictest justice, we cut it up into portions, and one of us standing with his back turned towards the coast and his companions, named the person for whom each separate morsel was intended. The hide was then divided into pieces, for

which each person drew lots, and the fortunate drawers converted their prizes into a kind of rude shoe or slipper. This was the only time that we could obtain from the savages any provisions, though the women—always the most compassionate—occasionally gave some milk to the little boy. It was truly wonderful that so young a child could support the fatigues of the journey. When the road was firm and even, he walked along as steadily as ourselves. When we traversed deep sandy tracts, or plains where the grass was long and thick, each of us in turn willingly carried him. His post, when we went in search of fish, was near the fire, to keep it lighted, and on our return he was rewarded with a portion of our capture.

About ten days passed, and we reached the verge of a sandy desert, where not a native could be perceived. We had to subsist principally on the provisions we had brought with us, and on the water which we found by burrowing in the sand. We afterwards spent five or six days in the midst of a tribe of savages, named Tambouki, who treated us sometimes with humanity and sometimes with cruelty. Upon the sea-coast, a body of savages advised us by signs to make our way into the interior. We followed their counsel, and in due time arrived at a village where only the women and children had been left at home. We obtained there some milk for Law, and rested awhile. But the males returned from the chase, bearing each on his spear a portion of wild beast. Forty at least surrounded us, observing us with a species of admiration. They showed us two jars of milk, which they seemed disposed to barter, but we had nothing left to offer them in exchange.

At sunset we resumed our toilsome march. For several days we constantly fell in with cattle, in herds

or straying singly, but lacked the means of catching them. Upon the banks of a river, where clustered a few huts, tenanted only by women and children, we obtained, through fear rather than sympathy, some morsels of seal. The river was a mile wide. I and eight of my comrades passed it swimming; the others, fearing they could not accomplish such a task, remained behind. Hardly had we got three miles ahead before we perceived a seal asleep on the shore. We got between him and the sea, killed him with our sticks, and cut it into pieces.

When crossing another river, two of our men let fall their torches. To make the passage without a raft, we made a bundle of our clothes, and fastened them upon our heads. The torch was fixed in front of the bundle, and, by this means, prevented from coming in contact with the water. Entering a vast sandy plain, we saw, near a deep ravine, these words written in the sand: "*Keep on this side, and you will find wood and water in abundance.*"

We gladly followed the indicated route, and saw, by the remains of a fire and some other signs, that our companions had been reposing in the shelter afforded by the rocks.

Four or five days later, a bold rugged rock, which jutted out afar into the sea, compelled us again to turn from the coast, and penetrate into the interior. On the margin of a pool of fresh water, we lighted upon a great quantity of land crabs, shell-fish, and sorrel. At day-break we continued our march, and, arriving on the threshold of a great wood, observed many trees uprooted. This spectacle excited our surprise; but hardly had we got into the wood before we saw thirty or forty huge elephants emerging from the long grass which covered the soil. We remained for a few minutes uncertain what

to do. After a long circuit, however, we got out of sight of the elephants without sustaining the slightest injury.

In the evening we could find no shells on the shore, and our hunger was so great, that those of us who had still our feet encased in the shoes made from the bull's hide gladly took them off, and, scraping away the hair, broiled and ate them. To this melancholy repast we added some wild celery. For five or six days longer we continued to meet with traces of the comrades who were ahead of us. We came upon a fertile and well-peopled district, but could obtain no provisions. The natives drove us away with sticks and stones; and had it not been for the shell-fish we picked up on the shore, we must have perished of hunger.

Some days afterwards we fell in with a troop of natives; one of them had fixed in his hair a bit of a silver buckle which he had received from the ship's cook in exchange for provisions. A violent tempest, accompanied by thunder, lightning, and rain, compelled us to pass the night upon the seashore. We remained there the next day until the tide ran out, to gather some shell-fish and dry our clothes. About four o'clock, having arrived at a large village, the inhabitants attacked us, and wounded several. A comrade, whose skull was split open, fell into a delirium, and died soon afterwards. I myself was borne to the ground, and left for dead upon the place. When I regained my senses I found that the natives were at a great distance, and my comrades out of sight; but as I knew the route which they intended to follow, I walked on as swiftly as I could, and in two or three hours overtook them. I bore for many a year afterwards the scar of a wound from a sagay which I had received in the leg.

After having travelled for several days in a vast dreary

desert of sand, we met with three savages, but these fled from us hastily. It was with the greatest difficulty we could now obtain provisions, since the seashore was rarely fringed with rocks. When we came to a small reef, we were often obliged to wait for half a day until the tide ran out. If the shell-fish were abundant, we gathered as many as we could, threw away the shell, and wrapped the meat in a piece of cloth, which each of us carried in turn.

On arriving at a great river, called Bosjesman's River, we overtook Lewis, whom our detachment had left behind because he was ill. He told us that he had penetrated into the interior, and seen there numerous huts; that in one some milk had been given to him, from another he was driven with blows. Weak, ill, and unable to endure any further fatigue, he decided on returning to the nearest Caffre village. To all our expostulations he turned a deaf ear, and left us to go in search of the natives, among whom he probably found a speedy termination of his sufferings.

We continued our journey along the shore. Great was out delight on discovering a dead whale, and in its vicinity we reposed for several days. Then, taking with us as many pieces as we could carry, we crossed the river on a rudely constructed raft.

Four days later, about noon, we were rejoined by our purser and his *protégé*, the little Law. The preceding evening they had buried the gunner in the sand, a short distance off. At my request, the purser accompanied me to the spot, but a wild beast had dug up and carried away the body. We could track his route along the sand.

We gave the purser and the child a portion of the whale's flesh, which they ate with voracity. A week or

ten days afterwards we found some shell-fish, but could procure no fresh water, and were constrained to pass the night upon the rocks.

The purser and young Law, feeling very weary on the following morning, begged of us to remain all day in this place, and we willingly complied with their request. The day afterwards we all found ourselves indisposed, and the purser and Law in their turn agreed to wait another day; but it was agreed that if we did not find ourselves any better, they should separate from us.

After having prepared at an early hour next day all that we could collect for breakfast, we resolved to let the child sleep until everything was ready for our departure. He was still reposing, and, as it appeared, profoundly asleep, near the fire, in whose immediate vicinity we had all passed the night. At length we went to wake him, but called and shouted in vain; with deep grief we were forced to acknowledge that his young spirit had taken its departure to another world. Poor little creature—at once so weak and so courageous—after having endured such a succession of disasters and sufferings with all a man's energy, he was thus removed from earth before his span of life was fulfilled, without uttering a complaint, and without his friend being able to receive his last sigh!

I cannot describe our sorrow, nor the poignant grief of the good purser. The loss of a being to whom he was so tenderly attached threw him into the most profound melancholy. It was with extreme difficulty, and, as it were, in spite of himself, that we tore him from the spot. We all forgot for the time our own misfortunes to give a last sigh to the memory of this tender victim of an unhappy fate.

We resumed our melancholy journey, but had not continued it above two hours when Robert Fitzgerald asked

for a shell full of water. I gave him one, which he drank with eagerness. He asked for a second, and drinking it with the same rapidity, threw himself on the ground and immediately expired. His body was left where he had sighed his last, and we who survived—our hearts steeled against the greatest misfortune—saw with a kind of apathy Fitzgerald's fate, as rather to be desired than dreaded in our terrible condition.

The same day, about four o'clock, William Fruel complained of great weakness, and seated himself upon the sand on the border of the sea. We quitted him to go in quest of wood and water, and told him we would return. Looking behind us when we had gone a few paces, we saw Fruel crawling along the ground in pursuit of us. After having vainly looked about for water, or a suitable place for our repose, we stretched ourselves on the ground to sleep. But first, remembering Fruel's condition, I returned to see if I could lead him. He was gone, having probably been seized and carried off by wild beasts.

We suffered terribly next day from want of water. Our mouths and the glands of our throats were extremely swollen. We were reduced to the utmost extremity. The miseries which we had previously endured were nothing in comparison with those that now overwhelmed us. On the second day the courageous purser and another of our troop expired. Our road was bordered on one side by rugged black hills, on the other by the sea; we were, therefore, compelled to sleep upon the shore. We found half a fish, which furnished each of us with a mouthful; some, however, would not eat it lest they should add to their sufferings.

Next day, two more of our comrades were reduced to the greatest feebleness. One of them, after making some few hundred paces, fell on the earth, not able to go any

farther. We clasped his hand sadly, and commending him to Heaven, left him to expire alone.

In a deep ravine we fell in with one of our crew stretched out dead, his face turned towards the earth, and his right hand cut off at the wrist. John Wormington, second mate, who had lost his clothes in crossing a river, took those of the corpse. We continued our route until nightfall, and having still no water, we suffered terribly in our agony of thirst.

The next day brought us no mitigation of our sufferings; another comrade fell, and was left where he fell. Evans, Wormington, and myself alone remained, and we were in a most deplorable condition. Our faculties were in a great measure benumbed; our sight and hearing were both affected, and the sun's heat, which struck full upon our heads, increased our misery.

Next morning our sufferings from thirst became so frightful that Wormington begged his comrades to draw lots that one of the three should be put to death, to afford the others a chance of safety in drinking his blood. My weakness was so great that I was now reduced to an almost childish simpleness. I burst into tears at Wormington's proposal, but refused to consent to it. Wormington, not feeling strong enough to go any farther, we shook hands with him and parted. A moment afterwards, while he could still perceive us, he shouted after us, thinking we might be able to save his life. He even rose and walked a few steps, but feeling that his attempts to rejoin us were useless, he stretched himself full length on the shore, deep-thrusting his right hand into the sand.

Spite of all our efforts, neither Evans nor myself could advance very quickly. About ten o'clock we descried in the distance what we took to be large birds. Invigorated by the sight, we cherished the hope of being able to

catch some of them. But judge of our surprise on drawing closer to find that these objects were really men! Almost blind, and reduced to imbecility, it was with difficulty we distinguished four of the purser's troop, from which they had separated. A young man named Price came to meet us, and restored us to life by telling us he would procure us some water.

Evans and myself informed our friends that all the men of our party were dead, except Wormington, whom we had been compelled to leave behind us. Two of them set out to look for Wormington—namely, Leary and Delasso—recommending the two others to prevent Evans and me from drinking too greedily, as several had died from this cause. But in our eagerness to quench our thirst we actually lay down in the stream itself. Price was compelled to cover up the water with sand. Then we withdrew into a hollow of the rock. They gave us some shell-fish, and we slept.

Leary and Delasso, having found Wormington, returned with him, and when Evans and myself awoke, we all related to each other the story of our sufferings. Leary said that after they had buried in the sand the captain's steward, they had been reduced to such a distressed condition that two men were sent to cut some pieces from his body for their support. But the two men, not recognizing the spot where it lay interred, were seeking for it when they happily lighted upon a young seal which had just been cast upon the shore, and was still bleeding, thus were they preserved from the frightful resource of feeding upon human flesh. They afterwards described to their comrades a curious method of procuring shell-fish. Having observed a large number of birds occupied in scratching the sand on the banks of a river, they discovered that they were digging up the

shell-fish which had buried themselves in the sand.

Evans now reminded us that the purser wore, when he died, very good clothes, and a comrade, named Dodge, resolved to go to the spot where the body was buried and remove them, as we stood in great need of the supply. Evans undertook to show him the way, and next morning both set out. In the evening Evans returned alone. Dodge had become so indolent, and walked so slowly, that if he himself had not quickened his steps, he would not have overtaken us. They were unable to find the purser's body; it is probable that the wild beasts had carried it off, and as we never again saw Dodge, he, doubtlessly, also became their prey.

The two following days were spent in collecting shell-fish. Afterwards we constructed a raft, and crossed the river; but it was with great difficulty, on account of its extreme breadth, and the force of the current which drew us out to sea. When we did gain the opposite bank, we beheld with surprise, mingled with alarm, the distance which we had drifted down owing to the violence of the tide.

We found upon the sandy bank the shell-fish that has the property of burying itself in the sand. It is of a triangular shape, about two inches long, and at one of its extremities terminates in a point, which it makes use of to dig its hole. It penetrates with singular rapidity through the damp sand, and it was not without difficulty we got hold of it.

Our party, now reduced to six in number, continued to traverse a desert country. In six days we arrived at the Schwartza River. The country began to assume a more smiling aspect. We even could discover huts at a considerable distance. Having accidentally set fire to the grass, we feared lest the conflagration should extend

with rapidity and arouse the natives. We experienced much trouble in extinguishing it.

Next day, after having crossed the river by swimming, we had the luck to find a dead whale on the strand. We took with us as much of the flesh as we could carry without inconvenience, and pursued our route. Then we passed the night in a small wood, where we found some water.

The next day, four of our little band returned to the dead whale, to obtain a further supply, leaving Delasso and Price to keep up the fire and collect wood. During our absence Price, who had penetrated into the coppice, observed, a few paces off, two men armed with guns. In alarm, he returned with all swiftness to the fire. The two men followed him.

They belonged to a Dutch establishment at no great distance, and were looking after cattle that had gone astray, when they discovered Price. Perceiving at the same time the smoke of the fire, they guessed that he came from that quarter, and accordingly pursued him. One of them, a Portuguese colonist, contrived at last to understand Delasso, who was an Italian. When he had heard his lamentable narrative, he besought Delasso to conduct him to his comrades. He found us engaged in cutting up the whale.

Battoris, for such was the name of the Portuguese, conducted us to his house, and gladly satisfied our most pressing wants. Our joy at this opportune aid it is impossible for one to describe; there are some emotions which no words can hope to embody. We were thrown into the most violent transports, with the greatest agitation. Some of us wept bitterly; others broke into unmeaning laughter; one danced with all the extravagant gestures of a madman. It was only by excessive physical activity we could relieve our overwrought minds. After

we had somewhat recovered ourselves, we found that we had reached the boundary of the Dutch territories, four hundred miles from the Cape of Good Hope. We were once more within the influence of civilized man.

The house where Battoris dwelt was not his property; it belonged to his master, named Roostoff, who, on learning our deplorable condition, and hearing of the miseries we had undergone, treated us with the utmost kindness. He gave us some bread and milk. After we had enjoyed our repast, he stretched some sacks for us upon the ground, where we flung ourselves full length, and soon tasted the sweets of a sound and unbroken slumber.

It was long since we had been accustomed to calculate the time. We had made at first some parallel notches on a stick for the days of the week, and some transverse ones for Sundays, but we had lost this stick in crossing a river. Days, weeks, months, then rolled by without our taking any account of them. We now learned that the day of our deliverance was the 29th of November. The shipwreck of the *Grosvenor* having taken place on the 4th of August, we had been 117 days accomplishing our painful journey. The sufferings which we endured seem now almost incredible to ourselves, and our ultimate salvation appears little short of a miracle.

Roostoff on the following day killed a sheep, which we ate at breakfast and dinner. Afterwards another Dutchman, named Quin, who lived nine miles from this place, brought a carriage, drawn by six horses, to conduct us to the Cape. Price, whose leg was bad, remained with Roostoff, the latter promising to take care of him until he was cured. The remainder of our band—we numbered now but five—travelled by uneven roads, and passed by two farms belonging to Quin, where we rested two days. We were thus conducted from one establish-

ment to another as far as Zwellendam, situated about a hundred miles from the Cape. Wherever we passed the night, the farmers assembled to listen to our melancholy history, and received us with the most cordial hospitality.

As England and Holland were now at war, the vice-governor of the colony, who resided at Zwellendam, retained us in this place until the return of the messenger whom he had despatched to the governor to learn his intentions with respect to our disposal. He received orders to send two of us on to Cape Town, and to keep the rest in charge at Zwellendam. Wormington and Leary accordingly quitted us. After undergoing a series of interrogations, they were sent on board a Dutch man-of-war to labour. Wormington having discovered one night that the quartermaster had fraudulently smuggled on board some pepper—a commodity over whose exportation the Dutch Government watched jealously—the quartermaster dreaded he might betray him, and put him, with his comrade, on board a vessel of the Danish Indian Company, then ready to sail. Thanks to this accident, they were the first to return to England.

Meanwhile, the Governor of the Cape humanely sent into the interior an expedition in search of our unhappy companions of the *Grosvenor*. It was composed of a hundred Europeans and three hundred Hottentots, followed by a great number of chariots, each drawn by eight oxen. The command was entrusted to Captain Miller. Delasso and Evans, who had entirely recovered, served as guides. I myself had not yet regained my strength, and Price had not arrived at Zwellendam. They took with them a quantity of glass ware and other trifles with which to bribe or reward the natives. Three sailors of the *Grosvenor*—Lewis, Hubberley, and a third whose name I forget—were successively picked up. Hubberley

was the servant of Shaw, the second mate. He told them that all the men of his troop had perished one after the other. He was travelling alone, and broken-hearted, when the Dutchmen met him.

At other points on the route the Dutchmen found seven lascars and two negresses, of whom one was Mrs. Logie's servant—Logie was the chief mate—and the other, Mrs. Hosea's, a passenger's wife. They learned from these that five days after the party to which I had belonged had quitted that including the captain and the women, the latter party also separated. As the natives now forbade the carriages to go farther, some of the Dutchmen rode forward on horseback for about fifteen leagues; but the Caffres continuing to harass them, they were compelled to renounce the enterprise, and return after an absence of three months.

The lascars were retained at Zwellendam, but myself and my comrades were now sent to Cape Town, where, after undergoing a long interrogatory in the presence of the governor, we obtained permission to return to Europe in a Danish ship which was in want of seamen.

Here ends the narrative of John Haynes.

The total number of persons who gained the shore after the *Grosvenor* struck was 134. Six reached the Dutch settlements, as we have seen; three Europeans, two negresses, and seven lascars were afterwards discovered, making a total of eighteen survivors, and of 116 persons dead, or whose fate was uncertain.

In a second expedition, the Dutchman Trout was met with, of whom Haynes has already informed us. He offered to conduct the caravan to the scene of the wreck. He stated that all who had reached the shore had perished, either through hunger or at the hands of the natives, and that nothing remained but the guns, some iron ballast,

and some lead. But as he was apprehensive of being brought back to the Cape, he did not keep his promise, and avoided his countrymen very carefully. They nevertheless repaired to the coast, and found that the spot where the *Grosvenor* had been wrecked was 447 leagues from the Cape, and four days' journey from the Rio de Lagoa. They could obtain no information of any of the individuals who had survived the catastrophe, except that the ship's cook had died of smallpox about two years before their arrival. The Caffres who dwelt in the neighbourhood showed much surprise that the Dutch had taken the trouble to come so great a distance, and promised that when such a calamity again occurred, they would assist and protect the sufferers, if they were promised, in return for their cares, a recompense in glass, copper, and iron. A solemn pledge to this effect was given them, and it appears that they were " men of their word ", from their friendly treatment of the crew of the *Hercules*. After this the caravan set out on its return to the Cape, and arrived there in January, 1791.

THE "ANTELOPE" ON PELEW ISLANDS (1783)

1. The Wreck

The *Antelope*, a packet belonging to the East India Company's service, commanded by Captain Henry Wilson, having arrived at Macao in June, 1783, received orders from the supercargo of the Company to refit with all possible speed. This was accordingly accomplished, and on the 21st of the following July, she again set sail. Her crew was composed of 23 Europeans, of a Bengalee interpreter, named Thomas Rose, and 16 Chinese—in all, 40 men.

The wind blew fresh after midnight on the 9th of August, and the sky was heavy with clouds; soon it thundered, it rained, it lightened. Mr. Benger, the chief mate, who commanded the watch, had brought down the topsails, and was about to take in a reef, not thinking it needful to call all hands on deck, or summon the captain. He thought that the storm would soon blow off and the weather clear; that, in fact, it was only one of the sudden hurricanes common in the Chinese seas. The men were stretched out on the yards taking in the reef, when the look-out man suddenly cried: "Breakers ahead!" The ship struck almost before the warning reached Mr. Benger's ears. An event so terrible dismayed the hearts

of all. The captain, and those who had been in their hammocks, ran upon deck to ascertain the cause of the shock that had aroused them, and of the agitation which evidently prevailed. A glance revealed to them their deplorable situation.

The breakers, which extend for a considerable distance, offer a fearful spectacle. The ship lying on her broadside soon fills with water up to the hatchways of the lower deck; then the crew assembles, gather round the captain, and solicit his instructions. He orders some to provide for the safety of the powder, shot, and fire-arms, and to store upon deck the bread and other provisions which the water might injure; others he directs to cut away the main- and mizzen-masts, the foretop-mast, and the lower yards, so as to lighten the ship and prevent her from foundering; finally, all hasten to do what they can for the preservation of the vessel, whose sails had been furled the moment she struck.

The boats were lowered, loaded with arms and provisions, and a compass placed in each; two men were ordered to keep them under the lee of the ship, and to take care that they received no damage by knocking against her side. These men were to hold themselves in readiness to receive the crew in case the *Antelope* should be dashed in pieces by the heavy swell of the sea and the violence of the wind which blew with furious strength. Everything that might be of utility in these trying circumstances was attended to with the most scrupulous exactness. The crew then reassembled on the quarter-deck, which was the part of the ship highest out of water, so that the bulwarks offered some slight shelter against wind and wave. Fatigue and despair depressed the spirits of these sturdy fellows. The captain, who was a man of unusual sagacity and firmness, partly revived their courage

by pointing out the hopes of safety they might reasonably entertain, while at the same time he made them feel the importance of preserving good feeling, harmony, and discipline in the labours necessitated by their situation. He obtained from them a pledge to drink no spirituous liquor, that drunkenness might not excite any enmity, variance, or disorder; this was an essential point. He afterwards commanded some refreshments to be issued, and each man received a glass of wine and some biscuit. After the biscuit was eaten, a second glass of wine was allowed, and each man awaited the dawn of day with composure, though anxiously hopeful it might discover land.

In these hours of inaction and uncertainty they consoled and encouraged one another, and recovered their energy and elasticity of spirit. Each man then dressed himself, and made ready to quit the ship as soon as the necessity arose. At length the welcome morning revealed to their impatient eyes a small island to the southward, distant about three or four leagues. It was not long before some other isles were discovered to the east; but then new subjects of alarm and apprehension disturbed the imagination. Who or what were the inhabitants? What their character and customs? They might be a wild and ferocious people, as perilous to them as shipwreck; and saved from Scylla they might yet fall into Charybdis. But despite of these natural fears the shallops were manned and set out under the guidance of Mr. Benger. While waiting their return those on board the ship dropped the yards into the water to form a raft for the common safety, as every minute the *Antelope* was expected to go to pieces, and much anxiety was felt in reference to the shallops, both on account of the islanders, of whom nothing was known, and of the bad weather and the still furiously blowing wind.

About noon, however, they perceived with indescribable joy the shallops returning. They brought good news; the island, where they had left five men and the provisions, was uninhabited. They had found fresh water and a haven well sheltered from bad winds. Every man redoubled his exertions to complete the raft, whose construction was already far advanced. As soon as it was finished another ration of bread and wine was served out, no one having violated the pledge given to the captain that he would not touch any spirituous liquor. Afterwards they again set to work, and loaded the raft with all the provisions and stores that it could carry without endangering the safety of the crew. The pinnace and gig were loaded in a similar manner. The fire-arms at this time were of the utmost importance to the general security.

Everything being ready for their departure, and the day drawing to a close, the unfortunate " shipwrecked " quitted the *Antelope*. The strongest and most agile took the raft in tow of the pinnace. The longboat in like manner towed the shallop until it had crossed the reef. When that was passed the crew of the shallop cut the tow-rope, because they found themselves too loaded to be of any great assistance, and the longboat pushed forward by itself to the shore. It was about eight o'clock in the evening when they arrived there. They were gladly received by the men who had been left on shore in the morning. Nor had these remained idle; after having cleared a piece of ground they had erected a tent with some sailcloth for the reception of their comrades.

Those on board the shallop and the raft found their position terrible enough until they had passed the reef. More than an hour was occupied in the transit. The violent shocks and jerks cast the two sometimes so far

apart that they lost sight of each other. The men on the raft were even obliged to bind themselves to the planks, and hold on with might and main, to prevent being washed away. The scene was rendered more horrible by the shrieks of the Chinese, who were not inured to the perils of the ocean. And spite of the most strenuous efforts it was found impossible to run the raft ashore. All that could be done was to take off her crew in the shallop, and moor her with a grapnel. And thus were the officers and men of the *Antelope* landed in safety on the Pelew Islands, a group of the Caroline Islands in the North Pacific.

2. Life on the Island

When the crew of the *Antelope* found themselves all assembled upon shore, joy brightened every countenance. Each man grasped his neighbour's hand with a truly British shake, each experiencing those tumultuous and confused emotions which not even the most energetic language can adequately express. A little cheese and biscuit, and some fresh water, composed their supper. With a loaded pistol discharged upon some cotton, they kindled a fire. They dried their clothes and then lay down side by side to sleep, sheltered by the tent which had been so providently erected. The night was very stormy, and Captain Wilson feared the ship would go to pieces before the most necessary articles had been selected and removed. The boats were hauled up on the shore, and a watch placed, that they might not be surprised by any aborigines from the neighbouring islands.

The next day the shallop was despatched to the raft, to tow it ashore, if possible. The wind was so violent that her crew feared to make the attempt, but succeeded in obtaining the remainder of the provisions and the

sails, and then returned at noon. The weather becoming calmer, a voyage was made to the ship, to procure some rice and other provisions. Those who remained ashore were occupied in drying the gunpowder and cleaning the fire-arms.

It was not until ten o'clock in the evening that the boats returned to the island. This long delay gave rise to much cruel anxiety, which was not dissipated until their safe arrival. The boatswain said it was impossible the ship could long resist the violence of the weather, and that all hope must be abandoned of getting her again afloat. This sad intelligence quenched all hopes of a speedy return. Troubled and heated minds looked upon themselves as sundered from the universe for ever, or given up to the cruelty of savage peoples. The thoughts of each recurred to those most dear to him, and whom he feared he should never see again; and such apprehensions and reflections contributed to render the night a very sorrowful one. On the following day, 12th August, as the breeze was too strong for the shallop to put to sea, they busied themselves with their future habitations, and prepared more commodious tents out of the materials they had wrested from the grasp of the ocean.

In the course of the morning, they perceived a piragua doubling a point of land to enter the bay. Everybody, in utter alarm, rushed to arms; but as soon as it was observed that she had but one companion, the captain ordered them to remain tranquil, and to reserve action until the intentions of the natives became suspicious. Taking with him Tom Rose, the interpreter, he marched towards that part of the shore which the piraguas were steering for. He bade Tom Rose address the islanders in the Malay tongue. The latter did not appear to understand, but checked their progress. But one of

them almost immediately afterwards inquiring whether they were friends or enemies, Tom Rose hastened to reply that they were friends, and the unfortunate crew of a wrecked ship. The islanders conversed awhile among themselves, the Malay who was with them explaining the reply he had just received. They immediately sprang into the water and came ashore. The captain went to meet them, embraced them in a most affectionate manner, conducted them to his tent, and presented them to his officers and his other companions in misfortune. These islanders were eight in number, and it was afterwards ascertained that among them were two of the king's brothers.

The captain invited them to breakfast with him, and treated them in the manner he thought best calculated to dissipate the fear and suspicion they had manifested on landing on the island. The Malay who accompanied them informed the English that he was formerly commander of a Chinese ship, and that he had been wrecked on the Pelew Islands about two months before; that the inhabitants of the islands [1] were of a gentle and humane disposition; and that the king had no sooner been apprised of the wreck than he had despatched the two piraguas to see if they could be of any use to the shipwrecked.

These details proved a great consolation to Captain Wilson's crew; and all thanked God that their lot had been cast among a people from whom they might hope for assistance. These islanders were of a deep olive colour, and clothed no part of the body. Their skin was smooth

[1] The amiable character attributed to the Pelew Islanders by Captain Wilson has been disputed by later voyagers, and it is certain they have behaved with dishonesty and cruelty to other shipwrecked crews. This would appear to be owing to the evil influence of the European whalers who have since frequented the islands, and introduced many of the worst vices of civilization. Moreover, Captain Wilson was a man of rare sagacity and firmness, kept his crew in a state of admirable discipline, and in all his relations with the islanders showed a just, generous, and equable disposition.

and shiny, because it was constantly rubbed with cocoa oil. Each chief carried in his hand a box of betel, and a well-polished and hollow bamboo, which contained the *chinam* or lime he mixed with the betel-root before chewing it. This masticatory blackened their teeth, and the red colour communicated to the saliva by the lime and betel rendered their mouths very disgusting; but they were people of an admirable disposition. Several parts of the body were tattoed. Their long black hair was simply rolled and elegantly fastened up behind. The only one among them who wore a beard was the king's youngest brother; the rest plucked out the hair of the chin by the root. They had never before seen any Europeans, and it was with great admiration they observed the white skin of the English. They felt curiously their tightly-fitting clothes, scarcely able to understand whether the man and his clothes were made of a different material. The first things at which they paused in their examination were the hands and the veins of the wrists. They supposed that the whiteness of the hands and face was artificially produced. Next, they asked the sailors to turn up their coat sleeves, that they might see whether the skin was of the same colour; and, finally, they begged for a glance at the body. All that they saw excited their astonishment.

On entering the English tents, one of them struck his foot against a cannon ball, which had been accidentally flung on the ground. He showed immediately his surprise at the great weight of so small an article. He pointed it out to the Malay, who explained its use, and gave him some idea of fire-arms. When they were near another tent, to which a couple of dogs had been fastened, these animals began to bark with all their might. This was another surprise. The islanders, who had never seen any other quadrupeds than rats, uttered cries as

bad as the canine barking, and were never weary of contemplating animals which appeared to them so extraordinary.

Captain Wilson and his people resolved to comply with the desire the natives had expressed by sending an Englishman to Pelew to see the king; he selected his brother, Mathias Wilson, who set out with a party of the islanders. He was instructed to present the king with a piece of blue cloth, a basket of tea, another of sugar candy, and a jar of bread. The latter article was added at the particular request of the king's two brothers, of whom the youngest accompanied Mathias Wilson. The other, who was named Rau-Kouk, remained, with a canoe, three islanders, and the Malay, who acted as interpreter. Rau-Kouk had formed a strong friendship for the English, and was evidently pleased with them; of a jovial and inquiring spirit, he wished to see everything, and always appeared in a good humour. He asked for a description of everything he saw, so as to imitate all they did. He made himself acquainted with the principles and causes of their operations, offering to aid them in their labours—even blowing the cook's fire. This prince was the general of the warriors of the king, his brother.

Two days after the departure of Mathias Wilson, two piraguas arrived with some boiled yams and cocoa-nuts. Arra-Kouker, another of the king's brothers, returned in one of the canoes, bringing with him his nephew, a young man about twenty years of age. This youth informed the castaways, through the two Malay interpreters, that his father, the *rupack* or king of the Pelew Islands, had heard with pleasure of their arrival in his dominions; and wished to assure them they were at liberty to build a ship on the island where they had taken up their residence,

unless they preferred repairing to that inhabited by himself and his people, to be under his immediate protection.

After these explanations, Captain Wilson anxiously inquired for news of his brother, whom he did not see. Arra-Kouker reassured him on this point, saying he had been delayed only by the winds, but was already on his route. In fact, Mathias Wilson soon appeared, and delighted his companions with fresh assurances of the good-will of the islanders. The following was his narrative of the excursion:

" As soon as the piragua that bore me approached the island occupied by the *rupack*, the people came in crowds to see me disembark; and Arra-Kouker conducted me to the village. A mat had been stretched upon a pavement of square stones, and he made me a sign to sit down there. It was not long before the king appeared. Warned by his brother, I rose to salute him in the oriental manner, but he paid no attention to the proffered homage. I presented him with the presents entrusted to me; he received them very graciously. He cut a little sugar candy, which he evidently approved of, and gave a portion to each of his chiefs. Afterwards, refreshments were served round; they consisted of a cocoa-nut filled with hot water which had been sweetened with molasses. After this had been tasted, he bade a young lad who was near him climb a cocoa-nut tree and gather some fresh nuts. He took one, removed the shell, tasted the milk, and gave it to the lad to present me, making me a sign to return it after I had drank. He then broke the nut in twain, ate a little, and handed the remainder to myself.

" I was then surrounded by a considerable crowd. The king held a long conversation with his brother and the chiefs who were present. Their glances, which often fell

upon me, assured me that I was the subject of their discourse. Removing my hat by accident, I caused the greatest surprise to the whole assembly. Perceiving this, I unbuttoned my waistcoat and removed my shoes to show them that they formed no part of my body, for such, I thought, was their first idea. In fact, as soon as they were disabused upon this point they came nearer to me, felt me carefully, and even placed their hands on my breast to handle the skin.

" Night now began to set in. The king, his brother, several chiefs, and myself retired to a house, where supper was served of yams boiled in water. The table was a species of stool surrounded with a border from three to four inches high. On a wooden platter was a kind of pudding, also made of boiled yams, crushed and beaten together; I saw also some shell-fish.

" After supper they conducted me into another house at a short distance from the first. I found there fifty persons of both sexes. I was conducted by a woman who, as soon as I had entered, signed to me to sit down or lie down on a mat extended for that purpose upon the chamber floor. It was my sleeping-place. When the rest of the company had satisfied their curiosity by surveying me from head to foot, each person retired to rest. I stretched myself on the mat and drew a second over me. My pillow, according to the custom of the country, was a log of wood."

Mathias Wilson, continuing his narrative, said that he passed the night in great fear, after seeing seven or eight men rise in silence and kindle two large fires at each end of the house. He thought that he had been ensnared by a cannibal tribe, and that they designed to roast him. He had nothing but a fright for his pains. On the morrow he was as kindly treated as on the preceding

day; he expressed his desire to return to *Oroulong* (the island where the English were established), but they pointed out that the piraguas could not put to sea while the winds blew so fiercely. He must be content to pass another night at Pelew.

Mathias Wilson's story, and the commission which the king had entrusted to his own son, confirmed the confidence of our shipwrecked crew. They accordingly formed the design of building a ship to carry them to the coast of China. They had not ceased to make frequent trips to the wrecked vessel, to collect whatever might prove useful in building a new ship and in arming her. At first, while Mathias Wilson was at Pelew, some natives had gone off to the *Antelope* and carried away some iron, broken the medicine chest, and tasted the drugs. Dissatisfied with their flavour, they had spilled them and carried off the empty vessels. Fortunately the doctor had removed the most useful medicaments when he quitted the vessel, thinking he should never see her again. Captain Wilson made Rau-Kouk acquainted with the event, not so much with a view of complaining as with a view of expressing his fear lest any of the islanders should be injured by swallowing a poisonous drug. Rau-Kouk replied that the captain need feel no concern on that account, as if any mishap took place it would be due to their own ill-conduct, but for himself he felt grievously annoyed. He added that if a similar attempt was made by any others, it would be justifiable to kill them. A few days afterwards he tabooed the wreck by placing some branches about it, as a sign it was to be respected, and none of the natives visited it again.

3. Incidents of Island Life

While the natives conducted themselves with so much honesty and wisdom, Captain Wilson, on his part, neglected nothing to preserve strict order and decorum among his men, who offered no opposition to any of the measures he thought it necessary to take. One of the most important, and that the one calculated to displease sailors most seriously, was his prohibition of all spirituous drink. This prohibition, in such circumstances, was a blow calculated to deprive a captain of all his authority; for after a shipwreck the sailors are bound to their commanders by no ties save those of good feeling and voluntary obedience.

Captain Wilson, in the first place, addressed his officers. He explained to them the certainty that drunkenness would give rise to frequent disputes, either among the crew or with the islanders. He alleged another motive for their common safety; the islanders, he said, having already found the way to the wreck, may discover some strong liquors, of which they will drink without discretion. Never having partaken of any such drink before, they will become furious, insult our men unrestrainedly, and fierce quarrels and a general disunion will be the consequence. All the officers approved the proposal, and assembled the crew to communicate it to them. It was unnecessary for the captain to insist very long on the importance of the measure; all replied immediately that they consented to the sacrifice required of them. In fine, they had the courage to cast all the liquors into the sea, and would not even drink a single glass for the last time.

On the following day, two boats were despatched to the *Antelope* at noon; but the bad weather forced Mr.

Benger to return with one of them. In the evening the pinnace came back loaded with iron, a bag of rice, and numerous other provisions. The English stated that they had found more than twenty piraguas filled with natives engaged in robbing the vessel, and that some of them were very wroth because their plunder had been taken from them. Rau-Kouk immediately sent his brother and his nephew in a canoe. They returned at night with the assurance that these islanders had been driven away.

But the number of the natives who visited them on their island insensibly increased. The gunpowder was dry, the fire-arms fit for service, but Captain Wilson considered it advisable to establish a regular guard at night, and relieve it every two hours. The crew was therefore divided into five watches, with an officer at the head of each to give the countersign, which was demanded from post to post every five minutes, so that there was always one person under arms. Having resolved to execute this project on the same night, Captain Wilson thought he would inform his guests of it, lest they should take alarm at the sudden appearance of armed patrols. He therefore invited them to come and see the guard, and posting the sentries. They saw with extreme pleasure the Europeans go through their exercise before setting out for their respective posts. A spectacle so novel undoubtedly would appeal to their imagination with great force.

Arra-Kouker, who had listened most attentively to the details he had received on the use and effect of our fire-arms, and concerning which he had probably conversed with his brother the general, appeared suddenly smitten with a new idea. He made his brother go forth with him, and pointed with his finger to the north and south. Then, wishing to imitate the report of the cannons, he

went—*pouh! pouh!* They afterwards retired, apparently in great contentment, to their sleeping tents; they had formed a project which in the end they carried into execution. What they had just seen gave them a high idea of the Europeans, and from this moment the islanders appeared to consider the English as people endowed with a power and with faculties that were extraordinary, of which they had never before formed an idea.

Arra-Kouker could not really accustom himself to wear trousers, but appeared exceedingly desirous to have a white shirt. One was given to him immediately. He had no sooner put it on than he began to leap and dance with so much joy as to amuse everybody by his ridiculous gestures and the contrast between the white linen and dark skin. This prince was verging on his fortieth year. He was of moderate stature, and so broad and fat that his width almost equalled his height. His gaiety was surprising, and he was always ready to imitate whatever he heard or saw. His whole exterior was so animated, so expressive, that the English, who comprehended nothing of what he said, seized with eagerness on the expression of his features and his pantomimic gestures as a means of understanding his meaning.

From the first moment of his perceiving a large Newfoundland dog, an animal which in his eyes was a natural phenomenon, he took great pleasure in visiting and feeding him. The dog, accustomed to see him so often, always showed a great delight in his company. He jumped, and frisked, and barked; and the prince, as pleased as the dog, began to imitate him—to leap, bark, and skip like him. He was a true child!

On the 15th of August the king of the Pelew Islands paid a visit to the English. A great number of shakenans or piraguas accompanied him.

Abba-Thulle, for such was the king's name, passed the night in the island with his *suite*. On the following day when the English visited him they found him very serious, even severe, and not having the communicative and well-pleased air of the preceding evening. The change caused them considerable anxiety. They were in his power, and they feared lest he might have formed some design inimical to their safety. Captain Wilson maintained a similar reserve. This painful situation lasted for some minutes. The cause, however, was very different from what the English imagined. Abba-Thulle and his brother had been discussing the evident superiority of the Europeans. They had especially felt how great an advantage their fire-arms gave them for offensive and defensive purposes over those with which Nature had provided them. They would have rejoiced if beings so favoured would have aided them in a war they had undertaken against some neighbouring islanders, but knew not how to demand such an act of grace, the English so imposed upon them. At length the king asked for five men armed with their muskets to accompany him in the expedition which he meditated. The captain, rejoiced to be of some service to a people whom it was his interest to conciliate, replied that he looked upon their enemies as his. This answer, when rendered by the interpreter, immediately brightened all their countenances, and made them shine with joy!

4. The Military Expedition

On the following day the king carried with him the five Englishmen whose help he had solicited, and a few days afterwards his grand expedition took place.

The fleet was composed of 150 piraguas, carrying more than 1000 combatants. The warriors were armed

with bamboo spears, about eight feet long, provided at the head with a barbed point of areca-nut. It was with these spears they fought in close combat; for more distant fighting they used much shorter ones. These they hurled with a stick about two feet long, in which there was a notch to receive the spear point. They held the other end of the spear—which, being of bamboo, is elastic—in the hand. Then they bent it, according to the distance of the object at which they aimed, and let it fly. In general the spears fell vertically upon the object singled out. The English present with this expedition embarked in five different canoes.

Before engaging in battle Rau-Kouk approached the town in his canoe and parleyed with the enemy for a few minutes. He was accompanied by one of the English auxiliaries, whom he had forewarned not to fire until a given signal. The foe having treated with great indifference the Pelew warrior's threats, the latter flung a spear, which was immediately returned. The English sailor fired immediately at this preconcerted signal, and a man fell dead. The enemy were panic-stricken by the mysterious event. Those on the shore took to flight, and the savages in the canoes flung themselves into the water to swim ashore. A few more muskets were fired and the victory was complete.

The islanders appeared overjoyed at their success, but reaped from it no other advantage than that of landing, cutting down a few cocoa trees, and bearing off some yams. The flotilla then returned to Pelew, where great rejoicings took place. The natives danced, and sang songs composed in honour of the occasion. The king sent back with every mark of honour the five auxiliaries who had gained the victory, and supplied them with an ampie stock of the best comestibles of the country.

5. The Ship is Built

During the king's expedition, the shipwrecked crew had not lost any time. They had removed from the *Antelope* everything which it was possible to carry away. They had fortified their encampment, and had begun the construction of the new ship. This last undertaking was the goal to which all their other labours tended; it was in the hope of regaining one day their beloved country that they combined all their strenuous efforts. Their friends of Pelew continued to visit them. Captain Wilson himself returned the king's visit, and remained with him several days. Abba-Thulle twice asked and obtained the assistance of a few armed men, and twice was again victorious, inspiring his enemies with a wholesome fear, which restored his former tranquillity.

At length the shipwrecked crew saw with joy the end of their persevering labours; the ship was finished. Abba-Thulle, who showed himself eager on all occasions to assist or amuse his guests, had the new vessel painted, and attended, with a great number of his subjects, the ceremony of her being launched. On his part, Captain Wilson, desirous of recognizing the goodwill of the inhabitants of Pelew, offered to the king all the tools he could possibly spare. The present was accepted with joy, and was, indeed, a treasure for men who knew of nothing but what Nature had spontaneously produced.

An English sailor, named Blanchard, came to the resolution of passing the remainder of his life on the Pelew Islands. At first his comrades regarded his project as a jest, and the captain, to turn him from it, brought forward every imaginable objection; but Blanchard replied seriously that his decision was taken, that he looked upon the inhabitants of Pelew as happy as men could be, and

that he wished to enjoy the same degree of happiness. He was, therefore, allowed to execute his design. The captain resolved to turn the man's resolution to his advantage and that of the English. He accordingly visited Abba-Thulle, and informed him that, out of gratitude for all the kindnesses he had lavished on his crew, he proposed to leave one of his followers behind him, to take care of the guns and other precious articles he intended to present to the king. Abba-Thulle was delighted with the offer. He welcomed Blanchard very warmly, and promised to make him a *rupack* or chief, to give him two wives, and a house and plantation. He assured him he would do all in his power to promote his happiness and welfare, and that he should always remain with him or his brother, Rau-Kouk. Blanchard persisted to the last in the resolution he had taken, and remained with the inhabitants of Pelew. Over his career, however, hangs an impenetrable cloud, but it may be supposed that he availed himself of the superior acquirements of the Englishman to become an important personage among his new compatriots.

Soon after this Abba-Thulle gave Captain Wilson one of the greatest marks of confidence which a father could give; he proposed that the captain should take to England one of his sons, who showed a lively desire to follow the Europeans, of whom all the islanders had formed the most exalted opinion. The king of Pelew, though simple as a man may well be who knows nothing but the laws of nature, possessed a stock of good sense, that guided him admirably in all his actions. In presence of the industry of the English, he had perceived all the inferiority of his own subjects, and had from the first nourished the design of despatching two of them to England when the ship sailed, that they might acquaint

themselves with European arts and sciences, and bring back their knowledge to benefit their countrymen. " My subjects," said he, through the Malay interpreter, " have a great respect for me, as they consider me not only their superior in rank, but in knowledge. However, since I have known the English and examined their capacity, I have often felt my own mediocrity, observing that the lowest of those whom you command enjoys talents and faculties of which I have not even an idea. I have therefore resolved," he continued, " to confide to your care my second son, Lee-Boo, that he may enjoy the advantage of improving himself in English society, and learning a multitude of things, which, on his return, may be of benefit to his country. One of the Malays who are at Pelew shall accompany him. My son," pursued the amiable Abba-Thulle, and Rau-Kouk and Arra-Kouker confirmed the eulogium, " is a young man of gentle and docile disposition, and of a mild and sensible character."

Captain Wilson assured him that he would treat the prince as if he were his own son. The answer greatly pleased the king, and the business was concluded.

On the 9th of November the ship was launched; she was named the *Oroulong*, from the island where she had been constructed. As the spectacle was a truly extraordinary one for the inhabitants of Pelew, they had been acquainted with the day fixed for it, and attended in great numbers. It was about seven in the morning when the *Oroulong* first floated, and as she swept into the water the English raised three hearty cheers, in which the natives sympathetically joined. The enthusiasm of the English could not, indeed, find adequate utterance in words, for the ship then riding securely before them was the bark destined to bear them to home, and loving glances, loving embraces!

The *Oroulong* was immediately warped into a basin expressly constructed for her, and as soon as she was securely moored, everybody went to breakfast, the king and the *rupacks* with the captain, and the *suite* with the English crew. That same day the anchors, masts, water-casks, and two guns were put on board; and during the night and the day following they laboured heartily to get the ship ready for sea. On the 11th, the king's son, the young Lee-Boo, arrived at the isle of Oroulong, to set out with the English; his father presented him to Captain Wilson, and afterwards to the other officers who were on shore. The young man approached them with an air so easy and so affable, his features exhibited a gaiety so innocent and so exceeding a sensibility, that everybody was immediately prejudiced in his favour, and felt for him a friendly interest which was afterwards fully justified by his conduct and character.

6. Departure from Pelew Islands

Before evening, on the 11th of November, the officers took leave of the king, and went on board the *Oroulong*, leaving on shore the captain, whom Abba-Thulle had earnestly entreated to stay the night. The king conversed much and earnestly with Lee-Boo, who was seated at his side; he gave him good advice respecting his conduct, and told him that he must thenceforth look upon Captain Wilson as his second father, and endeavour to gain his affection by attending to his wishes. Afterwards, addressing himself to the captain, he said, that when Lee-Boo was in England, he would see so many rare and beautiful objects as perhaps to escape from him in quest of all these novelties; but he trusted the captain would keep him closely under his eyes, and endeavour to moderate

the ardour of his youth. "I desire," he added, "that you will teach my son all he ought to know, and make of him an Englishman. I have thought much over this separation. I know that the distant countries he will traverse are very different from his own; he will be exposed to many dangers and many maladies unknown to us; he may die; I have prepared my soul for such a misfortune, for I know that death is the inevitable lot of all men, and that it matters little whether my son succumbs to it at Pelew or elsewhere. I am persuaded, from my knowledge of your humanity, that should he be ill you will take every care of him; and if any accident occurs which you could not guard against, do not let it hinder you, your brother, your son, or any of your countrymen from returning hither. I shall receive you and yours with the same friendship, and shall have the same pleasure in seeing you."

The captain repeated his assurances that he would regard Lee-Boo as his son; and desirous of giving some advice to Blanchard, whose situation was exactly the opposite of that of the young Lee-Boo, he caused him to be summoned. He then counselled him how to conduct himself towards the natives, and how he might instruct and serve them, either by working the iron which had been given to them or which might yet be extracted from the wrecked ship; or by taking care of the arms, shot, and gunpowder—a matter of the most serious importance. He engaged him never to go naked like the natives, because by always showing himself clothed in the fashion of his countrymen he would preserve a species of superiority which it was essential for him not to lose. To put him in a position to follow this advice, the captain gave him all the clothes he could spare.

In his final instructions our excellent captain did not

forget to enjoin upon him a regular performance of his religious duties, and to bid him remember the value of that Christianity whose principles had been so often inculcated in his hearing.

And lastly, he requested him to ask for anything which he thought might be useful or advantageous to him. He therefore requested one of the ship's compasses, and, as the pinnace was to be left behind, for her masts, sails, oars, and other furniture. The captain promised him all as soon as the *Oroulong* had been towed beyond the reef.

At daybreak, on the 12th of November, an English ensign was hoisted at the mainmast, and a cannon fired, to announce the ship's approaching departure. This signal having been explained to the king, he ordered the canoes to carry on board immediately the yams, cocoa-nuts, fresh fish, and other provisions which he had had prepared for the voyagers. Moreover, several shakenans belonging to the natives, loaded with a quantity of provisions, arrived from Oroulong. If they had also received all the presents brought by the *rupacks* of the north, our Englishmen might have provisioned a ship five or six times larger than their own.

As soon as the *Oroulong* was loaded, and ready for sea, a boat was sent ashore to fetch the captain. The latter then took Blanchard and the five sailors who had come ashore in the boat, into one of the chief's houses, and there, having repeated to Blanchard the advice he had previously given him, he knelt with his companions in devout thankfulness to God, and expressed their earnest gratitude for the Divine support under so many labours and dangers, and for the means and prospect of a speedy deliverance. During this act of piety the king and the chiefs, who had remained on the threshold,

observing all that passed and understanding its purport, maintained a profound and respectful silence.

The king, accompanying his son, went on board the *Oroulong* with Captain Wilson, attended by his brothers and several chiefs. The sails were then set. Although, through the provident care of Abba-Thulle, the ship was deeply loaded, a multitude of canoes surrounded her, and the natives implored the English to accept of the gifts they brought. It was vain to tell them the ship was more than amply provided, and could store away no more; each islander had his separate present, which must be entertained. "Take only this from me!" "This in remembrance of me!" "This for my sake!"

Several canoes paddled ahead of the *Oroulong*, to point out the safest channel; others were stationed along the reef, to indicate where the water was deepest. By means of these precautions the reef was safely passed.

As far as this, the king had accompanied his English friends on their voyage; and now, before calling his canoe alongside, he took his last farewell of young Lee-Boo, and gave him his blessing, which the prince received with every demonstration of affection and respect. Seeing Captain Wilson engaged in giving orders to his people, he waited until he was at liberty. Advancing towards him, he embraced him tenderly; his tearful eyes and altered voice evidenced the depth and sincerity of his emotion. He shook hands with every officer in the most cordial manner. "You are fortunate," he said to them, "because you are returning to your country; I, too, rejoice in your weal, but not the less do I grieve bitterly to see you depart!" Then bidding every one good speed, he entered his canoe. Almost all the chiefs on board left the vessel at the same time. A pair of pistols was given to Rau-Kouk, and the pinnace rowed off with Blanchard.

It was then the 12th of November. The *Oroulong* continued her voyage prosperously, and anchored at Macao on the 30th of the same month. There she was disposed of. Captain Wilson and his crew repaired to Canton, and embarked on board a British ship for England.

Lee-Boo, after a brief but pleasant experience of English life, during which his gentle disposition, his intelligence, and naturally pleasing manners, secured him " golden opinions ", died at London, of smallpox. Seeing his last hour approaching, he faltered out to Mr. Sharp, the surgeon in attendance on him: " Good friend, when you visit my country, tell my father that Lee-Boo took much medicine-drink to drive away the smallpox, but that he died. Ah, good captain, good mother!"—alluding to his devoted friends and patrons, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson. " Oh, I am sorry that I cannot tell Abba-Thulle of all the beautiful things which this country contains!"

And so he died.

THE MUTINY OF THE "BOUNTY"

(1787)

It was represented to the British Government in 1787 that the introduction of the bread-fruit tree recently discovered at Tahiti and other Polynesian islands, into the West Indian settlements could not fail to be attended with great advantages to their inhabitants. The ministry therefore determined that an expedition should be organized for this purpose, and its organization was entrusted to Sir Joseph Banks, the friend of Cook, who was practically acquainted with the properties of the famous plant. A stout, well-built merchant vessel of 215 tons was bought by Government, and enrolled in the Royal Navy by the appropriate name of the *Bounty*. Lieutenant William Bligh, who had attended Cook in one of his celebrated voyages, was appointed to her command; and she was furnished with a complement of one master, three warrant officers, one surgeon, two master's mates, two midshipmen, and thirty-four petty officers and seamen. Two scientific assistants were selected to take charge of the bread-fruit plants that would be collected.

> " The bread-tree which, without the ploughshare, yields
> The unreaped harvest of unfurrowed fields;
> And bakes its unadulterated loaves
> Without a furnace in unpurchased groves."

The *Bounty* sailed from Spithead on the 23rd of

December, 1787. Her voyage began with an evil augury —a terrible tempest, which raged from the 26th to the 29th, and so damaged the vessel that her commander judged it prudent to put into Teneriffe to refit and obtain additional stores. Santa Cruz was gained on the 5th of January, and quitted on the 10th. And now Lieutenant Bligh made arrangements for the better discipline and management of the crew, by dividing them into three watches, of which the third was entrusted to an able and energetic young officer, destined to play a conspicuous part in this narrative—Fletcher Christian, one of the master's mates.

Towards the close of March, 1788, the *Bounty* was off Cape Horn, tossing to and fro in stormy seas, beaten about by adverse winds, and vexed by incessant tempests of hail and sleet. She braved this contrary weather for nine days; and her commander, despairing of doubling the Cape at so unfavourable a season of the year, bore away for the Cape of Good Hope, " to the great joy of every person on board ". At their wished-for haven they arrived on the 23rd of May, and remained there for eight-and-thirty days, refitting their vessel, and taking on board a fresh supply of provisions. They sailed again on the 1st of July, and anchored in Adventure Bay, Van Diemen's Land, for wood and water, on the 20th of August.

On the evening of the 25th of October, the *Bounty* hove in sight of the verdurous hills, the smiling meadows, the " bosky glades ", and richly wooded shores of the beautiful Tahiti—the queen island of the Polynesian seas—

> " Where all partake the earth without dispute,
> And bread itself is gathered as a fruit;
> Where none contest the fields, the woods, the streams.
> The goldless age, where gold disturbs no dreams,

Inhabits or inhabited the shore,
Till Europe taught them better than before,
Bestowed her customs, and amended theirs,
But left her vices also to their heirs."

On the day following, the *Bounty* entered the noble sweep of Matavai Bay, after a course of 27,086 miles, at an average rate of progress of 108 miles daily.

Tahiti, we have said elsewhere,[1] was then the sailor's paradise, the fortunate isle in whose abundant pleasure he compensated himself for the toil and weariness of his long sea wanderings. Its inhabitants were hospitable, generous, and warm-hearted. Its groves were shadowy, its hills were pleasant; the climate, tempered by cool ocean winds, was genial and healthy. Cocoa-nuts and shaddocks, plantains and bread-fruit trees, were among the natural luxuries the island profusely afforded. No marvel that to the English sailor Tahiti seemed a joyous Eden, a delightful isle of bowers and gardens, where all the women were beautiful, and all the men frank, hospitable, and true.

The English were welcomed by the Tahitians with unaffected courtesy and genuine pleasure. As soon as the ship was anchored, Lieutenant Bligh went on shore with the chief, Poeeno, passing through a walk delightfully shaded with bread-fruit trees to his own house, where his wife and sister were employed staining a piece of cloth red. They desired him to sit down on a mat, and pressed upon him refreshments. He was afterwards introduced to several natives, who all behaved with that grave decorum and dignified politeness so often the characteristics of the "untutored savage". When Lieutenant Bligh took his leave, the women rose from their seats, attired him in the Tahitian fashion with some of their

[1] *Famous Ships of the British Navy*, p. 100.

finest cloth and a mat, and then attended him to the beach. On all future occasions they displayed the same politeness and true gentleness of breeding. Once, having exposed himself too much in the sun, the English ambassador was taken ill; whereupon all the powerful people, he says, both men and women, collected round us, offering their assistance. "For this short illness I was made ample amends by the pleasure I received from the attention and appearance of affection in these kind people."

Nor was a less hospitable reception accorded to the officers and crew of the *Bounty*. In the course of two or three days there was scarcely a man in the ship who had not secured his *tayo*, or friend, and who did not repose in the undisturbed enjoyment of luxurious ease, indolence, and pleasant companionship. "Every house was free to the footsteps of every Englishman, and it would seem that the Tahitians must have conspired to render the residence of Bligh and his companions in their beautiful island an uninterrupted holiday."

The lieutenant, in his published *Journal* of this unfortunate voyage,[1] furnishes a glowing description both of Tahiti and the Tahitians. The former he speaks of as a perfect Arcadia, one of the

"Summer-isles of Eden lying in dark-purple spheres of sea"
—TENNYSON;

and grows warmly eloquent when he describes its hills and groves, its crystal streams, its bowery hollows, its luxuriant plantations of bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees.

The Tahitians themselves he clothes with almost every virtue. There is a candour and sincerity about them, he says, which are quite delightful. Their manners were easy without being intrusive, and dignified without being

[1] *Journal of the Voyage of the "Bounty" in the South Seas*, by Lieut. W. Bligh.

formal. Some of them, indeed, were unfortunately addicted to petty stealing, but the majority were as honest as they were hospitable, and as frank as they were generous. The children of earth, as yet uncivilized or mature, they passed their lives in a round of innocent pastimes. The youthful islanders indulged in flying kites, in swinging on ropes suspended from the boughs of trees, in walking on stilts, in wrestling, and playing " all manner of antic tricks, such as are common to boys in England". The favourite amusement of the girls was the dance called *heivah*. On an evening, just before sunset, the entire line of beach opposite the ship was as glittering and gay as a parade, thronged with men, women, and children, who went on with their sports until darkness gathered in, and then peaceably returned to their homes. At such times, we are told, from three hundred to four hundred people would assemble together, " all happily diverted, good-humoured, and affectionate to one another, without a single quarrel having happened to disturb the harmony that existed among these amiable people." Both boys and girls are spoken of as having been sprightly and handsome.

Either this picture is greatly exaggerated, or Tahiti, before the advent of European civilization, must have realized that Arcadia, which was thought to exist only in the pages of the poets. We may not unreasonably conclude, that much of this glowing romance and splendid colouring was due to the impressions made on the minds of wave-worn wanderers by scenes and characters so wholly unlike the scenes and characters of Europe.

However this may be, so Elysian a life could not be prolonged beyond certain limits. The *Bounty* had arrived at Otaheite on the 26th of October, 1788. Her departure was fixed for the 4th of April, 1789. In the

interval Lieutenant Bligh had collected a vast number of healthy and vigorous bread-fruit trees, which were placed in 724 pots, 39 tubs, and 24 boxes. The number of bread-fruit plants was 1015, besides which he had collected a number of other plants. The *avee*, one of the finest flavoured fruits in the world; the *ayyah*, a fruit not so rich, but of a fine flavour and very refreshing; the *rattah*, not much unlike a chestnut, which grows on a large tree in great quantities; they are found singly in large pods, from one to two inches broad, and may be eaten raw, or boiled in the same manner as Windsor beans, and so dressed are equally good; and the *orai-ab*, described as " a very superior kind of plantain ".

After threading her course among the different islets of this many islanded sea, the *Bounty* dropped anchor at Anamooka, on the 23rd of April. Here Bligh landed to procure some fresh plants in the place of those that were dead or dying, and made various purchases of fowls, hogs, yams, and shaddocks. Then the *Bounty* turned her prow towards the north, favoured by light winds and a smooth sea. On the morning of the 28th of April she sailed past Tofoa, the north-westernmost of the Friendly Islands; the ship " in perfect order ", the officers and crew in excellent health, the plants in " a most flourishing condition ", and everything apparently promising a happy conclusion to a fortunate voyage. The great obstacle, however, to such a consummation appears to have been Lieutenant Bligh himself, who, as a rigid disciplinarian, and a man of harsh and overbearing disposition, knew not how to secure the respect and esteem of those he commanded. The consequence was, at an unexpected moment, the occurrence of that catastrophe which, in the annals of the navy, has always been so well remembered as " the Mutiny of the *Bounty* ".

The details of this remarkable event may best be given in Lieutenant Bligh's own words, correcting his exaggerations and misstatements from the narratives of the other actors in, or witnesses of, the deplorable drama. We shall correct, moreover, some occasional crudities of style.

" In the morning of the 28th of April," says Lieutenant Bligh, " I made the north-westernmost of the Friendly Islands, called Tofoa, bearing north-east, and was steering to the westward with a ship in most perfect order, all my plants in a most flourishing condition, all my men and officers in good health; and, in short, everything to flatter and ensure my most sanguine expectations. On leaving the deck I gave directions for the course to be steered during the night. The master had the first watch, the gunner the middle watch, and Mr. Christian the morning watch. This was the turn of duty for the night.

" Just before sun-rising, on Tuesday the 28th, while I was yet asleep, Mr. Christian, officer of the watch; Charles Churchill, ship's corporal; John Mills, gunner's mate; and Thomas Burkitt, seaman, came into my cabin, and, seizing me, tied my hands with a cord behind my back, threatening me with instant death if I spoke or made the least noise. I called, however, as loud as I could, in hopes of assistance; but they had already secured the officers, who were not of their party, by placing sentinels at their doors. There were three men at my cabin door, besides the four within; Christian had only a cutlass in his hand, the others had muskets and bayonets. I was hauled out of bed, and forced on deck in my shirt, suffering great pain from the tightness with which they had tied my hands behind my back, held by Fletcher Christian and Charles Churchill, with a bayonet at my

breast, and two men, Alexander Smith and Thomas Burkitt behind me, with loaded muskets cocked, and bayonets fixed. I demanded the reason of such violence, but received no other answer than abuse for not holding my tongue. The master, the gunner, Mr. Elphinstone, the master's mate, and Nelson, were kept confined below; and the fore-hatchway was guarded by sentinels. The boatswain and carpenter, and also Mr. Samuel, the clerk, were allowed to come upon deck, where they saw me standing abaft the mizzen-mast, with my hands tied behind my back, under a guard, with Christian at their head. The boatswain was ordered to hoist the launch out, with a threat, if he did not do it instantly, to take care of himself.

" When the boat was out, Mr. Hayward and Mr. Hallet, two of the midshipmen, and Mr. Samuel, were ordered into it. I demanded what their intention was in giving this order, and endeavoured to persuade the people near me not to persist in such acts of violence, but it was to no effect. ' Hold your tongue, sir, or you are dead this instant,' was constantly repeated to me.

" The master by this time had sent to request that he might come on deck, which was permitted, but he was soon ordered back again to his cabin. When I exerted myself in speaking loud, to try if I could rally any with a sense of duty in them, I was saluted with oaths, and an order to ' blow his brains out '; while Christian was threatening me with instant death if I did not hold my tongue.

" I continued my endeavours to turn the tide of affairs, when Christian changed the cutlass which he had in his hand for a bayonet that was brought to him, and, holding me with a strong gripe by the cords that tied my hands, he threatened, with many oaths, to kill me immediately

if I would not be quiet. The villains round me had their pieces cocked, and bayonets fixed. Particular persons were called on to go into the boat, and were hurried over the side; whence I concluded that with these people I was to be set adrift. I therefore made another effort to bring about a change, but with no other effect than to be threatened with having my brains blown out.

" The boatswain and seamen who were to go into the boat were allowed to collect twine, canvas, lines, sails, cordage, an eight-and-twenty gallon cask of water; and Mr. Samuel got 150 lb. of bread, with a small quantity of rum and wine, also a quadrant and compass, but was forbidden, on pain of death, to touch either map, ephemeris, book of astronomical observations, sextant, time-keeper, or any of my surveys or drawings.

" The mutineers having forced those of the seamen whom they meant to get rid of into the boat, Christian directed a dram to be served to each of his own crew. I then unhappily saw that nothing could be done to effect the recovery of the ship. There was no one to assist me, and every endeavour on my part was answered with threats of death.

" The officers were next called upon deck, and forced over the side into the boat, while I was kept apart from every one, abaft the mizzen-mast, Christian, armed with a bayonet, holding me by the bandage that secured my hands. The guard round me had their pieces cocked; but, on my daring the ungrateful creatures to fire, they uncocked them.

" Isaac Martin, one of the guard over me, I saw had an inclination to assist me, and, as he fed me with shaddock (my lips being quite parched), we explained our wishes to each other by our looks; but this being observed, Martin was removed from me. He then attempted to

leave the ship, for which purpose he got into the boat, but, with many threats, they obliged him to return.

"The armourer, Joseph Coleman, and two of the carpenters, M'Intosh and Norman, were also kept contrary to their inclination; and they begged of me, after I was astern in the boat, to remember that they declared they had no hand in the transaction. Michael Byrne, I am told, likewise wanted to leave the ship.

"It is of no moment for me to recount my endeavours to bring back the offenders to a sense of their duty. All I could do was by speaking to them in general; but it was to no purpose, for I was kept securely bound, and no one except the guard suffered to come near me.

"To Mr. Samuel (clerk) I am indebted for securing my journals and commission, with some material ship-papers. Without these I had nothing to certify what I had done, and my honour and character might have been suspected, without my possessing a proper document to have defended them. All this he did with great resolution, though guarded and strictly watched. He attempted to save the time-keeper, and a box with my surveys, drawings, and remarks for fifteen years past, which were numerous, when he was hurried away with an oath, and the exclamation: 'You are well off to get what you have.'

"It appeared to me that Christian was some time in doubt whether he should keep the carpenter or his mates. At length he determined on the latter, and the carpenter was ordered into the boat. He was permitted, but not without some opposition, to take his tool-chest.

"Much altercation took place among the mutinous crew during the whole business. Some swore, and said: 'He will find his way home, if he gets anything with him'; and when the carpenter's chest was carrying away: 'The fellow will have a vessel built in a month;' while

others laughed at the helpless situation of the boat, being very deep, and so little room for those who were in her. As for Christian, he seemed as if meditating destruction on himself and everyone else.

" I asked for arms, but they laughed at me, and said I was well acquainted with the people among whom I was going, and therefore did not want them; four cutlasses, however, were thrown into the boat after we were veered astern.

" The officers and men being in the boat, they only waited for me, of which the master-at-arms informed Christian, who then said: ' Come, Captain Bligh, your officers and men are now in the boat, and you must go with them; if you attempt to make the least resistance, you will instantly be put to death;' and without further ceremony, with a tribe of armed ruffians about me, I was forced over the side, when they untied my hands. Being in the boat, we were veered astern by a rope. A few pieces of pork were thrown to us, and some clothes, also the cutlasses I have already mentioned; and it was then that the armourer and carpenters called out to me to remember that they had no hand in the transaction. After having undergone a great deal of ridicule, and been kept for some time to make sport for these unfeeling wretches, we were at length cast adrift in the open ocean.

" I had with me in the boat eighteen persons, and there remained in the *Bounty* twenty-five seamen, who were the most able of the ship's company.

" Christian, the chief of the mutineers, is of a respectable family in the north of England. This was the third voyage he had made with me; and as I found it necessary to keep my ship's company at three watches, I had given him an order to take charge of the third, his abilities

being thoroughly equal to the task, and by this means the master and gunner were not at watch and watch.

"Hayward (midshipman) is also of a respectable family in the north of England, and a young man of abilities as well as Christian. These two had been objects of my particular regard and attention, and I had taken great pains to instruct them, having entertained hopes that, as professional men, they would have become a credit to their country.

"Young (midshipman) was well recommended, and had the look of an able, stout seaman; he, however, fell short of what his appearance promised. Stewart (midshipman) was a young man of creditable parents in the Orkneys; at which place, on the return of the *Resolution* from the South Seas in 1780, we received so many civilities, that, on that account only, I should gladly have taken him with me; but independent of this recommendation, he was a seaman, and had always borne a good character.

"Notwithstanding the roughness with which I was treated, the remembrance of past kindness produced some signs of remorse in Christian. When they were forcing me out of the ship, I asked him if this treatment was a proper return for the many instances he had received of my friendship. He appeared disturbed at my question, and answered, with much emotion: 'That, Captain Bligh, that is the thing; I am in hell! I am in hell!'

"As soon as I had time to reflect, I felt an inward satisfaction which prevented any depression of my spirits; conscious of my integrity and anxious solicitude for the good of the service in which I had been engaged, I found my mind wonderfully supported, and I began to conceive hopes, notwithstanding so heavy a calamity, that I should one day be able to account to my king and country

for the misfortune. A few hours before, my situation had been peculiarly flattering. I had a ship in the most perfect order, and well stored with every necessary both for service and health; by early attention to these particulars, I had, as much as lay in my power, provided against any accident in case I could not get through Endeavour Straits, as well as against what might befall me in them; add to this, the plants had been successfully preserved in the most flourishing state, so that, upon the whole, the voyage was two-thirds completed, and the remaining part, to all appearance, in a very promising way, every person on board being in perfect health, to establish which was ever amongst the principal objects of my attention.

" It will very naturally be asked: What could be the reason for such revolt? In answer to which, I can only conjecture that the mutineers had flattered themselves with the hopes of a more happy life among the Otaheitans than they could possibly enjoy in England; and this, joined to some female connections, most probably occasioned the whole transaction. The ship, indeed, while within our sight, steered to the W.N.W., but I considered this only as a feint; for when we were sent away, ' Huzza for Otaheite!' was frequently heard among the mutineers.

" The women of Otaheite are handsome, mild, and cheerful in their manners and conversation, possessed of great sensibility, and have sufficient delicacy to make them admired and beloved. The chiefs were so much attached to our people that they rather encouraged their stay among them than otherwise, and even made them promises of large possessions. Under these and many other attendant circumstances equally desirable, it is now, perhaps, not so much to be wondered at, though scarcely possible to have been foreseen, that a set of sailors—most of them void of connections—should be led away,

especially when, in addition to such inducements, they imagined it in their power to fix themselves in the midst of plenty on one of the finest islands in the world, where they need not labour, and where the allurements of dissipation are beyond anything that can be conceived. The utmost, however, that any commander could have supposed to have happened is, that some of the people would have been tempted to desert. But to assert that a commander must guard against an outburst of mutiny and piracy in his own ship, besides attending to the ordinary rules of service, is equivalent to saying that he must sleep locked up, and, when awake, be girded with pistols.

"Desertions have happened, more or less, from most of the ships that have visited the Society Islands, but it has always been in the commander's power to make the chiefs return their people. The knowledge, therefore, that it was unsafe to desert perhaps led mine to consider with what ease so small a ship might be surprised, and that they might never again have so favourable an opportunity.

"The secrecy of this mutiny is beyond all conception. Thirteen of the party who were with me had always lived forward among the seamen, yet neither they nor the messmates of Christian, Stewart, Hayward, and Young, had ever observed any circumstance that excited in their minds the least suspicion. To such a close-planned act of villainy, my mind being entirely free from any doubt or apprehension, it is not wonderful that I fell a sacrifice. Perhaps, if there had been marines on board, a sentinel at my cabin door might have prevented it, for I slept with the door always open, that the officer of the watch might have access to me on all occasions, the possibility of such a conspiracy being ever

the farthest from my thoughts. Had their mutiny been occasioned by any grievance, either real or imaginary, I must have discovered symptoms of their discontent, which would have put me on my guard. But the case was far otherwise. With Christian, in particular, I was on the most friendly terms; that very day he was engaged to have dined with me; and the preceding night he excused himself from supping with me, on pretence of being unwell, for which I felt concerned, having no suspicion of his integrity and honour."

Such is Lieutenant Bligh's narrative of this remarkable transaction. Let us compare it with that which is furnished by Morrison, the boatswain's mate.

He represents the commander—and undoubtedly with great justice—as a rigid disciplinarian, and a man of coarse and overbearing temper, who had very little regard for the feelings of his officers or the comfort of his crew. He appears to have stinted them in their provisions, and, being purser as well as commander, too often supplied provisions of a very inferior quality. Thus, on one occasion when the men objected to make their repast upon some decayed pumpkins which he had purchased at Teneriffe, he rushed upon deck, in a violent outburst of temper, turned the hands up, and, ordering the first man in each mess to be called by name, exclaimed, " I'll see who will dare to refuse these pumpkins, or anything else I may order to be served out;" adding, " You scoundrels! I'll make you eat grass, or anything you can catch, before I have done with you."

He would seem to have behaved to Fletcher Christian, a young man of considerable talent but impetuous disposition, with special harshness. Thus, on the 23rd of April, when the *Bounty* was anchored off Anamooka, a party was sent on shore, under the command of Chris-

tian, to procure a supply of wood and water. The natives, however, received them with hostile demonstrations, threatening them with their clubs and spears. Bligh had given orders that no person should affront them on any occasion, and they had, therefore, become emboldened by meeting with no check to their insolence. At length they grew so troublesome that Mr. Christian found it difficult to carry on his duty; but when he acquainted his commander with their behaviour, he "received a volley of abuse, was censured as a cowardly rascal, and asked if he were afraid of naked savages while he had weapons in his hand? To this he replied in a respectful manner, 'The arms are of no effect, sir, while your orders prohibit their use.'"

The actual cause of the mutiny seems to have been the following incident, which is in itself a significant illustration of Bligh's arbitrary coarseness and ungovernable tongue. It is thus related by an eye-witness:

"In the afternoon of the 27th Lieutenant Bligh came upon deck, and missing some of the cocoa-nuts which had been piled up between the guns, said they had been stolen, and could not have been taken away without the knowledge of the officers, all of whom were sent for and questioned on the subject. On their declaring that they had not seen any of the people touch them, he exclaimed, 'Then you must have taken them yourselves;' and proceeded to inquire of them separately how many they had purchased. On coming to Mr. Christian, that gentleman answered, 'I do not know, sir, but I hope you do not think me so mean as to be guilty of stealing yours.' Mr. Bligh replied, 'Yes, I do; you must have stolen them from me, or you would be able to give me a better account of them;' then turning to the other officers, he said,

' You are all thieves alike, and combine with the men to rob me. I suppose you will steal my yams next; but I'll sweat you for it, you rascals; I'll make half of you jump overboard before you get through Endeavour Straits.' This threat was followed by an order to the clerk ' to stop the villains' grog, and give them but half a pound of yams to-morrow; if they steal them, I'll reduce them to a quarter.' " It is not difficult to understand, when insinuations so shameful and language so gross were lavished by a commander upon his unfortunate subordinates, the force and meaning of Christian's reply to the lieutenant, " That—that is the thing! I am in hell! I have been in hell for a fortnight!"

We are also informed that when Bligh was convinced he must really go in the boat, he dropped his customary haughtiness of behaviour, and implored Christian to relent, saying, " I'll pawn my honour, I'll give my bond, Mr. Christian, never to think of this if you'll desist," and spoke of the misery which would in all probability be inflicted on his wife and children. Christian, it is said, replied, " No, Captain Bligh, if you had had any honour things would not have come to this pass; and if you had any regard for your wife and family you should have thought of them before, and not behaved so much like a villain." An effort was made by the boatswain to conclude a peaceful arrangement, but Christian fiercely exclaimed, " It is too late! I have been in hell for this fortnight past, and am determined to bear it no longer; and you know, Mr. Cole, that I have been used like a dog all the voyage."

According to Morrison—the authority already quoted —the mutiny was no premeditated crime, but the sudden conception of an overwrought mind, carried out by a determined will. He asserts that Christian himself gave

the following narrative of the occurrence in which he played so fatally conspicuous a part:

"Finding himself much hurt by the treatment he had received from Lieutenant Bligh, he had determined to quit the ship the preceding evening, and had informed the boatswain, carpenter, and two midshipmen (Stewart and Hayward) of his intention to do so; that by them he was supplied with part of a roasted pig, some nails, beads, and other articles of trade, which he put into a bag that was given him by the last-named gentleman; that he put this bag into the clew of Robert Tinkler's hammock, where it was discovered by that young gentleman when going to bed at night; but the business was smothered, and passed off without any further notice. He said he had fastened some staves to a stout plank, with which he intended to make his escape; but, finding that he could not effect it during the first and second watches, as the ship had no way through the water, and the people were all moving about, he lay down to rest about half-past three in the morning; that when Mr. Stewart called him to relieve the deck at four o'clock, he had just fallen asleep, and was much out of order, upon observing which Mr. Stewart strenuously advised him to abandon his intention; that as soon as he had taken charge of the deck he saw Mr. Hayward, the mate of his watch, lie down on the arm-chest to take a nap; and finding that Mr. Hallet, the other midshipman, did not make his appearance, he suddenly formed the resolution of seizing the ship.

"Disclosing his intention to Matthew Quintal and Isaac Martin, both of whom had been flogged by Lieutenant Bligh, they called up Charles Churchill, who had also tasted the cat, and Matthew Thompson, both of whom readily joined in the plot; that Alexander Smith (*alias* John Adams), John Williams, and William M'Koy

evinced an equal willingness, and went with Churchill to the armourer, of whom they obtained the keys of the arm-chest, under pretence of wanting a musket to fire at a shark, then alongside; that, finding Mr. Hallet asleep on an arm-chest in the main hatchway, they roused and sent him on deck.

"Charles Norman, meanwhile unconscious of their proceedings, had awaked Mr. Hayward, and directed his attention to the shark, whose movements he was watching at the moment that Mr. Christian and his confederates came up the fore-hatchway, after having placed arms in the hands of several men who were not aware of their design. One man, Matthew Thompson, was left in charge of the chest, and he served out arms to Thomas Burkitt and Robert Lamb. Mr. Christian said he then proceeded to secure Lieutenant Bligh, the master, gunner, and botanist."

Such are the principal details of the mutiny of the *Bounty*—a mutiny which is completely *sui generis*, and not to be parallelled with any similar event in the annals of the British Navy. It is evident that a large portion of the crew was ripe for revolt, or a scheme so suddenly conceived could never have been so easily developed; and it is difficult to avoid concluding that the calamity resulted from Lieutenant Bligh's intolerant temper and lack of kindly and courteous feeling.

Our story will now divide itself into two sections:
1. *The Fate of the Boat's Crew and Lieutenant Bligh;*
2. *The Fate of the Mutineers.*

1. The Fate of the Boat's Crew and Lieutenant Bligh

Whatever the defects of Lieutenant Bligh as a commander, and however great his incapacity *to manage men* —the latter, by the way, a faculty which is given to few, and belonging indisputably to the higher order of minds alone—it is impossible to deny him the possession of a rare courage, a remarkable intrepidity, and a consummate power of endurance. If it was owing to his conspicuous mental defects that the mutiny of the *Bounty* became a fact, it was no less owing to his prudence and bravery that the boat's crew, abandoned by the mutineers to the mercy of wind and wave, escaped their myriad perils, and arrived at a friendly port in safety. Their voyage is a tale of extraordinary interest, as the reader may judge from the following condensed summary:

The provisions supplied for the lieutenant and his eighteen followers consisted of 150 lb. of bread, 32 lb. of pork, 6 bottles of wine, 6 quarts of rum, and 28 gallons of water. Four empty casks were also stored on board.

To increase this scanty store, Bligh made, in the first place, for the island of Tofoa in search of cocoa-nuts and plantains. He obtained but a small supply, sufficient, however, to elevate the spirits of his men; "every countenance appeared to have a degree of cheerfulness, and they all seemed determined to do their best". From Tofoa they were speedily driven away by an attack from the natives, in which Norton, the quartermaster, was unfortunately killed; and Bligh thereupon determined to attempt the voyage to Timor, a distance of nearly 4000 miles, but the nearest port where he could hope to find a European vessel "homeward bound". To accomplish so hazardous a passage, and one so prolonged,

it was evident that the greatest economy was requisite in the management of their small stock of provisions; and Bligh informed his men that he could only allow them, as a daily ration for each, an ounce of bread and a quarter of a pint of water. His followers displayed in this and every other matter a spirit of cheerful subordination; and about eight o'clock at night on the 2nd of June, in a small boat only twenty-three feet long from stem to stern, Bligh and his seventeen companions bore away on their bold enterprise across the restless seas.

The dangers to which they were exposed, the hardships they endured, were almost indescribable. Terrible storms buffeted their boat, heavy rains thoroughly drenched their garments—their only extra comfort on such occasions being a teaspoonful of rum. An ounce and a half of pork was the daily allowance of meat for each man. Exposed to wind and rain and rolling seas, weary and worn and half famished, the men fell ill, with violent affections of the bowels and rheumatic pains in the limbs. The boat at length shipped so much water that two men had to be constantly employed in bailing, and "I could look no way," says Bligh, "but I caught the eye of some one in distress. Extreme hunger was now too evident, but no one suffered from thirst, nor had we much inclination to drink, that desire, perhaps, being satisfied through the skin. The little sleep we got was in the midst of water, and we constantly awoke with some cramps and pains in our bones."

On the 25th, the capture of a bird called the *noddy*, about the size of a chicken, was regarded by everybody as an incident of rare good fortune. It was divided into eighteen portions, and formed a grateful addition to the daily allowance. Others were caught on succeeding occasions, and their capture, by interrupting the dull mono-

tony of the weary voyage, greatly invigorated the spirits of the men.

On the 28th, the boat made the north-eastern coast of Australia. A party landed to procure a supply of fresh water, and happily discovering a quantity of oysters, the wanderers enjoyed an unexpectedly sumptuous banquet. The change of scene and diet was of great benefit in a sanitary sense, and the little sandy islet where they had found a temporary asylum was accordingly christened "Restoration Island". On the 30th Bligh and his companions resumed their voyage.

On the 31st they landed on another Australian island, to which was given the name of "Sunday". "I sent out two parties," writes the lieutenant, "one to the northward and one to the southward, to seek for supplies, and others I ordered to stay by the boat. On this occasion, fatigue and weakness so far got the better of their sense of duty, that some of the people expressed their discontent at having worked harder than their companions, and declared that they would rather be without their dinner than go in search of it. One person, in particular, went so far as to tell me, with a mutinous look, that he was as good a man as myself. It was not possible for me to judge where this might have an end, if not stopped in time. To prevent, therefore, such disputes in future, I determined either to preserve my command, or die in the attempt; and, seizing a cutlass, I ordered him to lay hold of another and defend himself; on which he called out that I was going to kill him, and immediately made concessions. I did not allow this to interfere further with the harmony of the boat's crew, and everything soon became quiet."

On the 3rd of June the voyagers cleared the last headland on the Australian coast, and once more sailed away

on the open ocean. Some bad weather was now encountered; and Ledward, the surgeon, and Lebogue, a seaman, fell so ill, that their condition excited grievous apprehensions. No other remedy, however, could be administered than an occasional teaspoonful of wine.

But the end of their perilous voyage was happily near at hand. On the 12th of June, the island of Timor was discovered at only two leagues' distance, and shortly afterwards they safely landed in Coupang Bay. Their appearance, as they tottered along the beach, might have moved to tears the most obdurate; and their bodies nothing but skin and bones, their limbs festered with sores, they might have furnished a mediæval artist with ghastly subjects for a new " Dance of Death ". Happily, however, a voyage of 3618 nautical miles had been accomplished in forty-one days without the loss of a single life.

At Coupang Bay, Bligh and his followers remained for upwards of two months, to recruit their wasted strength. On the 28th of August they set sail in a schooner, which had been bought and armed for the purpose, and arrived in the Batavia Roads on the 1st of October. Here Lieutenant Bligh embarked for England in a Dutch packet, which landed him in the Isle of Wight on the 16th of March, 1790, about two years and four months from the departure of the *Bounty* on her fatal voyage. Eleven of his companions speedily followed him on board a Dutch East Indiaman. The remainder will be thus accounted for: Nelson, the botanist, died at Coupang; Elphinstone, master's mate, Linklater and Hall, seamen, at Batavia; Robert Lamb, seaman, died on his passage to England; Ledward, the surgeon, left behind at Coupang, was never again heard of.

2. The Fate of the Mutineers

Let us now return to the good ship *Bounty*, careering over the sunlit Southern Sea to the pleasant island of Toobouai (in lat. 20° 13′ S., and long. 149° 35′ W.). She anchored off its wooded shores on the 25th of May, 1789. It was here that Christian designed to establish his little colony, but the natives showed a decided disinclination to receive them, and the mutineers were not all in favour of the locality. A removal to Tahiti was accordingly decided on, and at that seductive Eden-like island the *Bounty* arrived on the 6th of June.

The chiefs and principal natives of Tahiti, on their arrival, made eager inquiry for Lieutenant Bligh and the remainder of the vessel's crew. Christian, aware of their reverence for the great navigator, Cook, ingeniously replied that they had encountered him on their voyage, at the recently-discovered island of Whytootakee, where he intended to form a settlement, and naturalize the beneficent bread-fruit tree. Captain Bligh, he said, and a portion of his crew, were assisting Captain Cook, and he had been appointed commander of the *Bounty*, with orders to return to Tahiti for an additional supply of the vegetables and fruits peculiar to the Polynesian islands.

This explanation seemed perfectly satisfactory to the Tahitians, who, delighted to find that their beloved Captain Cook was living, and about to settle himself in their own seas, used every exertion to prepare without delay the stores they supposed him to require; so that, in a very few days, they put on board the *Bounty* no less than 312 hogs, 38 goats, 96 fowls, a bull and a cow, and liberal supplies of bread-fruit, bananas, yams, plantains, and cocoa. Eight men, nine women, and seven

boys also embarked with the mutineers; and the ship, thus loaded, sailed from Tahiti on the 19th of June, and anchored off Toobouai on the 26th. She was then warped into a sheltered bay; the live-stock were disembarked; and working parties sent ashore to erect a block-house, or timber-fort, about fifty yards square.

But Christian soon found that this second attempt to settle at Toobouai was no more favourably regarded by the natives than his first, and that if he persisted in forming a settlement he would have to live in a constant state of armed preparation. It was resolved, after much discussion, that they should once more sail for Tahiti. They anchored in Matavai Bay on the 22nd of September, and Stewart and Hayward, with fourteen others, who appear to have repented of their share in the mutiny, went ashore, resolved to abandon the ill-fated *Bounty* for ever.

Christian now resolved to explore the Southern Seas until he should light upon some undiscovered island, or one so far out of the reach of the ordinary track of commerce, that his retreat was not likely to be detected by a British cruiser. He took with him six men and twelve women, natives of Tahiti and Toobouai, and eight associates from the original crew of the *Bounty*, viz.: Edward Young, Alexander Smith, better known as *John Adams*, William M'Koy, Matthew Quintal, John Williams, Isaac Martin, John Mills, and William Brown.

After a few days' sail he fell in with " Pitcairn Island ", which was then incorrectly laid down in the Admiralty charts, and of which Christian doubtlessly considered himself the discoverer. That honour, however, was due to one of the midshipmen in Captain Carteret's expedition, A.D. 1767, after whom it was named.

Pitcairn Island is one of the group known as the

"Low Archipelago", in the Southern Pacific Ocean. Its lat. is 23° 3′ 37″ S., long. 130° 8′ 23″ W. Its dimensions are inconsiderable, viz.: Length, E. by S. and W. by N., 2¼ miles; its average breadth about 1 mile. Its coast is almost perpendicular throughout its whole extent, and is, moreover, so fenced in with bristling rock and foamy breakers that a landing can only be effected at two points—one at the west end and another on the north-east, called "Bounty Bay". The last is the one generally made use of, but in strong winds access to it becomes extremely dangerous.

Rising to a height of 1100 feet, the island is visible out at sea at a distance of fifty miles, and on a nearer approach presents a remarkably attractive and even romantic appearance. Luxuriant verdure clothes its lofty summits, and gloomy foliage clothes their bold and cliff-like sides. Its soil is naturally fertile, its climate genial and healthy, and the whole island well adapted to realize a poet's dream of an ocean-girdled fastness, beautiful and lonely.

The mutineers resolved to make this their home. Discovering no harbour where a vessel could be safely moored, the *Bounty* was run ashore, and speedily broken up by Christian and his assistants. Christian then divided the island into nine equal districts, apportioning one to each European, and with like justice he parcelled out the hogs, goats, and poultry which had been procured at Tahiti. Huts were duly erected; a portion of the land was brought under cultivation; and other preparations made for the permanent welfare of the colony, which showed its leader to be possessed of no ordinary powers of organization.

At first, a "halcyon tranquillity" appears to have brooded over Pitcairn Isle, and in this ocean-solitude

the brightest conceptions of Fourier and Robert Owen were more than realized. But as soon as the labour of organization was over, Christian's mind, naturally quick, energetic, and impatient, began to be turned (so to speak) upon itself, from the entire absence of new sources of enjoyment or occupation. The mutineer would have made an admirable commander of an exploring expedition, and would have penetrated undaunted the wilds of Polar ice, or the sandy wastes of Australian deserts. "Quiet", however, "to quick bosoms is a hell", and Christian grew moody and morose from continually dwelling on the evil he had done, and the crime he had committed against his country's laws. His companions were far his inferiors in mental powers, in culture, in breeding, and it was only to himself he could confide his unavailing remorse. By degrees his mind became possessed with fears for his personal safety—fears which do not appear at the outset to have had any justification—and he provided himself with a secure asylum in a cave at the extremity of the lofty ridge of hills which traverses the island. Here he always kept a supply of provisions, and in its vicinity, among some thickly-branching trees, constructed a hut as a look-out station. "So difficult was the approach to this cave," says Captain Beechey, "that even if a party were successful in crossing the ridge, he might have bid defiance, as long as his ammunition lasted, to any force."

The pacific relations which at first existed between the mutineers and their Tahitian allies were interrupted, about two years after the foundation of the colony, by the misconduct of the armourer Williams, whose wife having been killed by falling from a rock, he insisted on carrying off the companion of one of the Tahitians. The latter, enraged by this foul act of lawlessness, secretly

determined on revenging themselves, by putting all the Europeans to death, but the Tahitian women warned them of the fate intended for them, by chanting a rude kind of song, with the significant refrain, "Why does black man sharpen axe? To kill white man." The husband who had been wronged, and another Tahitian whom Christian had fired at, in one of his passionate moods, betook themselves to the island-forest, where they were treacherously murdered by their own countrymen.

Peace again prevailed until about October, 1793, when the Tahitians were coerced into a fresh outbreak, by the oppressive treatment they received at the hands of the mutineers. They now concerted measures to slay their English tyrants on a particular day, when the latter were at work in their respective plantations. To a great extent their project was successfully carried out. Williams, the armourer, was first shot. Christian was struck down with an axe while working amongst his yams. The third, fourth, and fifth victims were respectively Mills, Martin, and Brown. Adams (Alexander Smith) was slightly wounded in the shoulder, but, having contrived to make terms with the natives, was removed to Christian's house, where also Young, who had secured the confidence of the women, was safely conveyed. M'Koy and Quintal escaped to the hills, though of all the mutineers they would seem to have best deserved punishment. Thus, out of nine mutineers only four survived.

The Tahitians themselves now came to blows, the cause of quarrel being the disposal of the wives of the murdered Englishmen. In these women Young and Adams found loyal allies. One of the Tahitian murderers was shot to death by Young; the others were killed in the night by the Tahitian women; and the colony of Pit-

cairn Island was thus reduced to four men and ten females.

For some years the affairs of the settlement glided on very prosperously, but in 1798 an outbreak was occasioned by the vices of M'Koy and Quintal. The former had been at one time employed in a Scotch distillery, and the knowledge there acquired he now turned to ill account by distilling, with Quintal's help, an intoxicating spirit from a plant called the *tee-root* (or *Dracœna terminalis*). Henceforth the two men were constantly bemused in drink, until M'Koy, in a fit of *delirium tremens*, flung himself off a cliff, and was dashed to pieces. Soon afterwards Quintal endeavoured to carry off the wife of one of his companions, and Adams and Young, as responsible for the peace and safety of the community, felt compelled to put him to death.

The two survivors now endeavoured to make amends for the errors of the past by lives of the purest morality and most unaffected piety. Several Bibles and prayer-books were among the stores of the *Bounty*, and these were eagerly perused by the penitent mutineers. The result was seen in their good works. The service of the Church of England was regularly performed every Sunday, family prayers were devoutly celebrated both morning and evening, and instruction was daily given to the nineteen children who had been born upon the island. Young died about a year after Quintal's death; but Adams, with laudable zeal, continued these earnest endeavours to educate the young islanders in a thorough knowledge of their duties, both to God and man; and impartial witnesses attest that his success was complete and astonishing.

It was not until September, 1808, that any visitors from the outer world broke in upon the peaceful solitudes of Pitcairn Isle. The American ship *Topaz*, of Boston,

commanded by Captain Folger, then fell in with it, and communicated the interesting details of his discovery to the British Government. It was felt, however, that it was impossible to inflict upon Adams any punishment for a crime so nobly retrieved, and the Government took no official notice of his existence. But in 1814 the frigates *Briton*, Sir Thomas Staines, and *Tagus*, Captain Pipon, were cruising in the Pacific, and they, too, happened upon the Mutineers' Isle. Captain Sir Thomas Staines addressed an interesting report to the Lords of the Admiralty, which may here be quoted:

"*Briton*, VALPARAISO, 18*th October*, 1814.

"I have the honour to inform you that on my passage from the Marquesas Islands to this port, on the morning of the 17th of September, I fell in with an island where none is laid down in the Admiralty or other charts, according to the several chronometers of the *Briton* and *Tagus*. I therefore hove to until daylight, and then closed to ascertain whether it was inhabited, which I soon discovered it to be, and to my great astonishment found that every individual on the island (forty in number) spoke very good English. They proved to be the descendants of the deluded crew of the *Bounty*, who, from Otaheite, proceeded to the above-mentioned island, where the ship was burned.

"Christian appeared to have been the leader and sole cause of the mutiny in that ship. A venerable old man, named John Adams, is the only surviving Englishman of those who last quitted Otaheite in her, and whose exemplary conduct and fatherly care of the whole of the little colony, could not but command admiration. The pious manner in which all those born on the island have been reared, the correct sense of religion which has been

instilled into their young minds by this old man, has given him the pre-eminence over the whole of them, to whom they look up as the father of one and the whole family.

"A son of Christian was the first born on the island, now about twenty-five years of age, named Thursday October Christian. The elder Christian fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of an Otaheitan man, within three or four years after their arrival on the island.[1] The mutineers were accompanied thither by six Otaheitan men and twelve women; the former were all swept away by desperate contentions between them and the Englishmen, and five of the latter died at different periods, leaving at present only one man (Adams) and seven women of the original settlers.

"The island must undoubtedly be that called Pitcairn, although erroneously laid down in the charts. We had the altitude of the meridian sun close to it, which gave us 25° 4′ S. latitude, and 130° 25′ W. longitude, by the chronometers of the *Briton* and *Tagus*.

"It produces in abundance yams, plantains, hogs, goats, and fowls; but the coast affords no shelter for a ship or vessel of any description, nor could a ship water there without great difficulty.

"During the whole of the time they have been on the island only one ship has ever communicated with them, which took place about six years since, and this was the American ship *Topaz*, of Boston, Matthew Folger, master.

"The island is completely iron-bound with rocky shores, and the landing in boats must be at all times difficult, although the island may be safely approached within a short distance by a ship.

(Signed) "T. STAINES."

[1] Not quite correct, as the reader will perceive.

Young Christian, whose curious cognomens, *Thursday October*, indicated his birth on a *Thursday* in the month of *October*, was at this time " a tall, athletic youth, full six feet high, with hair nearly jet black in colour, a frank open countenance, and a ruddy brown complexion. He wore no clothes but a piece of cloth round his loins, and a straw hat, which was adorned with black cocks' feathers." His companion, George Young, the son of Young the midshipman, was " a fine handsome youth of seventeen or eighteen years of age ". The colony numbered forty-six persons in all, mostly grown-up young people, with a few infants. " The young men, all born on the island, were finely formed, athletic, and handsome; their countenances, open and pleasing, indicated much benevolence and goodness of heart; but the young women were particularly objects of attraction, being tall, robust, and beautifully formed, their faces beaming with smiles and glowing with unruffled good humour, while their manners and demeanour exhibited a degree of modesty and bashfulness that would have done honour to the most virtuous circles of English society. Their teeth are described as beautifully white, like the finest ivory, and perfectly regular, without a single exception; and all of them, both male and female, had the marked expression of English features, though not exactly the clear red and white that distinguish English skins, their complexion having the general hue of what is called the brunette. The little village of ' Pitcairn ' is spoken of as forming a neat square; the house of John Adams, with its out-houses, occupying the upper corner near a spreading banian tree; and that of Thursday October Christian the lower corner, opposite to it. The central space was a broad open lawn, where the poultry wandered, fenced round so as to prevent the intrusion of hogs and goats. It was obviously visible,

from the manner in which the grounds were laid out and the plantations formed, that in this little establishment the labour and ingenuity of European hands had been employed. In their houses the islanders possessed a good deal of decent furniture, consisting of beds and bedsteads, with suitable coverings. They had also tables and large chests for their clothing. Their linen was made from the bark of a certain tree, and its manufacture formed the chief employment of the elderly portion of the women. The bark was first soaked, then beaten with square pieces of wood of the breadth of one's hand hollowed out into grooves, and the labour continued until the cloth was brought to the required width."

The attention of the British Government was at length directed to this interesting settlement by the visit of Captain (afterwards Rear-Admiral) Beechey to the island in 1825, during his exploring voyage in the *Blossom*. His eulogistic account produced so favourable an impression that the Government resolved to send out a supply of tools and other necessaries, agricultural implements, and clothing. A liberal provision for sixty persons was accordingly despatched in the *Seringapatam* (Hon. Captain Waldegrave), which arrived at Pitcairn Island in March, 1830, and found the little colony as peaceful, as happy, and as prosperous as of yore. John Adams, its patriarch, had died in the preceding year, but his example still bore fruit in the pure and truthful lives of the community.

In 1851 the colony was visited by H.M.S. *Cockatrice*. The population was now increasing too rapidly for an area so limited, and Norfolk Island having been abandoned as a penal settlement, the colonists were removed thither in 1856. They then numbered 199 in all, of whom the oldest woman was eighty and the oldest man

sixty years of age. We believe that a portion of the colony have since returned to their "old home" on the rock-bound fastness of Pitcairn Isle.

A word or two will explain the fate of those mutineers who abandoned the *Bounty* on her return to Tahiti in September, 1789.

On Bligh's arrival in England, the British Government immediately adopted measures to secure his mutinous crew and bring them to England for trial. For this purpose, the *Pandora* frigate was despatched to Tahiti, where she arrived on the 23rd of March, 1791. The mutineers were soon captured and embarked on board the frigate, to the number of fourteen.

On her homeward voyage the *Pandora* was wrecked off the coast of New Holland, August the 29th, when four of the mutineers and about seventy seamen were drowned. The survivors were distributed in four boats, and after a tedious voyage of nearly one thousand miles, arrived at Coupang on the 13th of September. A court-martial was held upon the mutineers when they reached England, and their guilt being indisputable, they were sentenced to death. But the royal clemency was finally bestowed upon all save Ellison, Millward, and Burkitt—three of Christian's most eager accomplices.

Such was the dark, sad end of the mutiny of the *Bounty*.

THE LOSS OF THE "NAUTILUS"

(1807)

The British war-sloop *Nautilus*, commanded by Captain Edward Palmer, left the squadron of Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Louis in the Hellespont, on the morning of the 3rd of January, 1807, to carry home important despatches for the British Government.

The sloop made her way through the Archipelago under a press of canvas, and with a fresh north-easter blowing; and on the evening of the 4th was off Anti-Milo. Here the Greek pilot gave up his charge, professing himself unacquainted with the coast they were now approaching. The despatches entrusted to Captain Palmer being of great moment, he determined to keep on his course at every hazard, and bore away for Cerigo. At midnight the fresh breeze had swelled to a gale; the sea rolled heavily; the night was dark and gloomy, except when momentarily lit up by vivid flashes of lightning. Loud peals of thunder and torrents of rain increased the horrors of the scene.

By two o'clock the storm seemed to have reached its height; and Captain Palmer gave orders to close-reef topsails, and prepare for bringing-to until daybreak. Shortly after three o'clock, a gleam of lightning revealed to them the island of Cerigotto right ahead, and about a mile distant. Captain Palmer now considered his course to be clear, and accordingly directed all sail to be crowded on that the spars would carry, while he

congratulated Lieutenant Nesbitt on their escape from the myriad perils of the Archipelago.

He then went below, and was engaged with the pilot in examining the chart, when a cry was heard of "Breakers ahead!" Lieutenant Nesbitt, who was on deck, ordered the helm a-lee; but scarcely was this done when the vessel struck, and with so much violence that the men were thrown out of their hammocks, and had great difficulty in getting upon deck. Every sea lifted up the unfortunate vessel, and then again dashed her against the rocks with a force that strained every plank. In this position it was impossible for skill or energy to be successfully exerted. All was chaos and disorder; and officers and seamen alike felt themselves totally helpless. Yet, with the spirit of the true Briton, they exerted themselves to do their duty.

"Oh, my Lord," writes Lieutenant Nesbitt to Lord Collingwood, "it draws tears from my eyes when I reflect on the complicated miseries of the scene! Heaven —now our only resource—was piteously invoked; and happy am I to say, our gallant crew left nothing untried which we imagined would save us, all cheerfully obeying the orders of the officers. An instant had hardly elapsed ere our main-deck was burst in; and a few minutes after the lee bulwark was entirely overwhelmed. A heavy sea broke entirely over us; and none could see the smallest aperture through which hope might enter and enliven the chill and dreary prospect before us."

The boats afforded the only chance of escape; and of these one only—a small whale-boat—got clear of the wreck in safety. The others were all either stove in, or washed off the booms and dashed to pieces on the rocks by the raging surf. The boat that escaped was manned by the cockswain, George Smith, and nine

others. When they had cleared the wreck, they lay on their oars, and those who had clothing shared it with others who were nearly naked. They then pulled towards the island of Pauri, for it was impossible to render any assistance to their unhappy comrades, the boat already carrying more than her customary complement.

After their departure, the *Nautilus* continued to strike every two or three minutes; but as she was thrown up higher on the rock, her crew discovered that it was not wholly covered with water. As the vessel was momently expected to go to pieces, it was felt that the sea-washed rock offered, at all events, a securer, if not a very promising, asylum. The mercy of Providence provided them with a ready means of removing themselves thither. About twenty minutes after the vessel struck, the mainmast fell over the side, and soon afterwards the mizzen and fore masts followed. These served as gangways, by which the crew and officers passed through the foaming waves to the rocky platform, and thus escaped from what had appeared an inevitable death.

Their condition, however, was still most wretched. The rock, to which they had dragged their weary limbs, scarcely rose above water; it was between 300 and 400 yards long, and 200 yards wide; and upon this spot, in the midst of the deep, nearly a hundred men were huddled together, without food, without clothing, and with very little hope that they should ever escape from the perils that environed them. They had left the wreck just in time; for scarcely had they gained their precarious shelter when she was shattered to pieces; her timbers quivering and groaning as they were rent asunder by the remorseless waves.

The day broke cold and dismal. With some difficulty the men contrived to kindle a fire, by means of a knife

and flint that a sailor had about his person, and a barrel of damp powder washed up on the rock. With pieces of canvas, spars, and planks a rude tent was next constructed, and the castaways contrived to dry the few clothes they had upon them. And now they had to pass a long and dreary night, exposed to hunger, cold, and wet; but they carefully tended their fire, hoping that it might be conspicuous in the darkness, and be recognized as a signal of distress. In this hope they were not disappointed; it was observed by the cockswain and crew of the whale-boat, who had taken refuge on the island of Pauri, and the next morning, the cockswain and pilot, with four of the men, pulled to the rock, where they were mightily astonished to find so many survivors collected. They could afford little relief, for they had found nothing on the island of Pauri but a few sheep and goats, and a little rain-water collected in a hole of the rock. The cockswain attempted to persuade Captain Palmer to enter the boat, but with characteristic intrepidity he refused. "Never mind *me*," he said, "save your unfortunate shipmates."

After some deliberation, the captain directed the cockswain to take ten of the weakest of the crew off the rock, and make with all speed to Cerigotto, in quest of assistance.

Soon after the boat had pushed off, the wind increased to a gale; the waves dashed over the rock and extinguished the fire, and it was with extreme difficulty the men contrived to retain their exposed positions. The fatigue, the cold, hunger and thirst, proved too much for many of the sufferers, and several died during the night, others early in the morning—the groans of the dying piercing the very souls of the unhappy survivors. For nothing could be done to succour them. There was no hope but in the return of the whale-boat: yet, stay—what ho!

a sail! Yes, a ship is coming down before the wind, under press of canvas, and steering directly for their rocky isle!

The weak grew temporarily strong—the despairing imbibed new hope from a sight so unexpected, but so auspicious. Signals of distress were instantly made, and it was evident that the ship perceived them, for she brought to, and lowered a boat. "Great was the joy," we are told, "of all the famishing creatures on the rock to see their deliverance at hand; the stoutest began to fasten spars and planks together, to form rafts on which they might get to the ship; the boat came within pistol-shot. She was full of men, who rested on their oars for a few minutes as if to examine the persons whom they were approaching; the man at the helm waved his hat, and then the boat's head was put round, they pulled back again to the ship, and left the crew of the *Nautilus* to their fate."

We can well imagine the terrible transition from assured hope to trembling despair in the minds of these unhappy sufferers! All that day their wistful eyes scanned the horizon in search of the expected help from Cerigotto; but hour after hour passed away, and they began at length to apprehend that the whale-boat had perished in the storm of the preceding night.

Death now seemed inevitable, and hunger and thirst made it eagerly desired. Some poor wretches, whose maddening appetites induced them to drink of the sea-water, perished miserably, raving and delirious.

So passed the night, until, about the second watch, they were unexpectedly hailed by the crew of the whale-boat. The first cry from the rock was for "Water! Water!" but, alas, they had none to give. They had been unable to procure any but earthen vessels, and these could not be carried through the surf. The cockswain,

however, cheered them with the intelligence that next morning a large vessel would come to their relief; and the hope of a speedy deliverance nerved them to further endurance. The morning came, but no vessel! Then, indeed, despair seized upon the hearts of all. Over the proceedings of this terrible day—the fourth since they had tasted food—we would fain drop the shroud of oblivion.

> "Savagely
> They glared upon each other; . . .
> . . . And you might have seen
> The longings of the cannibal arise
> (Although they spoke not) in their wolfish eyes."

No alternative was left them but to feed on human flesh, and a young man who had died on the preceding night was selected to furnish the hideous repast. Few, however, could partake of it; they could neither masticate nor swallow;

> "For every tongue, through utter drought,
> Was withered at the root."

Before evening many more of the unhappy crew were numbered with the dead, and among those were Captain Palmer and the first lieutenant.

We shall not afflict the reader with any further horror. A fifth day passed in unutterable agony and indescribable despair; the only consolation afforded them being a visit from the whale-boat. The cockswain had been unable to persuade the Greek fishermen to put to sea while the gale lasted, but they had promised to hasten to the relief of the sufferers on the following day if the weather moderated.

The sixth morning came; and oh! how wistfully each lack-lustre eye strained over the rolling waters in search

of the promised succour. At length was heard the joyful cry, dropping in gasps and sobs from trembling lips, "The boats are coming! Be of good cheer, comrades; help is at hand!" Four fishing-vessels and the whale-boat were, indeed, making for the rock of death with all possible speed. On reaching the rock, food and fresh water were cautiously administered to the sufferers, and as soon as they were somewhat refreshed, they were carried on board the boats, and in a few hours landed in Cerigotto.

The poor but hospitable inhabitants of Cerigotto received the strangers most kindly, and tended them with the utmost care. Out of 122, only 64 survived. And when we think of the complicated miseries they had so long endured, we may wonder that so many were spared.

After remaining eleven days at Cerigotto, the remnant of the crew of the *Nautilus* went to Cerigo, and from thence they sailed to Malta.

Lieutenant Nesbitt and the survivors were tried by a court-martial at Cadiz for the loss of the *Nautilus*.

The court gave it as their opinion, "that the loss of that sloop was occasioned by the captain's zeal to forward the public despatches, which induced him to run, in a dark, tempestuous night, for the passage between the island of Cerigotto and Candia, but that the sloop passed between Cerigotto and Pauri, and was lost on a rock, on the south-west part of that passage, which rock does not appear to be laid down in Heather's chart, by which the said sloop was navigated.

"That no blame attaches to the conduct of Lieutenant Nesbitt, or such of the surviving crew of the *Nautilus*, but that it appears that Lieutenant Nesbitt and the officers and crew did use 'every exertion' that circumstances could admit."