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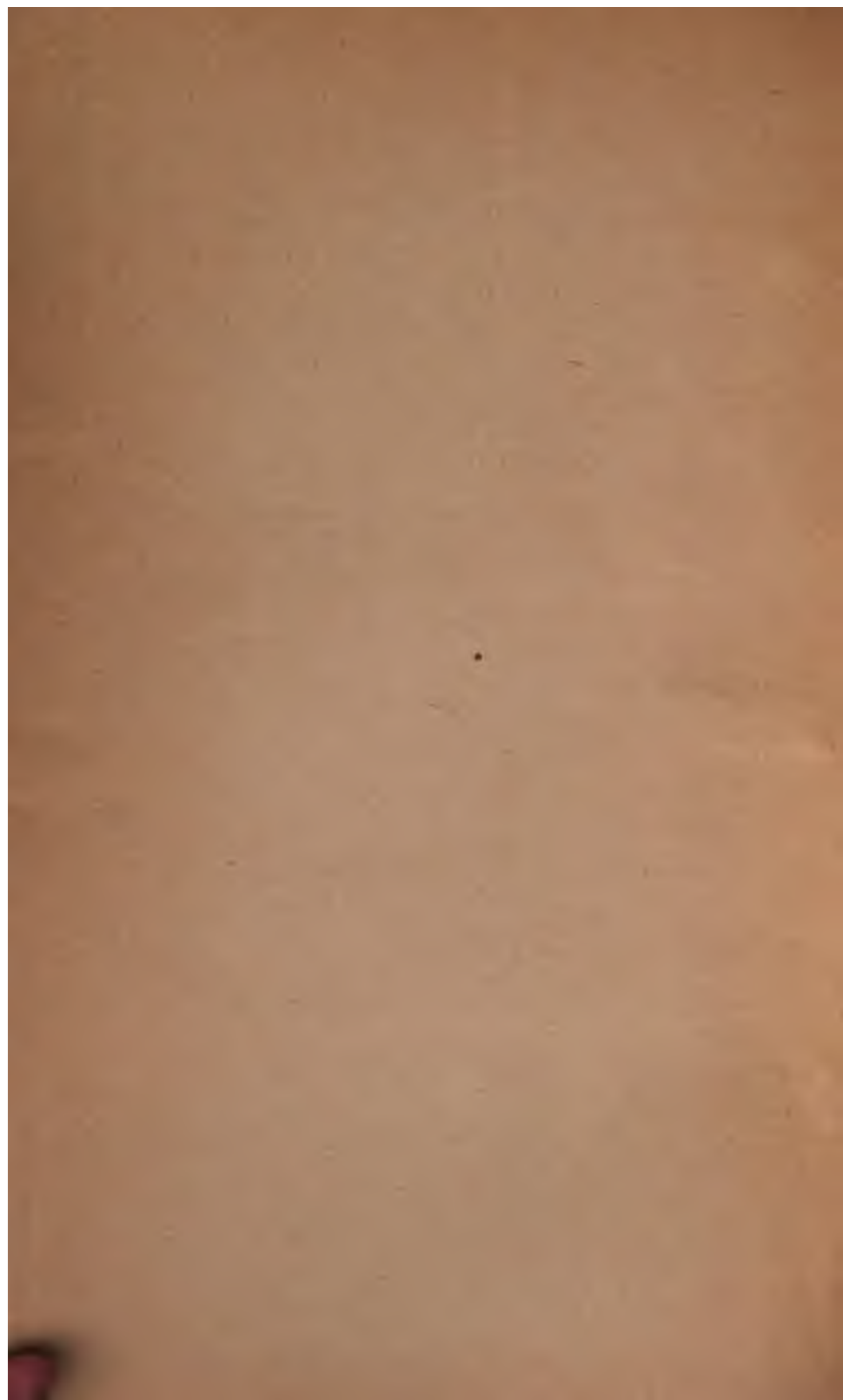
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THE VOYAGE  
 OF  
 FRANÇOIS LEGUAT  
 OF BRESSE

TO  
 RODRIGUEZ, MAURITIUS, JAVA, AND THE  
 CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

*TRANSCRIBED FROM THE FIRST ENGLISH EDITION.*

Edited and Annotated  
 BY  
 CAPTAIN PASFIELD OLIVER,  
 LATE ROYAL ARTILLERY.

*"Si forte necesse est  
 Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum."*

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<sup>3</sup> Compare plant by side of Hottentot man with figure of *Bananier* in De Rochefort.

<sup>4</sup> Compare plant by Hottentot with figure of *Papayer* in De Rochefort's *Histoire Naturelle des Iles Antilles*.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

### VOL. I.

List of Illustrations, p. viii. For "Higgins", read "Higgin".

Editor's Preface, p. xi, seventh line from bottom. For "Van Kempen", read "Van Campen".

Introduction, p. xxxiii, line 7. For "furnishin", read "furnishing".

Author's Preface, p. lxxx, line 12. Add note below: "Variety." In orig.: "avec une Vanité. Vide *infra*, p. lxxxvi."

### VOL. II.

P. 154, note 1. After "il prevint le pauvre la Haye", add "i.e., he anticipated or forestalled poor La Haye."

P. 164, note 2. For "157" read "161". Add, "vide *Hedges' Diary*, vol. ii, p. cccxxvii.—'The Hollanders keep up their Reputation still here in India especially among the Portuguezes, for having been so well beaten by them not caring to heare of the Frenches Victory in Europe, and seeme to have an absolute antipathy to that Nation.'"

Pp. 207-208, note 4. After "known as the Sambur", add "*Vide ante*, p. 96".

P. 209, note 3. Before "Writing in 1769", insert "In orig.: 'L'Isle étoit autrefois toute remplie & d'Oyes & de Canards sauvages; de Poules d'eau; de Gelinotes. . . .' *Vide ante*, p. 81 *et infra*, pp. 334, 342, 343, 370."

P. 210, note 1. After "Appendix", add "D, p. 359".

P. 210, note 2. After "Appendix", add "D, pp. 369, 370, 375".

P. 210, note 4. After "*Coracopsis vaza*", add, " = *Palaornis eques*"; and after "grey head", add "*Psittacula cana*".

P. 211, note 1. After "Dutch-pigeon", add "probably *Alectorœnas nitidissima* (*P. Z. S.*, 1879, p. 2). *Vide infra*, p. 345."

P. 211, note 2. Delete "(Coq de bois!)" ; and after "black-birds", add "*Hypsipetes olivaceus*".

P. 222, note 2. A plan of Batavia, about the period when Leguat was confined there, is given in *Les Forces de l'Europe, Asie, Afrique, et Amérique*, published at Amsterdam by Pierre Mortier, after the year 1700, no actual date being given on the title. In this plan, probably drawn by N. de Fer, or Beaulieu, Leguat's account is confirmed in every particular. The bastion of the fort to the N., "le Diamant", to the E. "la Perle", to the W. "le Rubis". The

south bastion is shown as larger than the others, viz., "le Saphir". Opposite the south bastion, beyond the ditch, is a wide glacis on the land side, on which is conspicuously marked *l'Echafaut à faire Justice*, close by the stables of the Company's officials :—a significant indication of the cruel means employed by the Dutch to preserve a bloody discipline of terror over the slaves, blacks and natives. A ditch is shown around the fort, but it does not wholly surround it, and was probably more in the nature of a shallow inundation, being at some little distance from the base of the escarp of the ramparts of the *enceinte*. Doubtless, it was often dry, which would account for the discrepancy in the statements.

P. 259, top line of notes For "Father de Baupet", read "Father de Bausset".

P. 272, note. After "King of England", add "The Treaty had been signed on 11th Septbr., four months before Leguat heard of it when near the Cape."

P. 298, note 2. After "Captain Stephen Poirier", add "Vide *Hedges' Diary*, vol. iii, p. xcvii, where Mr. Poirier is mentioned as Governor of St. Helena in 1704-5."

P. 358 "Oiseaux de Nazaret", line 358, add below note, "Cf. Bory de St. Vincent, vol. ii, pp. 305-306."

P. 374, line 18. "There is not a single living example left alive at the present day." Add below in note, "The last tortoise was killed in Réunion, at St. Philippe, by a creole, towards the end of the last century (cf. Maillard, *op. cit.*, p. 148). Bory de St. Vincent examined the carapaces of two of these tortoises in the year 1801, which he figured and described as *Testudo tricarinata testa ovata-oblonga tricarinata, postice obtusa decem dentata*." N. Pl. xxxvii, fig. 1.—(*Voyage dans les quatre principales îles des mers d'Afrique*, vol. ii, p. 308.)

P. 405. For "Higgins", read "Higgin".







THE  
VOYAGE AND ADVENTURES  
OF  
FRANCIS LEGUAT, ETC.

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PART II.

AT length the time for our Departure came, when having recommended our selves to the Almighty Power, which even the Winds and Seas obey,<sup>1</sup> we re-embark'd on our poor Gally, the 21st of *May*, 1693. At first we only made use of our Oars, little or no Wind being stirring; and also that we might more exactly observe the *Sea-marks*<sup>2</sup> we had set up, by which means we in a short time safely pass'd the Rocks and Shoals: But a Moment after, one of our Oars broke, as we were endeavouring to avoid the Rapidity of a Current which wou'd have hurry'd us into a dangerous *Eddy*<sup>3</sup>; and the Calm rendring our Sails useless, we thought we must inevitably perish. True it is, we were all seiz'd with a great fright, and I dare say, not one amongst us but wou'd have prefer'd a favourable Wind to the finest Woman in the World. At last a small Gale<sup>4</sup> arose, which assisted by our other Oar,

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* L'Evangile selon S. Matthieu, viii, 27: "Qui est celui-ci, que les vents mêmes et la mer lui obéissent?"

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "les balises."

<sup>3</sup> In orig.: "endroit."

<sup>4</sup> In orig.: "un peu de frais s'éleva." Compare Southey's *Thalaba*.  
*Vide infra*.

"The little boat rides rapidly,  
And now with shorter toss it heaves  
Upon the heavier swell;  
And now so near, they see  
The shelves and shadows of the cliff,  
And the low-lurking rocks  
O'er whose black summits, hidden half,

help'd us to escape the Rock. There was another Rock about two Leagues off, towards which the Current, which was stronger than the Wind, was driving us; but the time we had to refit our Oar, made us likewise to escape that Danger.<sup>1</sup> I am asham'd to tell that such was the blindness of our Owners, that they had not provided us above two Oars: They thought, I suppose, that Precaution would have been needless, because they reckoned upon a Trade-wind, which wou'd infallibly have blown in our *Poop*<sup>2</sup>; but it was well for us, this instrument of our Deliverance was refitted, otherwise we had certainly gone to the Bottom, the Current dragging us along with Rapidity, in spite of the small Gale that assisted us. The Sea, which dash'd impetuously against the Rock we were apprehensive of, roar'd terribly<sup>3</sup>; and the dismalness<sup>4</sup> of the Night redoubled our Fears and Apprehension; nay, to compleat our Misery, the violent agitation

The shivering billows burst;—  
And nearer now they feel the breaker's spray,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Now is the ebb, and till the ocean-flow  
We cannot over-ride the rocks."

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "ce second danger."

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "parce qu'ils comptoient sur un vent *alisé* qu'ils auroient, disoient-ils, toujours infailliblement en poupe," *i.e.*, "because they relied on a trade-wind, which they would infallibly have (they said) always astern"; meaning that they would be always able to sail before the east trade wind, which should be constant. The translator's expression, "blown in our *Poop*," may have been used in his day.

<sup>3</sup> See Map, p. 49. "The position of the reef is indicated by breakers even in the calmest weather. The outer edge is tolerably steep too, except in a few places, but, with the swell which generally rolls on to it, the sea often breaks in ten fathoms several hundred yards outside the actual shoal water. At 'Quatre vingt brisans', eighty breakers, the S.W. corner of the encircling reef, the edge is altogether broken up into detached patches, and in this part the breakers are heaviest. These reefs have been the scene of several wrecks, and it is remarkable that each vessel was reported to have struck at fifteen miles S.W. from land, although no reefs have been found to extend more than five or six miles off." (*Findlay*, p. 513. *Vide supra*, Introduction, pp. xlix, l.)

<sup>4</sup> In orig.: "l'inconvénient de la nuit."



of our Vessel made us so Sea-sick,<sup>1</sup> that we had hardly any strength left; and our Interpreter<sup>2</sup> himself, the Champion that had put himself at the Head of his Party, remain'd motionless in the Hold of the Ship. Then both he<sup>3</sup> and the other contrivers of this Enterprize, had reason to be convinc'd of the vanity of their Imaginations, in that they had form'd to themselves an Idea of the easiness of this Passage, while not one of them, but wou'd willingly have return'd immediately back,<sup>4</sup> had such a design been Practicable. But we were forc'd to continue in this sad Condition, from eleven a Clock at Night to two in the Morning; at which time we found we had pass'd all the Rocks,<sup>5</sup> by reason we heard no more the Waves beat against them. We had hitherto ply'd our Oars only,<sup>6</sup> but now we began to make use of our Sails, and take a little Breath. Next day we had the Wind very Variable, and for six days after, it was altogether against us; which, as we since understood, is not a little extraordinary in those Seas.<sup>7</sup> I remember we were oblig'd to throw our boil'd Provisions over-board being full of Worms, and reserv'd only a little *Lamatin* (a sort of Fish) broil'd,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : " nous mettais dans un accablement."

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : " notre harangueur."

<sup>3</sup> Probably Paul Bénelle. (*Müller.*)

<sup>4</sup> In orig. : " en arrière et regagner Pile; mais la chose étoit impossible."

<sup>5</sup> In orig. : " tous les pointes, & que nous étions assez avant en mer."

<sup>6</sup> In orig. : " Nous avions toujours ramé jusque là, mais alors, nous ne nous servimes plus que de la voile."

<sup>7</sup> The south-east "Trade-drift" current runs to the westward at the rate of twenty to twenty-five miles a day, between the parallels of about 8° S. and 27° S. It separates to the eastward of Rodriguez island into two branches, one flowing past the north end of Madagascar at the rate of thirty-six to sixty miles a day, and the other past the south end, at the rate of about fifty miles a day. This current enabled Leguat's boat to drift in the direction of Mauritius, in spite of the contrary wind. These temporary disturbances of the regular trade-wind are not very unusual at Mauritius from October to May. The creoles term these warm breezes "*vents Malgaches*".

<sup>8</sup> "Boucané." Cf. *supra*, pp. 76, 108.

and some Water-Melons, of which we resolv'd to content our selves with two or three Ounces a Day, to lengthen out our miserable Lives, in case we should have the Misfortune to over-shoot Isle *Maurice*, which was the nearest Land to us, and whither we were bound. This doubt of ours was well grounded, and 'twas no less than a Miracle, that we lit upon that Island, as I shall satisfie you more at large hereafter. The Wind which we had had almost contrary, even to the beginning of the eighth day of our setting Sail, was succeeded by a violent Tempest. The day began bright enough, but towards Noon the Heavens lour'd, and pour'd down such a prodigious quantity of Water, that our small Vessel had been soon filled with it, had not we labour'd incessantly at the Pump.<sup>1</sup> This Rain lasted above four Hours without any other Storm; but as soon as Night came, the Wind arose, and that feeble Light we had remaining, was follow'd by a profound Obscurity.

The Tempest encreasing, we were obliged to strike our *Main-Sail* and, as we could not keep our Lights in, and consequently not consult our *Compass*,<sup>2</sup> we made but little way, and suffer'd ourselves to be driv'n before the Wind with our *Fore-Mast*<sup>3</sup> up. The Night not continuing equally dark, we cou'd sometimes observe the *Vane*, which we endeavour'd

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "à la vuider," *i.e.*, by baling out; they evidently had no pump.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide ante*, p. 108. In orig. : "la petite boussole."

In *Harris' Voyages* there is a remarkable account of the wonderful escape of William Okeley and six companions, in an improvised boat of canvas, from slavery in Algiers, in July 1644. "The Directions they steered by in the Day time was only a Pocket-Dyal that one of the Company had, and they were in the Night guided by the motion of the Stars, and when they disappeared by that of the Clouds." (*Harris*, vol. ii, Appendix, p. 17.)

<sup>3</sup> In orig. : "de gouverner vent arrière avec la *trinquette*." The translator is here also wrong in his technical terms. There was only one mast, so there could not be a fore-mast (*triquet*). By *trinquette* is meant a sail, storm-jib, by which they were able to steer the boat and keep her before the wind.



not to lose sight of, because if we had not taken particular care to manage the Waves,<sup>1</sup> one of them wou'd have been sufficient to have over-set us. What gave us the more reason to apprehend this danger, was that our Vessel was *Deck'd* only at one end, as I have already observ'd, a fault committed thro' vain Hopes that we shou'd always have fair Weather, but we found ourselves very much out in our Calculation, for this Night was the most dreadful that cou'd be imagin'd. The Hurricane we underwent between the Cape of *Good Hope* and the Island of *Mascaregna*,<sup>2</sup> had been terrible enough, but then we were under the Conduct of experienc'd Seamen; and our Vessel was much better provided to resist a Storm than this poor Cock-Boat,<sup>3</sup> whose deplorable condition my Pen is not able to describe. Amidst these obscurities, the Heavens once more pour'd down a Deluge upon us, which indeed was like to overturn us. The Winds which a small shower sometimes abates, became now but more furious. Sometimes we were lifted up to the Skies, and then immediately precipitated to the profoundest Abyss. A certain Noise in the *Hold* of the Ship, occasion'd as we afterwards understood by the Water's squashing between two Planks, made the most Courageous of us squaul out from time to time, thinking it was our last Moment, each Shock making us believe the Vessel was about to Split. We look'd upon present Death as inevitable; we had lost our *Route*, and according to our Calculation, there was no likelihood of meeting with either Isle *Maurice*, or any other Land. Being under Despair, we knew not what to do, and debated whether we shou'd forsake the Helm, and without relying any longer on Humane Endeavours,<sup>4</sup> wait amidst our Prayers for our last

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "parer la vague."

<sup>2</sup> The island of Bourbon, or Réunion, formerly known to the Portuguese as Mascarenhas; cf. *supra*, pp. 33-41. *Vide* App. A, p. 308 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> In orig. : "petite Nacelle."

<sup>4</sup> In orig. : "la prudence humaine."

Moment; but it was carry'd, it was our duty to make our utmost efforts to the end. This made us recollect our Courage, and some prepar'd to Swim at such time as the Ship should be swallow'd up.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst we were under this *Dilemma* of Life and Death the Sun began to brighten the *Horizon*, and the rage of the Wind ceas'd. The Sky clear'd up, and the Light as a Messenger of good News, made us to perceive a large *Cape*,<sup>2</sup> which belong'd to Isle *Maurice*. This sight caus'd no small Joy among us, and as everyone disengag'd himself from his

<sup>1</sup> In original the paragraph proceeds to some length, which has been omitted by the translator:—"Nous ne perdimes donc jamais tout-à-fait courage, & quelques-uns même se préparoient à nager, quand la barque seroit engloutie, pour prier & benir Dieu quelques momens encore. Si l'abatement extrême où nous nous trouvions, étoit causé par le grand travail, par l'inanition, par des sollicitations à un sommeil impossible, par les frayeurs redoublées qui nous environnoient, il étoit sans doute beaucoup augmenté par les secrets reproches que les uns se faisoient de s'être ainsi temerairement exposez, & les autres d'avoir été trop faciles à se laisser persuader. Néanmoins, on dissimula toutes ces pensées-là, & on s'exhorta les uns les autres en toute douceur & charité fraternelle."

<sup>2</sup> This headland was probably the *Morne Brabant*, a fine mountain, 1,809 feet, which juts out very conspicuously at the south-west extremity of Mauritius. Mr. Pridham gives the following description of the landmarks to reach Port Louis in the north-west part of the isle:—"The circuit which was once made was very considerable, vessels being used to bear away nearly one hundred leagues, or as high as Rodriguez, as the wind and currents come from the east. The skill of later navigators has considerably contracted this *detour*, but it is still a hundred miles by the windward passage, whereas a short cut by the *Morne Brabant* (which is a conspicuous landmark to vessels approaching the island on that side) is only a third the distance. An officer of H.M.S. *Thunderer* states that it is not only the shortest, but the safest, course to adopt during the season of the south-easters, which always vary to the southward." (*Mauritius and its Dependencies*, by Charles Pridham, 1846, p. 255.)

It may be considered worthy of note, and interesting from a literary point of view, to draw attention to some lines in Southey's *Thalaba*, as they seem to have been taken from this description of Leguat. Curiously enough, the copy of Leguat, from which the present transcript has been made, was formerly the property of Robert Southey, and



Cloak, where we had as it were buried ourselves in expectation of Death, one might reasonably have taken us for so many Persons newly risen from the Dead. Hope soon took place of our dismal Apprehensions, and Strength returning to us at the same time with our Joy, we began to make Reflections at our ease. But we did not above all omit to admire the Divine Providence which had turn'd to good, all the Misfortune of that terrible Storm; for doubtless if we had not been forc'd out of the *Route* we propos'd to our selves, we had never lit on the Island where we design'd to Land.<sup>1</sup>

About five at Night, on the 29th of *May*, and the ninth Day after our setting Sail, we arriv'd in a small Bay<sup>2</sup> of Isle *Maurice*. We went up a tolerably large River with the Tide,

bears his name (it now belongs to the London Library), with date, October 13, 1813 :

“The moon is sunk, a dusky grey  
Spreads o'er the eastern sky,  
The stars grow pale and paler;—  
Oh beautiful! the godlike sun  
Is rising o'er the sea!  
Without an oar, without a sail,  
The little boat rides rapidly;—  
Is that a cloud that skirts the sea?  
There is no cloud in heaven!  
And nearer now, and darker now—  
It is—it is—the land!”

<sup>1</sup> In the French edition Leguat adds to this paragraph, after the words, “jamais nous n'aurions rencontré l'Isle où nous avions dessein d'aborder,” the following reflection: “nous étions perdus, si nous n'eussions été perdus”; quoting, as M. Muller points out, from the speech of Themistocles at Sardis, as given in Abbot Amiot's version of Plutarch's *Lives*:—“For he, being stept up to great countenance and authority, and followed with great traines of suitors after him by reason of his greatness; seeing himself one day very honourably served at his table, and with all sorts of dainty meats, he turned him to his children and said unto them: ‘My sonnes, we should have been undone, if we had not been undone.’” (See Sir Thomas North's Translation, 1607.)

<sup>2</sup> Probably Port Souillac, at the extreme south of the island.



and Landed at a Place agreeable enough, at the Foot of a small Mountain all cover'd with Trees.<sup>1</sup> We had been so tumbled in our poor Weather-beaten Bark, that we stagger'd about like so many Drunken Men, and were hardly able to keep our Legs, nor resist this kind of *Vertigo*; but a good Sleep, with some Refreshments that Hunting furnish'd us with, soon brought us to our selves again. Thus we escap'd the Desarts of *Rodrigo*, and the great Hazards of a terrible Storm. But Alas! Our new Island was no Port of Safety to us, for we got free of these Dangers, only to fall into greater, as we shall shew by what follows.

Being thus a little come to our selves, we re-enter'd our Vessel, and coasted along the Island in search of some Inhabited Place. After five or six Touchings<sup>2</sup> on the coast, where we always lay a Night or two, we came at length to the *Black-River*,<sup>3</sup> where we found three or four Huts inhabited

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "de grands arbres."

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "stations." The six river entrances on the south coast where the adventurers would have probably entered in their little cock-boat are marked on the Kaart van het Eyland Mauritius, by J. van Braam, ander de Linden, in 1729, as follows:—

de Jagers Spruyt,	now	Rivière du Poste.
Gansen Spruyt,	„	R. des Anguilles.
Lamotius Rivier,	„	Savanna R.
de Paling Rivier,	„	Jacotet R.
de Diepe Rivier,	„	Baie du Cap.
de Ananasse Rivier,	„	Baie de l'île Furneaux.
de Swarte Rivier,	„	Black River.

But the Swarte, or Black river, is put close to the North-west Port, whereas it is really twenty miles to the south of it.

<sup>3</sup> Black River is a rapid torrent, whose principal source is near Grand Bassin, a crater lake, on the high land, north of Mt. Savanne, whose waters are probably connected with the stream. The river takes its intricate course between the Tamarin and Savanne mountains, and draining the eastern slopes of the Piton de la Rivière Noire, the highest mountain in the island (2,711 feet elevation), flows westward through a precipitous wooded gorge and a fertile valley into a commodious bay where there is an anchorage, sheltered by coral reefs and defended by

by *Dutch* Families, who receiv'd us very kindly. These People have discover'd and cultivated as much Land, as they thought fit in a Pleasant and fertile Valley. Their Gardens abound with our Plants, as well as those of the *Indies*, and they have a particular fancy for Planting *Tobacco*. Their Back-yards<sup>1</sup> are full of our Poultry, which was no small Pleasure for us to see, after the long Residence we had made in our Island, where we had hardly met with any thing we ever saw before. I believ'd my Companions, who had been so long disus'd from Women, wou'd not be able to contain themselves, when they again beheld those amiable Objects, or at least that they wou'd surfeit themselves with looking on them; but I was not a little mistaken, when I found they were no more mov'd with them, than with the sight of Cows; so true it is, the shadow of Enjoyment many times mortifies the strongest Inclinations. The Huts of this little Colony were cover'd, in like manner with ours, with *Plantane-Leaves*,<sup>2</sup> but then the Roofs were higher, and the Rooms much larger, because this Island is less expos'd than *Rodrigo* to Whirl-winds and Tempests.

These good People live partly upon Hunting, having Dogs proper for that Sport.<sup>3</sup> After we had continu'd with them about a Month, five of our Company were pitch'd upon to go and give the Governor Advice of our Arrival. The Place<sup>5</sup>

batteries and a military port, now deserted. The locality has been celebrated by Bernardin de St. Pierre in *Paul et Virginie*.

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "Leurs cours."

<sup>2</sup> Leaves of the *Latanier*.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide ante*, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> In orig.: "eurent commission."

<sup>5</sup> The old Dutch seat of Government was situated on the north side of Grand Port (Warwick Haven), under the Bamboo Mountains. It should be remembered that this was in reality a penal or convict establishment for Batavia and the other Dutch Colonies, and that the interior was in the hands of runaway slaves and convicts.

The settlement was afterwards removed to the southern side of the bay, at the mouth of the *Rivière Chaux*, by Général de Caen, in 1805, and named Mahébourg, after M. Mahé de Labourdonnais.

The ruins of the old settlement of the Dutch Governors were stand-



where he Resides, bears the Name of *Frederic Henry*,<sup>1</sup> and lies on the South-East of the Island, about 28 Leagues from where we were. His name was *Rodolfe Diodati*,<sup>2</sup> and he was born at *Geneva*. Whilst our Deputies were going in search ing till 1753, when they were entirely demolished by the French, and but little remains at Pointe de la Colonie of the New Mahébourg of de Caen, whilst only the site of the Dutch fort can be pointed out east of Bestel Cove. The bay retained the name of Grand Port or Port Bourbon. (See Pike's *Subtropical Rambles*, *op. cit.*, p. 324, and Appendix.)

<sup>1</sup> The year 1639 seems to have been the date of the first pioneer establishment by the Dutch in Mauritius under Commandeur Pieter de Goyer. It was abandoned by Adrian van der Stel in 1650, re-established by Maximilaan de Jong from 1650 to 1654, and again relinquished for five years, when Adriaan Niculand formed a permanent settlement in the Zuyd Ooster Haven (where fort Frederik Henrik was built), in the Noort Wester Haven, and at the Swarte Rivier. (*Vide Valentyn*, *l. c.*, pp. 150-156.)

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "Rudolphe Diodati, & est de Genève." Leguat's editor, however, corrects this statement of Leguat in the *Fautes à corriger* at the end of the volume, where he directs "Effacez & est de Genève"; and, moreover, at p. 61 of French version (*vide infra*), where Leguat writes, "Je ne pouvois pas même souffrir qu'il portât le beau nom de Diodati; & qu'il se dit Enfant de Genève", his editor has inserted: ("D'autres assuroient qu'il étoit né à Dort").

He appears to have been the son of Philippe Diodati, who was educated and brought up in Geneva, at the school of his illustrious father, Jean Diodati, the famous Genevan theologian, and the translator of the Bible into Italian (1630). Philippe Diodati migrated to Holland and was installed in 1651 as pastor of the Walloon church at Leyden. Philippe married Elizabeth, daughter of Sebastien Francken, *échevin* of Dordrecht, and had four sons, the second of whom, Jacques, was inspector of arms for the King of England (William) in Holland; the third and fourth sons were twins, viz., Rodolphe (or Roelof) and Jean, born at Leyden, 28th July 1658. They went to school at Dordrecht, and entered the service of the Dutch Company. Jean proceeded to Batavia, and died at Surat in 1711. Rodolphe became Onderkoopman and then Opperhoofd at Mauritius in 1692 to 1703. (See *Vie de Jean Diodati*, by De Bude, 1869. *Zaaken van het Eyland Mauritius*, by François Valentyn, 1726.)

Diodati was succeeded by Abraham Mommer Van de Velde, 1705 to 1710, at which latter date Mauritius was finally evacuated by the Dutch Company.

of him (one of which by the by was like to starve in the Woods, having stray'd from his Companions) he happened to pass by the Place where we were, in his Progress round the Island, which he was accustom'd to make every year. As soon as I came to know it, I went with the other Person that remain'd with me, and beg'd his Protection, which he granted with all the Civility I could desire, and gave me a kind Reception. When he and his Attendants had heard our Story, and considered our poor Vessel, they cou'd not but wonder at our rash Undertaking. The Governor promis'd to send us an Anchor, to a Port on the North-West side of the Island, which, he said, we might make use of, as occasion shou'd serve, in our way to his *Lodge*, so the Houses of the Governors of these Islands are call'd after what manner so ever they are built. He assur'd us at the same time, we shou'd want for nothing, and added we might thus wait at leisure for a Vessel that would arrive in a short time.

Upon these good Words, which he repeated several times, we left the *Black-River*, where our Companions had just joyn'd us, and soon got to the North-West Port.<sup>1</sup> As a fore-runner of the Misfortunes we were yet to under go, we found no Anchor there, as the Governor had promis'd, but instead thereof perceiv'd we had not those Instructions given us were necessary; for whereas they ought to have told us, how we were to continue our Voyage to the *Lodge* by Water, they let us know we must resolve to carry our Baggage by Land as far as *Flac*,<sup>2</sup> a small Village eight Leagues off, where

<sup>1</sup> The Noort Wester Haven, the modern Port Louis; at the extremity of which inlet was a Dutch camp, where a town arose, subsequently named St. Louis after his most Christian Majesty by the French in 1721. The harbour, well sheltered from the prevailing winds by an amphitheatre of mountains, was fortified by La Bourdonnais and became the capital city and seat of government in the island. (See Pridham, *The Mauritius*, p. 259.)

<sup>2</sup> Flac, or Flacq, formerly Flak, on the north-east side of the island, is one of the oldest settlements. The old Dutch road from Port Louis is



the *Company* have a Garden. As this was a *Force-put*,<sup>1</sup> we immediately resolv'd to undergo what was impos'd on us, and transported our Goods in seven or eight Turns; but which were very fatiguing, and wherein we many times lost our way by traversing untrack'd Forests.

Before we continue the thread of this Relation, it will not, I imagine, be foreign to the purpose, to acquaint you that as soon as we arrived at the *Lodge*, we found the Surgeon of our Vessel, one *Clas*, there, with the *Sieur Jacques Guiguer*, one of those Pilgrims formerly mention'd,<sup>2</sup> whom *Valleau*, our Captain, had forc'd from us at *Rodrigo*. He had his Reasons for playing us that Trick, and I suppose he had others for leaving *Guiguer* and *Clas* in *Isle Maurice*. For my part I shan't trouble my self to dive into these Matters; I shall only tell you in a word or two, what these two Men told us. They acquainted us, that a little after they had weigh'd Anchor in the Bay of *Rodrigo*, the Captain open'd our Letters, read them without scruple to the whole Ship's Crew, and afterwards threw them overboard: Whatever Complaints we made concerning this ill Treatment, had no effect upon him, and, to say Truth, we expected no better from him. They inform'd us likewise, that two days after their Arrival at *Isle Maurice*, *Valleau* continuing there at the same time, an *English* Captain<sup>3</sup> chanc'd to come in with his Boat, having sav'd himself from Ship-wreck with his whole Crew, when his Ship bulg'd on the Sands near *Rodrigo*.<sup>4</sup> That the said Captain

shown on the Admiralty chart, the distance being about 20 miles, but a railway now connects the two places. Flacq was in Prior's times distinguished for pretty scenery, gardens, and pleasant habitations; the district has now some 50,000 inhabitants. (Prior, *l. c.*, p. 53, *vide infra*.)

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "un faire-le-faut."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> In orig.: "un Capitaine *Anglois*, avec son équipage, y avoit abordé dans une Chaloupe, se sauvant du naufrage de son Vaisseau qui étoit échoïé sur un banc de sable (sans espoir d'être relevé par le flot) assez près de *Rodrigue*."

<sup>4</sup> Plank found, see p. 107, *ante*. "Bulg'd", probably for "bilged".

propos'd to *Valleau* to go to the said Ship, which yet appear'd above Water, and see if they cou'd save any of the Merchandize; that *Valleau* consented, and the two Captains with their respective Crews, took Oaths reciprocally to keep the Secret.<sup>1</sup> *Valleau*, who was oblig'd to give an account of his Actions to the Governor of Isle *Maurice*, then the *Sieur Lamocius*,<sup>2</sup> thought to conceal his Designs by telling him the eight Adventurers he had left at *Rodrigo*, being like to stand in need of Necessaries, he could not but esteem it the greatest Charity to send them some speedy Relief; and at the same time gave in a List of such things as he believ'd we wanted. This weigh'd very much with the Governor, to whom we had been earnestly recommended by the Governor of the Cape of *Good Hope*, and thereupon the former immediately order'd our small Vessel<sup>3</sup> to be laden with Deer, Calves, Goats, Hogs, Turkeys, Ducks, Poultry, Citron-Trees,

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "qui apparemment paroistroit encore, dans l'esperance de s'enrichir, de plusieurs bonnes marchandises qu'ils en pourroient tirer : que *Valleau* topa, & qu'ils firent un pieux serment, les deux Capitaines & leur équipage, de tenir leur vol bien secret."

<sup>2</sup> The *Sieur La Mocius*, or *Lamotius*, was the fifth Governor appointed to Mauritius after its resettlement by the Dutch. He succeeded *Hubert Hugo*, and was predecessor of *Diodati*.

*Hubert Hugo*, Commandeur of Mauritius, left the island in 1677. "His place as Governor (*Opperhoofd*) was then taken by the (*Onderkoopman*) Lieutenant-Governor *Isaac Johannes Lamotius*. The latter was stationed here for fifteen years, till the year 1692. He traversed the island in all directions. Once he undertook a journey of twenty-one days to see how large it was in circumference. He marched daily three, four, five, or six miles along the coast, cutting off a corner here and there, and computed the circumference to be sixty miles. He left for *Batavia* on the 12th February 1693 by the (fluit) ship *Duif*."

"His (*Lamotius*)' place as Governor was taken, in 1692, by *Herr Roelof Diodati*, *Onderkoopman*.

"The latter remained here till the end of 1703, when he left for *Batavia*, where his wife died on the 6th March 1704; but his Excellency became Governor in *Japan* and held this post till 1721 (in which year it seems to me he must have died)." (*Valentyu*, *Beschryvinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoop*.—*Zaaken van het eyland Mauritius*, p. 155.)

<sup>3</sup> In orig. : "nôtre *Hirondelle*."



Orange-Trees, *Ananas*, *Banane*-Trees, Vine-Plants, Tobacco, Potatoes,<sup>1</sup> Rice, Millet, and other Trees, Fruits and Grains in great abundance. But all this was only a Pretence in our good Captain; for either out of Malice or Avarice, he depriv'd us of every Jot of those good things which had been so charitably sent us. This, it may be, caus'd his Enterprize to Miscarry; for after he had sail'd several times to and fro in sight of our Island, and rounded the Bulg'd Ship as many, he was roughly repuls'd by the revenging Waves, and cou'd not recover the least part of what he pretended to.<sup>2</sup> This is what we learnt from the *Sieur Guiquer* and *Clas*. Now let us return to our unfortunate Adventures.

*John de la Haye* our Gold-smith, having several ponderous Tools which incommoded him, he resolv'd to sell part of them to one of the same Trade, whom he met with at the North-West Port. Among these Tools was that fatal Lump of Amber-greece<sup>3</sup> formerly mention'd, which had been found at *Rodrigo*, and weigh'd about six Pounds. *La Haye* having ask'd the Gold-smith what it was, he answer'd coldly, it was a sort of Gum<sup>4</sup> made use of in the Isle of *Maurice*, instead of Pitch, and that great quantities of it were to be met with about certain Trees, but that it was worth little or nothing. *La Haye* giving credit to this Account, and having no occasion for Pitch himself, he let the Gold-smith have it into the

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "Patates," *i.e.*, a species of yam.

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : "Il passa & repassa à la vûe de notre isle; & partie par malice, dont il étoit bien pourvû; partie par chagrin du mauvais succès de son entreprise, car ils furent rudement & dangereusement balotez, par les flots vengeurs, autour du Navire échoûé [bilged?] sans en pouvoir jamais rien arracher, il nous priva vilainement de choses qui auroient fait de nôtre Rodrigue une véritable Eden : si ce fut pour nôtre mal, ou pour nôtre bien, Dieu le fait."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Of the Terebinthaceæ growing in Mauritius, the Colophane Mauritian, one of the largest trees in the island, bears purple blossoms and yields a resinous gum, which serves, instead of pitch, for caulking vessels. (Pridham, *op. cit.*, p. 362.)

Bargain, only he kept two or three small pieces out of Curiosity.

Next day somebody having informed him that this insignificant<sup>1</sup> Gum was really Amber-greece, he went, in all hast, to the Gold-smith to demand the lump of Pitch again of him; but he answer'd, he had pitch'd his Pails with it, and therefore could not restore it to him. This occasion'd great Heats, and they parted with a great deal of Anger, the former threatening the latter, to complain of him to the Governor. Now, as the Gold-smith that bought this Amber-greece, had several times found of it at Isle *Maurice*,<sup>2</sup> and knew that the Inhabitants were forbid either to buy or sell it under severe Penalties, being obliged to carry all they got

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "prétendue méchante gomme."

<sup>2</sup> Some islets off the north-east coast of Mauritius bear the name of les Iles d'Ambre. The value attached to ambergris by Leguat is doubtless due to the fact of its being a highly esteemed article of trade in the 17th century. It is mentioned among the products of the Japanese archipelago, and it was imported into Siam by the Dutch. Thos. Pitt, writing in 1699, from Fort. St. George, Madras, says that "a very stately piece Ambergriese, upwards of 800 oz.", had been sent from Batavia. Cf. *Hedges' Diary* (Hakl. Soc.), iii, 49; *English Intercourse with Siam*, Trübner's Oriental Series, pp. 21, 96; and Francis Pyrard de Laval tells us how, in the Maldives, "All wreck found on the sea-shore is immediately brought to the King, for no Subject dares to keep it; no more than Ambergreese, called by the Maldivians *Gomen*, which is more plentiful here than in any part of the Indies, and which is so narrowly looked after, that whoever appropriates it to his own use loses a Hand." Cf. his *Voyage* (Hakl. Soc.), vol. i, p. 231, and see Mr. Gray's note, *ibid.*

"On this shore there used to be washed a good deal of beautiful Amber, the price of which had been fixed before at two Rix dollars and a bottle of *arak* per ounce; but as Herr Lamotius bid five Rix dollars for the ounce, he obtained a piece of six pounds, and afterwards many other pieces which were pretty heavy. They thus entered into an agreement with some Burghers, on account of the Company, and to clinch the bargain these made the Company a present of one pound. This lasted one or two years that the Amber was delivered to the Company, according to the agreement; but afterwards they themselves begged to be released from it." (Valentyn, *op. cit.*, p. 153.)



to the *Company*, and part with it at a certain rate; he to prevent<sup>1</sup> poor *La Haye*, went immediately and carry'd the lump of Amber-greece to the Governor, telling him after what manner it came to his Hands. *La Haye* hearing this, went likewise and made his Complaint, but the unjust Judge, being prepar'd, and Self-interested, assur'd him that lump of he knew not what, was no Amber-greece, but a certain Gum of little or no value, and which he knew by experience. *La Haye*<sup>2</sup> reply'd, he had reserved several pieces of it, to justifie the truth of what he asserted, and therefore demanded Justice: What further plainly shew'd it to be true Amber-greece, was, that certain days after the Contest, the Gold-smith that purchas'd it for Pitch, had been so unadvis'd as to offer 60 Crowns<sup>3</sup> for the pieces that remain'd, which we look'd upon as done by the Governor's Order, who could now no longer dissemble his sentiments. It appear'd by their Subtleties, that the greater part of this Amber-greece had been melted, no body knowing what to make of it, and that only a small piece remain'd, which being produc'd, was adjudged to belong to the *Company*, and sent to *Batavia*. He of our Companions that was a Druggist,<sup>4</sup> and very Skillful in his profession, had learnt at *Rodrigo* that this lump was really Amber-greece, but he dissembled what he knew, and pretended in spite of our Suspicions that it was no such thing, out of hopes, I suppose, that he might one day have an opportunity to appropriate it to himself. This was so much the greater Villany, in that

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "il prévint le pauvre la Haye."

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "Le Suppliant."

<sup>3</sup> Sixty crowns, soixante écus. The crowns or écus mentioned by Leguat were rix-dollars. Computing these at 50*d.* modern money, the value of 60 crowns would be £12 10*s.*, the amount offered for the fragments of the ambergris that remained. (See Theal's *History of South Africa*, vol. ii, Pref., and p. 122.)

<sup>4</sup> Jean Testard, a druggist, a merchant's son of St. Quentin in Picardy. (See *ante*, p. 6.)

it not only occasion'd us the Misfortunes that happen'd afterwards to us, but likewise depriv'd us of an Opportunity of enriching our selves by searching for more Amber-greece, which we might undoubtedly have found in great quantities in that Island, during the stay of two years we made there; besides, 'tis likely we might have stay'd much longer there on that account. I cou'd bring divers other Reasons to prove that the Druggist must needs have known it was Amber-greece from the very Minute it was brought into the Hutt at *Rodrigo* by *La Haye*, but I shall insist no more upon that Point.<sup>1</sup> I have already told you, the first time we saluted the Governor, he received us with great Civility, and promis'd us all the best Treatment we cou'd desire; but as soon as ever this business happen'd we were at a Loss for all those fine Promises. As we cou'd not attribute this alteration in his Humour to any Disrespect we show'd him we did not doubt but he was chagrind on account of mis-carrying his Point. He had reason to apprehend we might relate this Story at *Batavia*; and that the *Company* might call him to account for the Wrong he did, first to us that had found this Amber-greece in an Island that belong'd to no body, and consequently we ought to have been left quiet possessors of it: And Secondly to the *Company*, in case it had been adjudged to have been their Right. All this consider'd, made him to form a barbarous Resolution<sup>2</sup> against us, as shall appear hereafter. The first Injustice he did us, was to seize upon our Vessel without letting us know a word of it, and the second was burning it.<sup>3</sup>

Instead of restoring our Sails, which were made of a good piece of *Flanders* Cloth, he gave them to his Hunts-Men to

<sup>1</sup> "Ce fut lui qui aiant appris à *Maurice*, que *La Haye* avoit donné gratis un si grand tresor, avertit, mais trop tard, que c'étoit de l'Ambre," omitted by translator.

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "Ce fut pour cela, qu'il forma la resolution de nous perdre par les barbares & infames moyens qu'on verra dans la suite."

<sup>3</sup> "Quelques jours après," omitted by translator.



make Cloaths, and this notwithstanding all we could say to him.

He began likewise to give us Instances of his Hatred and Malice, by lodging us in a Hutt where we had nothing sent us to eat but what the *Company's* Servants had left.

Afterwards he kept us in a manner Prisoners, by forbidding us to go beyond our Hut above a thousand Paces. He took the only Servant<sup>1</sup> that remain'd to us away from us, and listed<sup>2</sup> him in the *Company's* Service; so that he whom we had brought from *Rodrigo* having likewise joyn'd with him, our Number was reduc'd to Five.

These methods of Proceeding, so contrary to the Civility we at first receiv'd, gave us reason to apprehend that worse would follow. Nevertheless, we rely'd entirely upon Providence, which had hitherto assisted us in all our Calamities.

But as in all Societies there are some Spirits more restless and impatient than the rest, two of our Number, viz. the *Sieurs La Case* and *Testard*, projected to retrieve our ill Circumstances by a Proceeding that to speak Truth, was not altogether Just. This was, as a Reprisal for our Vessel and Sails, to seize upon one of the *Company's* Chaloupes,<sup>3</sup> and make our escape to *Mascargena*<sup>4</sup> which was not above twenty-five Leagues from Isle *Maurice*. Now as they thought, whatever colour they might give to their Design, the two others and I would never approve of it, they did not think to let us know

<sup>1</sup> Peter Thomas and Robert Anselin. Cf. *supra*, pp. 6 and 51.

<sup>2</sup> A custom had come into vogue of allowing soldiers and convalescent sailors to engage for short periods as servants to burghers, their wages and cost of maintenance being thus saved to the Company, while they were at hand in case of need. (*Vide* Theal's *History of S. Africa*, vol. ii, p. 30.)

<sup>3</sup> Hence our word "shallop".

<sup>4</sup> "Mascaregna." In orig. "Mascargna," the island of Bourbon, the high mountains of which are sometimes visible, at sunset, from Mauritius, the distance between the two islands being about ninety-five miles.

any thing of the matter.<sup>1</sup> However, as they could not well execute their Purpose without Assistance, they apply'd themselves to a Soldier of the *Company's*, one *John Namur*, who had giv'n them to understand, he was not over-well pleas'd with the Governor.<sup>2</sup> This Soldier no sooner came to know their Secret, but he went and acquainted the Governor with the Proposal that had been made him, adding that three of our Number<sup>3</sup> were entirely Innocent, and knew nothing of the Plot. Some Weeks pass'd before the Governor took any notice of what had been Reveal'd to him, causing, nevertheless, our Conduct to be strictly observ'd, especially that of the Accus'd. But perceiving at length that nothing came of all his Politicks,<sup>4</sup> and fearing if he delay'd any longer, he might altogether be depriv'd of his Revenge, he on the 15th of *January*<sup>5</sup> in the Night, sent a Troop of arm'd Soldiers to seize on us, who Conducted all five into his Presence. The first words he spoke were to justifie us Three that were Innocent, declaring he all along knew we were guiltless, and therefore had nothing to say to us. After having put some questions to the other Two, they own'd ingenuously the Design they had, but added withal, that the Vessel we had lost was worth more than the Chaloupe they design'd to take, insinuating moreover that their Intention was to pay for it,<sup>6</sup> as the Soldier himself confess'd. We were, however, all hurry'd away together, both Innocent and

<sup>1</sup> "Ils se cachèrent même si soigneusement que nous n'eumes aucune connoissance de ce qu'ils vouloient faire," omitted by translator.

<sup>2</sup> "& ils lui proposerent d'être de la partie pour s'en aller avec eux," omitted by translator.

<sup>3</sup> In orig.: "les trois camarades des deux accomplices."

<sup>4</sup> In orig.: "Mais voyant que le dessein qui lui avoit été découvert par le Soldat n'avoit aucune suite; & craignant, sans doute, que ces pensées, dont il ne faisoit qu'attendre l'exécution pour user hardiment de grande rigueur, n'eussent été aussi-tôt dissipées que conçues."

<sup>5</sup> A. D. 1694.

<sup>6</sup> In orig.: "de laisser de l'argent pour le payement de cette chaloupe."



Guilty,<sup>1</sup> to an obscure Prison which I may well call a Dungeon, and there laid in *Stombs*.<sup>2</sup> These *Stombs* are a sort of Stocks compos'd of two thick Beams of Wood, which having two Semicircular Holes made in them, were let down upon our Ancles; moreover, we were to lie upon the Ground with our Heels higher than our Heads, which is a Posture you may conceive not very easie. The difference between us Three, and our two Comrades that had own'd their Crime, was, that they had the next day Irons of thirty Pound weight added to their Misery. We continu'd in this bad Condition two Days and two Nights, at the end of which we Three that were Innocent were set at Liberty. We were immediately carry'd to the Governor as before, who declar'd to us anew, that our Innocence was well known to him, and that we had been entirely clear'd both by the Accuser and the Accused. He added moreover Treacherously,<sup>3</sup> that he should always have a kindness for us, and that we should find our Treatment answerable to his Promise at our first

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "prétendus coupables."

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : Ces *Stombs* sont composez de deux pièces de bois assez grosses, dont l'une s'abaisse sur l'autre; & qui ayant chacune une double échancrure faite en demi rond l'une vis-à-vis de l'autre, sont ensemble, quand elles sont approchées, deux trous où les jambes se trouvent passées & prises si au juste, qu'il n'est pas possible de les retirer." The word "*Stombs*" given in the French edition, as well as in the English version, is not recognisable as a Dutch term; indeed, the Dutch translator of the book in Leguat's own time renders the word *balk* or *balken*, i.e., clamp or clamps, which are simply pieces of wood like the old-fashioned English stocks, celebrated in *Hudibras*. The French word *bloc* (or *estrapade*) is the nearest French equivalent. In the frontispiece of a curiously illustrated work on the Dutch criminal jurisprudence—*Practycke in Criminele sœcken ghemaect*, by Joost de Damhouder (Rotterdam, 1642)—there is a representation of the Dutch *balken*, in which the wooden blocks are broader, taller, and more square than those of the old English stocks.

<sup>3</sup> In orig. : "ce Dieu-donné indigne," omitted by the translator. A play upon the name "Diodati", evidently derived from the Latin; indeed, Misson may here intend a covert allusion to the Pope Adeodatus, the successor of Vitalianus, A.D. 672-676. (*Vide supra*, p. 65.)

coming, not forgetting to insinuate how much we were oblig'd to him for thinking our Sails worthy to Cloath his Huntsmen, and for giving us his Servants Bones to pick, but all this while he took no notice of the Injury and Injustice he had just done us. All these kind Promises however vanish'd in a Moment, for he soon after set Guards over us, who waited upon us Day and Night. Some few days after one came by his Order to seize upon all we had, Money, Arms, Husbandry-Tools, Kitchin-Utensils, Bed-Cloaths, Table-Linen, and in a word, almost all we were Masters of, excepting a little Linen, our Beds, our Cloaths, and part of our Books. Our Gold-smith too had all the Instruments of his Trade taken from him, not leaving him so much as one. After this we were put into a Chaloupe together with the Accus'd, who were strip'd to their Shirts and loaded with Irons, without knowing what they intended to do with us, but we soon found to our Cost and Detriment. We were Transported to a Desart and frightful Rock<sup>1</sup> about two

<sup>1</sup> Off Grand Port the outer edge of the reef lies two or three miles from the shore, and on it are several rocks and islets in the southern part, the most conspicuous of which is the Ile de la Passe on the north side of the principal entrance, and half-a-mile west of the lighthouse on Fouquier or Fouquet's Island, with a small islet (Vacoas I.) between. On Ile aux Fouquets now, is a lighthouse 84 feet high, and Vacoas Island is apparently the one on which Leguat and his companions dwelt in their enforced exile. It is  $2\frac{3}{4}$  miles to the eastward of the nearest point of the mainland, and on the very edge of the coral reef, which stretches away to the north. On this reef are more islets, viz., Marianne I., Bird I., and Fous I. All these islands are hollowed out by the waves in many places, forming caverns that undermine them to some distance. There is a large tank which is capable of containing a supply of fresh water for the use of the light-keeper and his family, brought over in barrels from the mainland every day, when the boats take provisions and oil, etc., and stored there, as the place is often inaccessible for days together at high tides and in stormy weather.

The Ile de la Passe was formerly defended by a battery, and some old-fashioned rusty mortars and guns were, not long since, lying neglected in the ruins of the ramparts and defences cut out of the rock.

The graves of several French and English soldiers, who at various



hundred Paces long, a hundred broad, and near two Leagues from Shoar: Here we were to live, tho' it was almost impossible to walk, by reason of the many Holes and sharp Stones we were to tread upon. 'Tis true, we cou'd sometimes go to some neighbouring Islands, which I shall speak of hereafter. They settled us here in a vile Hutt, built upon an Eminence near the Sands and Shoals, and about two Paces from the Sea when it was full, and exactly in the season of the *Hurricanes*. This Hutt, half ruin'd by Time, and which it was impossible for us to Repair, having nothing to do it withal, had formerly serv'd for a Prison to some Criminals who a few years before had been banish'd thither.

This was the place my Lord *Diodati* was pleas'd to send us to, and where we continu'd near three years, I mean such of us as did not die before that time. Thus we became the sad Representations of those unhappy Flying-Fish, who have no sooner escap'd the Jaws of one Enemy, but they fall into the Claws of another. This wicked Governor fed us only with Salt-flesh which was often Corrupted, as may easily be imagin'd, if one considers the excessive Heats of these Countries. Our Water likewise almost always stunk, because it was brought us in Vessels that were never clean, and we had never enough of it neither. At first we had our Provisions every eight Days, but afterwards they did not come in fifteen,<sup>1</sup> and sometimes in twenty, so that we had hardly ever any Refreshment. Thus either through the Malice of our Persecutor, the Negligence of his Purveyors or oftimes bad Weather, we were obliged to stint our selves to shorter allowance of Meat and Drink, than we had ever done, however nauseous and unhealthful the miserable Nourishment was that was brought us. All this occasion'd us to desire Netts

times garrisoned this rock, testify to the engagements which took place in the vicinity before the island was captured in 1810. (See Appendix.) (*Vide infra*, p. 163.)

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "de quinze en quinze, & quelquefois plus rarement."

for Fishing, and Vessels to catch Rain-Water in, but we were deny'd both one and the other. It was impossible but all this ill Usage, and bad Diet, must alter our Healths, and more particularly mine, for I was then above three and fifty years old. At first I was attacked with a sort of Malady, which we *Frenchmen*, in that Country, call'd *Le Perse*.<sup>1</sup> This was a continual flux of Blood, by which I was in a very short time reduc'd to a very lamentable Condition: My Distemper encreasing to a dangerous Degree, the Governor was advis'd of it, and desir'd to let me be brought back to his Island: He sent a Surgeon, who after he had visited me, declar'd, I should never recover unless I went a-shoar; but his Opinion had no better success with the cruel Governor, than my Prayers: for he desir'd nothing more than to see us all Perish.<sup>2</sup> He was conjur'd at length to send at least once in fifteen days some fresh Provisions, that I might have some Broth made me, but which was likewise barbarously refus'd; so that wanting everything that was proper for me, I was at last brought to Death's Door. My Cure was absolutely despair'd of; but as there was no Body on that Rock that

<sup>1</sup> Dysentery. M. Le Gentil, in a letter to M. de la Nux, in 1769, writes: "Le flux de sang, on le connoît à l'île de France, & je crois qu'il est de tous les pays: il doit être mis au rang des grands incommodités de l'Inde; cette maladie est presque toujours très-longue, & quelquefois suivie de la mort." (*Vide Voyage dans les Mers de l'Inde*, vol. i, pp. 675-676.)

<sup>2</sup> In Mr. Beaulieu's *Voyage*, we read of the cruelty of the Dutch to their French prisoners:—"For they threw the sick men like so many logs of wood out of the ship into the boat, and some they dragged through the water with a rope fastened about 'em, particularly one who being so dragg'd, expired immediately upon the rocks on the shore"; and the English as well had their share, for when Lantore was sacked by the Dutch in 1620, Mr. Spurway writes: "Our factors there present were stripped, bound, beaten, tumbled over the town-wall, dragged along the street with fetters about their necks, and afterwards laid fast in chains. They were not so kind as to execute them outright, living being then a far greater punishment than dying." (*Vide Harris's Voyages*, vol. i, pp. 195, 247.)



would undertake to dispatch me in form,<sup>1</sup> Nature began to fortifie her self a little, and I quickly recover'd as it were by a Miracle. If the good Reader is touch'd to see me in so sad a Place, and so sad a Condition, he will no doubt be glad to hear how in the Moments which I thought the last of my Life,<sup>2</sup> I directed divers pious Exhortations to my Companions, which I trust have not been unprofitable to them.<sup>3</sup> Young people may think and talk what they please, but after all they must die; and Happy, thrice Happy<sup>4</sup> are they who are truly prepar'd for their last Hour. The Sieurs *La Case* and *Testard*, the two Persons Accus'd, were likewise attack'd with the same Malady some time after; but as they were young, and of a stronger Constitution than I, they resisted the Distemper better. We had continu'd in this miserable Condition near four months, when on the 15th of *March* 1694 we saw a Dutch Vessel call'd the *Perseverance* come into the Harbour of the Island<sup>5</sup>; which according to the Law of

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "mais comme il n'y avoit personne sur ce Rocher qui entreprit de me faire mourir *dans les formes*, la Nature se fortifia peu-à-peu d'elle-même; & *en de meilleures formes*, je me trouvai bien-tôt en quelque façon rétabli." Again another sly cut at the professional doctors—a reminiscence, as Muller points out, from Molière's *Amour médecin* (Act ii, 50).

<sup>2</sup> "& la fin de toutes mes misères, Dieu me fit la grâce de me donner assez de présence d'esprit pour adresser à mes Compagnons," omitted by translator.

<sup>3</sup> "& pour leur donner aussi des marques qui les édifièrent, de ma résignation, & de mon Espérance," omitted by translator.

<sup>4</sup> In orig. : "Et heureux ! véritablement & uniquement heureux, quiconque n'oubliant jamais l'inévitable nécessité de ce dernier départ, se tient toujours prêt à le faire."

<sup>5</sup> There are three entrances to the *Zuyd Ooster Haven* of Mauritius, the principal port of the island, or *Grand Port* of the French. The southern entrance is the least intricate, and this is the one depicted by Valentyn in his folio. It can be easily made out now by the lighthouse, but in olden days the *Drie Gebroeders*, as the islets were then named, formed the northern arm of the passage. The remarkable bluff mountain, 1,583 ft. high, named the Lion's Head, but called de Zaal Berg by the Dutch, must be kept on a N.E. by N.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N. bearing in making

the Country, ought to Transport us to *Batavia*, or the *Cape*, whether Criminals or not; but we were acquainted by our Purveyors, that we must not expect to go with that Vessel. This made my two Companions and I, who were not in the case of the Accus'd, take a Resolution to hazard all, rather than not go a-shoar, while the Officers of the Ship newly arriv'd were there, to the end that we might make our Complaints in their Presence. But the execution of this Project was highly difficult; we wanted everything that Men could want; the Passage was two Leagues, and above all, we could not judge whether the Current ran out to Sea or towards the Shoar. Nevertheless, that there might be nothing to Reproach us with, we made a Float of Sea-Weeds, and fastened to the two ends the two Hogsheads<sup>1</sup> we Kept our Water in, when the *Sieurs Be—le* and *La Haye*, those two of my Companions that were Innocent, tho' treated like Criminals, ventur'd to Sea upon this sort of Floating Bridge<sup>2</sup>;

the Pass. When entering the channel keep the Lion's Head bearing N.E. by N.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N. until the centre of the Ile de la Passe bears E. by N.; then steer for the rock of the Devil's Point, which will bear E.N.E., and after running three-quarters of a mile, bring up in about thirteen fathom, sand and gravel. It was doubtless by this channel and at this point that the *Perseverance* came in and anchored. (*Vide Findlay, op. cit.*, p. 511. *Vide supra*, p. 155.)

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "barriques."

<sup>2</sup> "At last, when care had banished sleep,  
He saw one morning—dreaming—doating—  
An empty hogshead from the deep  
Come shoreward floating.

"He hid it in a cave, and wrought  
The livelong day laborious, lurking  
Until he launched a tiny boat  
By mighty working.

"Heaven help us, 'twas a thing beyond  
Description wretched; such a wherry  
Perhaps ne'er ventured on a pond  
Or crossed a ferry.



and being better Swimmers than the rest of us, and more able to bear fatigue, they arriv'd safe at the Island in twelve Hours.

They found at the Governor's House,<sup>1</sup> who was very much surpriz'd to see them, the Officers of the Vessel, before whom they made their Complaints; demanding that we should be sent away pursuant to the general Orders, and the Custom of the *Company*; and moreover, according to the repeated Promises the Governor had made us. They added, That if the Accus'd were to be retain'd, that was yet a Cause to be try'd; but as for us that were Innocent, and had been so declar'd twenty times, we ought to be treated after another manner.

*Diodati* not being able to contradict this Truth, answer'd, He had nothing to say against us Three; only, if we had not been so well treated as we expected we must impute the Cause to our Comrades, and that we being all *French*,<sup>2</sup> he could not trust one more than another; a reason altogether impertinent, and which was laugh'd at, as it well deserv'd.

The Officers hearing what was said, and believing so bold and sincere a Proceeding as ours seem'd to be, could not come but from a good Conscience, they conceiv'd a good Opinion of us; and altho' our Enemy the Governor had

“ For ploughing on the salt sea field  
It would have made the boldest shudder—  
Untarred, uncompassed, and unkeeled—  
No sail—no rudder.”

(T. Campbell, *Napoleon and the Sailor*.)

<sup>1</sup> At Fort Frederik Hendrik. (See plate, taken from Valentyn.) In the distance the *Drie Gebroeders*, the centre one of which was the Rock of Exile, are plainly visible,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  miles distant.

<sup>2</sup> The war of the League of Augsbouurg was in progress, and Louis XIV was successful at this period in the Low Countries, where Maréchal, the Duke of Luxembourg, had won victories at Fleurus, Steinkerck, and Neerwinden. Hence the hatred of the Dutch for the French. (*Vide* p. 157.)

endeavour'd to persuade them we were nothing but Scoundrels and Villians, yet they saw plainly they had been impos'd upon by him ; however, they could do us no Service, being not qualified to determine our Cause,<sup>1</sup> only we hop'd they would intercede in our behalf, and report the State of our Case to their Masters. When our two friends found that the Governor pretended still to be apprehensive, least we should escape with some one of his Chaloupes, they offer'd themselves voluntarily to be laid in Irons again, chusing rather to undergo anything a-shoar, than be convey'd any more to that miserable Rock, but even this was refused : Being order'd to Prison they were put in the *Stombs* as before, and next Morning early were convey'd to us, with express Orders not to stir from thence on the severest Penalty : And to the end we might no more pretend to come to Land, they sent us back but one Barrel, and that without a Head.

The Officers were nevertheless sufficiently inform'd of our Condition, as well by what they had from the Governor and our two Comrades Mouths, as by a Memorial<sup>2</sup> which was sliely slipp'd into their Hands ; where, among other Things, they were desir'd to make known to our Relations in *Holland* how we far'd, that they might procure us an Enlargement.<sup>3</sup> These Gentlemen, mov'd at our ill Hap,<sup>4</sup> were so kind as to come and visit us on our Rock, that they might more fully inform themselves of the Truth of what we asserted. They were then altogether convinc'd of the Hardships and Barbarities we underwent, and found we had inserted nothing in our Petition or Memorial but what was too true ; nay, this inhumane Usage so incens'd them, that they vow'd to see our

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "n'étant pas en droit de demander à entendre les témoins."

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : "une requête circonstanciée."

<sup>3</sup> In orig. : "afin qu'ils tâchassent d'y apporter du remède."

<sup>4</sup> In orig. : "nôtre lamentable condition."



Grievances redress'd,<sup>1</sup> and, moreover, assur'd us it was no fault of theirs if they did not receive us on board; but that they could not do it openly, without the Consent of the Rascally Governor, who, they could plainly perceive, was highly averse to it. However, they told us if we could so contrive as to get on board them, without any manner of Assistance of theirs, then they said they both could and would receive us, and we should be transported whither we pleas'd. Some few Days after they sent us out of Charity three hundred Weight of Rice, some white Biscuit and a few Bottles of *Aqua Vitæ* and *Spanish Wine*.<sup>2</sup> All this was highly useful to us afterwards, especially the Rice, which we sometimes stood in great want of. These Provisions we took a great deal of care to conceal in the Holes of the Rock, lest they should come to be seen by the Seamen that brought us our Prog, or lest that malicious Devil *Diodati* should order them to be taken from us. Now as our good Friends the Officers had promis'd to take us on board, in case we could get to their Ship without their Help, we, like drowning Men that catch at any thing, made two Attempts for that purpose. *La Case*, who was a good Swimmer, us'd his Endeavours to get to them that way, which was yet not a little dangerous to do, by reason the Passage to the Ship was a good half League, and that Sea exceeding full of Sharks, which are

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "qu'ils nous protestèrent qu'ils mettroient tout en œuvre pour tâcher de nous soulager."

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Francis Willoughby, whose ornithology has been before quoted by Misson (*vide supra*, p. 15), mentions the Spanish wine he found at Huesca in 1664, as a yellowish white wine like sack. The Spaniards, he said, made great vessels of goatskin to put wine in, and lesser bottles which were called *Bôtos*. They seldom mingled water with their wine, it being a common saying among them, "*Vino poco & puro*," though all over Spain the wine was very hot and strong. (*Vide* Francis Willoughby's *Voyage through Spain*; Harris's *Voyages*, vol. ii, pp. 595, 597.)

The *Aqua Vitæ* of the translator is *eau-de-vie* in the original; in this case probably the spirit made by the Dutch and called *Hollands*, or corn brandy.

very dangerous Creatures. Notwithstanding all this, after we had a long while work'd at getting off his Irons, by rubbing them with Stones, and the like, he being at liberty, put himself into the Water. When he had swum above three-quarters of the way, his Strength began to fail him, and, having both the Wind and Tide against him, could not advance a jot; moreover, the Waters covering him every Moment, hinder'd him from making any sign of Distress. All this consider'd, the Seamen perceiving him, began to think him in danger; therefore hoisting out their Boat, immediately row'd to his Assistance, and came just in time enough to save him. When they had brought him to the Ship, the Captain kept him till such time as he had recover'd his Spirits, yet afterwards sent him back again, but with his Assurance, that it was with all the Regret imaginable he did so. I am of Opinion he herein acted a little too cautiously, and that whilst those Gentlemen were with us we might have concerted Measures of saving our selves without exposing them to any Danger.<sup>1</sup> As they were thoroughly satisfy'd we were Persons unjustly detain'd, and inhumanly treated by that cruel Hangman<sup>2</sup> of a Governor who would needs be both Judge and Witness in his own Cause; they might so have order'd Matters as to have cast Anchor, seemingly

<sup>1</sup> "The captains of ships in the service of the Dutch East India Company are obliged, by their articles, to consult their lieutenants respecting the course to be steered; and if they cannot agree, a council is to be summoned, consisting of the five principal officers on board, including the captain, where the matter is decided by a majority of votes. This council likewise takes cognizance of whatever, not relating directly to the navigation of the ship, may be called extraordinary circumstances; and determines, among other things, respecting the diminution or increase of the allowance to the crew; the touching at any places for reparation or refreshment; the time to be passed there, etc., as per Arts. III, IV, V, and VI of the East India Company's *Artikel-brief*, or articles of agreement, entered into by the persons in their employ." (Wilcocke, *op. cit.*, i, p. 162.)

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "par un voleur & un Bourreau."



and without any Design, nearer to our Rock, which was free for them to do, or at least sail'd so near us on their Departure, that they might have pretended it but common Charity to have taken up poor Wretches whom they saw floating on the Water on Planks, without troubling their Heads any farther. Moreover, 'twas probable for them to imagine some Vessel had been shipwreck'd, and that we five were part of the Crew that had labour'd to save our Lives, and stood in need of their Relief. Let what Difficulties then will be rais'd, a way might have been found out to have dealt with them; and if any Dangers were to be apprehended in *Holland* or at *Batavia*, it is we must have answer'd, who broke our Chains, and surpriz'd our Deliverers, and not they, who would have been suppos'd to have known nothing of the matter. But nothing of this came into their Heads, and the poor *La Case* return'd the same Evening, very much concern'd, that he could not bring his end about. This ill Success of his, occasion'd others who were preparing to attempt the same method of Escape, to alter their Resolutions.<sup>1</sup>

Some few days after the Ship went and anchor'd above a large League from us, yet we resolv'd to make a second and new Attempt. For this purpose we ty'd all our Chests together after we had fill'd them with what we had left, and made a sort of Float,<sup>2</sup> thinking to reach the Ship while it was Night, that we might not be discover'd from the Island. As I was generally Sick, they were fain to carry me to the Machine, soon after which we put ourselves off to Sea; but met with such rapid Currents and Eddy's,<sup>3</sup> that we thought we were happy that we could get safe back again. Thus we were entirely disappointed of all Hopes of freeing our selves

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "voyant qu'il leur seroit impossible de réussir," omitted by translator.

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "radeau," *i.e.*, raft.

<sup>3</sup> In orig.: "des courants rapides & contraires, il nous fut impossible de les vaincre."

by these means; for soon after the Ship set Sail in earnest, and we heard no more of her.<sup>1</sup> One day as the Governor was going to be marry'd to the Daughter of an ancient inhabitant of the Island, he happen'd to be in so good a humour, that he order'd me to be brought a-shoar. I had then languish'd under my Infirmary eight Months, which he very well knew. Tho' I were thus fortunate, I had no opportunity to serve my Companions, since I never saw the Governor; yet I reap'd this advantage to my self, that being better fed, and having better Air to breath in, I began to recover part of my former Strength. In the mean time my two other innocent Companions, who still remain'd with the Accus'd, having a long time resisted the Inclemencies of the Air by their Youth and Vigour, fell sick of the same Disease that I had.

They wrote as soon as they possibly could to the Governor, to intreat him that they like-wise might come a-shoar, offering to do any work for the *Company* without Wages, but they were not heard. Then they beg'd of him to send them some fresh Provisions, which prevail'd on him one day so far, that he sent them a Calf, giving them at the same time to understand, that if any of them all did but presume to come a-shoar on the Island without his Leave, they should repent of it as long as they liv'd.

They continu'd in this bad Condition till the season of the Rains and Winds came, which very much augmented their Indisposition. The Ninth of *February*,<sup>2</sup> they underwent a

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: " nous vimes partir le Vaisseau avec le chagrin qu'on peut s'imaginer de ne nous en aller pas avec lui."

<sup>2</sup> 1695. According to Mr. Theal, this storm occasioned such severe loss to the Company that it was one of the causes that led to the abandonment of the colony in the island. (Vide *History of South Africa, op. cit.*, p. 51.) Baron Grant says: "The general state of the weather throughout the year is as follows:

"January.—Rainy and warm. Storms, which are sometimes accompanied by thunder, though by no means violent; and, as the tempestuous



furious Hurricane. That dreadful Tempest over-turn'd the greatest part of the Hutts, and more solid Buildings of the Island; all the Plantations were destroy'd, and a great number of Trees torn up by the Roots. None knew where to shelter themselves, and even those that were in the strongest Stone-Houses were hardly secure.

What then, thought I, must become of my poor exil'd Brethren, whereof one, the *Sieur Testard*, had but that day let himself Blood with a Pen-knife? Their vile Hut was carry'd away like a reed, and what remain'd of their Provisions, etc. was wet by the Rain and spoil'd; nay, 'twas a particular Mercy they were not carried away themselves by this Whirl-Wind; for had not Providence directed them to a Hole in the Rock, or a Cave,<sup>1</sup> they had been in Danger. Here they peaceably sung the praises of the Almighty amidst the Tempest, tho' sore afflicted with Hunger, Cold and Sickness. They continued there twenty four Hours and above,

season approaches, all navigation is suspended till the month of April, when the fields become green and the whole landscape assumes a more cheerful appearance.

"February.—Violent gales of wind and hurricanes, with thunder. These hurricanes, which till the year 1789 were constant in this month, have since that time entirely ceased; but the inhabitants have not a sufficient dependence on this circumstance as to be wholly unprepared for them, in case they should return and renew their former ravages." (*Op. cit.*, p. 12.)

<sup>1</sup> "And like a living grave  
Below the surface of the lake  
The dark vault lies wherein we lay,  
We heard it ripple night and day:  
Sounding o'er our heads it knocked;  
And I have felt the winter's spray  
Wash through the bars when winds were high  
And wanton in the happy sky;  
And then the very rock hath rock'd,  
And I have felt it shake, unshock'd,  
Because I could have smiled to see  
The death that would have set me free."

(Byron, *Prisoner of Chillon*, vi.)

without daring to peep out, during which the sick Persons suffer'd exceedingly. The hard-hearted Governor<sup>1</sup> nevertheless had no Pity upon them ; on the contrary, two days after they had undergone these Torments, he had the Inhumanity to order, without any Reason or Pretence, that the two accus'd Persons should be chain'd together, notwithstanding they were already in Irons, and so weak, thro' Sickness, that they could hardly stir.

Over and above a Bloody-Flux, which one had been tormented with above a year, he had likewise a lingering Consumption. 'Tis true, they were not bound above ten Days, but then they were still continu'd in their first Irons ; and the sickest of them was conducted a-shoar and put in the *Stombs* in Prison. Fifteen days after, the Tyrant who sported with us just as a Cat does with a Mouse, order'd him to the Rock again, whatever the Surgeon could say to the contrary ; and made me be carry'd along with him, without suffering me to see or speak with him. Altho' I was pretty well recover'd, I was soon overtaken with my Bloody-Flux, and whatever Instances I could make to come a-shoar again were rejected. This *Busiris*<sup>2</sup> would needs Murther us with a slow Fire, not daring to do it all at once.

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "avec son cœur de *Pharaon*," omitted by translator.

<sup>2</sup> *Busiris*, the son of Neptune and King of Egypt, who sacrificed his guest Thrasius, who had prophesied that the inundation of the Nile would take place only by human sacrifice. This experiment was also about to be tried on Hercules, but the hero slew the tyrant. Ovid frequently alludes to him, and, considering Leguat's aversion to Latin verses, this classical quotation would seem to belong to Misson.

"Sævior es tristi Busiride : sævior illo,  
Qui falsum lento torruit igne bovem."  
(*Ovidii Nasonis Tristium*, lib. iii, 39.)

"Si te vidisset cultu Busiris in isto ;  
Huic victor victo nempe pudendus eras."  
(*Epistolæ Heroidum*, ix ; *Deianara Herculi*, 69.)

"Ergo ego fœdantem peregrino templa cruore  
Busirin domui ?"  
(*Metamorphoseu*, lib. ix, 182.)



The *Sieur Testard*, one of the *Accus'd*, finding his Malady encrease to a dangerous Degree, did all he could to be likewise carry'd a-shoar, but in vain. He wrote Letter upon Letter, offered to part with all he had in the World; and in fine, consented to be laid up in the *Stombs* in Prison if he might but have this Favour, but all to no purpose.<sup>1</sup>

At length perceiving all his Endeavours fruitless, he resolv'd to pass over without leave, in case he could bring his design about, and to seek for that Relief in the Woods from Brutes, which one, who call'd himself a Christian, refus'd so obstinately. But before we enter upon that melancholy Adventure, and to interrupt a little so disagreeable a relation, I thought it not improper to insert here a few Particulars of the Place of our Exile, and of divers Matters that happen'd there to us.

As we did all we could to divert our Melancholy, some amongst us that were Ingenious, amus'd themselves with making Hats of *Plantane*-Leaves.<sup>2</sup> There were some of these Trees in one of the two Islands that lay on each side of our Rock, as may be seen by the Map. We could go to these Islands at low Water in the full and new of the Moon, so that it was not very difficult for us to get those Leaves. This Invention did not only serve to divert us, but likewise procur'd us Sustenance; for those that brought us our Provisions, were so taken with our Ingenuity, that we gained their Affection considerably by presenting them with some of

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "mais rien de tout cela ne fut écouté."

<sup>2</sup> In *Baron Grant's* map, south of the *Ile de la Passe* and *Fouquets I.* is an islet named the *Ile des Vaques*. This evidently was the islet where *Leguat's* party obtained their *plantane* leaves for the hats. If so, the name "plantane" was applied by *Leguat* to the *Pandanus* screw-pine as well as to the *Latanier* palm. The name *Vaquoas I.* is now given to the centre island, and the south island is named the *Ile de la Passe*. At the north-east entrance of the port, opposite *Both's Bay*, in *Van Braam's* map is marked "*Zandplaat met een Klapper-boom*"—a sand-bank with one *Filao* tree. It seems that there were more trees on these islets in those days than there are now.

them. The Inhabitants of the Island also were so well pleas'd with our Work that they sent us fresh Provisions, unknown to *Diodati*, in exchange for some of it. These Refreshments were a great Comfort to us, and we got some sometimes from those that brought us our Salt-Edibles. As we had always been very desirous to take some Fish to relieve our Necessities, and were frequently refus'd even the very pieces of our Netts to fish with, we thought of an Invention to serve us instead of them. The Hurricane having left some ruins of our Hut, we took a long Pole and having found a large Nail among the Boards,<sup>1</sup> we fixed it with the point outwards, at the end of the Pole, and with that instrument darted the Fish where-ever we could see them. Now between the Rock and the Road where the Vessels ride, there is a large space which remains dry when the Sea is gone out, as it always does at the full and new Moon. There, at certain distances, you find Pitts of three or four Foot deep, where the Sea ever leaves some Fish when it retires. It was in these Pitts or Pools that we darted the Fish we speak of.<sup>2</sup>

After we had once hit upon this Invention, we made so good use of it, that we never wanted Fish. We made Provision of them for eight or ten days, and had a way to keep them Sweet. We one day darted one, or rather knock'd him o' th' Head, that was like to have cost us our Lives. It was a frightful Sea-Serpent, which weigh'd about 60 Pound, and which we in our great Simplicity, took for a large *Lamprey* or *Eel*.<sup>3</sup> This Animal seem'd to us very extraordin-

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "que nous trouvâmes parmi des morceaux de vieilles planches qu'on nous avoit apportées pour faire du feu."

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "avec nôtre bâton ferré," omitted by translator.

<sup>3</sup> Col. Pike, American Consul at Mauritius in 1887, relates, in his *Subtropical Rambles*, how he caught a monster cave eel on the reef in Mapou Bay, some twenty miles from where Leguat had been imprisoned: "This monster eel measured twelve feet three inches in length, and round the largest part of the head fourteen and a half inches. The



ary, for it had Fins, and we knew not that there were any such Creatures as Sea-Serpents; Moreover, we had been so accustom'd to discover Creatures that were new to us, both at Land and Sea, that we did not think this to be any other than an odd sort of Eel that we had never seen before; yet which we could not but think, more resembled a Snake than an Eel. In a word, this Monster had a Serpent or Crocodiles Head, and a Mouth full of hook'd, long and sharp Teeth, not unlike those of the Rattle-Snake so well known in *America*, but much larger. This is a strange Eel quoth we, what Teeth he has! But have not Sharks, Pikes, and a thousand other Fish Teeth too? No matter, Teeth or not, we must tast of him. We then began to poult<sup>1</sup> him about the Mouth and Head with our Pole, and at length carry'd him off in Triumph, like *St. George* when he kill'd the Dragon. We found his filthy Flesh very tough, and of a bad Tast; so that as good luck would have it, we swallow'd none<sup>2</sup> of it, it being in truth Poyson. We were all over-taken with a strange Weakness, we sweated exceedingly, we vomited even

head of this species terminates in a blunt point, the two small eyes not more than an inch from the end. The large mouth is filled with long, sharp teeth, even the roof is covered with these formidable weapons. This eel is very dangerous, but not so common as reported. There are several species of this genus, but none so large as this" (p. 346).

Col. Pike was also attacked on the reefs off Pointe aux Caves by an eel called Anguille Morele: "He was about three feet long, and when I struck at him he came directly towards me, biting at my boots. I beat him off and speared him. This singular eel is banded black and white, edged with salmon colour, and has one round black spot on the white bands. It is a fierce, voracious creature, bolder than a snake, and in his rage he runs his head out of the water like one. The bite of this eel is venomous, I am told, but I have not heard of any accidents from it." (*Ibid.*, l. c., p. 286.) The present writer saw Captain Hay-Hill, Consul at Réunion, severely bitten by an eel, when gathering shells at Black River, in 1864. (Cf. *Relation de l'île Rodrigue*, Appendix B.)

<sup>1</sup> To kill poultry: an old hawking term. (Halliwell's *Dict. of Archaic Words*.)

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "nous n'en mangeâmes guères" (we ate but little of it).



Blood, and for my part, I can affirm with a great deal of Sincerity, that I was terribly Sick: For a Month together I felt sharp pains in my Belly, and ever every day towards Night, I had a fit of a Fever,<sup>1</sup> a Distemper altogether unknown in this part of the World. My Companions were all sick likewise, and in this bad condition we made Signals to demand Relief, but in vain. When our Purveyors came, we related to them what had happen'd to us, and shew'd them the Eel's Head, but they only said they had never seen the like: These sort of People take but little notice of any thing. At length we began to come to our selves again, fully resolved to eat no more of that sort of Eel, for it never came into our Heads that it was a Serpent: Nevertheless we were ready to leap out of our Skins, when the Governor sent us a Salt-Hind,<sup>2</sup> and certain dangerous Citrons,<sup>3</sup> which always do harm; he had his Reasons for it, I suppose, for he did not think fit to assassinate or poyson us openly.

As we had no likelihood to get rid speedily of our unhappy Confinement, we thought it but Prudence to manage<sup>4</sup> our Rice, which the Sea-Officers had left us, cautiously: We eat of it but twice a Week, and when we did it was a feast to us. After we had reduc'd it to Meal, we mix'd about two pounds of it with a certain sort of Gourd<sup>5</sup> well enough tasted, which some of our Correspondents in the Island had sent us privately in exchange for our Hatts: We had a kind of Game

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "accident d'autant plus notable que la fièvre est une maladie inconnue dans ces pais-là." Mauritius was considered healthy prior to the terrible epidemic fever of 1866, which almost decimated the inhabitants. This peculiar fever is now endemic in the low parts of the island.

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "de la Biche-en-rut."

<sup>3</sup> Possibly the *Vontac*, *Strychnos Vontac*, or *Vangassaye*, *Citrus Vangassaye* (?); the citrons, oranges, and shaddocks of the island are wholesome enough.

<sup>4</sup> In orig.: "de menager," to husband, to economise their supply of rice.

<sup>5</sup> *Cucurbita poteria*: in orig. *Citrouilles*; perhaps the Créole *patole*, or snake-gourd (*Trichosantes anguina*).

among us which sometimes diverted us. The Cake we made was divided into four Parts, and we were to throw a Die which should have each Part, so that one must be excluded<sup>1</sup>; and who no doubt was not a little mortify'd to see the others eat, whilst he must fast.

In the Gallies, Dungeons, and such-like-miserable Places that are like to stick by a Man,<sup>2</sup> it is a common thing to reconcile one's self, in some Measure, to one's Misery, and amuse one's self one way or other. I have already told you, our Rock lay between two small Islands, which at low Water one might go to, but not without Difficulty. In one of these Islands, among other Trees, there were some *Plantane-Trees*, but the other was wholly unprovided of any. The Wood-Island was every Night the general Rendezvous of a great number of certain Sea-Birds,<sup>3</sup> which are about the bigness of a Pigeon, and not much unlike one. They lay their Eggs upon the Sand very near one another, and do not lay above one at a time; If you take away one, they match him with a new one, and so will do three times together. These Birds, which we call'd *Ferrets* because we fancy'd we heard them sound that word, have this in particular, that if you take away any of their young, the Cocks and Hens of the others

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "en sorte que l'un des cinq fut exclus, & eut recours à quelque petite espèce de Philosophie d'Apprenti-Moine, pour voir manger les autres, sans en faire paroître du chagrin." *Apprenti-Moine*, a contemptuous term for a postulant, or novice, in a convent.

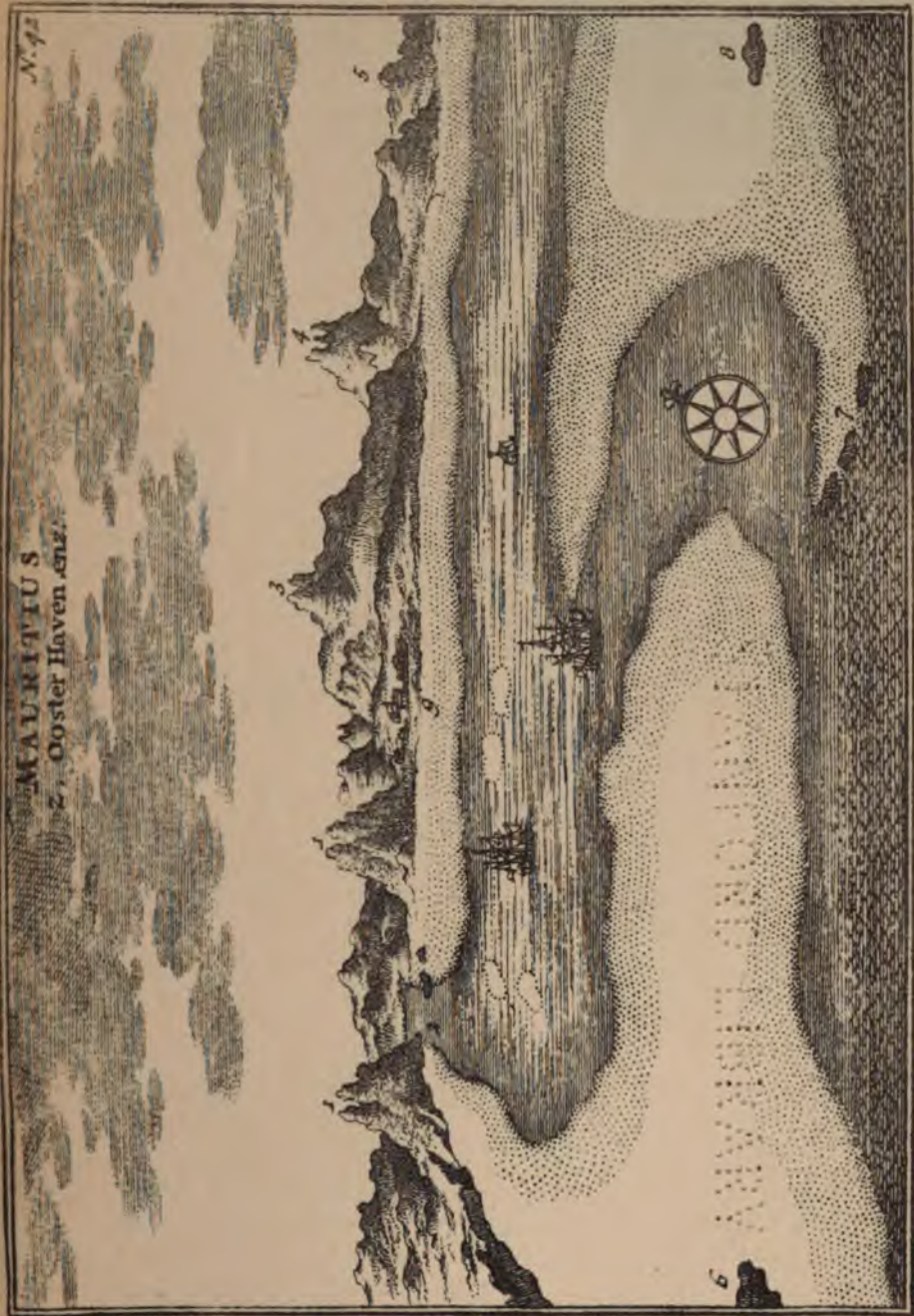
<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "dans les cachots mêmes, & dans les états les plus fâcheux de la vie qui tirent en longueur, on se fait une certaine habitude de sa misère."

<sup>3</sup> "Certain Sea-Birds." Sir Edward Newton thinks that these are probably some species of tern, perhaps *Sterna anetheta*, which birds a few years ago bred on some of the small islets off the windward shore of Mauritius. (*Vide supra*, p. 81.) M. de la Caille speaks of a number of birds which flew round his ship, which he calls *Goillettes*. In a note appended to this remark, Baron Grant suggests, or "*Querets* (Gulls) *Larus, Brisson*." (Grant, *l. c.*, p. 371.) In the anonymous *Relation de l'île Rodrigue*, certain *Equerets* are mentioned. (*Vide Appendix B.*)



N. 42

MAURITIUS  
2. Ooster Haven enz.



1 Limoen-Bosch Bergen. | 4 De Kathas Berg  
 2 Ooster Haven. | 5 De Drie Gebroeders.  
 3 De Drie Gebroeders.

SECRET



will forsake theirs too. If you keep these young Birds alive, and expose them to the sight of the old ones, they will fly about them 'tis true, but never bring them anything; and altho' they hear them cry never so much for Hunger, they will give them nothing to eat.<sup>1</sup> The first time we went to that Island, we brought away three or four Dozen of these young Birds, with some old ones. As the former were very fat and look'd well, we roasted them, and found them to have somewhat of the tast of a *Snipe*, as they resembled that Bird in Colour; but they did us a great deal of harm, and we were never tempted to eat of them afterwards. The old ones have yet a more disagreeable Tast, and no doubt are more unwholsom. The next time we return'd to that Island, after we had taken away these young Birds I have been speaking of, we found all the rest of the young ones abandon'd by the old ones, and whereof great numbers were dead, and many dying for Hunger. If the Flesh of this Bird is so crude and pernicious, their Eggs make you sufficient amends, nothing being more wholsom and delicious. I counted that during our stay under this Confinement, we eat above twelve Thousand, and we were never incommoded in the least by them. These Eggs are spotted with Grey, and larger than those of Pigeons. It happens exactly, that the three months when these Birds lay their Eggs, the Deer are in their Rutting-time, so that tho' the Flesh of that Beast be unwholsom, and stinks abominably at that Season, which nevertheless was our ordinary Food,<sup>2</sup> we made our selves ample amends by these

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "ils les laissent néanmoins périr sans aucun secours," omitted by translator.

<sup>2</sup> Venison as ordinary food in Mauritius. "Our venison," says Baron Grant in 1741, "which is fat, is very good, and serves us instead of beef; but it must be got from the forests, where the deer are very numerous: on account of the heat and their fat they are easily taken. It is, however, a circumstance to be lamented that, from the temperature of the air, fresh meat cannot be kept longer than two days." (*Op. cit.*, p. 195.)

Eggs, especially when our Fishing was not Prosperous, as we could not expect it should be always. Altho' these Eggs were many times ready to put forth their young, we toss'd them up in a *Fricassée*, and crunch'd them between our Teeth, as if they had been the best Dish in the World, though I know some squeamish and scrupulous People<sup>1</sup> would not have the same Opinion of it. This *Fricassée* made me to think of the famous *Guzman d'Alfarache*,<sup>2</sup> who complain'd that his Gutts came up to his Teeth when he crack'd the Still-born Chicken-Bones; yet this Remembrance did not at all disgust me, so true the Proverb is, which I think I have made use of before, that *Hunger is the best Sauce*,<sup>3</sup> especially where that which one eats is not bad, but thro' Opinion. There came also upon our Rock divers other Birds, which we call'd *Pluto's*,<sup>4</sup> because they were as black as Crows; they had almost the same size and form, only their Bills were longer, and hook'd at the end. Their Feet were like those of a Duck. These Birds remain six Months of the year at Sea, without being

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "encore qu'un pareil ragoût fasse horreur à ceux dont la cuisine se gouverne par la mode; & qui aiment ou n'aiment pas les choses, selon le caprice de la coûtume & du préjugé."

<sup>2</sup> *Guzman d'Alfarache*, a character in a Spanish romãnce by Mateo Aleman: Le Sage is said to have borrowed the Life of Gil Blas from this prototype of a knave, stable boy, swindler, and merchant, 1599. In the catalogue of books, sold by the publishers of the English version of Leguat's Voyage, advertised at the end of the volume, appears "The Life of Guzman D'Alfarache: To which is added the celebrated Tragi-Comedy *Cælestina*, written in Spanish by Mateo Aleman, done into English from the new French version, and compar'd with the original by several hands. Adorn'd with Sculptures by Gaspar Bouttats in two Volumes in octavo."

<sup>3</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 13, "il n'est sauce que d'appétit" ("There's no sauce like a good stomach").

<sup>4</sup> *Fou* or *Fouquet*; *Pterodroma aterrima*, *Procellaria aterrima*, black petrel (Verreaux), would answer the description of the plutos, but it is only known in Réunion. The birds here mentioned, Sir Edward Newton says, are probably *Puffinus chlororhynchus*, which bred on the Ile aux Fouquets, one of the little islets near the Isle de la Passe, a few years ago. (*Vide supra*, p. 81, et Appendix B.)



ever seen at Land; and the other six, those of the Neighbourhood come and drive them from our Rock where they lay their Eggs. Their cry is almost as loud as that of a Calf, and they always make the greatest noise at Night. A Days they are very quiet, and so exceeding tame, that you may take their Eggs from under them without their Stirring. They lay in the Holes of the Rocks, as far in as they can. These Birds are excessive fat, very ill tasted, extremely nasty, and very unwholsom. Although their Eggs were not a whit better than their Flesh, we did not fail to feed on them when necessity requir'd. They are white, and as large as those of two of our Pullets. When you have taken their Eggs from them, they go out of their Holes and fall a fighting with one another, till they fetch Blood.

Going a walking one Night, we found a Sea-Tortoise<sup>1</sup> which came very *à propos*, because we at that time stood in great need of Refreshment. It was very large and afforded us near 150 Eggs. This was the only Creature of this kind we had seen all the while we had been there. In the place where we went to dart Fish, we found Shells<sup>2</sup> of an Oval Figure, and wonderfully speckled and streak'd like the Skin of a Tyger.<sup>3</sup> These Shells we made use of for Cups.

At length the too just Reasons we had to believe that tho' any Vessel should arrive, the Governor<sup>4</sup> would not suffer us to go on Board it, made us resolve anew to think on some

<sup>1</sup> Col. Pike observed a very fine turtle (*Testudo imbricata*), which he could have easily captured, at three hours' rowing from the Ile de la Passe. They formerly abounded on that coast, but are now rarely seen. (Vide *Subtropical Rambles*, p. 328.)

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : "des coquilles qu'on appelle de Venus."

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps *Tritons*. The striped varieties of the *Triton rutilicum* are very handsome when taken alive, especially the scarlet and yellow varieties (Pike, *op. cit.*, 265). Baron Grant mentions one of the "*Porcelaines*" (*Cypræa sp.*) as being spotted like a tiger. Situated as the island is in the midst of the Indian Ocean, its reefs have become the home of an infinite variety of molluscs.

<sup>4</sup> In orig. : "toujours inexorable," omitted by translator.

means that might baffle his Malice. For this purpose we form'd a Design to build us a sort of Boat. Now having gain'd mightily upon our Purveyors, and divers Inhabitants of the Island, by sending them our Leaf-Hatts, we obtain'd from them in exchange several Deer-Skins, and Ox-Hides, under pretence that we wanted them to make Shoes of. They sent us likewise several Poles that we desir'd of them; and we by other Pretences got at different times a good quantity of Pitch from them. Having thus provided all that was necessary for our Design, we cover'd the Carcass of our Boat with Skins sew'd together; and upon Tryal, found it would do our business well enough; and to the end that our Purveyors might know nothing of the matter, we hid our new Skiff carefully in the hole of a Rock. Now it happen'd one Night that one of our Company being awake, and looking towards the Island, he discover'd a great Fire; he call'd to us, and we presently judg'd it was the Fort that was on fire. The Governors Appartment, the Magazine and Guard-House were of Stone; but the other Buildings, and even a little Chapel,<sup>1</sup> were compos'd of nothing but Branches and Leaves. We presently concluded, that if the Authors of this Fire, which we look'd upon as done out of Malice, were not soon known, the Governor would not fail to suspect us of it, or at least pretend so to do, that he might treat us after a more rigorous manner than he had hitherto done if that were possible. This made us think he would soon visit us, and if he should find the Boat we had just made, there would be no Mercy for us. To prevent this, we immediately pull'd that Machine to pieces, and so dispos'd of the Materials that 'twas impossible they should occasion the least Suspicion. A few days after Experience convinc'd us we were not in the wrong in our Conjectures, for our Purveyors acquainted us that we had been Suspected. They also related to us some

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "le petit Temple."





View from Frederikshavn of Mourning



Circumstances of this Fire,<sup>1</sup> which I shall beg leave to inform the Reader of. The Governor understanding a *Negro* Slave had committed a piece of Roguery in his Kitchin, he told him he would have him chastis'd. Now the way here to punish<sup>2</sup> these sort of People when they were found in any fault, was to bind them naked to a Ladder, and scourge them with a Rod made of Reeds, with knots at the end. When they had made their Bodies all bloody, they were to be rubb'd with Pepper and Vinegar. This unhappy *Negro* fearing this Punishment, fled soon after he had been thus threatened, and plotted with one of his Comrades and two *Negro* Women to set fire to the Fort; they executed their Purpose, but they were soon after taken and punish'd, as they well deserv'd. The Men were broken alive on the

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, on the 15th November 1707, when Abraham Mommer van de Velde, the Onderkoopman, became Opperhoofd in the island, the whole of the Dutch East India Company's premises at Fort Frederik Hendrik were totally destroyed by fire, on which occasion the books, records, and goods in the magazines were burnt, and the whole establishment ruined. This event coming so soon after other severe losses, and as the small penal colony contributed nothing beyond a little ebony timber and ambergris to commerce, it was decided to abandon the place, and instructions were sent to this effect in February 1708, which were carried out in the following year. (See *History of S. Africa*, by Theal, vol. ii, p. 51.)

<sup>2</sup> The treatment of slaves in the colonies of all nationalities as late as 1821 was frightful. The floggings are represented as dreadful. The instrument was a rattan split so as to form a powerful cat of two or three tails. This instrument would lacerate the flesh like a knife, and weighed upwards of seven pounds. Females were flogged, and even children as well as men, and the lacerated flesh was afterwards rubbed with lime-juice, or salt and pepper.

Fugitive slaves were thus treated: for the first offence the slave's ears were cut off, and he was branded on one shoulder. For the second offence his hamstrings were cut and he was branded on the other shoulder. The third offence was capital. A slave who struck his master, mistress, or children was punished capitally. (See *Blue-Book*, July 1828, and *Asiatic Journal*, 1829, p. 282.)



Wheel,<sup>1</sup> and the two Women were hang'd. We have been so confidently assur'd of a singular Action relating to one of these unhappy Wretches, that I can't doubt the truth of it. He had, it seems, ever had an extreme Passion for Dice, so that when he came to the place of Execution, he requir'd with great earnestness, that some-one of the standers-by would oblige him so far, as to play a Game or two with him at Raffle, protesting that after that he should die with all manner of Satisfaction. If he had any design in this, no body was able to dive into it; however there was no stander-by that would oblige him in what he desir'd.

To speak Truth, the Governor had taken too much liberty upon this occasion, for by reason of the many unjust proceedings of his Predecessors, the *Company* had left them only a Power of accusing as well *Blacks* as *Whites*, as our Tyrant himself once confess'd, in relation to our accus'd Brethren; for one of them having petition'd him to be brought upon his Tryal, and not suffer'd to lie any longer in his Irons, he answer'd,<sup>2</sup> he had no power to try him, and that

<sup>1</sup> John Splinter Stavorinus, who was a rear-admiral in the naval service of the States-General, states that the punishments were very severe in the Dutch Colonies, especially with regard to Oriental slaves. In the year 1768 he saw, at the Cape, one, who had set a house on fire, broken alive upon the wheel, after the flesh had been torn from his body, in eight different places, with red-hot pincers, without his giving any sign of pain during the execution of this barbarous sentence, which lasted full a quarter of an hour. Impalement was also practised at the Cape, as well as at Batavia. Stavorinus gives some hideous details of the impalement which he saw practised on a Macassar slave at Batavia in 1769. (See *Voyages to the East Indies*, by Stavorinus, translated by S. H. Wilcocke, vol. i, pp. 288, 571.)

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "naïvement," omitted by translator. Stavorinus says that the administration of justice at the Cape was confided to a separate Council, of which the second in command of the colony was president. In civil matters an appeal lay from their sentence to the Council of Justice at Batavia. In criminal affairs they were empowered both to pass sentence of death and to put it into immediate execution. Officers were appointed in the out stations of the colony (Mauritius was a dependency of the Cape) called *drosts* or

if he had had any, he should have been dispatch'd long ago. Since I am engag'd in these little Digressions, I must tell you, that 'twas all that the Governor and some of his Friends and Attendants could do, to save themselves in their Shirts. They ow'd the saving of their Lives to a Prisoner, who lying in Irons in the Guard Room perceiv'd the fire first; what was best in the Magazine was likewise sav'd.

Much about this time there came into the Road of the North-West Haven,<sup>1</sup> two *English Ships*,<sup>2</sup> but as that place was distant from our Rock above twelve Leagues, we had no knowledge of them till afterwards. Besides, the Governor forbid our Purveyors under severe Penalties to acquaint us with it, rightly judging, that if we knew it, we would use our utmost efforts to get to them.

We were told afterwards, that one of the Captains of those Ships understanding our Confinement, was going to send for us, as well because he pity'd our Condition, as that he wanted Men. His Boat was certainly hoisted out, and arm'd with several small pieces of Canon, in order to carry us off, but ill Weather interven'd, and hinder'd his charitable Purpose.

I now come to speak further of the design of the Sieur

sheriffs, who arrested criminals, but had no power of trying or judging them; it was necessary to send up criminals to the Council of Justice to be examined and punished. (Wilcocke, *op. cit.*, p. 571.)

<sup>1</sup> Port Louis; *vide ante*, p. 146; also Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> "The English", writes le Sieur Luillier, in 1701, "send several ships yearly into India, the number of them not fix'd, and drive a considerable trade, yet much inferior to the Dutch, for they receive little more in return than the value of the plate they send over from Europe, the profit of the commerce from place to place in the country, going to defray the charges of their Officers, Forts and Factories; whereof if anything remains it makes up the lading of their ships. There is not so regular a method observ'd in the English as in the Dutch service, for every man returns when he pleases, and may stay in India as long as he wills; and I have observ'd they are not so zealous in the service." (Translation by Symson, *op. cit.*, p. 323.)



*Testard* had to endeavour to get a-shoar, come what would of it. This poor Man was one of the Persons accus'd: He perceiving that his Malady encreas'd, that the Governor would hearken neither to Prayers nor Promises, and that consequently there was no hopes of being speedily deliver'd, tho' any new Ship should arrive: This poor Man, I say, being no longer able to resist the violent Passion he had to breath a freer and better Air, and to go seek in the midst of Woods, Nourishment that was properer for his Health, than that he now had; he communicated to us his Project, and we conceived it both difficult and dangerous to put it in execution, look on it on which side we would. We endeavour'd to make him comprehend the ill consequences of it; we represented to him, that the Pass was above twelve<sup>1</sup> Leagues, that his Float could be made only of Weeds, since we had no more Barrels to put at the end of it, as we had done to that of the Gold-smith; that supposing he should have the good fortune to get to Land, it would be impossible for him to live in those Woods, because they were not such as here at Isle *Maurice*<sup>2</sup>; there were few *Tortoises* to be had, and no Birds that would suffer themselves to be taken by hand, no more than other Animals. We urged, moreover, that in a little while he would be without Cloaths, exposed to the inclemencies of the Air, and that after all, it was in a manner unavoidable but the Hunters must meet with him, who would assuredly resign him into the hands of his Enemy: We added, that when he should be found no longer among us, that evil Persecutor would, it may be, accuse us of having kill'd him in some Quarrel, and that therefore he ought to leave a Letter for him, and another for us, in some

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "plus de deux lieües." The distance from Fouquets island to the nearest mainland is actually two miles and three-quarters.

<sup>2</sup> A misprint or bad translation; in original, the passage runs: "parce qu'il n'en étoit pas de même dans cette Ile comme à *Rodrigue*, où l'on trouvoit par tout de quoi se nourrir; n'y ayant que très-peu de Tortues à *Maurice*."



corner of our Hut, that we might be able to defend our selves, when we were so accus'd. In a word, we forgot nothing that might dissuade him from so unfortunate a Resolution, but all we could say, was to little purpose. He work'd alone at his Float, no body being willing to assist him in making an Instrument for his Destruction<sup>1</sup>: He made it of bundles of Weeds and Poles bound together, but which was done very ill, and it would not have been better if we had assisted him. He nevertheless resolv'd to make use of it, and told us at parting, that he would not fail to appear every Month upon one of the Mountains over against the Rock, where he would make a fire at the beginning of the Night, that should precede or follow the Full-Moon; that if we continu'd in the same place, we should answer him by a like Signal, or otherwise he should take such neglect for a Token that we were a-shoar, and consequently would meet us soon after at a place agreed upon; but withal, assur'd us, that so soon as ever he could spy any Vessel in what part of the Isle soever, he would certainly get on board her if possible.<sup>2</sup> The set time for his Departure being come, he fasten'd his Float by a stake near our Hut, and came to take his leave of us; but whilst he was longer than ordinary in acquainting us with

<sup>1</sup> "From neighbouring woods he interlaced  
His sorry skiff with wattled willows;  
And thus equipped he would have pass'd  
The foaming billows.

"But Frenchmen caught him on the beach,  
His little Argo sorely jeering;  
Till tidings of him chanced to reach  
Napoleon's hearing.

"Rash man, that wouldst yon channel pass  
On twigs and staves so rudely fashioned,  
Thy heart with some fair English lass  
Must be impassioned."

(I. Campbell, *Napoleon and the Sailor*.)

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "Secrettement," omitted by translator.

his Design, a Sea<sup>1</sup> came and washed away his Float, which afflicted him exceedingly. For our parts we were no less joyful at it, especially when we saw it was carry'd by the Current towards the main Sea, and far enough off from the Island. If this accident had not happen'd, we might quickly have seen our friend perish, without being able in the least to have help'd him. One would have thought this happy Misfortune might have made him more wise, and inclined him to forego his Resolution, but he continued obstinate for all that, and would not hearken to the Reasons we gave, that what had happen'd cou'd never be by chance, but that Providence must needs have a hand in it, and that he ought to acquiesc with Patience in what had been done, and resolve with us to endure Submissively, whatever God was pleas'd to impose further upon us. Now as nothing of all this had the desir'd effect upon him, in that he protested he would make another Float to execute his former Design, I thought myself oblig'd in Conscience to tell him, I would do all I could to hinder him; that we must treat him like a Mad-man, if he would throw himself away after that rate, and that even tho' I should be alone, I would do the best I could to prevent his Ruin. He said no more to me, and seem'd to acquiesc in what I desir'd, imagining doubtless, that we were resolv'd to make our selves Masters of him, but secretly he still meditated the same Design. Perceiving it was impossible for him to make another Float without our Knowledge, he resolv'd to build a small Boat with the Beast-skins, that we should know nothing of. As he was one that assisted in making ours, and knew we laid the things<sup>2</sup> under our Mattresses, he stole some away privately, and carry'd them to a Grot in the Rock, where he wrought on the Boat at spare hours. He finish'd this Machine in a short time and

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "il arriva que la mer qui montoit enleva sa fragile barque."

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : "des peaux de cerf."



departed on Sunday Morning, the 10th of *January* 1696,<sup>1</sup> without saying a word to any Body. Next Morning calling him to our usual exercise of Prayer, we were surpris'd to find him gone: You may guess at our Concern. We went immediately and search'd among his Goods for Letters, not doubting but if he was really gone, he would leave some according to Promise. We found two; in that directed for us, he gave us a long account of his Intentions, assuring us if God was pleas'd to let him get safe to Land, he would break his little Boat to pieces, sink the Skins in the Sea under a heap of Stones and dispose so of other matters, that it should be impossible to find out that we assisted him in his escape.<sup>2</sup> The other Letter was for the Governor: It contain'd in Substance, that it was he that forc'd him to take that melancholy Resolution, by his cruel and obstinate refusal to suffer him to go a-shoar for recovery of his Health; that he was now going into the Woods with the same design, and that he did not remove himself from Justice, since he would not fail to surrender himself in his hands, as soon as any Ship should arrive in the Port. He carry'd along with him only a little Skillet,<sup>3</sup> a Burning-glass to light fire, a Prayer-Book, and some few Cloaths.

Since this fatal Departure, we had never had the latest News of him, whatever enquiries we made after him. We perceiv'd none of the Signals he promised to give us, and all our searches after him were vain.

According to all probability this poor Man perish'd in his Passage, or died miserably in the midst of the Woods, soon after his arrival in the Island. A report indeed came to our Ears, that the carcass of his Boat was found beaten to pieces

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : " la nuit du Samedi au Dimanche."

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : " qu'on ne pourroit jamais découvrir comment il auroit échapé du Rocher, ni nous soupçonner d'avoir eû part à son évacion." "We have the originals of these two letters in our possession" (*note in orig.*).

<sup>3</sup> In orig. : " un petit poilon," *i.e.*, poëlon, a saucepan.



after the manner he promis'd in his Letter, but this was never confirm'd ; and about two years after, when we were at the Cape of *Good Hope*, a Vessel that came from Isle *Maurice*, assur'd us, there was never anything heard of him. See how our unfortunate Company was reduc'd to four persons, thro' the Tyranny of this hard-hearted Governor. After he came to understand the Escape of the *Sieur Testard*, both by our Purveyor, and the Letter we sent him, he became never the better, and did not alter a whit of his Severity towards us that remain'd. On the contrary, he caus'd Irons to be put on the Legs of the *Sieur La Haye*, altho' he had never accus'd him of any thing, and tho' he was exceeding sick thro' the hardships he underwent.<sup>1</sup>

Now as the *Sieur La Case* perceiv'd that his Malady began to augment upon him, and that he must speedily take to his Bed, he resolv'd whilst he was able, to imitate the *Sieur Testard* in his Enterprize, and go into the Woods in search of Health as he had done. He communicated his design to us, and beg'd of us not to oppose him, since it would be but in vain, adding, that if we would not consent, he would venture to swim over in the Night, rather than undergo any longer that miserable Confinement. We perceiving that he was fully bent on what he said, and that our refusal to comply with him might carry him to some desperate Action,<sup>2</sup> consented to what he desir'd, and help'd him to make a Float of Weeds and Boughs ; and we even repented of not having done the like for the poor *Sieur Testard*. We moreover set up a Mat made of Plantane-Leaves<sup>3</sup> on his Float, to serve him for a Sail. He waited for a Night when both the Wind

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : “ & il traita les autres comme à l'ordinaire,” omitted by translator.

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : “ plutôt desespérée que téméraire.”

<sup>3</sup> In orig. : “ une natte de toile de Latanier.” Perhaps the matting manufactured from palm-fibre called “*rabannes*” in Mauritius ; or the *vacoa* mats from which at the present day bags are made for outer packing of the sugar in gunny-bags.

and Sea were high, and stipulated with us the same Conditions the *Sieur Testard* had done. The Wind, which was very violent, over-set the Machine twice, but the *Sieur La Case* who was a good Swimmer, easily got up upon it again, and gain'd the Land in a short time, the favour of the Wind having preserved him from 'the fury of the Current. As soon as he was got a-shoar he made a fire, and we understood the Signal: He retir'd afterwards into the thickest Woods, and there pass'd the remainder of the Night. Next Morning as he has twice inform'd us, he rambled about all day without knowing whither he went, and that without finding aught either to eat or drink. It was the same thing for eight days following, so that if he had not taken some Provisions along with him, he must inevitably have perish'd with Hunger and Fatigue; and moreover his Malady still augmented upon him. The eighth day he caught an Eel, which he greedily devour'd raw: The ninth he found a Path which led him to the House of an Inhabitant of the Island, who instead of relieving him, deliver'd him up to Soldiers, who carry'd him to the Fort.

The Governor apprehending least we should all escape one after another, and those who brought us Provisions confirming the same thing,<sup>1</sup> he was at length constrain'd by these Reasons, and some others, to let us come all ashoar. But to the end that this enlargement might not occasion us too excessive Joy, he had the charity to temper it by taking from us about 200 pounds of Rice that had been left us, and which we had hitherto so carefully manag'd. This was about that time when Potatoes are good for nothing, and then the Soldiers were oblig'd to buy Rice of the Governor at their own Charges.<sup>2</sup> He gave them to understand that

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : “& les gens qui nous apportoient nos provisions se plaignant sans cesse de la peine que cela leur donnoit.”

<sup>2</sup> “The Company pay a fixed price for every article. That of the rice is ten rix-dollars, or twenty-four gilders, for every *coyang* of 3,400



what Rice he had sav'd from the Fire was his own, and that belonging to the *Company* had been for some time exhausted. For our parts we could neither buy that, nor any thing else, having no Money, the Governor having taken care to rob us of it.

As I had left some Memoirs at *Rodrigo*, I likewise conceal'd some in a Hole of our Rock, (which I for a double Reason call the Rock of *Zocholet*,<sup>1</sup> 1 *Kings* i. 9) to which I added, an Abridgment of the History of our long and cruel Confinement in this melancholy and barren Place. I did not forget to observe in this short Relation, that a fatal piece of unknown Gum for a long while despis'd, had been the cause of our Tyrannical Persecution, and the deplorable Death of one of our dear Companions. So true it is what *St. Paul* says, that *Covetousness is the root of all Evil*,<sup>2</sup> and that those who have a mind to become Rich, fall into diabolical Snares, and many pernicious Desires, which at length precipitate them into the Abyss of Perdition.

pounds weight (equal to about 1s. 6d. per cwt.) ; but when the harvest fails they sometimes pay five rix-dollars more ; or when the wants are very large, as in the year 1773, when the scarcity of this grain at *Batavia*, occasioned by a certain occurrence respecting the first administrator in the grain-magazine, was very great ; or when several succeeding harvests have failed, orders are then given to the residents to buy the rice immediately from the natives, and the *coyang* then stands them in fifty rix-dollars." (*Stavorinus, op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 139.)

The administrators of the grain-magazines at the stations of the East India Company were allowed particular emoluments, and were to content themselves with respect to rice with one hundred pounds allowed upon each last, by resolution of 16th October 1744. (*Vide Stavorinus, l. c.*, vol. iii, Appendix, p. 486.)

<sup>1</sup> "And Adonijah slew sheep and oxen and fat cattle by the stone of *Zoheleth*," which is by *En-rogel*." (1 *Kings*, i, 9.)

<sup>2</sup> "For the love of money is the root of all evil ; which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows." (1 *Tim.* vi, 10.)

\* *I.e.*, by the *Stone of the Serpent*.



As soon as the good News of our Deliverance came to our Ears, and that of our Departure from Isle *Maurice* for *Batavia*, I was not a little over-joy'd, for however Industrious I was to seek for Diversion, and even to appear Gay to encourage those poor young Men with whom I was; I must own, my Mind was not less indispos'd than my Body: Besides, I can't dissemble that I was exceedingly set against that inveterate and implacable Persecutor, but still had a greater Contempt for him, than Hatred. I could not endure that he should bear the fair name of *Diodati*, or said to be a Child of *Geneva*.<sup>1</sup> But others affirm he was born at *Dort*. If any *Mahometan* of *Algiers* had us'd me yet worse, I could have born it patiently from him.

In this extrem Joy that affected me, my Soul lifted it self up towards its Deliverer, and I pen'd a Song of Thanksgiving and Benediction, which I compos'd of divers passages of Scripture so happily link'd together, that I may say, they perfectly express'd our different Conditions. I busied my self a whole day about this comfortable Collection, and as it was nothing but the word of God, I thought it must needs be agreeable to this Relation of my Adventures. But I observe some People at a distance, that assume a ridiculing Air upon this occasion; methinks I hear them say, we have a great deal to do indeed with your *Canticle*. Formerly they were accounted Fools, that denied the Being of a God, but now forsooth, they must pass for Wits; Well Gentlemen,<sup>2</sup> you shall not have my *Canticle*, you are unworthy of it. Holy Things are not your Inclination<sup>3</sup> I find, and these Pearls shall not be thrown away upon you: I'll keep them for good Men, for you wise and honest Reader, who are not to be carry'd away by the Torrent of Prejudice,<sup>4</sup> therefore look

<sup>1</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "Messieurs les Beaux-Esprits," omitted by translator.

<sup>3</sup> In orig.: "les choses saintes ne sont pas pour les Chiens."

<sup>4</sup> In orig.: "perversité."

at the end of my Relation, and you'll find the *Canticle* I speak of.<sup>1</sup>

The 6th of *September* 1696 the Vessel call'd *Suraag* arriv'd, and brought Orders to carry us away. Our good and generous Friends, the Officers of the *Perseverance*, of whom I have already spoken, were so kind as to present our Letters and Petition to the Directors-General<sup>2</sup> in *Holland*, so that when the Governor found he could detain us no longer, he thought fit to let us know what had happen'd. He told us of it first himself, and bid us prepare to embark. We expected that according to Custom, when a Ship arrives, an Assembly<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vide infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Directors-General. "The administration of the Dutch East India Company is, in *Holland*, divided between six boards, or *chambers*, having session at different places, *viz.*, one at *Amsterdam*, which being the most considerable, is called the presidial chamber; this is composed of twenty-four directors, of whom eighteen are chosen by the magistrates of *Amsterdam*, four by the cities of *Dort*, *Harlem*, *Leyden*, and *Gouda*, and the two others by the provinces of *Gelderland* and *Friseland*; besides these, there are four of the chief proprietors, who in certain cases have session with the directors: the chamber of *Middleburgh* is the second in rank; it has thirteen directors, twelve chosen by the cities of *Zealand*, and the thirteenth by the province of *Gelderland* . . . next the chamber of *Delft* . . . the chamber of *Rotterdam* . . . that of *Harn* . . . the chamber of *Enkhuisen*. . . The places where these chambers assemble being all seaports, a certain number of ships is dispatched from each. . . But the supreme and general direction of all the affairs of the Company is vested in what is called the Assembly of *Seventeen*, which consists of seventeen directors deputed, eight from the chamber of *Amsterdam*, four from that of *Middleburgh*, one from each of the others, and one alternately by each of these four last. This assembly meets three times a year, and is held for six following years at *Amsterdam*, and the two ensuing years at *Middleburgh*. . . There is likewise a council of the directors, which meets from time to time at the *Hague*; . . . being the medium through which the Company communicates with the States-General." (Wilcocke, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 89-91.)

<sup>3</sup> *Mauritius* had been abandoned when *Stavorinus* visited the Dutch colonies, but his account of the government of an out-station (*Amboyna*) sufficiently indicates the procedure of the law:—"The council of justice consists of the second, as president, and six members, who generally assemble every fortnight, in a lower apartment of the stadhouse



should be held, where every one might make their Complaint at liberty ; but he found means to prevent that, and we were sent on board without any Bodies speaking to us, and without having any part of our Effects restor'd. This occasion'd us to present a Petition to the Officers of the Vessel, informing them of the ill Treatment we had had from our Persecutor, who yet continu'd to exercise towards us the same Tyranny and Injustice. This made him come a-board, where having seen our Petition, he call'd one of us cursed Dog,<sup>1</sup> and ask'd him why he presented such sort of

or town hall. All civil and criminal causes are decided here, but in the former an appeal can be made to the Council of Justice at *Batavia*. . . . Although by an express command of the supreme government, the government here may not intermeddle in any matters which come under the cognizance of the Council of Justice, further than to approve or suspend their sentences in criminal cases, yet some of them arrogate to themselves so much power in this respect that in the same manner as in the council of polity they force a conformation to their will, or bid open defiance to justice and honesty, if the members of the Council refuse to abet their iniquity." Stavorinus then adduces an instance of rank abuse of authority remaining unnoticed and unpunished. It may be added here that Roelof Diodati does not appear to have been reprimanded even for his conduct towards Leguat and the French refugees, being subsequently promoted to Japan ; but in some respects he suffered a kind of retributive justice in Mauritius, for, before leaving that island, in 1701, a piratical ship, the *Amy*, was wrecked close by the fort, when 200 armed buccaneers got to shore, forcing the colonists to take refuge in the fort, and Diodati, in order to get rid of them, sold them the Company's packet at half-price. (See Stavorinus, *l. c.*, ii, p. 384 ; Theal, *S. Africa, l. c.*, p. 51.)

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "qu'il traita de maudit coquin." "An Englishman", writes Admiral Stavorinus, "would never brook the insupportable arrogance with which the Dutch East India Company's servants are treated by their superiors, as well at *Batavia* as at the out-factories. It would be well if this conduct remained solely confined to the Asiatic regions, which gave birth to it ; but, unfortunately, we see it continued by purse-proud individuals when they return to a country where, from the most ancient times, it is known to be in perfect contradiction to the genius and temper of the inhabitants. It is certain that this is one reason why there are so few to be met with who serve the Company with fidelity or a sense of honour. Everyone



Petitions against him. We thinking ourselves in a manner out of his Clutches, answer'd boldly, That he might be sure that it was not to boast any ways of his kindness to us, but to acquaint<sup>1</sup> these Gentlemen, who were at length come to our Assistance, with his barbarous usage of us, even to the last Moment, and that they might testify this Complaint was made even at Isle *Maurice*. After some injurious Expressions he reassum'd a ridiculing Air, and told us, if we thought our selves aggriev'd, we might seek for Justice at *Bataria* from the General and his Council, and we answer'd that that was our Resolution. After Dinner<sup>2</sup> he had us call'd again, when he told us, in the presence of the Council of the Vessel,<sup>3</sup> that he had at first given Orders we should be receiv'd on board as Passengers, without being oblig'd to do any thing; but since we had presented that fine Petition, we should work as the Soldiers did, before we eat.<sup>4</sup> As for Monsieur *de la Case's* part, added he, he must be contented to lie in Irons during the whole Voyage, and so you shall have a new subject of Complaint when you come to *Bataria*.

attends solely to the main business of well and speedily lining his purse, and all look to the time when they shall be able to withdraw themselves from the insolent dominion of an arbitrary government, against which little or nothing can be said or done." (*Op. cit.*, i, 146.)

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : " en sa propre présence," omitted by translator.

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : " L'après midi."

<sup>3</sup> " If a copeman (*koopman* or factor) or under-copeman goes from port to port in any ship he has the command of her, and also of the fleet, or all ships in company, by the Company's settled order in their articles. When there is a fleet together under the command of a commandore, the council is to consist of copemen and skippers. When a ship is single the council is to be of copeman, skipper, under-copeman, book-keeper, and steersman. . . . All chiefs of factories have free power to dispose of their ships and men while they are under their chiefship, and as occasion requires in the Company's service. They may take out men, ammunition, provisions, and stores, though such ships come there casually through accident or necessity." (*Universal History, Modern*, vol. ix, p. 132.)

<sup>4</sup> In orig. : " & seulement pour nôtre nourriture."

Before we leave Isle *Maurice*, I will relate to you some things that I have observ'd there, and what I have heard concerning it. 'Tis well known that this Island<sup>1</sup> is situated in the 12th Degree of Southern Latitude<sup>2</sup>: It is almost round, and its Circumference is about fifty Leagues. I have read some where, that it was the *Portuguses* that discover'd it: They call'd it *Cerne*<sup>3</sup>; but when the *Hollanders* made themselves masters of it in the 20th of *September* 1598, they gave it the name of Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, then Governor of the *United Provinces*.

You may Anchor in three principal Places; at the Fort, the Black River, and the North-West Haven.

The Company maintains at the Fort, a Garrison of about fifty Men; and there are thirty or forty *Dutch* Families dispers'd throughout the Island.

After the fire had destroy'd great part of the Fort, as we have already acquainted you it did, it was rebuilt with Stone.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The well-known island of Mauritius is situated in lat. S. 20° 8', long. E. 57° 29'. It is about thirty-nine miles long by thirty-five miles wide, and over one hundred miles in circumference, whilst its area measures about seven hundred square miles, being a little smaller than the county of Surrey. It is at a distance of nearly five hundred miles from the east coast of Madagascar, and ninety-five miles from the lofty island of Réunion. (*Vide supra*, p. 156.) The northern part of the island is a low plain, covered with sugar plantations. In the centre is an elevated plateau rising to some 1,500 ft., the rocks being almost entirely volcanic. Around this plateau rise the principal mountain ranges, the remains of denuded crater-cliffs and *cirques* of an extinct volcano. Their peaks and summits attain heights varying from 1,900 ft. to 2,700 ft.

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "sous le 21<sup>me</sup> degré." These continual mistakes show great carelessness on the part of the translator, as regards figures.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide ante*, p. 157, and Appendix.

<sup>4</sup> M. l'Abbé de la Caille, who surveyed the island in 1753, writes: "This island has two very fine harbours. The least of them, which is called Port Louis, is situate towards the middle of the western coast, and there is the principal establishment of the East India Company. Ships must be towed into it, but they may sail out of it with the wind right aft. The other harbour, which is called Grand Port, or Port Bour-

They then mounted there, if I well remember, twenty good pieces of cast Canon.

The Soil of this Island<sup>1</sup> is almost every where reddish, and generally good, but about the Fort it is worth little or nothing.

The Road for Shipping, over against it, is dangerous and difficult to get out of, altho' there are two Outlets, because they necessarily require a certain Land-Wind, which comes but seldom, and profound Calms are frequent in these parts. The two other Roads are good enough.

There are in this Island great numbers of Ebony-Trees,<sup>2</sup>

bon, is situate towards the middle of the eastern coast of the island, and is very capacious and secure. Ships may enter it with a leading wind; but the departure from it is difficult, on account of the prevalence of the south-easterly winds, which blow directly into the principal of the two channels which form its openings. Here it was that the Dutch established their settlement, and built a fort, which they named Frederick Henry. Its foundations and a part of the walls remained in 1753, but they have since been entirely removed in order to erect a very handsome building for the reception of the commandant of the port and the garrison, as well as to contain the necessary magazines. (Grant, *l. c.*, p. 377. Cf. *St. Pierre*, p. 54.)

<sup>1</sup> Bernardin de St. Pierre remarks: "Everything here (in the *île de France*\*) differs from what is seen in Europe, even the herbage of the country. To begin with the soil: it is almost everywhere of a reddish colour, and mixed with veins of iron, which are frequently found near the surface, in the form of grains, the size of a pea." (*l. c.*, p. 57.)

<sup>2</sup> "The *Ebony-wood*; its leaves are large, the lower side white, the upper of a dingy green. The centre only of this tree is black, the sap and the bark being white. In a trunk from which may be cut a log six inches square there is frequently no more of real black ebony than two inches square. This wood, if worked while green, smells like human excrement, and its flowers like the July-flower; the very reverse of the cinnamon, whose flowers are stinking, and the wood and

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\* Leguat does not seem to have recognised the volcanic character of the rocks at Mauritius. On the road to Flacq, Leguat and his comrades would have passed from North-West Port by *Terre Rouge* river under *Montagne Longue*; and the red dust on the track to *Pamplemousses* doubtless attracted their attention.



white and black: The black is hardest. The Soldiers who are employ'd to saw this Wood, will saw twenty foot of White<sup>1</sup> before they can twelve of Black, and which is their ordinary Task for a day.

Here are Oranges<sup>2</sup> both sweet and sour,<sup>3</sup> and great plenty of Citrons of the same kind. Also divers of Trees fit for Shipping.<sup>4</sup> A good quarter of a League from the Fort, there is a Grove of Limon-Trees,<sup>5</sup> round which, as well as in

bark of a pleasant smell. The ebony bears a fruit like a medlar, full of viscous juice, that is sweet and pleasant-tasted. There is another sort of Ebony here, veined with black." (Bernardin de St. Pierre, *l. c.*, p. 63.) Ebony-trees. To the *Ebenaceæ* belong *Plaqueminier mellanide* or *Ebène blanc* (*Diospyros melanida*); *Ebène noir* (*D. tessellaria*.) (Pridham, p. 368.)

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "rouge."

<sup>2</sup> Oranges. *Citrus aurantium*, *C. Bigaradie*, *C. Bergamia*, *C. decumana*. Lemons and Citrons. *Citrus acida*, *C. Limonum*, *C. medica*, *C. Limetta*. Malagasy Orange, *Citrus Vangassaye*.

<sup>3</sup> The Citron-tree bears fruit in cool and damp places only; the citrons are small but full of juice.

<sup>4</sup> The Orange-tree also thrives in a soil of this kind; its fruit is larger, and sharp-tasted. Many of them grow in the neighbourhood of the Great Port (South-East Port); yet I doubt if these two species are natural to the island. The sweet orange is very rare, even in gardens. Orange-trees are of many sorts; among them is one yielding an orange called a *Mandarin*; a large kind of Pamplemousse, of a red colour and but middling taste; a citron that bears a very large fruit, but with little juice in it (the shaddock of the W. Indies)." (Bernardin de St. Pierre, *op. cit.*, p. 63.)

<sup>5</sup> In orig.: "aussi doux & aigres."

<sup>6</sup> In orig.: "pour la charpente."

<sup>7</sup> In van Braam's map is shown *de Groete Limoen Booms Rivier*, possibly the stream which flows into Bestel's Cove, indicating the Grove of Oranges and Lemons mentioned by Leguat. "There are also a great many sweet and sour lemon (*citroen-boomen*) and orange trees, planted in 1606 by Heer *Matelief van Keernan*, who brought them from the island of Annabon. And close by the Fort one overlooks a great wood, and near it a large plantation of tobacco and sugar-cane. There are here very fine pine-apples, pisang (plantain?), and other Indian fruits. The Calappus (*filao* or *casuarina*) and other trees grow well here. By the end of our occupancy there was also a Company's garden with all sorts of European (*Vaderlandze*) fruits; but rice does not thrive well here"

many other places of this Island, they plant Tobacco,<sup>1</sup> which is excessive strong: They plant likewise great numbers of Sugar-Canes.<sup>2</sup> The Spirit they draw from them, and which is here call'd *Araque*, is strong and unwholsom while it is new. I would say nothing of the *Ananas*, the *Bananes*, beautiful and excellent Fruit, which they have here in great abundance, because all Relations speak of them, were it not that there are divers sorts of them. The *Ananas*<sup>3</sup> of Isle *Maurice* comes out of the Ground like an Artichoke, and multiplies like it: Its Seed is in the Tuft that crowns the Fruit. This Plant bears but one of these Fruit, which is commonly about the bigness of a midling Melon, shap'd pretty much like a Pine-Apple,<sup>4</sup> and dazling the Eye on all sides with lively and beautiful Colours. It has a sort of Crown a top consisting of small Leaves, and one can never be tir'd with looking on it, no more than with admiring its sweet and exquisite Sapour; but as it is extreemly cold, it must be eaten with great Moderation. Its large and thick Leaf is arm'd on the sides with prickles, and resembles

(Valentyn, *l. c.*, p. 152). It is suggested that Valentyn may have seen Leguat and derived some information from him personally, as he had not visited Mauritius.

<sup>1</sup> "The tobacco is not good. None is planted but by the negroes for their own use." (St. Pierre, *l. c.*, p. 112. *Vide ante*, p. 147.)

<sup>2</sup> "The sugar-cane ripens here in perfection; the inhabitants make an indifferent sort of liquor, which they call *fangourin*. There is but one sugar-house in the whole island." (Bernardin de St. Pierre, *l. c.*, p. 120.) This one sugar-house is mentioned by Baron Grant in 1753. He says: "MM. Vigoureux of St. Malo have established an handsome sugar-work; but it is so ill-conducted, that the sugar has the appearance of Norman honey: it costs two sous the pound, and is quite disgusting; but we entertain the hope that the manufacture will improve. This sugar is employed to cover houses in the Italian manner, and, being incorporated with chalk, forms a kind of mastic; and being spread on fine planks, becomes hard as pavement. The Indians alone know how to make this composition." (*Op. cit.*, p. 370.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ananas*, or pineapple, *Bromelia ananas*.

<sup>4</sup> In orig.: "pomme de pin," *i. e.*, a pine or fir cone.

somewhat that of Aloes.<sup>1</sup> The description we have of the *Ananas* of *Brasile*, differs something from this. They have little Leaves that come out on all sides between the grains of the Fruit.

The *Banane* Plant<sup>2</sup> is large and fine, it rises about ten or twelve foot out of the Ground, and has very large Leaves of an Oval Figure. It bears a Fruit as long as one's Hand, and of the bigness of the fist of a Child of four years old. It is outwardly yellow when 'tis ripe, white within, a little clammy like the inside of an Apricock, and of a delicate and excellent Flavour.

There are also to be found in this Island, Coco's,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "de l'Alôé," presumably the ἀλση of Dioscorides and Pliny; the bitter aloe of Africa. Leguat's editor bases his description of this fruit on the fuller details given by M. de Rochefort in his *History of the Antilles* (l. c., p. 248), of the *Bromelia fastuosa*, whose leaf is likened by that writer to the "Aloes", meaning perhaps the agave of America.

<sup>2</sup> The Banana or Plantain, *Musa paradisiaca*, var.

"The *Banana-tree* grows everywhere. It has no wood or stock, being only a tuft of flowers, which springs up in columns, and blows at the top in large and long leaves, of a beautiful satiny green. At the end of a year there issues from the summit a long stem, all hung with fruit, in the form of a cucumber; two of these stems are a load for a black; the fruit, which is mealy, is also very pleasant and nutritive. The blacks are very fond of it, and it is given to them on the 1st of January as a New-Year's gift; they count their years of sorrow by the number of banana-feasts they have regaled at. Linen cloth might be made from the thread of the banana-tree. The shape of the leaves like belts of silk, the length of its stem, the upper part of which hangs down from the height of a man, and whose violet colour at the end gives it the look of a serpent's head, may have occasioned its being called by the name of Adam's fig-tree. This fruit lasts all the year; there are many sorts of it, from the size of a plum to the length of a man's arm." (Bernardin de St. Pierre, *op. cit.*, p. 123.)

<sup>3</sup> *Cocos nucifera*. "The Coco-tree is planted here; 'tis a kind of palm, which thrives in the sand; this is one of the most useful trees in the Indian trade, though it affords nothing else than a bad sort of oil and cables as bad in their kind. It is reckoned at Pondicherry that each cocotree is worth a pistole a year. Travellers speak much in praise of its



Palm-Trees,<sup>1</sup> Plantane-Trees,<sup>2</sup> and divers sorts of Fruit-Trees.<sup>3</sup>

fruit ; but our flax will ever be preferred to its cotton for making cloth, our wines to its liquor, and our filberds to its nut." (Bernardin de St. Pierre, *op. cit.*, p. 125.)

<sup>1</sup> *Dictyosperma alba*, *Acanthophænix rubra*, *Hyophorbe indica*, *Acanthophænix crinita*. *Hyophorbe amaricaulis*, is indigenous on Round Island. (*Baker and Balfour*.)

"There are still some other trees, which, though curious, are of little or no use, as the *Date*, which seldom bears fruit ; the Palm, which is called here the *Araque* (*Areca*) ; and that which produces sago. The *Vacoa* is a kind of small palm-tree, whose leaves grow spirally round the trunk ; they make mats and bags of them. [This is the *pandanus*, not a palm.] The *Palm-tree* rises in the forest above all the other trees ; it bears at the heart a cluster of palms, whence there issues a shoot, which is all this tree affords fit to be eaten ; and to get at this the tree must be cut down. This shoot, which they call the cabbage, is formed of young leaves rolled one over the other, very tender, and of a very pleasant taste." (*St. Pierre*, p. 63.)

<sup>2</sup> *Latania Commersonii*, *L. Loddigesii*. "The *Latanier* is a large kind of palm-tree : it bears at the top one leaf only, in the shape of a fan, with which they cover their houses. (*Ibid.*, p. 63.)

<sup>3</sup> "Fruit-trees." Between 1750 and 1770, M. Poivre introduced into the Isle of France the spice-trees of the Malaysian Archipelago and many exotic and economical fruits and plants, some of which, by the time Bernardin St. Pierre visited the island, had become thoroughly naturalised and established. The latter says : "I have seen here cherry, apricot, medlar, apple, pear, olive, and mulberry-trees ; but without fruit, though some of them had flowers. The fig-tree produces a tolerable fruit. The vine does not succeed upon props, but, when in arbours, bears grapes, which, like those in the gardens of Alcinous, ripen one part after another ; a good vintage, therefore, cannot be expected. The peach-tree gives fruit enough, and well-tasted ; but they are never luscious. There is a white louse which destroys them. . . ." "The fruit-trees are the *Attier*, whose triangular flower, of a solid substance, tastes like the *pistachio* ; its fruit is like a pineapple ; when it is ripe, it is full of a white and sweetish cream, which smells like the orange-flower ; it is full of black kernels. (This is the custard-apple.) The *Atte* is very pleasant, but, being very heating, soon cloys and gives a pain in the stomach to those who eat it (*Anona squamosa*).

"The *Mango* is a very beautiful tree. It is covered with superb

There is a sort of Shrub call'd *Stront-boom*<sup>1</sup> or T-Tree, which is extremely Venomous. The middle of its Trunk is

girandoles of flowers like the Indian chestnut. To these succeed a great number of fruits, shaped like a large flat plum, covered with a rind, which smells like turpentine. This fruit has a vinous and agreeable taste; and, but for its smell, might vie with the best fruits of Europe. It is never prejudicial to those who eat it, and I should think a wholesome and pleasant drink might be made from it. This tree has one inconvenience attending it, being covered with fruit at the time of the hurricanes, which strip it of the greater part."

M. St. Pierre also mentions the Guava (*Psidium* sp.), of which there are three species in the island—the Jamrosa (which includes three species of *Jambosa*; the Papaye (*Carica Papaya*); the Badamier (*Terminalia Catappa*); the Avoca, or alligator-pear (*Persea gratissima*); the Jack (*Artocarpus integrifolia*); the Tamarind; the Cashew-nut (*Anacardium* sp.); the Cinnamon; and one Cacao (*Theobroma cacao*).

The Ravinsara (*Agathophyllum aromaticum*) was introduced by M. Poivre, as were also the Mangosteen and the Litchi, the clove, nutmeg, and other valuable spice-trees.

<sup>1</sup> The *Strontboom* of Leguat, or *Mapou* of St. Pierre, is somewhat difficult to identify. Baron Grant (p. 37) writes: "A large and very uncommon tree is found among the rocks, whose substance is as soft as the flesh of a turnip. It is called *Mapou*, or stinking wood, from its offensive odour, and is considered unwholesome. M. Bernardin de St. Pierre, writing from The Port, October 8th, 1768, states: "Some days ago I perceived a large tree in the middle of some rocks, and, being desirous of cutting a piece with my knife, was surprised at the whole blade entering without my using the least force. It was of a substance like a turnip, and of a very disagreeable taste; for some hours after (although I did not swallow any part of it) my throat was much inflamed, and felt as if pricked by pins. This tree is called *Mapou*, and is looked upon as poisonous." Mr. Baker says: "*Mapou*, in Mauritius, is *Vitis Mappia*, a harmless vine. *Bois mapou*, more than one species of *Pisonia*, also harmless; purgative, perhaps, but not actively poisonous." He adds: "I should think the poisonous tree would most likely be a *Stillingia* (*Euphorbiaceæ*), or something of that kind. . . ." "There is a *Stillingia Fanguina* in Mauritius, which I infer, from the name, is poisonous. That sort of plants have an acrid milky juice, and the Seychelles ally is superstitiously dreaded by the native, called *Bois Jasmin*. The *Mapou* of the Plaine des Caffres, in Bourbon, is stated by Maillard to be *Monimia rotundifolia*. *Monimia rotundifolia* of Mauritius, in the herbarium at Kew, is labelled, says



larger than either its bottom or top. Its Wood is flabby, and its Leaves would nearly resemble those of our Willows, were it not that they are a little larger. I have neither observ'd Flowers nor Fruit upon it: Both the Wood and the Rind are a speedy and deadly Poyson, and which as I have heard, admits of no Antidote. One day as I was coming thro' a Wood in my return from Hunting, I chanc'd to break off a little Branch of it, and without making any Reflection, or having heard of this Tree, I put a little bit of it in my Mouth. I threw it away that instant without swallowing my Spittle, and yet I thought I should have died of it. For twenty-four hours together, it seem'd to me as if some body was throtling me, and my Throat was so swell'd, I could hardly breath. In Countries where one is an absolute Stranger, one ought to take particular care of these sort of things. I was told the only way to distinguish the venomous Fruits in these Islands, from such as were not so, was to offer them to some Ape of the Island,<sup>1</sup> who if they were naught, would undoubtedly refuse them. In the

Mr. Scott Elliott, *Bois de Tierle.*" Professor Balfour writes, with regard to *Monimia*: "It may be worth noting what may, however, be merely a coincidence—the allied genus *Tambourina* has a species, *Bois tambour* (there is the translator's T. tree?)—and some species of *Tambourina* have been called *Mithridatea*—and this genus was founded by Commerson, the father of so many Mascarene genera, and taken up by Schreber. I do not find any poisonous qualities now attributed to the *Monimiaceæ*; but if the tree had not some reputation in connection with poisoning—antidotal or itself venomous—why should Commerson give it such a name? At least it should be a medicine-yielding tree. . . . Unless some evidence from the nomenclature takes one to *Stillingia*, I should prefer to trust to the clue which such evidence affords and seek for the plant either among the *Vitis* or the *Monimiaceæ*. . . . I cannot conjecture what it (the *Strontboom*) might be. It would be strange if the name of so conspicuous a tree as the Mapou must have been in Leguat's time was transferred to another tree without its properties, even if the original Mapou were exterminated."

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "parce qu'on peut à coup sûr manger de ce qu'il mange, comme on doit aussi laisser ce qu'il persiste à refuser."



middle of the Country in a great Plain<sup>1</sup> environ'd with Mountains, there is a Wood that is very dangerous to go into. The Branches of the Trees are so thick at top, and so interlac'd with one another, that it is altogether impossible to see the Sun, by which means one wanders one knows not whither, and oftentimes one is lost as it were in a Labyrinth, which Misfortune is so much the greater, in that one meets with nothing to eat.

<sup>1</sup> "Plain and Forest." The Abbé de la Caille states that in 1753, when he surveyed the island: "The Isle of France is almost entirely covered with woods, which are of a handsome appearance, particularly on the south-east side; but a passage through is rendered very difficult and troublesome, from the quantity of fern and creeping plants. These plants, whose branches, like those of our ivy, wind about and interlace themselves with the shrubs and dead wood, render the forests in a great measure impassable. Nor can a passage be obtained in any part of them but by circuitous ways, which are known to few. These forests are the refuge of the Maroon negroes." He has marked "*Forêt très Epaisse*", N.W. of the Montagne des Créoles, in the Municipality of Grand Port, in his map.

Mr. Pike says: "The ascent on the Grand Port side is so rugged and steep, that it is called l'Escalier, and between it and the Rivière Tabac stands a fair-sized village. Beyond this lies a tract of country, in former times a dense forest, containing such fine timber-trees that it obtained the name of Gros Bois. From the destruction of these trees, even so early as the time of occupation by the Dutch, doubtless many species, once abundant, are now rare, if not wholly extinct. The reckless way the trees were cut down by the crews of every vessel that touched here must have made great changes in the forests. During the present century the same want of system has prevented the growth to full size of the best timber. In the Gros Bois are still fine specimens of *Calophyllum*, but they are rare. The Tatamaka, *Elæodendron*, Colophon, and two species of ebony yet abound, and a host of others." (*Op. cit.*, p. 320.) "The East India Company set apart, for their forges at Mondesir, an extent of wood of ten thousand acres called the Reserves; they then imagined that, by making regular falls of timber in these lofty woods, they would shoot forth again the following year, and that the young trees, being left untouched, would replace the larger ones. But it was found that the woods, once cut down, did not grow again; and, in the year 1770, the people at Mondesir were obliged to go a league and a half to fetch charcoal." (*Le Gentil, l. c.*, ii, p. 680.)

The Governor of Isle Maurice<sup>1</sup> before this last, happen'd one day to enter this Wood, and plung'd himself so deep into it before he was aware, that he knew not how to get out. Both he and his followers had soon made an end of their Provisions, and they were just ready to starve, when by good fortune they chanc'd to find a way out, after they had vainly sought one for four days.

The other Woods of this Island are easie enough to traverse. There are some very pleasant, and where you find Apes<sup>2</sup> of divers kinds. These mischievous Beasts do a great deal of damage to the Inhabitants, inasmuch as they take delight in plucking up whatever is sown.

This island in general is very Mountainous, and full of Woods, as most Countries are that are slenderly Inhabited. It is water'd by divers rapid Rivers,<sup>3</sup> on some of which the

<sup>1</sup> M. La Mocius, predecessor to M. Rodolphe Diodati, *vide ante*, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Monkeys were introduced by the Portuguese into the island, according to the Abbé de la Caille. There are two species, both of a middling size, the largest of which has thick hair of a reddish-grey colour, with a long tail; they are both gregarious. These animals frequently venture in droves, sometimes of sixty or seventy, to plunder the houses of the inhabitants. (Pridham, *l. c.*, p. 226; cf. *Grant*, p. 65.)

M. Bernardin de St. Pierre has recorded: "The monkey of the Isle of France is of a middling size. It is of a reddish-grey cast, and has a long tail. This animal is fond of society. I have seen them in troops of sixty at a time. They frequently come in droves and pillage the houses. Scouts are placed on the tops of trees and the points of the rocks, who, as soon as they see any dogs or hunters approach, cry out, to alarm the others, who immediately decamp. They will climb up the steepest mountain, and rest upon the slightest edge of a precipice, where no other quadruped (?) of its size dare venture." (*Op. cit.*, p. 67.)

<sup>3</sup> "The island", writes Bernardin de St. Pierre, "is watered by about sixty rivulets, some of which have no water in the dry season, especially since so much timber has been cut down. The interior part of the island is full of ponds, and in this part it rains nearly all the year round, the clouds being stopped by the mountains and the woods at the top of them." M. de St. Pierre also notices a cotton-mill, worked by water, constructed by M. de Seligny at Grande Rivière; and he also remarks a large mill, nearly fallen to ruins, at Grand Port. (*l. c.*, p. 56.)



Inhabitants have built Mills to saw Boards. These Rivers have Fish enough.<sup>1</sup>

On each side of these Rivers you frequently meet with little Valleys, whose Soil is admirably good. There are great tracts of Ground level enough, especially that formerly mention'd call'd *Flac*<sup>2</sup> or *Flat-Ground*: 'tis on this Spot, the

<sup>1</sup> "The fresh-water fish are better than ours; and appear to be of the same kind as those which are taken in the sea. Among these the best are the lubin, the mullet, and the carp; the cabot, that lives in the torrents formed by rocks, to which it adheres by means of a concave membrane; and very large and delicate shrimps. The eel is a kind of conger; there are some from seven to eight feet in length, and of the thickness of a man's leg; they retire into the holes of the rivers, and sometimes devour those who are so imprudent as to bathe there." (Baron Grant, *l. c.*, p. 59.)

"Foreign fish have been even brought to this place. The *Gourami* comes from Batavia. It is a fresh-water fish, and is esteemed to be the best in the Indies. It is like the salmon, but more delicate. Here are also the gold-fish from China, which lose their beauty as they increase in size. These two species multiply in the pools." (*Ibid.*, p. 69.) The *Gourami* or *Gouramier* is the *Osphromenus olfax*.

<sup>2</sup> "This part, which is called *la Flacq*, is the best cultivated in the island; rice grows in great plenty. There is a creek in the rocks, by which barges can come and load with the greatest convenience." (Bernardin de St. Pierre, *op. cit.*, p. 170.) *Vide supra*, p. 149.

M. de Gentil, who wrote in 1779, states: "The District of *Flacq*, which is a quarry of rocks, produces the finest maize. Such a soil is not favourable to corn; the inhabitants, therefore, clear away the smallest stones, and plant maize in the places which they occupied, where it is found to luxuriate and grow to the height of from eight to ten feet; and, unpromising as the soil is, the settlers look for two, and sometimes three, harvests in the course of the year. A certain portion of it they pour into the public magazines; with the rest they nourish their slaves, barter for corn, and feed their hogs and poultry, with which they traffic. They have every convenience that is to be derived from water, as *Flacq* is a kind of archipelago, on account of the various branches of water that intersect it. This quarter also possesses, in the low grounds towards the sea, some parcels of ground which are proper for the cultivation of rice; and it was that part of the island which supplied the Company's magazine with such a necessary article." "At *Flacq* the corn generally produces twenty-fold, and sometimes thirty in fresh ground; but no more than ten in that which has been in a long and successive state of tillage. (*Vide Voyage dans les Mers de l'Inde*, vol. ii, pp. 669, 672.)



greatest part of the Colony inhabit. I don't know whether I have already told you, that the *Company* has a Garden here furnish'd with all our Plants of Europe, especially such as could be cultivated with Success in this foreign Climate. Wheat will not thrive there, nor any other sort of Corn.

The Vine grows well enough, and I have seen good Arbours; but the Grapes don't ripen well, which it may be, may proceed partly from the Ignorance or Laziness of those that cultivate them, or rather that do not cultivate them at all.

It is from this Garden the *Company* has its Potatoes, Fruits, and other things with which it feeds<sup>1</sup> its Garrison, the *Negroe*-Slaves, and all others that depend on it. A Boat goes every Week twice or thrice to the great River,<sup>2</sup> whence it brings all that has been brought thither from Flac on Waggons, for the use of the Fort. This is inconvenient and of great expence, it being above eight Leagues thither from Flac, which way is partly by Water, and partly by Land. The Earth about the Fort is extremely barren, and the Water is by no means good, being impregnated with Salt-Petre. There is a corner in the Island call'd the *Burnt Country*,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Whatever is bought for the king, is sold to him at one-third less than its real worth—the corn of the inhabitants, all buildings erected for him, stores, and expeditions of every sort." (*B. de St. Pierre*, p. 175.)

<sup>2</sup> *Grande Rivière Sud-Est*, as distinguished from *la Grande Rivière*, near Port Louis. At the mouth of this river is a convenient port for small vessels, protected by a battery and military station, opposite the northern entrance to Grand Port (see map, *supra*, p. 160), and some eight miles south of Flacq. This was *de Groote Rivier* of the Dutch, represented by van Braam as joined by *de Katties Rivier*, and falling into Both's Bay. It is one of the largest rivers in the island, rising by the *Piton du Milieu*, and draining the northern slopes of the Bambou Mountains. It is joined by the *Rivière Profonde*, which drains the southern flanks of the Blanche Mountains, both streams traversing the district called *Trois Islets*. Below the junction of their waters their channel is obstructed by a dyke of basalt, by which a fine cascade is formed.

<sup>3</sup> The "Burnt Country", near Grand Bassin, now called "*Le Bois*

because the Trees that were formerly there were burnt, but there have several come up since in their stead, although the Soil be Rocky.

Potatoes<sup>1</sup> thrive here wonderfully everywhere, and are the ordinary food of the Inhabitants. These sort of *Topinambous*<sup>2</sup> serve them for Bread, in like manner as to the common People of *Ireland*. When they have a mind to have any Rice, they buy it of the *Company*. It is not but that Grain will grow here,<sup>3</sup> the Water and Earth being proper for it in divers Places, but these People are too Idle and Lazy to cultivate it, this sort of Grain requiring a more than ordinary Care: The common Meat here is Venison.<sup>4</sup>

*Sec'*, is a curious district, dreary in the extreme, where thousands of dried-up skeletons of trees, blanched to a ghastly whiteness, meet the eye on every side, contrasting with the neighbouring evergreen woods. It is the portion of a forest which has, apparently, been blighted by the poisonous exhalations from some volcanic fissure, in connection, possibly, with the adjacent extinct crater-lake, Grand Bassin, now filled with water. (See Pike, *l. c.*, p. 318.) The district within the active sphere of the volcano in Réunion is still named *Le pays brûlé*.

<sup>1</sup> *Patates*, wrongly translated potatoes, are the various species of so-called sweet potato (*Convolvulus Batatas*), of which a number of excellent varieties are grown in the island. The American potatoes, *pommes de terre* (*Solanum tuberosum*), grow almost wild on the heights of the Réunion Mountains, and are exported thence to Mauritius.

<sup>2</sup> *Topinambours* are Jerusalem artichokes (*Helianthus tuberosus*).

<sup>3</sup> "Rice, the best and perhaps the most wholesome of all aliments, thrives very much. It keeps longer than wheat, and yields more plentifully. A wet soil agrees with it best. There are above seven different species of it in Asia, one of which grows best in a dry soil; it were to be wished that this grain were cultivated in Europe, on account of its extraordinary fertility." (B. de St. Pierre, *op. cit.*, p. 112.)

<sup>4</sup> "There are in the woods wild goats, wild hogs, and especially stags, which had multiplied to such a degree, that whole squadrons were supplied with venison for provisions. Their flesh is very good, especially during the months of April, May, June, July, and August." (*Ibid.*, p. 134.)

"Between the two mouths of the Black River, a stag pursued by hounds and hunters came straight towards me. The poor beast wept and panted; as I could not save it, and was unwilling to kill it, I fired one of my charges in the air. He then took to the water, and



The Deer are so fat, that after having ran a quarter of a League they drop down, and submit themselves to the mercy of the Dogs: Here are likewise great numbers of Goats; they are very fat, and their Flesh has no ill Tast. They are much eaten while the Deer are in their Rutting-time, because the Venison has a stinking and insupportable Tast: Here are Hogs of the *China* kind.<sup>1</sup> Altho' these are not near so good as our wild Boars, yet they are much eaten for all that: These Beasts do a great deal of Damage to the Inhabitants, by devouring all the young Animals they can catch.

The Bulls and Cows of the better kind have been brought hither from *Madagascar*,<sup>2</sup> and they have multiply'd exceedingly; they have a bunch upon their backs. The Cows afford but very little milk. One *Holland* one yields six times as much, neither is their Beef near so good as ours. There are wild Cows that are originally of this Island, or at least

was overtaken and killed by the dogs." (*St. Pierre*, p. 151.) The editor of the present version has witnessed a similar scene, when a fine stag swam halfway across the bay at Black River; but it was pursued by some gunners, who captured it, and cut its throat. The deer still exist in considerable numbers, being carefully preserved; they are of the species from India known as the Sambur.

<sup>1</sup> "The *Cochon marron* of Mauritius has evidently descended from animals introduced by the first Portuguese voyagers. Whether they are from a *Chinese* stock, as Leguat avers, it would be impossible now to determine. The boars grow to a considerable size, have fine tusks, and their shoulder-plates are of wonderful toughness; in all respects they rival the wild boar of Europe. They occasionally attain to a weight of four hundred pounds, with tusks nine inches in length." (*Vide Pike, l. c.*, p. 219.)

<sup>2</sup> "Among those animals which we may call the domestic quadrupeds, are sheep, that fatten and lose their wool, goats that thrive prodigiously, and oxen of the *Madagascar* breed, that have a great hump on their neck; the cows of this breed give but very little milk; those from Europe give much more, but their calves degenerate. I saw once two cows and two bulls from Bengal which were no bigger than an ass. This breed did not succeed." (*B. de St. Pierre, op. cit.*, p. 134.)





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were found there by those that first discover'd it, but they must of necessity have been brought thither one time or other. Here are also many wild Horses,<sup>1</sup> which are sometimes kill'd to feed Dogs with. These two sorts of Animals, I mean Dogs and Horses, are subject to the Falling-Sickness,<sup>2</sup> and several of them die of it, especially when they are young.

This Island formerly abounded with wild Geese<sup>3</sup> and Ducks, Moor-Hens, Water-Quails, Sea and Land Tortoises, but now all these are become scarce. The Sharks also, and divers other Sea-Animals<sup>4</sup> have forsook it, since the Natives have been accustom'd to lay Nets for them. You shall see

<sup>1</sup> "Horses are very dear, and by no means fine ones. A common horse cannot be bought for less than a hundred pistoles. They fall to decay very soon at the Port, from the excessive heat. They are never shod, although the island is so rocky. Mules are rarely seen. The asses are small, but few in number." (*B. de St. Pierre*, p. 135.)

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "au haut mal," *i.e.*, the staggers.

<sup>3</sup> Writing in 1769, Bernardin de St. Pierre remarks: "There is great plenty of every-thing at Black River, of game, venison, and both fresh-water and sea fish. While we were at dinner one day, a servant came to tell us that some *lamentins* were seen in the bay; we ran down immediately; they cast nets across the entrance, and, when drawn ashore, we found a great quantity of sword-fish, of skates, two sea-turtles, and other kinds of fish; but the *lamentins* had escaped" (*l. c.*, p. 141).

Bernardin de St. Pierre visited this port in 1769, at which time he writes: "The South-East Port was formerly inhabited by the Dutch, one of whose ancient buildings is now used as a chapel. There are two ways to enter the Port, one at Point Diable, for small vessels; the other, which is much wider, is by the side of an island (*Ile de la Passe*) towards the middle. At each of these places is a battery, and at the bottom of the bay is a third, called the Queen's battery" (*l. c.*, p. 166; vide *ante*, p. 196, to which page this note belongs.)

<sup>4</sup> "Whales frequently come into the South-East Port, where it would be very easy and safe to harpoon them. Fish is very plentiful upon this coast, especially shell-fish of the most beautiful kinds. Whales are often seen to the windward of this island about September, the time of their coupling. I have seen many this season, that kept themselves upright in the water, and came very near the coast. They are smaller than the northern ones. There is no whale fishery, but the



great flights of Bitterns,<sup>1</sup> and many of those Birds call'd Giants,<sup>2</sup> because they are six foot high. They are extremely high mounted, and have very long necks: Their Bodies are not bigger than that of a Goose. They are all white, except a little place under their Wings, which is reddish. They have a Goose's Bill, but a little sharper; their Claws are very long, and divided. They feed in Marshy Places, and the *Dogs* frequently surprize them, because they require a considerable time to get upon the Wing: We saw one one day at *Rodrigo*, and we took him with our Hands, he was so fat. That was the only one we observ'd there, which made me inclinable to believe he had been carry'd thither by some Wind he could not resist. This Game is good enough.

There are also a kind of small Birds<sup>3</sup> pretty much like our Sparrows, except that their throats are red. Parrots<sup>4</sup> of

negroes are not unacquainted with the method of harpooning them. Sea-cows are sometimes caught here; I have eaten of them; their flesh is like beef; I never saw any of this fish." (*Voyage to the Isle of France, l. c.*, p. 75.)

<sup>1</sup> "Bitterns." Probably the night-herons, now extinct, before mentioned, at *Rodrigo*. At *Réunion* ancient voyagers speak of large blue birds, which frequented the *plaine des Cafres*, which are supposed to have been the Madagascan "*poule sultane*" (*porphyrio Madagascariensis*); vide *ante*, p. 45. See Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> "There are there a great many birds, such as bitterns (*puttooren*); also a bird called the giant, because its head stands quite five to six feet high, besides they are very long in the legs and neck, but as to the body not larger than a goose. Perhaps this is the *walg-vogel* about which we read in the second voyage of *Jacob van Neck*." (*Valentyn, op. cit.*, p. 152; vide *ante*, p. 44, and Appendix.)

<sup>3</sup> "There is a beautiful *titmouse* here with a number of white specks on the wings, and the *Cardinal* (*Foudia Madagascariensis*), whose head, neck, and belly, at a particular season, are of a lively red; the rest of its plumage is of a pearl-coloured grey. 'This bird comes from Bengal.'" (*B. de St. Pierre*, p. 133). Rice-birds or "calfats" (*Munia oryzivora*).

<sup>4</sup> Parrots (*Lophopsittacus*, and *Poliopsitta cana*) and parroquets (*Cora-copsis vaza*?). "I have seen many sorts of Parrots, but none very handsome. There is a species of green parroquet with a grey head. They



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all sorts are likewise to be found here in great abundance. Here moreover are Pigeons<sup>1</sup> and Blackbirds,<sup>2</sup> but few of them. Bats,<sup>3</sup> which are much valued in this Country, are here in great Numbers, as are likewise Lizards.<sup>4</sup>

are as large as sparrows. It is impossible to tame them. These also are enemies to the harvest, but they are very good to eat." (*Ibid.*, p. 69.)

<sup>1</sup> "There is a pigeon called the Dutch-pigeon, of a most magnificent plumage; and another sort, which, although of a very pleasant taste, are so dangerous, that those who eat them are thrown into convulsions." (*St. Pierre*, p. 69.)

<sup>2</sup> "Blackbirds." "A bird that has multiplied very fast in the island is the *Martin* (*Acridotheres tristis*), a species of the Indian *sansonnnet*, or *Fiskin* (? starling), with a yellow beak and claws. It differs but little from ours except in plumage, which is less spotted. In chirping, however, as well as in an aptitude to talk, and to mimic other birds, it perfectly resembles the European species. It will perch upon and peck at beasts without fear, but the prey which it pursues with an unwearied perseverance is the grasshopper (*Gryllus Capensis*), numbers of which species are destroyed by it. The martins always fly about in pairs, and assemble constantly at sunset in flocks of some thousands. After a general chattering, the whole republic falls asleep, and at daybreak again disperses in pairs to the different quarters of the island. This bird is not fit to eat; yet they are sometimes shot, though shooting them is prohibited." (*B. de St. Pierre*, p. 132.) "In the woods are found black-birds, which, when called to by a sportsman, will come to the muzzle of his gun. This is a kind of game much in request" (*Coq de bois?*). (*St. Pierre*, p. 69.) "The Isle of France was formerly exposed to the ravages of locusts. None of these noxious insects, however, have been seen since 1770. It is pretended that the *Martins*, a kind of bird brought here from India, and which have multiplied in a very extraordinary manner, have destroyed them. It is certain that these birds feed upon them with avidity, when they are just produced, and before they have wings." (Observations by M. de Cossigny, Governor of the Isle de France in 1791. See *Grant*, p. 518.)

<sup>3</sup> "Bats." "Two sorts of bats are found here; one like ours, the other as big as a small cat, very fat; and is eaten by the inhabitants as a rarity." (*St. Pierre*, p. 69.)

<sup>4</sup> "Lizards." "The apartments are at certain seasons filled with moths or small butterflies, that come and sing themselves in the candle. They are so numerous that the candles are frequently obliged to be put into cylinders of glass. They draw into the houses a very handsome small lizard, about a finger's length. Its eyes are lively; it

Rats<sup>1</sup> and Mice swarm here, and do a great deal of damage to the *Company* and Inhabitants, by gnawing their Sugar-Canes, and devouring their Pulse. If they would make use of the same means we did at *Rodrigo*, they might get rid of the greatest part of them; yet some few Regiments of Cats would make the shortest work with them, and soon exterminate those mischievous Vermin.

Small and green Caterpillars<sup>2</sup> reign here for three or four Months in the year, and eat up almost every thing.

climbs along the walls, and even along the glass; lives upon flies and other insects, and watches with great patience for an opportunity of catching them. It lays eggs that are small and round like peas, having a white and yellow shell, as the eggs of pullets. I have seen some of these lizards so tame that they would come and take sugar out of a person's hand. Far from being mischievous, they are, on the contrary, very useful. Some very beautiful ones are to be seen in the woods, of an azure and changeable green, marked with crimson on the back, like Arabic characters." (*B. de St. Pierre*, p. 73.)

<sup>1</sup> "The rat seems a native of this island. There are prodigious numbers of them, and it is said that the place was abandoned by the Dutch because of this creature. In some houses they are so numerous that 30,000 are killed in a year. They make large hoards under ground, both of corn and fruits, and climb up to the tops of trees to eat the young birds. They will pierce the very thickest rafters. One may see them at sunset, running about in all parts, and in one night they will destroy an entire crop. I have seen a field of maize in which they have not left one single ear. They are exactly like the rats of Europe, and have, very possibly, come from thence in ships. Mice are very common here; the havoc they make is incredible." (*St. Pierre*, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-8.)

"The breed of cats degenerate greatly on this island; they grow lean and thin-flanked. The rats scarcely fear them; the dogs are, therefore, the rat-catchers, and my *Favourite* has often distinguished himself in this service. I have seen him strangle the largest rat in the Southern hemisphere. The dogs, in the long run, lose their hair and their sense of smelling, but it is said they never go mad here". (*B. de St. Pierre*, p. 135.)

<sup>2</sup> "In the trunks of the trees there is found a large worm, with paws, that picks the trees; they call it *Montac*. The blacks, and even the white people, eat them greedily." (*Ibid.*, *l. c.*, p. 72.) "The centipedes are frequently found in damp places. This insect seems destined to drive mankind from the unwholesome air they breed



Sea and Land Crabs<sup>1</sup> are here also to be found, but in small numbers.

in. Its sting is very painful. My dog was bit by one of them, which was more than six inches long; the wound turned to a kind of ulcer, and was three weeks in healing." (*Ibid.*, *l. c.*, p. 70.)

<sup>1</sup> "There are lobsters or cray-fish of a prodigious size, their claws are not large; they are blue-marbled with black. I have seen here a species of lobster that is smaller and of a beautiful form; it was of a sky-blue; it had two little claws, divided into two articulations, like a knife with the blade shutting into the handle."

"There is a great variety of crabs. The following seemed to be most worthy of notice. A sort that is rugged, with tubercules and points like a madreporé (*Parthenope spinosissima*); another that has upon its back the impression of five seals; another with something in the shape of a horse-shoe at the end of its claws; a sort covered with hair, that has no claws, and that adheres to the sides of ships; a crab marbled with grey, the shell of which, though smooth and polished, is very uneven. Many irregular and strange figures are observable among these, which are, notwithstanding, perfectly alike upon each crab; that with its eyes at the end of two long tubes like telescopes, which, when it is not using them, it deposits in grooves along the side of its shell. A crab with red claws, one much larger than the other (*Cancer sanguinolentus*). A small crab with a shell thrice as big as itself, in which it is covered over as by a buckler, so that its claws cannot be seen when it walks." (*B. de St. Pierre*, p. 77.)

"A kind of crab has been lately discovered to burrow at the foot of the coco-nut palm. Nature has provided this animal with a long claw, at the end of which is a nail serving to extract the substance of the fruit by the holes I have described. It has not the large pincers of other crabs—they would be useless to it. This animal was discovered on the Isle of Palms, to the north of Madagascar, by the shipwrecked crew of the *Heureux*, which was lost there going to Bengal." (*Ibid.*, p. 127.) "Thesea-side is full of holes in which lodge a great number of *Toulouroux*; they are an amphibious crab, and make burrows underground like moles. They run very fast, and if you attempt to catch them they snap their claws, and present their points by way of menace." (*Ibid.*, p. 69.)

"Another amphibious and very extraordinary creature is the *Bernard l'Hermite*, a kind of lobster whose hinder part is not provided with a shell, but it instinctively lodges itself in empty shells which it finds on the shore. One may see them run along in great numbers, each with its house after it, which it abandons for a larger when its growth makes it necessary." (*Ibid.*, p. 70.)



Here are no Serpents<sup>1</sup> to be seen, and the People say they have been miraculously driven from this Island, as the *Irish* pretend *St. Patrick* has banish'd all venomous Animals from their Country.

There are neither Lice nor Fleas, nor Toads,<sup>2</sup> nor Frogs to be seen here, no more than at *Rodrigo*, and I fancy there are none in any of the Islands hereabouts. This abounds with Fish,<sup>3</sup> and affords sometimes yellow Amber,<sup>4</sup> and Amber-greece in like manner with *Rodrigo*.

Hurricanes were formerly very frequent and furious in this Island, but for twenty years, or thereabouts, they have none but that before-mention'd which we underwent on our Rock. 'Tis true, they have in their stead, at certain Seasons,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Serpents." "There are no serpents in the Isle of France, and it is said that they cannot live there; while in the surrounding islets, called the *Isle Ronde*, the *Isle Longue*, and the *Coin de Mire*, there are both adders and serpents. I do not pretend to verify this opinion, but in the *Coin de Mire* I have seen lizards twelve inches long." (*De la Caille*; vide Grant, *l. c.*, p. 378.)

Curiously enough, snakes have been found in Round Island at fourteen miles north-east of Mauritius, although not on the mainland. They belong to the Python family, forming a distinct genus, *Casarea*. (Cf. Wallace, *Island Life*, Part II, chap. xix.)

<sup>2</sup> No frogs or toads, but such as have been introduced, ex't in the Mascarene islands. Some European and Indian species, including *Bufo melanostictus*, are now acclimatised inhabitants. (Wallace, *l. c.*, p. 409.)

<sup>3</sup> "The coasts", says Baron Grant in 1741, "abound in fish, which have been already described, as well as enormous eels which are found in the rivers. I have frequently killed them with my gun in shallow waters." (*Op. cit.*, p. 195.) "The *Vieille* is a blackish fish, and in form and taste a good deal like the cod-fish. . . . The water-pullet, a sort of turbot, is the best of all the fish caught here; the fat is green." (*St. Pierre*, p. 76.)

<sup>4</sup> Certain islets on the north-east coast of Mauritius yet retain the name of *les Iles d'Ambre*; vide *ante*, p. 153.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Meldrum has established, from careful observation, the periodicity of cyclone frequency in the southern Indian Ocean; thus the five years 1847-51 were characterised by cyclone frequency, then came a

Winds that are very violent, and accompany'd with great Rains.

It is a very singular thing in this Island, if what I have been told be true, that when-ever any Hurricane comes, it is always on the 9th of *February*. This passes for a current Truth.

The Inhabitants chuse for their Sowing-time<sup>1</sup> this rainy Weather, which continues, without Intermission, for five or six Weeks together. This Island is not unhealthy, altho' the Heats be sometimes most excessive. Fair Weather commonly lasts there from the Month of *June* to that of *February*.

After having waited for a favourable Wind above six<sup>2</sup> Weeks, we at length set sail about six a clock in the Morning, and so escap'd the pernicious Paws of the *Sieur Rod. Diodati*.

The Wind having shifted all of a sudden, we found ourselves oblig'd to drop Anchor: About Noon it came about to the South-East, and then we sail'd again, but we had soon after so great a Calm, that we saw the Island *Maurice* even on the ninth day. We return'd as far as the thirty-ninth Degree to find the Westerly Winds, which conducted us to

period of comparative calm (1852-57), which was followed by six years (1858-63) remarkable for cyclones. The next five years (1864-68) showed a considerable decrease, and since (1869-74) there was again an increase, and so on. This periodicity has been found to coincide with the cycle of sun-spots. (Vide *Nature*, vol. vi, p. 358.)

<sup>1</sup> "Sowing-time." "The summer is very dry and the ground is in a state of aridity during that season. The warm rains then succeed, giving such vigour to vegetation that the weeds frequently prevail over the regular crops, which are twofold in the course of the year. In this season is sown the maize. In the month of May and June we sow our corn, which we reap at the end of September, as well as various kinds of beans, the greater part of which is sent to the magazines of the Company, to be ready for supplying the ships. Corn generally produces an hundred-fold." (*Baron Grant*, p. 194.)

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "plus de trois semaines."



the Bar of Batavia, without meeting with any thing extraordinary in our Passage.

As the Governor of the Isle *Maurice* had put us under Arrest in his Island, we were kept the same till we came to *Batavia*. At our Landing we were put in Prison, and we continu'd there till the next day, the 16th of *December*.

The Council of State of the *Indies*<sup>1</sup> assembled that day, and we were carry'd before them. We presented our Petition, in which we set forth amply all the Injustice had been done us at Isle *Maurice*; and their Lordships having at first conceiv'd the Justice of our Cause, they restor'd us our Liberty, of which we had been depriv'd for so long a time, and lodg'd us in the Saphir, which is one of the Bastions

<sup>1</sup> "The chief government of Batavia, and of all the possessions of the Dutch East-India Company in Asia, is vested in the Council of India, with the Governor-General at their head. This Council consisted (in 1763, when Admiral Stavorinus was there) of, besides the Director-General, five ordinary counsellors, including the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, nine extraordinary counsellors and two secretaries. This Council determined affairs of every kind, those which related to the administration of justice alone excepted (*vide ante*, pp. 192, 193). Yet, in civil matters an appeal could be made from the sentence of the Council of Justice to the Council of India. The authority of the Governor-General, however, was almost unbounded; and, although obliged to give cognizance to the Council, and to consult them on some matters, he possessed the most arbitrary and independent power of all; for there were few members of the Council who were not in need of his good offices, in some instance or the other; for example, in order to obtain lucrative employment for their relatives or favourites; and if this was not sufficient to make them obey the nod of the Governor, he was not destitute of the means of tormenting them, in every way, under various pretences, nay, of sending them prisoners to Europe." (*Op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 276-78.)

The Governor-General at Batavia, when Leguat and his unfortunate companions were confined there, was Willem van Outhoorn, whose life and portrait are given by François Valentyn in his noble folios; the likeness is evidently taken from the painting in the hall where the Council assembled.



of the Fort.<sup>1</sup> The Fleet was ready to depart, but the Council were so busie with other Affairs that they could not find time to look into Ours, so that, on the 14th<sup>2</sup> of *February* 1697, the General call'd one of us to him that spoke *Dutch*, and told him that the time was too short to examine our Pretensions, and that we should not return into *Holland* before pressing Affairs were determin'd; that we must suffer this Fleet to depart, and that if our business could not be effected in five or six Weeks' time,<sup>3</sup> our worst would be to remain at *Batavia* for a year, or thereabouts, where by reason we were stript of all, we should be listed for Soldiers, and allow'd Pay to the day of our Arrival in *Holland*.<sup>4</sup> The General added, that in that time he would dispatch a Vessel

<sup>1</sup> Vide *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : "le 4<sup>me</sup> Janvier."

<sup>3</sup> In orig. : "(auquel temps deux Vaisseaux que l'on attendoit devoient repartir)," omitted by translator.

<sup>4</sup> "The Dutch", writes Le Sieur Luillier, in 1701, "are the wealthiest the strongest, and the greatest dealers of all Europeans in India, for they have never less than forty ships, and often more, trading continually from one place to another; with the produce whereof, and revenue of their dominions, they every year load thirteen or fourteen tall ships for Europe, whence as many come yearly, and so return, but they change their crews. For as soon as a commander comes from Europe, they put him into another ship, and those who have been three years in the service return home if they please. In order whereto they present a petition to the Council, which never rejects it, if the petitioners are fit to return; and if there be not so many as to supply all the ships that are to return to Europe, the Governor consults who are the properest to be sent, that is, such as have made the best of their time, and are best able when they come home to maintain their families. The Dutch Company would have all that are in its service to thrive, and if any officer does not look after his own private business he is little look'd upon; the Hollanders believing that he who neglects his own will not be diligent in another's concerns. Thus, unless a commander appears industrious in laying up for himself, he is very rarely preferr'd, and must not hope to return home 'till he has made some provision, the Council never regarding the petitions he presents; so that he must stay

to Isle *Maurice*,<sup>1</sup> and so our Affairs should be happily ended. We insinuated those Conditions could not be extremly agreeable to us, by reason we were not of the Dregs of the People, and that tho' we were now Poor and Miserable, that had wholly been occasion'd by the Governor of Isle *Maurice*, the *Company's* Officer, who had pillag'd us, and therefore 'twas against him that we demanded Justice, which if it were speedily afforded us, we should soon be in a Condition to subsist without the mean Pay of a Soldier.<sup>2</sup> But however good our Reasons might be, if they were not contradicted, they were not much hearken'd to. Our Persecutor had his Friends there, and we poor, half-starv'd, half-naked Creatures, were not considerable enough to turn the Scale, so that we must submit to what they would have us, and turn Soldiers.<sup>3</sup> We were posted in different Places, and as the *Sieur B—le*, who spoke *Dutch*, wrote likewise a very good Hand, he was thought worthy to fill the Place of Clerk to the Fort, where he was lodg'd.

The *Sieur de la Casé* was detain'd still in Prison, but after several Petitions, we presented jointly with him for his Enlargement, the Council considering the Information they had receiv'd from Isle *Maurice*, and perceiving that his Crime consisted only in projecting a thing he never executed, nor endeavour'd to execute, they pronounc'd him Innocent, and made him a Soldier like the rest.

Our Amber-greece stuck in our Stomachs, as did likewise all the other things we had been robb'd of, *viz.*, Gold Ingots,

by force, and should he happen to get away without leave they would prosecute him as a deserter." (*Voyage to East India*, p. 321.)

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "qui seroit en état de partir," omitted by translator.

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "Nous nous trouverions en état de subsister par nous-mêmes d'une manière plus agréable que dans la condition de Soldats."

<sup>3</sup> In orig.: "nous pauvres, décharnez & couverts de haillons, nous faisons une figure qui n'imposoit pas beaucoup de respect; de sorte qu'il fallut en passer par où on voulut, & devenir Soldat."



Coin'd Silver, Cloaths, Instruments and Utensils, which, without reckoning the Bark, amounted to the value of 2,000 Crowns. But the various Petitions we presented on this Head were always put off to another time.<sup>1</sup>

After we had continu'd five or six Months in this Condition at *Batavia*, the General sent for him whom he had made the Clerk of the Fort, and told him there had no occasion yet offer'd to send for the Governor of Isle *Maurice* to answer our Complaints in Person, and for that reason our Affairs could not for the present be search'd to the bottom, but he did not doubt they would do us Justice in *Holland*, and therefore we might if we pleas'd pursue it there, and get our selves ready to depart with the first Fleet.<sup>2</sup>

After this manner it pleas'd our Superiors at *Batavia* to determine our Suit. They need not have kept us there so long, to give us no better Satisfaction. They might have let us go at first according to our Desires, and tho' they made<sup>3</sup> us do Duty in the Vessel without Pay, as we had done in our Voyage from Isle *Maurice*. But those who were secretly

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "rendre étant d'ordinaire une chose peu agréable aux vendeurs," omitted by translator.

<sup>2</sup> "The seamen coming out of Europe are, in the same manner, immediately put aboard other ships, and may not return into Europe under three years' service, being allowed some little trade for their greater encouragement; for the true way to be well serv'd is to promote the interest of those who are employ'd. Thus we see that there is no reason to admire that the Dutch are so wealthy, and so zealously serv'd in India, their care in advancing such as are in their service exciting all persons to be zealous in the performance of their duty; for the kindness of a master very often fixes the wavering fidelity of the servant. It is well known that the Dutch owe the flourishing condition they are in to the mighty trade they drive in several parts of the world; and it is no less plain that their greatest wealth is drawn from India, whence, as has been said, they yearly receive thirteen or fourteen ships richly laden; the cargo whereof outward-bound costs them little, and the import they vend to all other nations at their own rates." (Luillier, translation by Symson, *op. cit.*, p. 322.)

<sup>3</sup> In orig.: "au hasard même de servir."



in our Robbers' Interest, thought that a lengthening out of time, might in some measure efface the *Idæa* of his Infamy's, old Crimes never appearing so crying as new.

Some time after the *Sieur de la Haye*, one of our unfortunate Companions, dy'd of a Bloody Flux at *Batavia*, that being the ordinary Distemper reigning in those Countries; so that of five we were at first, there now remain'd but three, the *Sieurs Be—le, La Case*, and my Self.

Altho' there have been many Accounts of *Batavia*<sup>1</sup> the Reader will not think me impertinent if I acquaint him with what I have observ'd there during a year's Residence, without having any regard to what Descriptions have been made by others.

<sup>1</sup> The best account of the foundation and rise of *Batavia* is that in François Valentyn's great work, entitled *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indie*. It was in 1619 that the Governor-General\* took the town of *Jaccatra*, which he in a great measure destroyed, and founded another city, not exactly on the same spot, but very near it, to which he gave the name of *Batavia*; though it is said that he much wished to have called it *New Horn*, from the place of his nativity, *Horn* in *North Holland*. Although then an inconsiderable place, in point of strength and beauty, he declared it the capital of the Dutch settlements in *India*; his choice of the situation was so just, his plan so well contrived, and everything throve so fast under his care, that *Batavia* rose with unparalleled rapidity to that magnificence and importance which have rendered it both the admiration and the dread of all the more eastern nations of the *Indies*; and which still dazzle and overawe them, although the city has for these last fifty years (1748-98) greatly declined, both as to opulence and population. (*Wilcocke, op. cit.*, i, 250.)

\* *Ian Pieterszoon Koen*, whose likeness is portrayed by Valentyn. "The inestimable work of Valentyn", wrote Wilcocke, in 1793, to which the reader is so frequently referred, "is scarce even in *Holland*; it consists of five large folio volumes, containing upwards of 1,000 copper-plates." Mr. Wilcocke was in possession of a copy which he procured at much pains and expense; and he says that, "would his limits allow it, he would be more copious in his extracts from it, as it is a treasure locked up in a chest, of which few have the key, no translation having ever been made of it." (*Stavorinus*, vol. ii, p. 354.) There is a good copy of this valuable work in the *London Library*.

This City is so fine, and so considerable in all Respects, that it may well furnish new Subjects of Observation to every Traveller, and especially to the New-comers, who shall not fail to meet with continual Changes and Alterations.

It lies in a flat Country, in the Island of *Java*, in the sixteenth<sup>1</sup> Degree of South-Latitude, and is built altogether

<sup>1</sup> Batavia Observatory is in 6° 7' 36" lat. S., 106° 48' 7" long. E., of Greenwich. In orig.: "*au sixième degré de Latitude Meridionale.*" The town was surrounded, as Leguat observed, by a rampart faced with stone and fortified with twenty-two bastions. The rampart was environed by a ditch about forty-five yards over, full of water at spring high tides, but nearly dry and stinking at low water during certain seasons. The approaches to the town were defended by several detached forts. In virtue of which prudent measures it was supposed that no enemy could ever surprise the city.

The city of Batavia might well obtain the appellation of being the Queen of the East, on account of the wealth of its inhabitants, the grandeur of its buildings, and the vast extent of its commerce. This was indeed the heart of the Dutch empire in India, as the island of Java itself constituted the principal source of all its opulence and strength. By the annexation of Holland to France the Dutch were deprived of the protection afforded by their alliance with Great Britain, and Batavia was captured by Sir Samuel Auchmuty, in August 1811, and relinquished to the Dutch after the fall of Napoleon, 1816.

The fortifications of Batavia were destroyed before the arrival of the British, by General Daendels, with a view to rendering the city more healthy. The town, says Thorn, has certainly a fine appearance, and contains many substantial houses. "The streets are broad, with canals in the middle, on each side of which is a gravelled road for the use of carriages, etc., and on the side next to the houses is a pavement six feet in width, for foot passengers. Rows of trees run along the sides of the canal, and the edge of each footpath, consisting principally of the *Inophyllum* and *Calaba*, the Canary Nut-tree, and the *Guettarda Speciosa* with its odoriferous flowers. The canals, which have numerous bridges over them, are generally of the same breadth as the carriage-roads." (*Vide Thorn, l. c., p. 252.*)

"The castle at Batavia", says Thorn, "is very spacious, and contains a number of buildings and extensive warehouses, in the construction of which prodigious labour and expense must have been incurred. Such, however, was the unhealthiness of the place to the troops that they were withdrawn, and the spot converted into a depot for naval and



after the manner of *Holland*, but with white Stone. Its form is an oblong Square, and in an Angle towards the North-West is the Sea, and the Fort or Citadel. Its Length is about two Thousand common Paces, and its Breadth about fifteen Hundred. The Houses in general were formerly low built, but now they have got a Custom of building them higher, no more Hurricanes being to be fear'd, so that the City is become much finer than it was at first. The Streets are straight and large, and have for the most part Canals running through them, with tall Trees on their Banks, like those of *Holland*, but with this Difference, that the Trees here are always green.

The Canals are fill'd with clear Water from a certain River, which having run thro' the City,<sup>1</sup> discharges it self into the Sea. The City is surrounded with strong Walls, and flank'd with many good Bastions well furnish'd with Cannon.

The Citadel is a Fort with four Royal Bastions, fac'd with large square Stones, and built level with the Ground without any Ditch,<sup>2</sup> and consequently without Water, whatever the

military stores, magazines for spices and other valuable articles." (P. 253.)

"The city, however, is now much deserted, and all the wealthy inhabitants live in the environs, principally on two roads leading to Weltervreden ; the one east called the Jacatra road, the other west through Molenvliet and Ryswick. These two elegant roads are planted with shady trees, and exhibit all along a number of very handsome houses, with beautiful gardens and plantations round them, thus forming a very agreeable excursion of about six miles." (P. 252.)

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "en se communiquant çà & là," omitted by translator.

<sup>2</sup> There is an observable discrepancy in the different accounts as to the presence of a ditch to the citadel. The East India Officer [1747-48] says the fort has "four royal bastions faced with stone, but no other moat than the canals, which lie at some distance from the ramparts, are about twenty feet broad, and fordable in most places." (An almost exact copy of Leguat's words!) Stavorinus, on the other hand, later, distinctly states of the castle or citadel, that the walls and ramparts are built of coral-rock, and are about twenty feet in height. "It is surrounded by a



Abbot de Choisy<sup>1</sup> may say to the contrary, whose Voyage, in other respects, is good enough. At a certain distance from the Rampart, which is not equal on every side, there are indeed Canals of twenty, and twenty-five Foot broad, which defend, in some measure, the approaches to the Fort, altho' they are fordable almost every where, as I can well affirm who have often sounded them. You cross the Fort from North to South, there being in the middle of the two *Curtains* two Gates which look upon one another. As they have no reason to apprehend a sudden Siege, they have taken no care to leave the place of Arms as open as it ought to be, but on the contrary, have crouded it with Houses, for 'tis there the General, the Director-General, the ordinary and extraordinary Counsellors, and the other Officers and People belonging to the *Company*, live. This Fort commands both the Haven and the Town, and is mounted with about sixty Pieces of Cannon, fifteen or sixteen whereof have the Arms of *France* on them, having been taken from the *French*. The four Bastions have the names of the *Diamond*, *Ruby*,

wet ditch, over which on the south side lies a drawbridge. Between the moat and the buildings within the fort, on this side, there is a large area or esplanade." (*Op. cit.*, i, 225.) Captain Parish's account of this fortress, in Macartney's *Embassy to China*, 1793, is as follows: "A little above was the castle; a regular square fort, but without ravelins or outworks. It had two guns mounted on each flank, and two, or sometimes three, on each face; they were not *en barbette*, nor properly *en embrasure*, but in a situation between both, having both their disadvantages, without the advantage of either. The wall was of masonry, about twenty-four feet high. It had no ditch, but a canal surrounded it at some distance. It had no *cordons*." (*Stavorinus*, vol. i, p. 256.)

"In the middle of the city there is a large square which is used as a garrison. On the west side of this square stands a great church, whose cupola, though not so large, yet resembles that of St. Paul's at London so much, that the English sailors commonly give it that name." (*Voyage to East Indies*, 1747-48, p. 79.)

<sup>1</sup> "La citadelle est bâtie sur pilotis: elle est de quatre grands bastions avec un bon fossé d'eau vive." (*Journal du Voyage de Siam*, par M. l'Abbé de Choisy, 2nd edit., p. 223.)

*Pearl*, and *Saphire*.<sup>1</sup> Between the Town and the Fort, Southerly of the latter, there is a considerable large Field where Sheep feed, which is travers'd by a fine row of Trees that lead to the Fort-Gate, within which is a *Corps de Guard*.<sup>2</sup> You may there see, between four Pallisadoes, a great number of Cannon for the Ships. Almost in the middle of the City there is a large square Place, where the Garrison is commonly drawn up, being about 1,000 Men. Myn Heer *Grevenbrook*, a very good Man, and an Officer of this Garrison, was so kind and generous to me on all Occasions, that I am glad of having here an opportunity to make my Acknowledgments to him. On one side Westward of this Place stands the great Church, Southerly the Guild-Hall or Town-House, Northerly there is a long range of fine Houses, and Easterly there runs one of the great Canals. Over and above this great Church, where Divine Worship is exercis'd in *Dutch*, there is another in the Citadel.

The reform'd *Portugueses* have two Churches, one in the City and another in the Suburbs; and these Congregations are very Numerous, because they consist of divers *Foreigners* that speak the Portuguese Language. The both Proselite and Reform'd *Malays* have also a Church in the City, where the Service is in their Language: This is a Translation of

<sup>1</sup> "Besides the forts," writes Smollett, "there is the famous citadel of Batavia, which is a very fine regular fortification situated at the mouth of the river, facing the city, and planted with four bastions, two of which command the sea, and the other two the town." (*Op. cit.*, x, cap. I.)

Valentyn, in his *Life of Cornelis Speelman*, Governor-General of the Indian Netherlands, gives the number of guns in these bastions, with their names, *Diamant*, *Robyn*, *Sapphier*, and *Paarl*. The same author also gives engravings of the buildings within and without the citadel.

"This citadel," writes Smollett, "hath two great gates, the one called the Company's gate, built in 1636, with a bridge of square stone, of fourteen arches, each twenty-six yards long." (*Universal Hist.*, vol. x, cap. I.)

<sup>2</sup> "On the left side of the gate is a large building, which serves as a corps-de-garde, having in front a long gallery, resting upon a row of pillars. A captain's guard of grenadiers are generally posted here." (*Stavorinus*, vol. i, p. 257.)



the *Holland* Liturgy. This Church is large, and has a very numerous Congregation. The *Roman* Catholicks have also Liberty of Conscience, and do what they please in their own Houses, without the Magistrates intermeddling, but they are to have the exercise of no Publick Worship.

The City is surrounded with an universal *Suburb* which extends above half a League into the Country, and which forming a second City much larger than the first contains likewise a greater number of Inhabitants. It is here the *Chineses* live, on account of their Burial-Places and Pagodes. They have also a Residence in the City and even an Hospital. The *Suburbs* have likewise Canals of divers sizes, with double rows of Trees. Besides the great Canal in the middle, there are two smaller on each side, about fifteen or twenty foot broad, which wash the Foundations of the Houses, insomuch that you can't enter them but over a Draw-Bridge: Behind are large Gardens and Orchards, which furnish *Batavia* with Pulse and Fruits. The Gardens of the City are small and few in number. The Houses of Gardiners, and other such like mean People in the *Suburbs*, are for the most part built with *Bamboos*, which are a sort of hollow, light, and very hard Canes as large as one's Thigh, and commonly forty or fifty foot long. These *Bamboos* are very beneficially made use of divers other ways, because they for a long time resist the injuries of the Air. They have here likewise divers other sorts of Canes: 'Tis very common to find a-top of these Canes large Ant-Nests, made of a fat Earth, which these Animals<sup>1</sup> carry up in the inside of the Canes. In these Nests every Ant has its little Cell apart, not unlike those the Bees make. 'Tis here they have their Residence, during the violent and frequent Rains which over-flow the Country for four or five Months in the year, and which would certainly drown them, if they had not this Secret to preserve themselves from Danger.

<sup>1</sup> Termites or white ants.



The Bay of *Batavia* is the finest and most secure of any in the World: Ships ride there without any danger all the year round; for that Sea is hardly ever agitated, as well because there are a great number of little Islands that break the Waves, as because the Winds there are never Violent. Every day, without ever failing, there rises about ten a Clock in the Morning a Sea-gale, which serves to carry the Chaloupes into the City, and at ten at Night there comes one from the Land, that carries the same Chaloupes out again to Sea. One belongs to the North, and the other to the South.<sup>1</sup>

These Chaloupes and some Fisher-boats go and come by a streight Canal that comes out of the River, and which is form'd by two Paralel-Lines supported by Piles, and fill'd with Earth, in like manner as the Dikes in *Holland*, or rather those of *Dunkirk*<sup>2</sup> are.

This Canal is twelve hundred common Paces long, and each Dike is about five and twenty foot broad. They would be wonderful fine Walks, if they were shaded with a double row of Trees. As there are no bad Winds there, those Trees would undoubtedly grow well, and I fancy their Roots would bind the Earth of the Dikes together, rather than loosen it.

*Batavia* being not only the general Magazine of the *Company*, and the Place from whence she sends most of her Fleets to all Parts of the World; and being likewise the place of Refuge and oftentimes the *Asylum* for the ships of other Nations; it is easie to imagine that the view of this Bay fill'd with so many large Vessels must be wonderfully pleasant, especially if you consider that you see at the same

<sup>1</sup> The regular tropical land and sea-breezes.

<sup>2</sup> *Dunkirk*, in 1702, was thus described by Dr. John Northleigh: "Its situation is on the North side of the Canal, environ'd by the Sea in form of a Halfmoon, the Breach of which is us'd to fill the Works with Sand, but this is resisted now by a long Bank of Timberwork, Faggots, and Fascines, that run for half a mile into the Sea." (*Harris's Voyages*, vol. ii, p. 721.)

time fifteen or twenty little Islands always cover'd with green Trees.

The *Company* builds its Ships at a small Island call'd *Onrut*,<sup>1</sup> about two Leagues from *Batavia*. It is well furnish'd, and provided with a good Artillery.

Altho' *Batavia* be far in the *Torrid Zone*, the Heats there are very Supportable, because the Sea-Winds, of which I have already spoken, refresh the Air extreamly, and render it temperate even at Noon-day.<sup>2</sup>

The Rains also are very frequent from the Month of *November*, to that of *April*, which is the time the Heats ought to be most Violent, because they are the six Summer Months of this Country.<sup>3</sup> In truth, the Days being almost equal to the Nights all the year round, and the Cold being in a manner unknown, we may say the Summer here is Perpetual. One judges of the Harvest by the Rain that falls more or less during these six Months; for when it does

<sup>1</sup> The works on the island of Onrust for building and repairing ships of all sizes were destroyed by Sir Edward Pellew; but previously ships were here hove down by cranes erected upon the wharves, when they required repairs. This little island was strongly fortified, and had a handsome church and large warehouses, being the great marine depôt; it was crowded with inhabitants, and was celebrated in Dutch poetry as one of the wonders of the Eastern world. (Cf. *Thorn's Conquest of Java*, p. 254.)

<sup>2</sup> Admiral Stavorinus writes: "What, however, is the most disagreeable circumstance attending a residence at *Batavia*, is the insalubrity of the climate, and the great degree of mortality which prevails there." Stavorinus goes on to attribute this unhealthiness to the low, swampy land, overgrown with trees and underwood, the neighbourhood of morasses and stagnant water, the "stinking mud-banks", "filthy bogs", and the slime, mollusca, dead fish, mud, and weeds thrown up along the shore, which, putrifying with the utmost rapidity, load the air with miasmata. Already in the time of Stavorinus all who could afford it had deserted the town to reside in the country higher up, whilst the numerous canals by neglect had become mere sewers. (*Op. cit.*, vol. iii, chap. vi.)

<sup>3</sup> From October to April the north-west monsoon of the Indian Ocean prevails on the coasts of *Java* and *Sumatra*, with bad weather and heavy rains.



but Rain little, or not at all, the Earth abounds so with Insects that the Fruits, Herbs, Pulse, and particularly the Rice are so eaten by them, that they are altogether spoil'd.

Rice is so common throughout all this Island, which has about two hundred Leagues in Length, to fifty in Breadth, that a Man can hardly eat a Farthings-worth in a Day, altho' great quantities are eaten there, Rice being the ordinary Bread of this Country. No other sort of Corn will grow here. That which they have is brought from *Bengala*, where it costs but a Farthing a Pound. There is a great deal brought to *Batavia*, from that Province of the Great *Mogul*; and Wheat-Bread is not sold dearer here than in *Holland*. The Natives do not at all care for it.

There are no Vine-yards in any part of *Java*; but at *Batavia*, and thereabouts, there are a great many Vine-Arbours,<sup>1</sup> whose Grapes are good enough to eat, but 'tis observ'd they come to no great Maturity. These Vines produce Fruit seven times in two years. As soon as the Grapes are gathered you cut the Vine, and in about three Months and a half, you will have new ones, that will be as ripe as can be here. These Vines bear Grapes the first year they are planted, and shoot more in one year, as do likewise all other Trees, than they would do in eight in *Europe*. For all this no Wine is made here, and that which is drunk comes either from *Persia* or *Spain*, and costs near a Crown a Pint.<sup>2</sup> Beer from *Brunswick*, call'd also *Mum*, is very dear here, but there is a sort made in the Country, which is tolerably good, that does not cost above a Penny a Pint. The Soldiers drink, for the same Price, a sort of Liquor call'd *Knip*, made of Brandy distill'd from Fruit and a certain Sea-froth. This is a more pernicious Potable than *Araque* at Isle *Maurice*, especially when it is new.

The ordinary Drink at *Batavia*, and the most cheap, is

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "Vignes en treilles."

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : ("la quarte d'Angleterre)," omitted by translator.



*Tea*, which the *Chinenses* sell for the most part in Rooms<sup>1</sup> for that purpose. For two *Dutch* Pence, they give you four different Cups of Sweet-Meats, containing each half a Pound, and another like Cup of White-sugar-candy; besides which they bring you as much *Tea* as four People can drink. They use ordinarily the best common *Tea*, which is sold at ten Pence<sup>2</sup> a Pound. Imperial *Tea* is worth twice that Money. In these same Places, you may likewise have *Coffee*, but it is sold a Penny a Dish, as in *England* and *Holland*.

They have at *Batavia* divers sorts of excellent Fruits, of which Grapes only and Water-Melons are known in *Europe*.

The *Ananas*, *Coco's*, and *Bananes* are to be met with in great abundance.

Every one knows what the *Betel*-Leaves, and *Arequa* Nuts are, which all the Natives of this Island, both Men, Women, and Children chew incessantly to fortify their Gums and Stomach, for sometimes they swallow the Juice. This Juice is as red as Blood, and gives a like Tincture to the Spittle, which it provokes abundantly,<sup>3</sup> so that all who use this Drink have their Lips continually bloody as it were, which is no pleasant sight to look upon. When you are not accustomed to this Drug, you find its Taste insupportably sharp, but otherwise it becomes like Tobacco,<sup>4</sup> and you find it difficult to leave it. If this *Betel* strengthens the Gums, as all say it does,<sup>5</sup> with all my Heart, but I'm sure at the same time it blackens the Teeth in that frightful manner, that these People must needs be ignorant of the sweetness and charms of a fair Mouth. *Betel* is a Shrub, shaped somewhat like a Pepper-Tree, but has triangular Leaves, and is green all the

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : “& ce sont les *Chinois* qui tiennent ces sortes de cabarets.”

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : “dix sou’s” = 5*d*.

<sup>3</sup> In orig. : “qu'il faut perpetuellement cracher,” omitted by translator.

<sup>4</sup> In orig. : “quand une fois on en a pris l'habitude,” omitted by translator.

<sup>5</sup> In orig. : “j'y consens & je m'en rapporte à ce qui en est.”

year round. The Tree that bears the Nut call'd *Arequa*, is very tall and straight. They commonly wrap up a quarter of an *Arequa*-Nut<sup>1</sup> in some *Betel*-Leaves, and so chaw them together: Some add a little Slack'd-Lime, but that is not in use at *Batavia*.

*Mango* is a Fruit of the Country, which passes for very good and very wholsom. It is commonly about the bigness of an Egg, but longer, and a little crooked like a Gerkin Cucumber. Its Rind is green and thick, and I have heard some say they have seen red of them. The inside is white, and tastes somewhat like a *Muscat*-Grape: It is very fast ty'd by its Fibres to the Stone, which is large. This Fruit grows upon a great Tree, very proper for the Carpenter.<sup>2</sup> There is a sort of *Mango* without a Stone, which is pickled in Vinegar like this, with Garlick, Anniseed, and some other Ingredients.

The Gardens<sup>3</sup> of *Batavia* furnish the Inhabitants with Herbs and Pulse of the *European* kind, from whence the

<sup>1</sup> "*Pinang* is the name of the kernel of the areca-nut (*Areca cathecu*); but it seems likewise to mean the mixture of the ingredients they use for mastication." (Wilcocke, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 78; vide *ante*, p. 197.)

"The betel is a plant which produces long rank leaves, in their shape resembling those of a citron; in taste they are of an agreeable bitter. The fruit grows in the shape of a lizard's tail, about two fingers' breadth, very long, of an aromatic flavour, and in its smell extremely grateful. The Indians carry with them continually the leaves of betel at all visits; they are presented in ceremony, and the natives are almost perpetually chewing them. As the taste is very bitter, they for the most part qualify them with araca faul (a kind of nut something smaller than the nutmeg, without taste, and yielding when chewed a red juice), or the powder of calcined oyster-shells. Thus prepared they have a very agreeable flavour. After they have chewed the juice out of them, they spit forth the dry mass. There are some who mix their betel-leaves with lime, amber, and cardamom-seeds, others with Chinese tobacco." (*Universal Hist.*, vol. ix.)

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "dont le bois est propre pour la charpente."

<sup>3</sup> The handsome country houses in the environs of *Batavia*, with beautiful gardens and plantations around them, extended for miles to the east, west, and south of the city. (Cf. Thorn and Stavorinus.)



Seed has been brought. This Island, moreover, as you may very well imagine, has its own particular Plants. Here follow two of them, which one of my Friends who has apply'd himself to that Study, has curiously design'd for me: I think they are little known; they say they only grow naturally in some of those little Islands which lie between *Borneo* and *Java*.<sup>1</sup>

Beef and Buffalo cost two pence a Pound, and are not much better one than the other. This Country abounds with a sort of wild Boars or Hogs, which you may have at very cheap rates. Mutton is extremely dear here, and to be seen only at the best Tables. The Reason is that sheep are not rear'd without great difficulty, the pasture being not proper for them, and the Dew besides rotting them<sup>2</sup>: They swell and die in a short time. *China-Pork*, so call'd because the Hogs come from that Country, is sold at six-pence a Pound: They have Pullets, Ducks, and Pigeons, which are sold very near as dear as they are in *Europe*. Hunted Game is scarce, except *Pintado's*, of which I have already spoken, and whereof there are two or three kinds: You have abundance of Fish here, and that almost for nothing. There is but one reigning or common Distemper in the Island of *Java*, but which is very dangerous, and extremely painful. The *French* at *Batavia* call this Disease *Le Perse*: It is a continual Bloody Flux. As there is no known Remedy for it, the Patient must wait, live sparingly, and let Nature act, the surest and safest Method in most sorts of Maladies. One may truly say, according to the Etymology of the Word, that the Drugs which *Pharmacy* is compos'd of, generally speaking are rather a parcel of Poysons than Remedies, and they believe in *Java*, among the Islanders, that almost all

<sup>1</sup> The plates of these two extraordinary plants hardly suffice to give means of identification, and are, therefore, not included among the illustrations of this edition.

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "& la rosée sur tout leur étant fort contraire."



those that prescribe them in *Europe* (much more blamable than those that sell them) are the Pests of Mankind. The common opinion is that *Buffalo-Flesh* and Fruit contribute much towards causing this Distemper, and, nevertheless, that is the Flesh which is most sold at the Butchers.

To speak Truth, *Batavia* is not a Place of very good Cheer. They want a great many Things, and what they have in common with us are scarce, high priz'd, and bad, in comparison of Ours. *China-Pork*, which I spoke of not long since, is luscious and insipid: The Poultry is not much better, and consequently the Eggs. The Pasture, quite different from ours of *Europe*, occasions bad Flesh, bad Milk, and bad Butter, but all these are to be had in small quantities.

What I have just now said of the Poultry, brings into my Remembrance the Sport of Cock-fighting, which is one of the greatest and most common Diversions of this Island. They breed up great numbers of these Animals on purpose, and arm them with sharp Iron Spurs, which they made use of with greater Dexterity than Force. The *Javans* are the Managers of these Sports, and whoever will, may come to them *Gratis*: Almost every Body is concern'd in Wagering more or less, and sometimes considerable Sums are lay'd. Whereas in *England*, where this Diversion is likewise common, they disfigure their Cocks by cutting off their Tails, and plucking out Feathers out of other parts of their Body,<sup>1</sup> they here leave them in their natural State. 'Tis true they are not so nimble as the *English* Cocks, but that Inconvenience being equal on both sides, it is no advantage to either, and the Combatants appear Nobler and more fierce. Some of these Cocks have greatly enrich'd their Masters.

There are very fierce Beasts in this Island, such as the *Rhinoeceros* and *Tyger*: These last are of a prodigious bigness.

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "comme les Athlètes ont accoutumé de se débarasser de leurs habits pour être plus agiles," omitted by translator.

For Wolves they are altogether unknown in this Country, as well as Foxes.

There are abundance of Deer and Apes of all kinds. *Crocodiles* are extreemly dreaded here, insomuch that the *Company* give thirty *Florins* for every one that is kill'd; some have been seen of twenty or thirty foot long: The common Opinion in this Country, as it has always been among the Naturalists is, that this Animal grows as long as he lives, which nevertheless seems a Fable. I omit other Stories that are told of this Creature; even a Musket-ball can't enter its Back, you must shoot at its Belly. He is very swift in running, and when you are pursu'd by him you must fly dodging, because his Body being very long, and not at all flexible, must have time to turn, when you may gain Ground and get easily from him: He is a great lover of Dog's-flesh, and as 'tis said, no less greedy of Man's, but care is taken he seldom meets with the last. These Creatures are sometimes taken with a large Hook, fasten'd to the end of a Chain, and baited with a piece of Dog's or Sheep's Flesh. I have seen one taken in a Net at Sea, about half a Mile<sup>1</sup> from *Batavia*: He was thirty<sup>2</sup> foot long. His flesh was white, and smelt a little Mustish<sup>3</sup>: It is wholsom enough to eat. Some Persons who liv'd a long time at *Batavia* assur'd me there is a sort of *Crocodile* which is a particular Enemy to the Poultry. These Animals live for the most part in the Sea, or in the disemboguing of Rivers: There are likewise Serpents in this Island. One day as the *Sieur de la Case* was hunting in a Wood near *Batavia*, he perceiv'd one coming down from a Tree hissing: It was as large as his Arm, and seven or eight foot long. As this Serpent approach'd, and began to come furiously at him, he killed him with a Fusee.<sup>4</sup> He had a

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "à cinq cens pas."

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "treize."

<sup>3</sup> In orig.: "un peu musquée."

<sup>4</sup> In orig.: "d'un coup de fusil."



sort of Hood upon his Head, much like that mention'd by Monsieur *Tavernier*. *M. de la Case* was so terribly frightened at this Serpent, and dreaded so much to meet with another of them, that he did not mind looking after the Stone they say they have under their Hoods, which is an admirable Antidote.<sup>1</sup> There are another sort of Serpents, which are at least fifty Foot long. They preserve at *Batavia* the Skin of one that devour'd a young Girl, and which was not above twenty foot long.

Whilst I am upon this Article of Animals in *Java*, I shall speak something concerning an extraordinary Ape, which I my self have often seen on the Point of the Bastion call'd *Saphire*, where she had a little house. It was a Female, very tall, and who walk'd upright on its hind-Legs. It conceal'd the Parts that distinguishes the Sexes, by one of its Hands, which was neither hairy without nor within. Its Face had no other Hair upon it than the Eye-brows, and in general it much resembled one of those *Grotesque* Faces which the Female *Hottentots* have at the *Cape*. It made its Bed neatly every Day, went into it, laid its Head upon a Pillow, and cover'd its self with a Coverlet, after the manner practis'd

<sup>1</sup> "The Serpent-stone, which is about the Bigness of a Double, is almost Oval, thick in the Middle and thin about the Sides; the *Indians* say 'tis bred in the Head of certain Serpents, but 'tis more probable, 'tis a Composition of certain Drugs, because they are to be had of the *Bramines* only; but however it be, it is of excellent Virtue to drive away venom from such as are bitten by venomous beasts; for being laid to the Wound, 'twill not come off till it has drawn out all the Poison, and being steep'd in Women's or Cows' Milk like Corruption. There is another Stone called the Serpent-Stone with the Hood, because that kind of Serpent has a Hood hanging down behind the Head, in which this Stone is found. It is many times as big as a Pullet's Egg, but it is not found in any less than 2 foot long. . . . This Stone being rubb'd against another Stone yields a Slime, which being drunk in Water by the Person that is poison'd powerfully expels the Venom. These Serpents are found only on the Coasts of *Melinda*, but the Stones are bought of the Portuguese Mariners and Soldiers that come from *Mozambique*." (*Tavernier, Harris's Voyages*, vol. ii, p. 375.)



among us. When it had the Head-Ach it bound its Head with a Clout, and 'twas pleasant to see it so coif'd a-bed. I could tell you several other odd Stories of this Animal which seem'd extremely singular, but as I could not admire them so much as others did, because I knew she was to be sent to *Europe*, and for that reason might have been taught all these Tricks,<sup>1</sup> I did not deduce the same Consequences from them : In a word, this Ape died at last off the Cape of *Good Hope*, in one of the Ships belonging to the Fleet I was in. This Creature had much of a Human Figure, and, as 'tis said, was of a particular Species of Apes, to be found only in the Island of *Java*, but all were not of this Opinion,<sup>2</sup> and some believ'd this Beast was begot between an Ape and a Woman. When any Female Slave has committed a great Fault, and has reason to apprehend being severely chastiz'd for it, after the Custom of the Country, she commonly flies to the Woods as a frighted Beast, and lives there much like one. And Nature, who does not oppose the Copulation of Horses with Asses, may well admit that of an Ape with a Female-Animal that resembles him, especially where the latter is not restrain'd by any Principle. An Ape and a *Negro-Slave* born and brought up out of the knowledge of God, have not less Similitude between them than an Ass and a Mare.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "que le peuple regardoit comme lui étant naturelles : à la vérité, c'était une supposition," omitted by translator.

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "Mais il y avoit peu de gens de ce sentiment, & l'opinion commune étoit que cette bête."

<sup>3</sup> A similar experience is related by an officer in the British East India Company's service in 1747: "There is an animal here which I had the curiosity to view very attentively. It resembled the human form much more than any creature I had ever seen. It was young, had a melancholy look, the face almost bare, but the head, eyebrows, and chin very rough. It made little noise, showed great fondness in grasping me around and squeezing me; and sometimes made a low, pensive sound as if whining and crying. It walked upright with great ease, and was about three feet and a half high. It had no tail, and was very often found in the woods. Some people not considering in the scale of being what an almost imperceptible gradation is constantly observed between

I shall add to the figure of this Ape that of a small *Lizard* in the Isle of *Gilolo*,<sup>1</sup> which one of my Friends drew according to the natural Bigness, and presented to me. This pretty little Animal has the Bill and Feet of a Bird: Its Head is of a lightish green, its Back of a brownish red, and its Belly Limon-colour spotted with Violet-blue. Its Tail has marks like Rings round it: It is a lively Creature, and very swift: It catches and greedily devours Flies. This is the Account that has been given me of this Animal.

*Batavia*, including the City and Suburbs, is inhabited by divers Nations, viz., *Dutch*, *French*, *Germans*, *Portugueses*, *Javans*, *Chineses*, and *Moors*. The Languages most in use are *Dutch*, *Malay*, *Portuguese*, and *Chinese*.<sup>2</sup>

one species of animal and that which is next to it, and struck with the near resemblance of this creature to the human kind, both in form and sagacity, have accounted for its production in the following manner: that the cruelty of the Dutch to their Malayan female slaves often obliged them to fly into the woods to escape the cruelty of their tyrannical masters; and being forced to live there solitarily, it was thought that they might by length of time turn mad or insensibly brutish, and might have yielded to an unnatural commerce with some animals in the woods, by which this strange animal was produced." (*A Voyage to the East Indies in 1747-48*, p. 62. London, 1752.)

<sup>1</sup> "Gillolo Island, partly tributary to Ternate and partly to Tidore, is of considerable extent and well inhabited. Oxen, buffaloes, goats, deer, and wild hogs abound in this island, but sheep are very few. The sago and bread-fruit trees flourish here in great abundance. Ossa town, situated on the south side of the great bay of that name, in lat. 0° 45' N., long. 128° 22' E., affords every convenience for ships touching here, either for water, provisions, timber for spars, or other necessary articles. There are several villages in this bay, but that of Golonasy was destroyed by the Dutch, on the 25th January, 1808." (Thorn, *l. c.*, 348.)

The lizard described by Leguat is probably intended for the *Tachydromus sexlineatus*, not solely confined to this island, but found throughout the neighbouring Archipelago, Malaya, and China.

<sup>2</sup> "The population of *Batavia*", according to Major Thorn, in 1811, "is divided into the following classes. Next to the Dutch burghers, come the Portuguese or half-castes, and other Indian Christians; next to them are the Papangars or Mardykears, who are emancipated slaves; the Moors and Arabs. The other classes are distinguished into the



The *Company* is as it were Absolute in this Island, a great number of petty Sovereigns reigning there under their Protection: Nay, the Emperor of *Japar*, who is by far the most Potent of any of them, cannot be said to be entire Sovereign of his Country, since the *Hollanders* have divers Forts and Garrisons in it. As for the Natives of those Provinces that retain their antient Dominion they are so great Slaves that they choose rather to obey the *Hollanders*, who treat them more courteously and politickly than their own Princes.<sup>1</sup>

The General<sup>2</sup> of this *Company* is in effect King, tho' he has

Javanese, the Baliens, Bougginese or Buggese, Macassars, Amboynese, Boutonneers or Madurese, Malays, Sambawaurese, and the Parnakan Chinese; these last are the most numerous and most useful of all the foreign adventurers settled in Java." (Thorn, *l. c.*, p. 239.)

The entire population of the island of Java was estimated by Major Thorn, in 1811 (p. 232), at five millions; of which the European colonists formed comparatively a small number. "The burgher class comprehends what is called the Dutch population at Batavia, but they can hardly be termed Europeans, so completely are they intermixed with the Portuguese and Malay colonists."

"Few of the Batavian women", remarked Thorn, "were Europeans by birth: their features and the contour of their faces may, indeed, indicate that origin, but their complexion, character, and mode of life approach nearest to those of the natives. Though fair, they have none of that rosy tint which distinguishes the sex in Europe; but a pale, sickly languor overspreads their countenances." (*Ibid.*)

<sup>1</sup> "The island of Java had been anciently under the power of a single monarch, sometimes stiled by the Dutch simply emperor, and at others King of *Japara*, from whom the Governor of Bantam revolted, assumed the title of king, and was supported in this quality of an independent prince by the Dutch. It was by a dexterous management of these divisions that they maintained their own power; for whenever the Emperor of Java attempted anything to the prejudice of Batavia, the King of Bantam was sure to take arms; as, on the other hand, whenever the King of Bantam took the field against them, they never failed to have recourse to the Emperor of Java." (*The Modern Part of an Universal History*, vol. ix, p. 3.)

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "Le Général de cette Compagnie, est un *Roi* qu'on n'appelle pas *Roi*, mais Général: car *Roi* est un mot, & *Général* en est un autre, comme *Duc*, *Doge*, *Prince*, &c. Tout ces Hommes là sont des



not that Title. He Governs with more or less Authority, according as the People have conferr'd on him more or less Power. The General of *Batavia*, King or Viceroy,<sup>1</sup> or what you please to call him, is chosen by the *Company* by plurality of Voices, and tho' his Power be subject to be revok'd by his Electors, in like manner as the Emperor of *Germany's* is, yet he generally enjoys his Office for Life:

Chefs qui gouvernent avec plus ou moins d'autorité, selon que les Peuple leur en ont plus ou moins conféré, ou que les Chefs en ont plus ou moins usurpé. Et il y a une difference moins essentielle, dans le fait, entre le Duc de *Savoie*, par exemple, & le Roi de *Portugal*, qu'il n'y en a entre le Roi de *France* & le Roi de *Pologne*, quoique ces deux derniers portent le même nom de Roi, mais revenons à nos moutons." Evidently this is an interpolation of Misson's writing.

The Gouverneur-General van Nederlands Indien at this period was Heer Willem van Outhoorn, whose portrait is engraved in the folios of Valentyn, from the picture in the Great Hall, at Batavia. He was at the head of affairs from 1691 to 1704.

"The authority of the Governor-General is almost unbounded; and although he is obliged to give cognizance to the Council and consult them on some matters, he possesses a most arbitrary and independent power in all. . . . His Excellency usually resides at his country-seat, called *Weltevreden*, about an hour and a quarter's walk from Batavia, and which is a superb mansion. When the Governor rides out he is always accompanied by some of his horse-guards. An officer and two trumpeters precede his approach, and every person who meets him, and happens to be in a carriage, must stop and step out of it till he has rode by. A company of dragoons always mount guard at *Weltevreden*. He has besides some halberdiers, who are employed in carrying messages and commands, and who always are attendant on the Governor's person wherever he goes. They are dressed in short coats of scarlet cloth richly laced with gold, and follow in rank upon the junior ensign in the Company's service. . . . His lady receives the same honours, and is equally escorted by a party of horse-guards when she rides out." (*Stavorinus*, vol. i, p. 278 *et seq.*)

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "Viceroi ou si l'on veut *Vice-République*."

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "D'un Côté, la Politique raisonnable veut qu'il soit révoicable ou déposable, de peur qu'il ne s'émancipe selon les démangeaisons ordinaires de ceux qui ont un grand pouvoir: & d'un autre côté aussi, cette même bonne politique veut qu'on le laisse dans son emploi, aussi longtemps qu'il est possible: parce que comme il ne rend aucun compte, & qu'il a de grands moyens de remplir ses coffres, il y a moins d'incon-

He has a King's Table and Train. His Coach, which is always drawn by six Horses, is preceded by a Company of Horse-Guards with Trumpets, and follow'd by one of Foot, which are often oblig'd to run. Before and on each side the Halberdiers attend and follow very close, and these Guards are no less spruce and finely set out than the Royal Swisses. When I am speaking of Coaches<sup>1</sup> I must tell you, by-the-by that altho' they have Horses here in plenty enough, yet their Coach-Horses generally come from *Persia*: They are smaller than ours, and very strait before, yet of incredible Swiftness and Spirit. The General's Lady's train is not altogether so Magnificent as that of her Husband, yet she has likewise her Halberdiers, and makes a very fine Figure.

Here it would be proper to speak something of the other great Officers, and the different Courts of Justice, but I understand it has been already done, and therefore shall omit it.

Of all Nations that are settled at *Batavia* the *Europeans* are the Richest<sup>2</sup>: Coaches are very common, and exceeding fine. The Houses, as well of the City as the Suburbs, and even those in the Country, are at present large and well built, and most of them exceeding finely furnish'd. The Gardens are adorn'd with Canals, Arbours, Parterres, etc., and filled with all sorts of Flowers and the best Fruits of that Country.

venient a n'enrichir qu'un homme, qu'à en enrichir plusieurs," omitted by translator, and evidently another interpolation.

<sup>1</sup> "The coaches used at *Batavia* are small and light. No one is restrained from keeping a carriage, but all are limited with respect to its decoration and painting. These are scrupulously regulated according to the respective ranks. Glass windows to coaches are alone allowed to the members of the Government, who have also the privilege of painting or gilding their carriage agreeable to their own taste." (*Ibid.*, p. 323.)

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "& même, il y en a qui font, comme on dit, *Stores*," omitted by translator.



In general I may say the Women<sup>1</sup> are extremely lazy here. for as they enjoy great Plenty, and by a sort of Custom are become more Mistresses than any where else, they mind nothing but their Pleasures, and are moreover so haughty and revengeful that it is dangerous to offend them.

When the *Company* first establish'd themselves here, the Women were so scarce that even the Principal Officers were obliged to marry *Indians*, which no doubt has been the occasion of the Pride of that Sex in this Country. At present there is great plenty of them; they have multiply'd exceedingly, and considering that many arrive frequently from foreign Parts there are more than sufficient for such as require but a moderate use of them. As they not only suffer no Beggars here, but considerably relieve such as fall under any Necessity, the poorest of all the Women has when she goes abroad at least one Slave that carries an Umbrello over her *Head*.<sup>2</sup> 'Tis the same with the Men, except those that belong to the Troops, and are above the quality of an

<sup>1</sup> "Most of the white women who are seen at Batavia are born in the Indies. . . . These are either the offspring of European mothers or Oriental female slaves, who having first been mistresses to Europeans, have afterwards been married to them, and been converted to Christianity. . . . Children born in the Indies are nicknamed *liptaps* by the Europeans, although both parents may have come from Europe." (*Ibid.*, p. 315.)

"They are commonly of a listless and lazy temper; but this ought chiefly to be ascribed to their education, and the number of slaves of both sexes that they always have to wait upon them." (P. 317.)

"In common with most of the women in India, they cherish a most excessive jealousy of their husbands and of their female slaves. If they discover the smallest familiarity between them, they set no bounds to their thirst of revenge against these poor bondswomen, who in most cases have not dared to resist the will of their masters for fear of ill treatment." (P. 319.)

<sup>2</sup> "When they go out on foot they are attended by a slave who carries a sunshade (called here *sambrel* or *payang*) over their heads; but whoever is lower in rank than a junior merchant may not have a slave behind him, but must carry a small sunshade himself." (Stavorinus, *l. c.*, p. 314.)



Ensign. The Soldiers being for the most part Insolent, and the *Company* desirous that all their *Colonies* should enjoy an entire Liberty, thought fit to bridle those that carry'd Arms and reduce them to a state of Humility; so that upon this occasion a Cöbler, for example, may have a Slave to carry an *Umbrello* over his Head, whereas an Ensign of the Garrison is not allowed the same Privilege.

The *Europeans* do not make the hundredth part of the Inhabitants. Next to them the *Chineses*<sup>1</sup> are the Richest, and make the greatest Figure: Altho' the Pictures we have from *China*, and the Relations are given us of that Country, always represent the Inhabitants Tawny and large Visag'd, with flat Noses, and little Eyes, yet I can assure you I have observ'd no such thing of that People at *Batavia*, where there are above ten thousand of them settled, and many more that come from time to time occasionally from *China* to Trade.

Generally speaking, those People are all as white<sup>2</sup> as the *Europeans*, and have Faces of the same form. This is what

<sup>1</sup> "The number of Chinese inhabitants at Batavia alone exceeds (in 1811) a hundred thousand. There were also many dispersed throughout the island, in the interior as well as along the coast. . . . Without them, indeed, the island of Java would be an unprofitable colony, as in their hands are all the manufactories, distilleries, and potteries. They are also the principal traders, smiths, carpenters, stonemasons, shoemakers, shopkeepers, butchers, fishmongers, greengrocers, and, in fact, the whole retail trade of Java is in their hands."

"The Chinese Company at Batavia comprizes the whole of the South-Western suburbs, and is very extensive. Every house is a shop, and the streets being constantly crowded, exhibit a constant scene of noise and bustle." (Thorn, *l. c.*, p. 243.)

<sup>2</sup> "The Chinese in Java are very fair. They dress in long silk gauze gowns and loose pantaloons, generally white, black, or blue, with cotton stockings and high raised shoes or boots; a small black cap is fitted to their heads, which are shaven, except on the back part, where is a small tuft, having attached to it an enormous long tail, for which they pay a tax; so that by this capitation impost, the number of Chinese in the island can be pretty correctly ascertained." (Thorn, *l. c.*, p. 244.)

I have seen and observ'd a hundred times, in spite of my former Prejudice: 'Tis computed there are forty Thousand<sup>1</sup> *Chineses* in the whole Island. They pay a Crown a Head *per* Month as a Tribute to the *Company*, and those who have a mind to wear one or more Gold Bodkins in their Hair, pay moreover a Crown for each Bodkin. Policy obliges the *Company* to afford them divers Honours, and to grant them great Privileges. They have a Head who has a place in the Council, and a right to Vote, where any Person of their Nation is to be try'd for his Life: And 'tis not without great reason they are thus distinguish'd, since without them, the City of *Batavia* would not be worth half what it is. They are not less Laborious, Industrious, and adroit<sup>2</sup> in Commerce, than ingenious, and of a prudent and peaceable Temper. They observe much upright Dealing among themselves, but play tricks with Strangers, and cheat them without scruple whenever it lies in their way. They Game exceedingly, and do it with so equal a Countenance that you can't tell when they win and when they lose. The good understanding they have with one another, can never be enough commended nor admir'd: They look upon each other as Brothers, and never suffer any Quarrels or Differences that may arise between them to last long. Mediators soon interpose, and all Matters are quickly reconcil'd. Where any one happens to lose what he has by Shipwreck, or other

<sup>1</sup> "The number of the Chinese, who live both within and without the walls of the city, cannot be determined with precision; but it must be very considerable, as the Company receive a poll-tax from them of more than forty thousand rix dollars. Every Chinese who has a profession is obliged to pay a monthly poll-tax of half a ducatoon" (a ducatoon = six shillings). (Stavorinus, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 268.)

<sup>2</sup> "Like the Jews in Europe, they are very cunning in trade, both in the largest dealings and in the most trifling pedlery. They are so desirous of money, that a Chinese will run three times from one end of the city to the other, if he have but the prospect of gaining one penny. In doing any business with them, the greatest care must be taken, to avoid being cheated." (Stavorinus, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 268.)



Accident, an Assessment is immediately laid according to each Man's Ability, in order to restore the unfortunate Person to his former Condition.

The charitable and speedy manner with which these People relieve each other when in Want, insomuch that there is neither a Beggar, nor a dissatisfy'd Person among them, has somewhat so surprizing and astonishing in it, that we must own it is a Reproach to the greatest part of us Christians. And as the Principles of the *Chineses* concerning this sort of Charity are very near those of *Moses*,<sup>1</sup> according to whose Laws there was to be no needy Person in *Israel*, and the same likewise that are establish'd, and so often repeated in the *Gospel*, I thought I could not any ways disoblige the Reader if I gave him an Extract of some Sentences out of the Book entituled *The Golden Book*, or the *Golden Sentences of Hoangti-Xao*, one of the LXXII most excellent Disciples.

It is their celebrated *Confucius* whom they commonly stile the *Sage King of Letters*, and they say he had LXXII principal Disciples, of which number was *Hoangti-Xao*.<sup>2</sup>

The *Golden Book*<sup>3</sup> contains Political and Moral Maxims, which having for the most part coherence with one another not unlike that Book of *Solomon*, which it has pleas'd our

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xv.

<sup>2</sup> "It is true that among the multitude of Confucius's disciples seventy-two are enumerated as 'scholars of extraordinary ability'; but there was no Hoangti-Xao among them. At the earliest periods of Chinese history there are placed two sages, Hoang-ti (B.C. 2697), and Yao (B.C. 2357); and if we were to read after 'disciples', 'and his doctrines were those of Hoang-ti and Yao', the statement would be correct." (*J. Legge*.)

<sup>3</sup> "The *Golden Book* and *Golden Sentences of Hoangti-Xao* are also coinages of Leguat's own. You illustrate the 'sentences' by quotations from the writings of Chuang Tsze; and this has made me think that Hoang-ti Xao may be misprints for Chuang Tze and São; but then Chuang Tsze and São were neither of them disciples of Confucius, but the chief writers of the school antagonistic to his." (*J. Legge*.)



Translators to give the name of *Proverbs* to, instead of that of *Sentences*.

As the Emperors of *China*, as well as the other Eastern Monarchs, have made themselves absolute over their People, from whom they have extorted a kind of Adoration, the *Sages* have sometimes artfully oppos'd so pernicious a Doctrine, and so contrary to Justice and Reason. The Author of these *Golden Sentences* not only fulminates against Tyrants,<sup>1</sup> who imagining themselves form'd of other Matter than the rest of Mankind, look upon them as Reptiles, whom they may either spare or destroy, but also against all Governors in general, whatever Titles they bear, providing they do not at the hazard of their Lives, if occasion be, maintain, defend, and make their subjects happy. He says, that the first thing a Prince ought to do upon his ascending the Throne, should be to inform himself diligently of the Condition of his People, to the end he may be ready to relieve them upon Necessity. He ranks Generosity, with Prudence and Courage, among the Chiefest Virtues,<sup>2</sup> that ought to adorn a

<sup>1</sup> In the divine classic of Nan-Hua, written by Chuang Tsze, the Taoist philosopher, fourth century B.C. : "The men who were princes over the empire in the days of yore remained perfectly inactive, caring for nothing but heavenly virtue. Speaking of nothing but Nature, the princes of the empire were upright. Fulfilling their duties by the aid of Nature, the virtue of both princes and ministers became illustrious. . . . It is by Nature that all created things progress. . . . Virtue embraces Nature ; and Nature embraces Heaven. . . . The world was prosperous in all respects . . . the people were settled in tranquillity." (*The Nan-Hua of Chuang Tsze, Heaven and Earth*, by F. H. Balfour, p. 135.)

"Chuang Tsze was the contemporary of Mencius. It is towards the trivialities of life that his keen satire is principally directed. He is the hero of the celebrated story in Sir John Davis's work on China, known as the 'Philosopher and his Wife.'" (*Ibid.*, Pref. by F. H. Balfour, 1881.)

"Chuang Tzū, a most original thinker, whose writings are tabooed as heterodox, an advanced exponent of the doctrines of Lao Tzū." (Giles, *Gems of Chinese Literature*, p. 19.)

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : "Il met la *Liberalité*, avec la *Prudence*, & le *Courage*, au

generous Breast, inasmuch as the immense Sums which are brought from the Provinces into his Coffers, are only deposited there, that he may distribute them according to the occasions both of publick and private persons.

“Remember,” says he in one Place, “O *Xantung!* That the chief and fundamental Law of all is, that every one should live, and if possible, live happy. . . .

“Remember that the Privilege of every Creature which has receiv’d the Gifts of Life from the high and adorable Creator, is, That they should enjoy all that good and wise Nature has produc’d, that is beneficial for them both above and below the Moon. . . .

“Remember that the sole great and adorable Power has made every good thing for us all, to sustain and divert every living Soul. . . .

“Why, then, O *Xantung!* Hast thou reserv’d Peacocks and Sturgeon for thy self, whilst poor *Keu-Han*, a very good man, tho’ born of Parents as poor as himself, is sometimes reduc’d to browze on the Mountains with wild Goats? Is it that you believe that good Venison, good Fruit, and good Fish, were made only for you, and by no means for him? Why, I beseech you, do not you likewise appropriate to yourself all the Salubrious Air that blesses the Coasts of *Honan*, to the end the unhappy may not be permitted to breath it, till such time as it has refresh’d the Lobes of your Lungs, by which you seem to desire that these poor People should subsist only upon your Excrements? And why, again, have not you shut up the fair and vivifying Sun within the Walls of your Park or Palace for your sole use, not suffering the vile Populace, whose Blood is not of the same colour with yours, to have any other Light than the faint glimmerings of a lesser Planet? I know it, O *Xantung!*

premier rang des vertus de celui qui a été élevé à l’office de *Gouverneur*; par le raison que de grandes sommes d’argent ne sont aportées de toutes les Provinces, dans les cofres de ce *Haut-Officier*, que pour l’en faire le Distributeur, selon les besoins publics & particuliers.”



Why hast not thou made all these things? It was because it was altogether out of thy Power. Thy long Hands have prov'd too short for that Work. Thou seizest bravely all that is within thy reach, and generously leav'st that which is too high for thee to arrive at. . . . *Keu-Han* is both hungry and cold; he has neither Money, Employment, nor Health: All reject him, all abandon him. Tell me, thou that art at the Helm of the Government, Thou whose Duty it is to take care of the People, and that art paid for it to boot, why dost not thou, I say, make hast to relieve him? . . . Prisons abound with such wretches as he; both they and their Fathers have been render'd poor and miserable, either by publick or private Tyranny. They suffer, they languish, they faint; their Wives and their Children are in Despair; why delayst thou, then, Governor of thy People, to deliver these afflicted Creatures? . . . *Keu-Han*, thus reduc'd to Extremity, yielded to a natural Temptation, rather than die with Hunger; To free himself from it, he took a Loaf of a Baker, and you have thus rigorously punish'd him for it.<sup>1</sup> But you have committed a Double Sin, you who bear the fine Title of Father of your Country. You have not relieved the wretched ready to drop into the Ground, but have us'd him without all Manner of Mercy. . . .

“Make so good Laws, that nobody may be in danger of perishing with Hunger, and then freely execute severely the other Laws against all Usurpers. . . . But what is this Hunger and Want? You know nothing of it, you that roul in Delight and Abundance, and you believe, doubtless, that he alone is miserable who appears to you to be famish'd and starv'd with Cold. You may nevertheless believe likewise that a poor Nourishment not extraordinary good, and the want of Relief in great Necessity, weaken the Poor Man, sadden his Soul, make him cruelly languish, and lead him

<sup>1</sup> “If a man steals some trinket, he suffers death for the crime; but if he steals a kingdom, he becomes a feudal prince.” (Balfour, *op. cit.*, p. 113.)



slowly to his Grave. . . . Wicked Governors! You are oftentimes guilty of the Sins of the Poor, as you are the occasion of their Misfortunes. . . .<sup>1</sup>

"There is a necessary Coherence and Dependance between certain Laws. As one is, so you must suppose the other to be, and that one cannot subsist unless the other be maintain'd. Now, the Law which forbids anyone to appropriate to himself what belongs to another Man is founded upon another Law, according to which no Man is to perish by unhappy Poverty. . . ."

"High and Mighty Lords!" says elsewhere this Chinese Philosopher, "inexorable and Fleshly-minded Robbers! Obstinate and insatiable Blood-suckers! High and mighty Thieves that you are, who haughtily seize upon what does not belong to you, but to others! Or who do not restore that which your Ancestors have usurp'd without Pity or Justice! By what Law of Nature or Equity, think you, all belongs to you, and nothing to anybody else? . . . . You are at present applauded, most illustrious Wretches, and the good Men whom you, or the Villains whose Heirs you are, have robb'd, fall now prostrate to the Ground when you pass by with your gilded *Palanquin*. But soon your worthless Souls shall be of no other use than to swell the backs of Toads,<sup>2</sup> and the poor Man, who is of much greater worth tho' at present oppress'd, shall crush you to pieces. . . ."

"Whether it be that thy Rapins, or those of thy Fathers, have enrich'd thee, O *Ti-Fa*! (for of a thousand rich Men there is hardly one that is not either wicked himself or an Heir to one that was so), whether it may be thy good Fortune or thy Industry have heap'd on thee Gold and

<sup>1</sup> "All this is something like passages in Chuang Tsze's writings; but I cannot identify Xantung or Keu-Han with any names to be found or likely to be found in him. The fact is Leguat was writing about what he knew very little about, and wrote therefore loosely and incorrectly." (*J. Legge.*)

<sup>2</sup> This indicates a belief in the doctrine of the metempsychosis.

Pearls, know that thy Abundance does not belong to thee alone, and that the rich Man, he, I mean, that is lawfully so, becomes a Thief when he suffers the poor Man to want. . . . Oh, how great is my Concern, when I contemplate that lofty and rich Mountain of *Keuangsi*, which fronts the Cell whither I am retir'd! That excellent part of the Terrestrial Globe is all cover'd with fine Pastures, Golden Wheat-Ears, Flax, Ginger, Cedars, and Aromatick Plants, in the middle of which the finest and best tasted Birds make their Nests. The perfum'd Civet-Cats run about in great numbers, together with the swift wild Goats, and the bounding Roe-Bucks: Nay, the Entrails of this wonderful Mountain enrich the West with Rubys, Amethysts, and Sapphires. But who is it that is in possession of this fine little World? Alass! Three hundred Families that were formerly dispers'd throughout it, divided it between them, till the Noble High-way-man, *Xao-ti-cao*, under pretexts that easily corresponded with his Rapaciousness, found means, to his Glory be it spoken, to reunite to his ancient Demesns, eighteen or twenty of these poor Inheritances. *Ye-vam*, his Son, seiz'd upon thirty more, and, in the space of sixty years, the sad Remains of these three hundred ruin'd, outed, vagabond, and unfortunate Families, saw this Mountain entirely in the possession of *Ti-Hohai*, who, for reasons of State and Avarice, has swallow'd up all.<sup>1</sup>

“What use does the Illustrious *Ti-Hohai* make of all these Riches? He entertains Magnificently his Dogs, his Concubines, and his Friends. He lavishes exceedingly, he is prodigal without Consideration, towards certain Rascals that are continually about him, and all this without hearkening to either the cries of the Poor, the just demands of his Creditors, or the wants of good Men. *Ti-Hohai* has a great Soul; he hates all sorts of Baseness, and pillages only like a great Lord. . . .

<sup>1</sup> “A petty thief is clapped in jail; a big robber becomes a feudal prince.” (*The Nan Hua, op. cit.*)



“O fertile and delicious Mountain! My Eyes cannot look towards thee without shedding Tears. But whither shall I then carry them, these Eyes where you may see Wonder painted with Grief? See on the other side the vast and gay Plain of *Ocomsiao*, of which an agreeable winding of the River *Hoang* makes a Peninsula, which is likewise the Prey to a most Noble Lord, the Lord *Kiumfa*, who, altogether opposite to the generous squanderer *Ti-Hohai*, digs Gold out of the Mines of *Sighem*, for no other Reason but to raise new ones in his Coffers of Iron: See the frightful Carcasses that drag along his old dislocated Chariot. See him himself, with his mean Aspect and frightened Air, as if the pitiless *Tartar* was ready to seize on his Treasure. The Noble *Kiumfa* has, in a word, totally possess'd himself within these five years of the excellent Country of *Ocomsiao*, and the Fatal Executioner has already expos'd divers unhappy Wretches to the Crows, who, having been despoil'd of all they had by the Conqueror, dar'd, in their extrem Necessity, to resume but a small Portion of what had been taken from them.

“Shall I mount to the top of *Vigean*, or transport myself to the forked Brow of *Canghehu*? And shall I from thence contemplate the rich Provinces that extend themselves even to the Sea? But I shall everywhere meet with the like Conquests. . . . Thou art too small, O universal Earth! To satisfie the boundless Desires of one proud Mad-Man. . . .

“The Philosopher *Yemam-Xilin*, remov'd from cruel and pressing Necessity, would pass a retir'd Life in Tranquillity, would willingly cultivate some agreeable Garden to breath the fresh Air, under the shade of a Fig-Tree that he himself had planted, and to hear at certain times the sweet and innocent Notes of the harmonious Nightingale. He would willingly adorn this little Paradise with some borders of Flowers, raise a Hive of Bees there, and turn in some clear Spring that might serve him to bath in, and, in Recom-



pence, he would never destroy the Fish that Nature had plac'd there. . . .

"Tir'd with the vanities of the World, which he had sufficiently experienc'd, and pleas'd with this solitary Grot, he might go and divert his fatigu'd Imaginations in the different Paths in this little Enclosure, and there repair the loss of his Spirits wasted by Study, and so make himself amends for the Misfortunes of this Life. Full of Contempt for the mad multitude which runs blindly after Chimera's, he might happily enjoy there some new and profitable Delights. But the Earth is all invaded; all is seiz'd. The Great are already in possession of it, and there remains no corner for him. He must buy that dear which is shortly to serve him for a Grave. . . ."

Thus the Author of the *Golden Sentences*, abandoning himself to the fury of his Thoughts, which are, he says, Oracles of Confucius, who delivers himself oftentimes like an Orator of that Country, rather than either a Lawyer or a Politician.

Nay, these Maxims have seem'd to his Country-men so just and well-grounded, that on one hand Terror and Custom, two Terrible Tyrants, has made them Slaves and Idolizers of their Kings; on the other, the Lessons of their wise Men, which they have well conceiv'd and digested, has inclin'd them to relieve the distress'd, insomuch that there is not a poor Man, as I have already observ'd, to be found amongst them.

To return to what I was saying of the poor *Chineses*, I must likewise Remark, that there are no Beggars neither at *Batavia* among the *Europeans*. It may be, Emulation, in Conjunction with natural Justice and Policy, has contributed to the establishing of this good Order among the *Portugueses*; for, as for the *Hollanders*, everyone knows that even in *Holland* itself, and all the Provinces belonging to that wise and powerful Republick, all such as are able to Work are furnish'd with such proper Means that no one can say with Justice that he has been forc'd to beg his Bread.

The *Chineses* live very well, and eat neatly, altho' without either Napkin or Table-Cloath: They do not take the Meat between their Fingers, but, as it is serv'd up all cut to pieces, they carry it to their Mouths with two gilded Sticks about five or six Inches long.

They wear long Gowns very light, and for the most part white, with large Breeches that reach even to their Ancles. They make great account of their Hair, which is exceeding long, and which they always suffer to grow. They wreath it in Tresses, and twist it round behind their Heads, fastening it with Bodkins, as I have before mention'd. I can't remember I've ever seen any fair Hair here; but it must not be concluded from thence that the People are Tawny, for, if I must repeat it once more, they are generally as fair as we are.

They have little Beards, and esteem them so that they never shave them. Nay, they have no less value for those of others, for if any Person has a mind to run the risque either of his Beard or his Hair, he may wager it against a considerable Sum, and being won, it is kept as a precious Treasure by him that won it; and, on the contrary, he that lost it becomes so infamous that no body cares to deal with him any more. They carry a great Fan in their Hands which they cover their Heads with from time to time, instead of an Umbrella, which the *Europeans* only make use of.

When they Salute one another, they present themselves with their Fists clinch'd, and, afterwards embracing each other, toss up one of their Hands as the People do in *England*.

They Trade in their Country, and particularly bring from thence Tea and Porcelain. Those among them whom I shall call Strangers, that is, who are not as it were Naturaliz'd at *Batavia*, cannot continue there above six Months. These have their Heads all shav'd after the new mode of



their Country, except a Lock which they reserve in the middle, and which hangs down behind. The *Tartar* who at present reigns over this Nation impos'd this Law upon them, being what is practis'd in his Country by his natural Subjects, but which serves the *Chineses* for a badge of Slavery.

These People in general have somewhat Noble and Magnificent in them, what-ever they do. When any *Chinese* betroths himself at Batavia, after the Contract is sign'd, he at Night goes to visit his Mistriss in a Magnificent Chair carry'd by four Men, and preceded by three or four hundred others, either *Javans* hir'd for that purpose, or *Negro* Slaves, each of them bearing Light at the end of a Stick. 'Tis true this Light or Lanthorn answers little to the Splendor of the rest, being only a Hog's Bladder upon a Pole, with a piece of Wax-Candle in it. The Chair is immediately follow'd by a great Number of that Country Musicians, who make between them a very odd sort of Harmony.

The Priests come after on Horse-back with long Violet-colour'd Robes, and square Bonnets, about which march on all sides before and behind, a great number of the Bridegroom's Friends, who incessantly throw up into the Air Fire-works, which represent divers sorts of Animals. The Gallant goes to visit his Mistriss with this Equipage, and returns after the same manner. When they walk together the same Pomp is observ'd, and even when they go to be marry'd, with this difference only, that the Woman is carry'd in such a Chair that she can see whatever is done without being seen her self. When the Marriage Ceremony is ended, the Men dine together in Publick, but the Women are in another Chamber by themselves, whither the Men never come. The Tables of both Chambers are so order'd that the two marry'd People may sit that Day back to back, a Wall being only between them. At Night the Husband does the honour to his Wife to receive her to his Table, a favour she never afterwards has granted, the Men of this



Nation having that contempt for their Wives that they look upon them to be no better than Slaves, they being like other Eastern Nations extremely jealous.

There were but three Women born in *China*, at *Batavia* when I was there, so that the *Chineses* were at first oblig'd to marry *Javans*,<sup>1</sup> but their Families have so encreas'd since that now they have enough Daughters for their Sons: These People are exceedingly addicted to that abominable *Sin Sodom*. At first they never endeavour'd to conceal it, and when they were indicted for it, they answer'd it was an innocent Action and what was allow'd them; many of them were nevertheless put to Death for it.

Their Wives and Daughters are Invisible, at least they are never seen, and they never go abroad: I never saw but one during the whole year that I was at *Batavia*, and that was in a House. The Men keep *Javan* and *Negro* Women for Concubines, or make use of them when they meet them, without much Ceremony.

As the Smallness of the Women's Feet is one of their greatest Perfections, and which most charms the Men, so soon as born they put them into Iron Moulds which hinder their Growth, so that when they go to walk they can hardly keep themselves upon their Legs.<sup>2</sup>

For six Months from the first day of the year they feast and make merry, keeping a sort of *Carnaval*, which lasts Day and Night. They then run up Theatres on which their young People act a kind of Comedies, for which they have odd Cloaths made on purpose: Their common subjects are

<sup>1</sup> Thorn writes:—"As no woman is allowed to be exported from China, adventurers from that country intermarry with the Javanese and Malays, or purchase slaves for their concubines and wives." (*L. c.*, p. 243.)

<sup>2</sup> The custom of compressing the feet of female children practised by the Chinese is supposed to have originated in the desire to mark the difference between the nomadic Tartar invaders and the native, patriotic, children of the soil. (Cf. *Gray*, vol. i, p. 233.)

the Lives of Histories of Great Men. At Night during this Representation, they pitch Bamboos, of forty or fifty foot high, before the Houses of the most considerable of their Nation, to which they affix Fire-works that cost a great deal and last most part of the Night. This is one of the principal of their Diversions. These People are very Industrious, and have a particular Talent for making these Fire-works. Among other things they very naturally represent by them divers sorts of Animals: Disguis'd as I have told you, they run along the Streets and make these Animals, compos'd of Paper and Wild-fire, fly. They have a Feast which they celebrate on the Water in Memory of a certain Woman of their Nation, who drown'd her self, and of whom they tell a fine and long Tale. The chiefest Diversion of this Feast consists in the swift Rowing of several light Boats like the *Gondola's* at *Venice*.<sup>1</sup> Divers of these Boats, equally furnish'd with Rowers, start at the same time on a certain Signal, and they that arrive first at the Goal obtain the Prize.

The Burials<sup>2</sup> of the *Chineses* are perform'd with great Ceremony. When a sick Person is at the point of Death, all his Friends and Relations gather about him, and ask him frankly

<sup>1</sup> Another Venetian allusion, indicating Misson's pen:—"The Dragon Boat Festival, held in memory of Wat-Yuen, a Minister of State, who flourished about 500 B.C., and who drowned himself. A leading feature of this festival is the races which take place between the different crews of long boats made to resemble dragons." (Cf. *China*, by Dr. Gray, vol. i, p. 258.)

<sup>2</sup> "Their burials are the next great pompous exhibitions of the Chinese. These are solemnised agreeably to the rank of the deceased. . . . An immense multitude of Chinese attend on the day of interment, carrying images of men and women, representing the deceased members of the same family, with wax tapers and censers; while a numerous procession of priests, accompanied with musical instruments, precede the corpse, which is carried in a huge coffin, slung on bars, supported on the shoulders of sixteen bearers, in pairs, followed by the relations of the deceased, uttering most piercing lamentations. The cemetery of the Chinese extends over a prodigious deal of ground on the south-east side of *Batavia*." (*Thorn*, p. 246.)



whither he is going, and why he will leave them? Questions very edifying and much to the purpose! They tell him he need only acquaint them what he wants, and assure him very obligingly he shall immediately have all he can ask.

When he has render'd up his poor Soul to the mercy of his Creator, they lay his Corps in a bed of State, the Richest and most Sumptuous they can get. Some time after he is carry'd on the same Bed to be bury'd, upon the shoulders of twelve Men, in such manner that every body may see him: A great number of People march confusedly before and after the Corps. Immediately next to it go the Priests on Horse-back, Habited as I have told you, in long Violet-colour'd Robes, and after them come the hir'd female Mourners cloath'd in White, and walking together under a sort of Linen Tent open a-top. These Mourners or Weepers torment themselves incessantly, and at every step almost passionately demand of the deceas'd Person, Why he would so abandon the World? What he wanted, and why he would not let it be known, since undoubtedly he would have receiv'd satisfaction in all he could ask?

These Foolish questions surpriz'd me less from the Mouths of these People, than they did from the *Irish*<sup>1</sup> Catholicks,

<sup>1</sup> "Of these original *Irish* most of the Persons of Quality understand *English*, and lead a Life totally *unbarbariz'd*; but the common People are half Savages, and differ very little from their Ancestors as described sixteen or seventeen hundred years ago by *Strabo*, *Solinus*, *Pomponius Mela*, and the most remote Authors. Their Religion is a kind of Popish-Christian Religion; but the Superstitions and Fooleries of Popery, which they have adopted, are mix'd with such a Number of other Puerilities, that it is impossible to say justly what the Religion of those People is. . . .

" . . . When any among them is sick, they never talk to him of anything but his Recovery, and never of God or Salvation; but sometimes the sick Man desires the Communion, and then they look upon it that he despairs of Life: From that Moment they expose him in a publick Place, or upon a great Road; they call every Passenger with loud Cries, and each Man puts a hundred impertinent Questions to the poor dying Person: They ask him, why he will leave this World, which is so very



who inhabit a part of *Ireland*, and make much the same Complaints on these Occasions. 'Tis thus the Body is carry'd to the destin'd place of Sepulchre,<sup>1</sup> which is very near half a League from *Batavia*. They bury some pieces of Silver with the Corps, and every day for a year together carry some Viands, and present them at the Tomb of the Deceas'd, with design to do honour and good to him. It would be dangerous to taste these Viands, since oftentimes they poyson them, in order to revenge the Attempt of such as should presume to carry them away.<sup>2</sup> Unriddle who will the Notions of these poor Wretches, who treat their dearest Friends with the same Poyson they prepare for Thieves.

pleasant? In what Country he thinks he shall find better Entertainment. If he had not a good and a handsome Wife, fine Children, good Relations, good Cows, good Milk, good Butter, and every Thing that could make Life agreeable to him? Then they apostrophize his Soul, which they call cruel and ungrateful for leaving so handsome a Body that has charitably found it such a good Lodging for so many Years. . . ." (Max Misson's *Memoirs*; Ozell's translation, *op. cit.*)

Compare Dubois (1674), *Relation de l'Isle Dauphine, etc.* Of the Cape-Verdrain he writes (pp. 23, 24): "Quand il meurt quelqu'un d'eux qui a de quoy, ils vont pleurer le mort, & luy demandent pourquoy il les a quittez, & s'il luy manquoit quelque chose, luy font une infinité d'autres discours pareils." (See also *Histoire des Antilles*, p. 512.)

<sup>1</sup> "The Chinese allot a separate sepulchre for each corpse, over which is raised a high circular mound of earth, like a crescent, cased with stone, and ornamented according to the wealth and importance of the deceased. To these receptacles of the dust of their ancestors the Chinese pay, as a sacred duty, an annual visit, which mournful ceremony takes place in the month of April. Stages are then erected in various parts for the priests, who deliver from them orations in praise of the dead there deposited; and the neighbourhood of ancient Jacatra, over which their principal cemetery extends, exhibits an affecting spectacle, of multitudes of people, prostrate before the numerous tombs, which are decorated with flowers, spreading viands and fruits as an offering, and bowing their heads in sorrow to the ground." (Thorn, *l. c.*, p. 246.)

<sup>2</sup> Stavorinus writes (vol. i, p. 272):—"They visit the graves of their ancestors and relations from time to time. They strew them with odoriferous flowers; and when they depart, they leave a few small pieces of silk or linen, before the entrance, and sometimes boiled rice, or other victuals; which is speedily made away with at night."

'Tis thus Religion, ill understood, oftentimes degenerates into Extravagance. As for the other Presents, I'm well assur'd they poyson them likewise, as well knowing the Motive of Interest frequently prevails over that of Superstition.<sup>1</sup> Among their Tombs there are some very large, and finely set off: They have divers *Pagodes* at *Batavia*.<sup>2</sup> At first sight these Temples seem much to resemble the *Roman-Catholick Churches*.<sup>3</sup>

You see three sorts of Chapels, Altars, Wax-Tapers, Lamps, Holy-Water, Pictures, Statues and Images of a hundred forms. The Priests too are set off with Ornaments, not unlike those of the *Roman-Catholick Clergy*. They wear at their Girdles, or on their Arms, certain Chaplets, whose Beads are not all equal, and which they make use of to count certain Prayers which they repeat machinally. The People have also their Devotions calculated, rather for a Monkey than a God, and wear their strings of little Bullets, in like manner with the Priests.

When these last celebrate they use many Genuflexions, turn to the Right, Left, forwards and backwards, one making Invocations, and the other answering him; The By-standers

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "de la Superstition, quelque violent qu'il soit, de même que tous les autres," omitted by translator.

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : "autour de Batavia."

<sup>3</sup> "In fact, though these people have temples erected in various parts of the Island of Java and one at Anjole, close to Batavia, the structures seem to be formed more out of compliance with custom than for any serious purpose, since religious rites are hardly ever observed in them nor is anything like worship practised by the people who built them." (Thorn, *l. c.*, p. 247.)

"An image, with tapers burning before it, representing either a good, or evil genius, or both together sometimes, is placed in every Chinese dwelling. This idol is frequently consulted by dropping two or more sticks before it, and in a variety of other ways, which the Chinese interprets according to certain rules, and thus determines the regulation of his trading concerns by lot, not very dissimilar to the divination of the ancients, and the practice still observed by the modern Arabians." (*Ibid.*, p. 247.)



seem to afford great Attention. Very often, and especially a Mornings, a Priest walks thro' the Street carrying a little *I know not what*, over whose Head is born a sort of Canopy, and a great multitude follows this Idol very devoutly. They have likewise very great Processions, in which they carry a sort of Cross, and Standards of divers shapes and colours. These are things which I have often seen.

Furthermore when you ask the most Sensible among them what they Worship, they answer very well, that they Worship but one God, no more than the *Hollanders*; that the Human Figures you see in the Temples, are only Representations of Men and Women, who have formerly liv'd well, and are now in a state of Happiness; that the Adoration they pay them is not of the same kind with that they pay to God; that they honour them only on God's account, because they are his intimate Friends; and as for the other Statues of different forms, whereof some seem to Strangers so ridiculous and ill favour'd, it could not be thought that they believ'd them to be any thing but inanimate Matter, however, they affirm'd they represented mysteriously the various Virtues or Attributes, as we speak, of the most high Power which has made the World; and that these Figures were very proper to captivate the attention of a People, who could not be extraordinarily mov'd at any thing but that they fancy'd in their Imaginations, and who were accustom'd to call that nothing, which was invisible: That a Hieroglyphick, for Example, with an hundred Arms inspir'd them with an Idea of a great Power, and dispos'd them to the profoundest Acts of Humiliation; and that it was the same of the rest. This brings into my Memory the Christian Exposition,<sup>1</sup> which the Learned Bishop

<sup>1</sup> Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet was born at Dijon, 28th September 1627. When Bishop of Condom, in 1671, he published his celebrated *Exposition de la foi Catholique*, after he had succeeded in reuniting M. de Turenne (the great Turenne) to the Catholic Church. This book of



of Meaux has given us of the Doctrine and Practice of his Religion.<sup>1</sup> These Idolaters, whom I cannot forbear to call by that Name, notwithstanding they pretend to make the best use of their natural Light,<sup>2</sup> confest they pay also some Adoration to the wicked Spirits, not thro' Love, or any other Respect they have for them, but for the same reason that you stroke a surly Dog, that he may not bite you, or that a Man of mean Condition cringes to a great Lord, and that Lord plays the same part over again at Court.

'Tis certainly true, that both in *China* and elsewhere among the Idolaters, those Persons who have been capable of any Reflection, have always believ'd that there was only one Almighty Sovereign Power, the truly supream and absolute Authority not being liable to Division. But the People in general have not these Ideas.

When these Subaltern Deities have obstinately persisted to refuse those things that were reasonably demanded of them, they have been chastis'd after an exemplary manner. Sometimes their Temples have been ras'd, and their Priests driven away from their Idols. Father *Le Comte*<sup>3</sup> displays this so well, that I cannot help making use of his very Words.

the *Exposition*, writes Father de Baupet (Bishop of Alais) in 1814, has been perhaps the most useful of Bossuet's works, both in the good effect which it has produced and by the general attention which it caused.

<sup>1</sup> "I will appeal to all unbyass'd persons, when once Posterity shall read the History of the Persecution of *France*, as represented by *Maimbourg*, *Varillas*, the Bishop of *Meaux*, and others of the same stamp, I say, when they shall read the same in these Authors, whether they would not be apt to imagin that these poor Wretches were used with all imaginable moderation, if it were not manifest by unquestionable Authority, that these unfortunate Creatures suffer'd all the Cruelties that could be invented by their implacable Enemies." (Max Misson's *Voyage to Italy*, Letter xxv.)

<sup>2</sup> In orig : "malgré les subterfuges de ceux d'entre eux qui font le meilleur usage de leur lumière naturelle."

<sup>3</sup> *Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'état présent de La Chine*, par le P. Louïs Le Comte, de la Compagnie de Jésus, Mathématicien du Roy. Tome

“ When the People are tir'd, they Despise, Revile, and even Beat their Gods. Dog of a Spirit, say they, as if they were speaking to a bad King, we lodge thee in a Magnificent Temple, thou art well gilt, well fed and incens'd, and yet thou art so ungrateful, as to refuse us the things we ask of thee, and which are even necessary. After this, *adds the Father*, they bind the treacherous God with Cords, and drag him about the Streets loaded with Dirt and all sorts of Filth, to punish him for his unkind usage of them. If by chance they afterwards obtain what they sought after, then they carry their Idol with great Ceremony back again to his Niche, after having well wash'd and cleans'd him. They prostrate themselves also before him, and make him various Excuses. To speak Truth, say they to him, we were a little too hasty, but were not you likewise in the wrong, to

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Lettre X. A Monseigneur Le Cardinal de Bouillon. *De la Religion ancienne & moderne des Chinois* (p. 127) :—

“ Il est vray qu'on n'a pas toujours pour ces Dieux tout le respect que semble mériter leur qualité. Car il arrive assez souvent qu'après avoir esté bien honorez, si le peuple n'obtient pas d'eux ce qu'il demande, il se lasse enfin, & les abandonne comme des Dieux impuissans; d'autres les traitent avec le dernier mépris : les uns les chargent d'injures, & les autres de coups. Comment, *chien d'esprit*, luy disent-ils quelquefois, nous te logeons dans un Temple magnifique, tu es bien doré, bien nourri, bien encensé, & après tous ces soins que nous prenons de toy, tu es assez ingrat pour nous refuser ce qui nous est nécessaire ?

“ Ensuite on le lie avec des cordes, & on le traîne par les ruës, chargé de bouë & de toutes sortes d'immondices, pour luy faire payer les pastilles dont on l'avoit auparavant parfumé. Que si durant ce temps-là ils obtiennent, par hasard, ce qu'ils souhaitent ; alors ils raportent l'Idole en cérémonie dans sa niche, après l'avoir bien lavée & bien essuyée : ils se prosternent mesme en sa présence, & luy font diverses excuses. A la vérité, luy disent-ils, nous nous sommes un peu trop pressez ; mais au fond, n'avez-vous pas tort d'estre si difficile ? Pourquoi vous faire battre à plaisir ? Vous en cousteroit-il plus d'accorder les choses de bonne grâce ? Cependant ce qui est fait est fait, n'y songeons plus. On vous redorera, pourvû que vous oubliez tout le passé.”



be so unkind to us? Why would you suffer your self to be thus us'd, would it not have been better for you to have granted chearfully what we ask'd?"

The *Chineses* have a great share of exterior Devotion, some Instances of which I have observ'd. The Butchers bless their Meat before they expose it to Sale, and every one blesses his Victuals, before he puts it into his Mouth. The Master of the House repeats divers Prayers, and reiterates many Genuflections, after which he offers what he has to those that are present. I know this by Experience, and I know likewise, they would take it for an unpardonable Affront, should any one refuse to eat what they so offer'd him.

The third sort of Inhabitants of *Batavia*, (and who might take it ill for not being nam'd the first, were it not that 'tis customary to prefer the Rich to the Poor,) are the *Javans*<sup>1</sup> or Natives of the Island. They are Tawny, of moderate Stature, and well shap'd.

They go half-naked, and keep part of their Hair under their Turbants,<sup>2</sup> but let fall the rest. I once saw a *Javan* Prince at *Batavia*, who went Habited after the *Holland* Fashion, only he kept his Turbant. Their Huts are made with *Bamboos*, and cover'd with Leaves, and are for the most part small and

<sup>1</sup> The Javanese at *Batavia* occupy two Campongs, each under a chief of their own nation, on the right and left of the Great River. They are principally husbandmen, and cultivate the rice-fields in the neighbourhood; but some are employed in fishing. The Javanese, who are better featured than the Malays, are of a light brown colour, muscular and well made. The women also have a more pleasing cast of countenance than the Malay females, and in some of the hilly tracts they are really beautiful. They generally wear a long black gown, with a cloth wrapped round to serve as a petticoat; and the men a black cotton frock, with either a cloth tied round the waist or a short pair of drawers. The higher classes are very partial to chintzes, silks, and velvets, which they are fond of embroidering and in which they generally appear on all festivals and public occasions. (Thorn, *l. c.*, pp. 238, 240.)

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : "turban."



ill-built.<sup>1</sup> The whole Family lies, if I may so speak, in one Chamber. These People are extremely sober, and have no Appetite to eat much. They oftentimes content themselves with a little Rice, Fruit, and dry'd Fish. Being *Mahometans* they use no inebriating Liquors. *Tea*, or pure water, is their Ordinary Drink: They have the Reputation of having a great deal of Wit, and being quick of Apprehension. 'Tis said they are exceeding faithful to one another, but Strangers sometimes find they are not the same to them, being possess'd with that wicked and pernicious Maxim, not to keep Faith with such as they think Hereticks, neither in Religious Matters, nor anything else. They are Laborious, and above all, good Fishermen.

They all wear by their Sides, and in Scabbards Daggers poyson'd half-way with a most subtil sort of Poyson,<sup>2</sup> which some of them know how to temper so, that it shall never operate but when, and as often as they please. The most dangerous of these Poysons is the sap of a Tree which grows in the Island of *Borneo*. The Inhabitants of that Island make use of it to poyson their little Darts, which they shoot out of Trunks.<sup>3</sup> The *Javans* sometimes use a certain Drink to make them furious, and when they are so, they cry incessantly, *Amerci, Amerci*, which in their Language signifies, *Kill, kill*. They then run about like Mad-Men,<sup>4</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Both Malays and Javanese dwell in bamboo huts, divided into different apartments, sometimes plaistered with mud, and usually raised two or three feet from the ground. All the villages are surrounded by tops of cocoa-nut and other favourite fruit trees, encircled round with a thick bamboo hedge. (*Thorn*, p. 238.)

<sup>2</sup> "A sap extracted from the juicy leaves of the Magas or Kiati tree, is held in high estimation, as an effectual cure of wounds made by crisses and spears that have been dipped in a poison composed of the blood of the Gekko and other ingredients." (*Thorn*, *l. c.*, p. 213.)

<sup>3</sup> In orig.: "Sarbacanes," *i. e.*, blow-tubes.

<sup>4</sup> In orig.: "d'une violence effroyable," omitted by translator.

This peculiar frenzy, now commonly known as "running *amuk*", is not unusual throughout the East Indian Archipelago, and indeed is a

kill whatever comes in their way with wonderful Address and Agility. To save your Life at that Juncture, there is no better way then to run from them as soon as you see them coming at a distance, but this is in case you are not in a Condition to defend your self.<sup>1</sup>

These Customs they have in common with the People of *Macassar* their Neighbours, and those of the Isle of *Celebes*<sup>2</sup> to

characteristic malady among the Malays everywhere. Vincent le Blanc gives a name to the Javanese warriors derived from this source: "Sa principale force estoit en certains soldats appelez *Amocos*, c'est à dire determinez & mesprisans leur vie, qui avoient coustume de s'oiudre de certaine confection ou huile odorant, pour monstres leur resolution à la mort." (*Les Voyages du Sieur Vincent le Blanc*, p. 149.)

Sonnerat, also, makes especial mention of the ferocity of the Malays, stating that the captains of ships were prohibited from embarking any Malay as a sailor: "On a vu quelquefois de ces hommes atroces, embarqués imprudemment en très-petit nombre, attaquer, dans le moment qu'on y pensait le moins, un vaisseau, le poignard à la main, et tuer beaucoup d'hommes avant qu'on pût s'en rendre maître. On a vu des bateaux malais, armés de vingt-cinq à trente hommes, aborder hardiment des vaisseaux européens de quarante canons, pour s'en emparer et massacrer, avec le poignard, une partie de l'équipage. L'histoire malaise est pleine de traits semblables, qui tous annoncent la férocité la plus téméraire. Le malais, qui n'est pas serf, est toujours armé; il rougirait de sortir de sa maison sans son poignard, qu'il nomme *crik*. L'industrie de la nation s'est surpassée dans la fabrication de cet instrument destructeur." (*Voyages aux Indes et à la Chine*, vol. iii, p. 363.)

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "en les tuant eux-mêmes," omitted by translator.

<sup>2</sup> "The Buggese, or inhabitants of Celebes, are trained from their childhood to martial exercises; and they are, in consequence, very dexterous in the use of the spear. The criss, which is constantly worn by them, too often proves the fatal instrument of assassination. Numerous instances are related of their inflamed passions bursting forth in sudden and violent starts; and sometimes, without the least provocation, they are known to have attacked persons in the public streets, of whom they had not the slightest knowledge, cutting and stabbing them to death, from no other motive, frequently, than to try the metal of their crisses or choppers. An occurrence of this kind was very recently witnessed. While a Buggese was carrying wood through the town of Macassar, a man whom he had never seen stabbed him in passing, with his criss, in the shoulder, without the smallest offence having been given. The person attacked turned instantly with his chopper; and after a



the East of *Java*. These last make use likewise of the *Crit* or *Cric*, a poyson'd Ponyard<sup>1</sup>: They make themselves mad in like manner with the *Javans*, with their Liquid *Opium*, of which they take a certain Dose to render them dauntless and furious. They baul out *Moka, Moka*, as the *Javans* do *Amerci*. When they are in this Condition, they think only of killing, or being kill'd themselves. A single *Macassar* in this furious Humour, would attack a whole Regiment. They have Iron Corselets, and with their *Cric*, wear likewise a Sabre and a *Zagay*: They also shoot Poyson'd Darts<sup>2</sup> out of a Trunk. Certain pieces of paper with Magick Characters which they carry

desperate battle, at noon day, in which no person interfered, the aggressor was at length completely cut to pieces." (Thorn, *l. c.*, p. 335.) Major Thorn also cites another recent instance, equally shocking and barbarous, in which an escaped criminal killed upwards of twenty men before he fell under the crisses of his assailants.

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "empoisonné avec des manières superstitieuses & diaboliques."

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "Ils soufflent aussi de petits dards envenimez avec la Sarbacane."

Poisoned weapons. "*Antiaris toxicaria* of the Siamese countries and Malayan archipelago. The *bohun Upas* is a large forest-tree, sometimes called "*antsjar*", and the knowledge of its exudation seems implied in the prohibition against poisoned arrows in the Institutes of Manu. Claspings the poison-tree is mentioned by *Bhavabhuti*. *A. toxicaria* is known to grow as far as Lat. 19° in the neighbouring portion of Burmah, and its exudation continues to be used by the Karens to poison arrows. Further South, a tree in the Malayan archipelago, according to Jordanus (Col. Yule's edit., Hakluyt Society, vol. xxxi), is said when in flower to kill every man that cometh near it: an account not strictly true, but *A. toxicaria* has been shown by Rumphius, ii, pl. 87, L. de la Tour and Blume, to be virulently poisonous; it is known to grow particularly on Java, Baly, and Celebes." (Dr. Charles Pickering, *Chronological Hist. of Plants*, p. 422.)

"The *Strychnos tieute* of Java, a climber 120 feet, or *upas radja*, the bark of whose root yields one of the most dangerous poisons known, acting like *nux vomica*." (*Ibid.*, p. 445.)

The *betel* palm is the *Areca catechu* of the Malay archipelago, said to be the "*petros*" of the Erythræan Periplus, and its nuts have, according to Wilkinson, been exhumed from ancient Egyptian tombs. (Pickering, *op cit.*, p. 331.)



about them, are, they believe, a more powerful Preservative than either their Arms or their Armour.

When I was at *Batavia*, the *Cric* was forbidden to the common *Javans*, and only Officers and other Persons of Distinction had the Privilege to wear it. They were distinguishable by this Weapon, the Hilt whereof was massy Gold, as likewise by Guards, which the People of Quality were attended by. These were arm'd with Wooden Half-pikes, which they carry'd upright: Princes and Ambassadors have a number of these Guards to wait on them. The Princes, etc., are carry'd on People's shoulders in a sort of Litter cover'd, in the middle of which they sit cross-legg'd like our Taylors.<sup>1</sup>

The *Javan* Women, according to common Report, are extraordinary amorous, and what is uncommon, their Passion is no less constant than strong. They frequently make use of Philtres, which I have been assur'd they administer to their Lovers with Success<sup>2</sup>: And when they suspect that any of them have been faithless to them, they do not fail to regale them with such a Drug, as quickly sends them to the Kingdom of Moles,<sup>3</sup> so that it requires a Mans Consideration twice, before he engages with those sorts of Females once. There are a great many who not being so much expos'd to fatigues as the Men, are not near so Tawny, and who might pass even in *Europe* for Genteel.<sup>4</sup> They have likewise good Faces, especially the younger sort, according to the notion we have of Beauty. Their pretty swelling Breasts have no conformity

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : " dans une espèce de brancart couvert, au milieu duquel ils sont assis sur une planche traversante large d'un bon pied, les jambes croisées comme nos tailleurs."

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : " à leurs Maris ou à leurs galans afin d'augmenter & d'assujettir de plus en plus leur amour."

<sup>3</sup> In orig. : " qui le mine peu-à-peu, & qui l'envoye enfin dans le sombre Païs, que plusieurs appellent aussi bien que nous, le Royaume des Taupes."

<sup>4</sup> In orig. : " qui seroient trouvées fort gentilles par les plus delicats de nos Européens."

with the dangling Duggs of the homely *Africans* near the *Cape*. Their Complexions are fine and good, tho' a little brownish, their Hands fair, their Air soft, their Eyes sprightly and their Laughing agreeable: To put all together, there are many of them that are perfectly handsom. I have seen some Dance the most charmingly that could be. They go about Streets with a sort of Drummer after their mode, who beats time to their Motions, and after the young Wench has ended her Dance, one gives her something for Encouragement. Another Charm they have is, that they are extreamly neat and cleanly, their Religion obliging them to wash themselves all over several times a Day, and their Custom being, as I have already observ'd, to clear their Skins of all that hinders them from being extreamly soft and smooth. After all this, I know not whether *Java* may not pass for a gallant Country.<sup>1</sup>

But after I have commended these jolly Women so much, I can't help adding to their Disadvantage, that if all I heard be true, they are not extraordinary faithful to their Husbands<sup>2</sup>; nevertheless, they seem extreamly Submissive. They lie groveling along upon the Ground while their Husbands sit, especially if there be any Strangers there, (for it may be inferr'd from all I have said, they do not conceal themselves like the *Chinenses*, or other *Mahometans* of *Turkey*, *Persia*, and elsewhere): But generally speaking, these couchant Postures signifie little to their Honesty, and are of no more Signification, than *your most humble Servant* at the end of a Letter.

These Women go in their Hair, and have for Habit a short Wastcoat with little Sleeves lac'd before, which sits close without joining, and being cut sloping a-top, discovers great

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : " je ne sais si après tout cela il est nécessaire de dire que l'Isle de *Java* n'est pas un païs où la galanterie soit inconnue : l'amour y regne, finement même, & violemment."

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : " n'ayent pour leurs Maris, la fidelité qu'elles veulent qu'ils ayent pour elles."



part of their Breasts. Under this Corselet, which hardly reaches to their Hips, they wrap their Bodies in a sort of Scarf of divers Colours, which serves them for a Petticoat, and which being light and thin, requires two or three folds to keep them warm. This covers them to their Ancles, but as they wear no Smocks, there is always a List of brownish Flesh (which it may be, would not be better if it were altogether white) seen between the bottom of the Wastcoat, and the upper part of the Scarf.<sup>1</sup> This covering fitting close to their Bodies, displays the bad shapes of some of them, as it does the good of others, which last has, I know not what bewitching effect. The richest of Women wear Slippers, which perhaps may be a mark of Distinction, because few wear them, tho' they cost but little.

When these Women marry any *Hollanders*, or other Christians, they are likewise oblig'd to espouse the Christian Religion.<sup>2</sup> God only knows what sort of Christianity that is,

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "Cette enveloppe les bride devant & derrière, aux environs de ce qui est au dessous de la ceinture, & fait un peu trop voir la forme du corps à celles qui l'ont mal bâti; mais a quelque chose de drôle, dans les jolies tailles."

"Their dress is very light and airy; they have a piece of cotton cloth wrapped round the body, and fastened under the arms, next to the skin; over it they wear a shift, a jacket, and a chintz petticoat; which is all covered by a long gown or *Kabay*, as it is called, which hangs loose; the sleeves come down to the wrists, where they are fastened close with six or seven little gold or diamond buttons. . . . They all go with their heads uncovered; the hair, which is perfectly black, is worn in a wreath, fastened with gold and diamond hair-pins, which they call a *Condé*; in the front, and on the sides of the head, it is stroked smooth, and rendered shining by being anointed with cocoa-nut-oil." (Stavorinus, *l. c.*, p. 323.)

<sup>2</sup> Thorn says that "the professed religion of the Malays and Javanese is Mohamedanism, but mixed with many superstitions. They seem indeed to be so very careless of its rites that it would be difficult from common observation to ascertain the nature of their faith and worship." (*Op. cit.*, p. 239.)

Wilcocke states that the Cheik Ibn Molana, an Arabian, came to Java in 1406, but that Mahomedanism had, according to Valentyn,



for from the third and fourth Generation, the Children that are born of these Marriages, always go after the *Javan* Mode. It is these sorts of Converts<sup>1</sup> that generally fill the *Malay* Church before mention'd : The number of Converts<sup>2</sup> is much less, in that the Men have not the same Motives for Conversion. The Christian Women<sup>3</sup> being but very few for the Christians themselves, the *Javans*, can get none of them, let them be as much Converts as they please, whereas the scarcity of that Sex oftentimes occasions the Christian Men to match with the *Javan* Women.

The Marriages between the *Javan* Men and Women, are concluded with few or no Ceremonies, in like manner as their Burials are. They call themselves of the Sect of *Tommi*, and despise the other *Mahometans*, altho' they are all of the same Sentiments concerning the principal Articles of their Belief.<sup>4</sup>

Before we leave the Island of *Java*, I will observe some Particulars concerning it, slightly touch'd by the famous *Lodivoco Vertomanni*,<sup>5</sup> of whom I have formerly spoken. In my Opinion, exact and faithful Travellers ought not only to

been introduced previously. The tomb of this Cheik at Cheribon, with the mosque belonging to it, are magnificent monuments, to which pilgrimages have been performed during four centuries. (Cf. *Stavorinus*, vol. iii, p. 372.)

<sup>1</sup> "Converties," *i.e.*, female converts.

<sup>2</sup> "Convertis," *i.e.*, male converts.

<sup>3</sup> "Les filles Chrétiennes."

<sup>4</sup> In orig. : "Chose dont personne ne se doit pas étonner que de voir le Christianisme divisé comme il l'est, bien qu'il soit très-vrai que tous conviennent aussi de l'Essentiel, ou des Points Fondamentaux, comme on parle. De sorte que tous feroient une même profession publique, si la pédanterie, & le préjugé n'en empêchoient pas : & si, au lieu de tordre l'Écriture, & de broder, comme on fait, l'ancien Symbole, en l'étendant même à droit & à gauche comme à l'infini ; on s'en tenoit, sagement & humblement, aux purs & simples termes de la Révélation proprement dite, dans toutes les choses, que l'on reconnoit unanimement être mystérieuses, comme dans les autres." The whole of this paragraph is omitted by the translator.

<sup>5</sup> In orig. : "Louis Vertomanni." (Cf. *Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, Hakluyt edit., 1864.)

relate new things, but to undeceive the Readers in the Errors relating to old. *Vertomanni* says of *Java*, "'Tis an Island in the East where very fine Emeralds are found,"<sup>1</sup> yet I that liv'd a whole year there, could never hear of any such thing, tho' I made never so much Enquiry. But I'll oppose *Tavernier* to *Vertomanni*: "'Tis an ancient Error," says Monsieur *Tavernier*, "that a great many People have believ'd that Emeralds were found originally in the East. The greatest part of Jewellers, as soon as they view a high-colour'd Emerald, are accusom'd to cry, see an oriental Emerald! But they are deceiv'd, for I am as certain as can be, that neither the *Terra-firma*, nor any of the Islands of the East ever produc'd any. I have made a strict Enquiry", said he, "after this, in all my Voyages."

There can be nothing more positive, and Monsieur *Tavernier*, an Author mean enough in other Respects, ought certainly to be hearken'd to when he talks about precious Stones which he dealt in: He that had made six Voyages by Land to the Grand *Indies*, and had visited the whole East for so many years, even to decrepit old Age.

*Vertomanni* adds with some Assurance, that the Island *Java* has Mines of Gold, and when he speaks of the pretended *Anthropophagi* that inhabit it, he tells you exactly what *Diodorus Siculus*, *Mela*, *Solinus*<sup>2</sup> and I know not how many other Authors have related of divers other Countries, viz., that they carry their old and sick People to the Market to sell, and deliver them from their Infirmities by eating them. A very odd sort of Food!

As I have never seen elsewhere so fine *Negro* Men and

<sup>1</sup> "Emeralds, though said to be Oriental, are not found in any Part of the Eastern Continent, but are brought from *Peru* to the *Philippine* Islands, and so transported into Europe." (*Tavernier, Harris's Voyages*, vol. ii, p. 374.)

<sup>2</sup> *Vide ante*, p. 255. *Misson* never tires of dragging in quotations from these old Latin authors, a method apparently deprecated by *Leguat* himself.



Women as at *Batavia*, I am apt to imagine, for I forgot to inform my self of it, that they do not bring all those Slaves from the Coasts of *Guinea*, where they have all large flat Noses, and thick Lips; but however it be, I met at *Batavia*, divers very pretty *Negro*-Women, with Faces much like ours of *Europe*, large brilliant Eyes, wonderful white Teeth, fine Shapes, beautiful and soft Breasts, as were likewise all the other parts of their Bodies, tho' black as Jett. If one would but consider that this Complexion is, in a manner, unalterable, not being subject to any of those Palenesses, Rednesses, Freckles, and the like disadvantages which the White Women continually undergo; and if we moreover remember that the Black Colour has its Lustre and Value, as well as any other, we must cease to wonder at their Tast who love a fine *Negro*-Woman as much, or rather more than a White one.

There are so few *Moors* in this Island, altho' they have a Quarter assign'd them at *Batavia*, that it is hardly worth speaking any more of them, than of private Persons of other Nations who come to Traffick there, or to accompany Ambassadors.

I have been very sorry for forgetting to inform my self particularly of the People<sup>1</sup> call'd *Chacrelats* at *Batavia*, of whom I have seen several, both Men and Women. They are white and fair, but what is most Remarkable in them, is that their Eyes cannot endure the Light, and they always see best a-nights, so that they turn Night into Day, and Day into Night. I have often met of them trudging along with their Eyes almost shut,<sup>2</sup> because they were not able to look on the Light.

After having continu'd near a year at *Batavia*, we departed from thence with the *Holland Fleet*,<sup>3</sup> consisting of seventeen

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "la Nation."

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : "quoique vers le soir," omitted by translator.

<sup>3</sup> "The homeward-bound Dutch East India Company's ships were



Ships, *November* 28, 1697. We came before *Bantam*<sup>1</sup> the 30th, and tarry'd there to the 6th of the following Month. We were eleven days in passing the Streights of *Sundt*,<sup>2</sup> which Seamen call the Channel. Sometimes one is above a Month in this Passage, by reason of the great inconstancy of the Winds, altho' this Streight be not more than 36 Leagues thro'.<sup>3</sup>

Nothing Remarkable happen'd to us till we came to the *Cape of Good Hope*, unless that in our way we learnt from a *Dutch Ship* that was going to *Batavia*, that the Peace of *Reswick*<sup>4</sup> was concluded and sign'd. As soon as the Fleet

divided at *Batavia* into two fleets, one of which generally left *India* towards the end of the year, the other some months afterwards; and some days before the departure of each a single ship sailed for *Europe* which was called the *voorzeilder*, or forerunner. Except in war-time their ships seldom sailed together, though they usually made their *rendezvous* at the *Cape of Good Hope*. (Note by S. H. Wilcocke, translator of *Admiral Stavorinus' Voyages*; *op. cit.*, i, p. 170.)

<sup>1</sup> *Bantam Bay* is about two leagues and a half S E, from *St. Nicholas Point*, which is fifty miles west of *Batavia*. The bay is extensive, and contains several islands, of which *Pulo Panjang* is the largest. Formerly *Bantam* was a fine port, but it was monopolised by the Dutch in 1683, when *Fort Spielwyk* was erected. The natives continued bitter enemies of the Dutch until 1742, when they were completely subdued. (Cf. *Thorn*, *l. c.*, p. 262.) *Stavorinus* writes that ships passing out through the Straits of *Sunda* often anchor in the bay of *Anjer* to take their last supply of fresh water. (*Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 207.)

<sup>2</sup> The Strait of *Sunda*.

<sup>3</sup> The Strait of *Sunda* is sixty miles in width at its western entrance between *Flat Cape*, the S.W. extremity of *Sumatra*, and the noble *Java Head*, the western extremity of *Java*, but the main strait is narrowed by *Princes Island* on the south side, the N.W. point of which is fifty-one miles from *Flat Cape*. (*Findlay*, *op. cit.*, p. 1228.)

The Strait of *Sunda* is subject to the N.W. monsoon and outside the limits of the south-east trade wind during *November*, which accounts for the delay experienced by the Dutch at this season. *Stavorinus* states that the current through the strait changed its course twice in twenty-four hours, independent of the wind. (Cf. *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 207.)

<sup>4</sup> In orig.: "que la paix avoit été conclue & signée à *Riswick*." The peace of *Ryswick* concluded the wars of the League of *Augs-*

had understood this News, the Cannons began to roar out our Joy, Doles were distributed to all the Ships Crews, and all the Seamen embrac'd, as if they had not seen one another for many years. Healths went briskly round, and in a word, nothing was wanted that could contribute to our Rejoycing: But withal, we could not help thinking that this Peace would not last long. The next day we arriv'd in sight of the *Cape*,<sup>1</sup> and about Noon approach'd the little Isle *Robben*, which lies at the entrance into the Gulph.

We then saw appear upon one of the Neighbouring Mountains call'd the Devils *Mount*, a certain Mist<sup>2</sup> which was an infallible forerunner of furious Winds, that very much incommode Vessels even in the Bay, and our Captain fore-seeing what was like to ensue, immediately gave out his Orders concerning it. But hardly were matters got ready, before we were oblig'd to drop Anchor to prevent our being forc'd out to Sea.

The Winds blew after that furious manner, that our Cables were not able to resist them, but broke like so many Threads. There was hardly one Vessel but lost one of its Anchors, and several lost three. Four of the hindermost Ships were driven out again to Sea, and the Vice-Admiral among them. This last, who had some private Reasons for not being extraordinary well satisfy'd, made use of this Pretence of the Wind, to sail directly for *St. Helena*:<sup>3</sup> The other Ships

bourg (1688-1697), when Louis XIV acknowledged William III as King of England.

<sup>1</sup> "In their return to Holland they [the Dutch Company's ships] always make some stay at the Cape, as well to take in refreshments, as to be informed of the Company's orders that may concern any of the passengers on board; some of whom perhaps are ordered back, that their conduct may be examined in the Indies; and to receive the news of the state of things in Europe, as, by the way, they carry gazettes, or news papers, home with them." (*Universal History, Modern, &c.*, vol. ix, p. 132.)

<sup>2</sup> A peculiar nimbus-tinted canopy of cloud, which foretells the south-east gale. (*Findlay*, p. 212.)

<sup>3</sup> In orig.: "& en repartit pour continuer sa route sans nous attendre," omitted by translator.



rejoyn'd us some few days after before Isle *Robben*.<sup>1</sup> At length the Wind being appeas'd, and becoming favourable, we Anchor'd in the Bay the 12th of *February* 1698. Next day we went a-shoar, and every one provided himself with such Refreshment as the time would permit him to get.

Since we are happily arriv'd once more at the *Cape* of *Good Hope*, I'll keep the promise I formerly made, and add some Particulars to what I have before said.<sup>2</sup>

The Point of the *Cape*, which is, as every one knows, in the 35th Degree of Southern Latitude, advances a great way into the Sea. The violent Storms<sup>3</sup> that reign there are so terrible, that the most skilful Mariners are at a loss how to manage them, so that the Bay which seems to be fine, is render'd disagreeable by these Tempests. The Sea-Winds drive in such prodigious Surges,<sup>4</sup> that no Cables hardly are able to oppose them.

The last Fleet had a sad experience of this, losing many of its Ships, and if the Tempest had lasted but half an hour longer, 'tis probable not one would have escap'd, since those few that did ride it out, did it by the good hold of their last Anchor.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Robben*, or *Seal Island*, five miles N. by E. from the Green Point, at the west side of the entrance to Table Bay. An infirmary for lepers and lunatics is situated on the south-east part of the island, which has recently been described in *Blackwood's Magazine* for September 1889.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> "Il s'y élève aussi souvent de furieux tourbillons, qui se précipitent du sommet des montagnes & du milieu des nuës avec tant de fracas, qu'on diroit que le ciel va s'abîmer & la mer rompre ses bornes & inonder toute la terre. Il n'est par sur pour les vaisseaux de tenter l'abordage de cette côte, tant que cet orage dure." (*Dapper's Africa*, French edition, 1686, p. 383.)

<sup>4</sup> In orig. : "avec tant d'impétuosité," omitted by translator.

<sup>5</sup> "In the afternoon of the 24th May 1697, the Company's homeward bound ships *Waddingsveen* and *Oosterland*, with valuable cargoes on board, were driven ashore at Salt River mouth in a great gale, and were dashed to pieces at once. Two other ships, out of a large fleet that was lying in the bay, narrowly escaped the same fate. Only seventeen



This Bay seems to penetrate far into the Land, and is about three Leagues long, and two broad. Isle *Robben* lies on the *Larboard*, or left side of the Ship. It is very flat, and about two Leagues about.

I say *Robben*, and not *Robin*, as it is written by the greatest part of our *French* Travellers and Geographers, who not understanding the Word, have chang'd the Sence and Orthography of it, as I could prove by a great many Examples. When the *French* write *Robin*, they imagin, I suppose, this Island had its Name from some *Robert*, whereof *Robin* is the Nick-name, but this is grosly erroneous. The Isle was in truth so call'd from certain Fish nam'd in *Flemish*, *Robben*. They are a sort of Sea-Dogs, found in great abundance about this Island.<sup>1</sup>

The Fort is on the other side of the Bay to the Right, and almost South-Eastward of this little Island: It lies behind some Hills,<sup>2</sup> so that you cannot see it till you are got a good way into the Bay. It does not command all of it, as many have unadvisedly Written. It is a regular *Pentagon* fac'd with Stone, and without any Ditches or Outworks. 'Tis well pointed with Artillery, and has 500 Men in Gar-

men in all were saved from the two wrecks." (*Theal's History of South Africa*, vol. ii, p. 12.)

<sup>1</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 29. In French edition of Dapper's *Africa* (pp. 382-90) "*Robben Eilant*" is translated *l'île des Lapins*, i.e., Rabbit Island: an obvious mistake.

This island is thus described in 1771, when still under the Dutch: "Before the bay lies a small and low island, of something more than three quarters of a league in circumference, called *Robben*, or *Seal* island. It is a barren and rocky spot, interspersed with patches of sandy ground. It serves as a place of exile, or confinement, for criminals sent hither either from the Indies or the Cape. These are obliged to labour for several hours every day, in the service of the Company, chiefly in hewing and transporting of lime-stone, which is afterwards carried by small vessels to the Cape, and is used in the construction of houses, and other works; they are allowed the necessary provisions by the Company." (*Stavorinus*, *l. c.*, p. 536.)

<sup>2</sup> In orig.: "Il est couvert par une hauteur."

riſon. In it the Governor and all the Officers of the Company live.<sup>1</sup>

About ſeven or eight hundred Paces from the Fort, and near the Sea, there is a little Town with about 300 Houſes in it. The Streets are ſtrait, and drawn by Line; the Houſes are built with white Stones, and at a diſtance it promiſes much more than you find when you come near, nevertheless it has wherewithal to content any body, and you obſerve the *Holland* neatneſs enough in it. There are a great many Inns which furniſh what Proviſions you have occaſion for.

Hard by is the *Company's* principal Garden<sup>2</sup>: It is about 1,500 Paces long, and 250 broad, but to deal ingenuouſly, I did not find it ſo Magnificent, as I have ſeen it deſcrib'd. 'Tis true, you ſee there moſt charming Walks of Orange and Citron-Trees of all kinds, which reach to the end. It is alſo furniſh'd with Pear-Trees, Apple-Trees, Pomgranate-Trees, Fig-Trees, Peach-Trees, Quince-Trees, and all other Fruit-Trees, as well *European* as *Indian*; but all theſe grow low without being Dwarfs, yet they thrive as well as one could

<sup>1</sup> Herr Simon van der Stel was the *Gouverneur en Extraordinaar Raad* at the Cape at this date (*vide ſupra*, p. 32); and Olof Berg was the Militaire Hoofd, in command of the troops, with Jan Baptiſta Dubertino as his Lieutenant. (Valentyn, *l. c.*, p. 41.)

<sup>2</sup> "One of the moſt beautiful things here in Table Bay, which muſt be mentioned, is the incomparable garden of the Eaſt India Company. All that the ancients wrote about the gardens of the Heſperides with its pure golden apples, of the gardens of Alcinous, of Adonis, of Epicurus, the hanging gardens of Babel, about thoſe of Lucullus, Salluſt, Cicero, and others, all their wonderful deſcriptions of theſe can hardly approach, in the ſlighteſt degree, the matchleſs gardens at the Cape." (Valentyn, *l. c.*, p. 17.) The botaniſt, Oldenland, who was ſuperintendent of the gardens when Leguat viſited the Cape, had formed an extenſive collection of native and exotic plants which deſerved higher praiſe than Leguat was diſpoſed to accord. Valentyn, who was a clergyman, called at the Cape in 1685, 1695, 1705, and 1714. He has given an admirable deſcription of the Cape Colony in his great work on the Dutch Colonies. (Cf. *Cape Quarterly Review*, vol. i, p. 411.)



expect. A certain part of this Garden has been assign'd for Muscat-Vines, which bear good and fair Grapes.

It has likewise in great abundance almost all our sorts of Herbs, Pulse, Flowers and other Plants. It is water'd by divers Rivulets which fall from certain Places in the Mountains, and are distributed into several artificial Canals. All about this Garden there are a great many thick Trees, which tho' they defend it tolerably from the Wind,<sup>1</sup> yet they cannot absolutely do it, which is the reason that things don't thrive there wonderfully well. The Trees themselves do not also grow so kindly as in other Places.

A little farther on the Declivity of the Mountain, you see here and there many Houses surrounded with Vines, Gardens and Groves, which together have a very agreeable effect on the Eye.

The *Company* has another Garden about a League off, which lies in a better Soil, and is more shelter'd from bad Winds. You have there long Walks of Oaks, as far as your Eye can well reach, and a large Wood of young Trees of the same kind rais'd from Acorns. One day they may likewise make use of these Trees for Houses and Ships. At present there are Trees fit for the Carpenter only, in a Forest about two Leagues from the Fort.

The Governor has a pleasant House call'd *Constantia*,<sup>2</sup> about two Leagues from the *Cape*. Here *he* lives the greatest part of the year, not only on account of the Air, which is Excellent, the fine Prospect, and the admirable Soil, but also by reason of the great quantity of Game which are thereabouts, Hunting being the greatest and most profitable Diversion of this Country.

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "à l'épreuve de ces coups de vent dont j'ai parlé."

<sup>2</sup> In 1699, Governor van der Stel retired to his farm, Constantia, where he had built a large and handsome residence, and devoted himself to agriculture and cattle rearing. Practically he had the whole peninsula as a cattle-run, and the wine which he made was the best in the colony. (Cf. Theal's *History*, l. c., p. 14.)



Ten Leagues from the *Cape* up in the Country, there is a Colony call'd *Draguestain*.<sup>1</sup> It consists of about 300 Souls as well *Hollanders* as *French* Protestants, which last fled from *France* upon revoking the *Edict* of *Nantz*.

This Colony extends eight or ten Leagues about, because the Soil not being equally good everywhere, they were fain to cultivate those spots they found to be good, and which occasion'd them to scatter themselves abroad. The Earth produces here without much Labour, Wheat and other Corn, which yields from thirty to sixty for one. As every Grain shoots up a great many Stalks, they sow here very thin; the Harvest is in the Month of *January*.

The Vine bears Grapes two years after it has been Planted, and that in great abundance without Cultivating, insomuch that in some Places a thousand foot of Vineyard will yield six Hogs-heads of Wine. To speak Truth the Wine is none of the best, being apt to be Green, which proceeds partly from the Peoples not giving themselves the trouble to chuse such Plants as are most agreeable to the Soil and Climate, and partly in that they are not accustom'd to support the Branches with a Vine-Prop. They are likewise wanting in not leafing the Vines well, for as the Soil is Rich, they shoot forth Wood and Leaves in such great abundance, that the Sun is not able to penetrate to the Grapes, and this Conjecture is the better grounded, in that I my self have frequently seen and eaten Grapes here, that

<sup>1</sup> The first party of Huguenots left the Netherlands in July 1688, and arrived in Table Bay in January 1689. Shortly after, the refugees were located at Drakenstein and Fransche Hoek, near Stellenbosch. They were without goods or money, and the board of deacons at Batavia sent £1,200 to be distributed amongst them. Among the names of those receiving assistance is that of Isaac Taillefer, with wife and four children, who is mentioned by Leguat. These families intermarried with the Dutch. The number of Huguenots in the colony is stated to have been at this time one hundred and fifty-five souls. In French edition of Leguat it is "trois mille personnes." (Vide *Cape Quarterly Review*, vol. i, pp. 395, 398.)

have been incomparably better when exposed to the Sun, than those that lay hid under the Leaves.<sup>1</sup>

They have their Vintage about the end of *February*: To this Article I must add, since the occasion presents for it, that the *Company* buys all the Wine at the rate of twenty Crowns the *Legre*,<sup>2</sup> which contains about a thousand *Mingles*, only furnishing the Cask, so that there is none sold out but what comes from them, as is the practice at *Genoa*.<sup>3</sup> The First Offence against this Law is punish'd with a Fine of a hundred Crowns, the Second with Whipping, and the Third with Banishment: This makes the Wine very dear. It is worth twenty *Sous* the *Mingle*, which is near the *Paris* Pint, and *English* Quart. You have likewise in this Country *Ananas*, Water and Land-Melons, Pulse and all sorts of Roots, so that the Inhabitants would have nothing to complain of, were they not incommoded with those bad Winds before-mentioned.

They have in this Country a prodigious number of Deer, many Oxen, Sheep, Roe-Bucks, and Apes. There are also Elephants, Rhinoceros's, Elks, Lions, Tigres, Leopards, Wild-Boars, Antilopes, Porcupines, Horses, Asses, Dogs, and Wild-Cats. But the most fierce of these Animals retire into the Country, so soon as the Countrymen begin to till the Ground. The Lions and Tigres are boldest in coming to search for Prey near the Habitations.

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "On peut ce me semble juger que ce défaut de maturité dans un país fort près du Soleil, où on ne connoît ni neige ni glace, doit être causé par les raisons que j'ai dites," omitted by translator.

<sup>2</sup> The Dutch *legger* of wine contains 4 aams, or 126 1-10th imperial gallons. (Theal, *op. cit.*, Pref.)

<sup>3</sup> "The Traffick of Genoua consists chiefly in *Velvets*, *Points*, *Gloves*, dry *Confections*, *Anchovies*, and divers sorts of *Fruits*, but is much decay'd in *Trade*; for tho' some private persons are exceeding rich, yet the generality is poor; the Government monopolises the Trade of Wine and Corn, so that the *Tavern* and *Innkeepers* must buy their Wines out of the Cellar of the State, and the Bakers fetch their Corn from the publick Granaries." (Misson, *Voyage to Italy*, Letter XXXII, written from Genoa, 1688.)



As for the *Unicorn*<sup>1</sup> there is no such sort of Beast. The old and most curious Inhabitants of the *Cape*, are well satisfy'd with it, and he that made *Cæsar's Commentaries* was a Lyar, as well as the rest. The Rhinoceros is the true four-footed *Unicorn*, for there are Fish, Birds, and some Insects, that have likewise but one Horn. I could heartily wish to have seen one of these Rhinoceros's, by reason of the many Fables that are told of that Beast, as well as of the Crocodiles, and a hundred other Animals. My Friends that had seen of them, laugh'd at all the Figures the Painters gave of them, and which are here<sup>2</sup> subjoin'd for Curiosities sake. Certainly nothing can be more Comical, than so many pretended Embossings; all which however is fabulous. The true Rhinoceros has a Hide like to that of an Elephant, and the older he is, the more wrinkled he will be: It is the same with us in that Respect. We may very well affirm that the Rhinoceros has but one Horn, in spite of all the fabulous Relations of those we call Naturalists: This Horn is at the extremity of the Nose. He has a sort of Hair in his Tail that is black, as large as a great Knitting-Needle, and harder than

<sup>1</sup> Unicorns' horns. "There are three or four pretended *Unicorn's Horns* in this Cabinet (that of Manfredi Settala, at Milan); for tho' it be beyond dispute that they are properly no more than the teeth of a certain Fish found in the *Northern Seas*, yet here, as well as in the Venetian Treasury, and other places where they are preserv'd, they retain still the Opinion, that they grow on the Head of that imaginary four-legg'd terrestrial Creature. There are also some *Fossil Horns* exactly like those that grow on Fishes, tho' of a very different matter." (Max. Misson, Letter XXXI.)

"Est bos cervi figura, cujus a media fronte inter aures unum cornu existit excelsius, magisque directum his, quæ nobis nota sunt cornibus. Ab ejus summo sicut palmæ rami quam late diffunduntur. Eadem est fœminæ marisque natura, eadem forma magnitudo cornuum." (*De Bello Gallico*, lib. vi, cap. 26.)

<sup>2</sup> The figures of the rhinoceros given in the original illustration which accompanies the text are taken from an illustration used by Father Tachard, before quoted (*l. c.*, small edition, p. 82; large edition, p. 104), which is exaggerated in Leguat's reproduction, and from other contemporaneous works.



Whale-bone. I'll say nothing of Camelions which are common in this Country, unless that it is not true that they live without eating, which we vulgarly call living upon the Air. They live upon Flies, and such like little Creatures.

The ordinary Game here are Partridges,<sup>1</sup> both Red, Grey, and White, and very large and fat Pheasants, Woodcock and Turtle-Doves. On these for the most part the Inhabitants Subsist. The New-Comers to the Colony are forbid to kill any of their Cattle, till they have paid a certain Duty to the Company.

The Oxen are of three kinds, all pretty large, and very swift. One sort have a bunch upon their Backs, another have their Horns hanging down, and a third sort have theirs extremely elevated, and as fine as I have seen in South-Britain about London.

Some years before I came to the Cape, a Lion<sup>2</sup> of monstrous size had leap'd over into a wall'd Enclosure near the Fort, and having strangled an Ox, carry'd him almost whole over the same Wall to the Table Mountain; I say almost whole, because I dare not affirm it was entirely so, tho' I have every body's word for it. Next day they went to hunt

<sup>1</sup> Governor Wilhem Adriaan van der Stel successfully acclimatised partridges and pheasants in Robben Island soon after Leguat left. (Cf. Theal, *l. c.*, p. 30.)

<sup>2</sup> With respect to the great strength of the lion there can be no doubt. Livingstone writes: "The immense masses of muscle around its jaws, shoulders, and forearms, proclaim tremendous force. They would seem, however, to be inferior in power to those of the Indian tiger. Most of those feats of strength that I have seen performed by lions, such as the taking away of an ox, were not carrying, but dragging or trailing the carcase along the ground; they have sprung on some occasions on to the hind quarters of a horse, but no one has ever seen them on the withers of a giraffe. They do not mount on the hind quarters of an eland even, but try to tear him down with their claws. Messrs. Oswell and Vardon once saw three lions endeavouring to drag down a buffalo, and they were unable to do so for a time, though he was then mortally wounded by a two-ounce ball." (Livingstone, *Travels in South Africa*, p. 139.)

this famous Beast, and having laid a Snare for him, he was taken and kill'd. I have seen his Skin, which was nail'd against a Board as one enters the Fort. There is kept the Skin of another Lion who was found dead, having four Porcupine's quills sticking on it; and of a wild Horse that was kill'd in the Woods. He had no Tail, and was spotted like a Leopard.<sup>1</sup>

The Tigres of this Country are very small, whereas they are exceeding large in the Island of *Java*. The Dogs who tho' never so strong and numerous, dare not pursue a Lion, hunt boldly these little Tigres. When these Beasts can get into any Park, they strangle abundance of Deer,<sup>2</sup> but only suck their Blood, unless they are exceeding hungry.

The *Company* gives twenty Crowns to any one that kills a Lion, and ten to him that kills a Tigre, which has occasion'd many Stratagems to be invented for taking those Beasts.<sup>3</sup> For Example one is, That they tie a piece of Flesh

<sup>1</sup> "On entering the fortress through the Castle-gate (where there every now and then a couple of lion's skins hang up), one comes upon a large courtyard." (Valentyn, *l. c.*, p. 14.) Valentyn also states: "Captain Olof Berg has told me that he once shot a lion right through the heart, which lion, however, lived several hours afterwards, and dragged itself from two to four hundred paces from the spot and then died. The gentleman followed its track in order to cut it up. Its fat is a splendid curative, and its flesh, like that of other wild animals (tigers, leopards, etc.), is said to taste nice. In the gate of the Fort there hangs the skin of a huge lion with five quills of a porcupine stuck through it." (*Ibid.*, *l. c.*, p. 113.)

"In May 1694 a burgher at Drakenstein was killed by a leopard, and another at Stellenbosch was nearly torn to pieces by a lion. On one day in the following month nine cows were killed by lions in sight of the castle. The premium for killing a lion in Cape peninsula was £5 4s. 2d. As late as 1702 an elephant was killed just beyond the Cape flats." (Theal, *History of South Africa*, vol. ii, p. 7.)

<sup>2</sup> In French text: "Moutons."

<sup>3</sup> "A tax was levied by the Dutch Company under the denomination of lion and tiger-money; this tax was paid by each burgher, at the rate of four rix-dollars for lion, and two guilders for tiger-money; out of this fund, at the time when the colony began to extend itself, and



to the muzzle of a Gun with a brass Wire, and the other end being fasten'd to the Trigg, as soon as the Beast seizes the Bait the Gun goes of, and either kills or wounds him.

Bread here is not worth a Penny a pound, although the Bakers are oblig'd to buy all the Corn of the *Company* in like manner as they are their Wine, their Beef, their Mutton, and their Tobacco. The *Company* for three Crowns gives the Inhabitants a measure of Corn, that weighs a hundred and four-score Pounds. The Price of Beef and Mutton is settled at two pence a Pound,<sup>1</sup> and Tobacco at forty Pence. Soap is sold at eighteen pence a Pound, and *Aqua-vitæ* at a hundred Pence the *Mingle*. Beer is exceeding cheap.

The Slaves, all *Negro's*, are worth between three-score and four-score Crowns a Head, according to the Age and Condition of the Beast. The Crown is worth eight *Skilling* as in *Holland*, and the *Skilling* six *Sous*. The Pound is of sixteen Ounces. The least piece of Money at the *Cape* is a *Sous*, as at *Batavia*.

The Colony I have been speaking of, which is about ten Leagues from the *Cape*, has been frequently augmented, and is almost every day, by a considerable number of *French* Protestants. The *Company* maintains a Minister and Reader for them, and affords them every day some fresh Tokens of their Respect.<sup>2</sup>

when the colonists were much infested by wild beasts, a certain premium was paid to every one who killed or caught any of these animals. At first, government paid sixteen rix-dollars for a lion and ten gilders for a tiger, after which the sum was diminished to ten rix-dollars for a lion's and six gilders for a tiger's skin. But when these animals were so far extirpated that seldom any were to be seen, the premium was discontinued, excepting in case they were brought alive to the Cape, which is hardly practicable. But the tax remained in force, and assumed the nature of a permanent impost." (Wilcocke, *Stavorinus' Voyage*, iii, p. 460.)

<sup>1</sup> By 1714, the price of meat had risen to 3½d. a pound. (Theal, *l. c.*, p. 74.)

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Pierre Simond (of Dauphiné), minister of the Refugee



I was told, if I remember well, while I was with those good People, that the Pastor of this Church,<sup>1</sup> a very honest and sensible Man, was making a new Translation<sup>2</sup> of the *Psalms* in Verse, or at least correcting, to the best of his Power, that of *Marot* and *Beza*,<sup>3</sup> to render those sacred Pages more intelligible, than they were in this Jargon which is now become Ridiculous, Barbarous and Scandalous.<sup>4</sup>

Congregation at Zierickzee (in the Netherlands), was engaged by the Company, at a salary of seven pounds ten shillings a month, to proceed to the Cape. He sailed, with Anna de Beront his wife, from Middleburg, in 1688, for Table Bay, where he arrived four months afterwards with a party of French emigrants. The refugees were located at Drakenstein, Franche Hoek, and Stellenbosch. (*Cape Q. Review*, i, p. 393.)

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. *Predikant Petrus Simonszoon* (as the Dutch called him) was a man of determined will, who was justly regarded by his flock as a fit guide and counsellor in secular as well as in religious matters. A quantity of his correspondence is still in existence at the Cape. He gloried in having suffered for his faith, and for those of his own religion there was no sacrifice which he was not capable of making. (*Ibid.*)

<sup>2</sup> "The Rev. Mr. Simond had prepared a new version in metre of the psalms of David, which he was desirous of submitting to a synod of the French churches, as great interest had been taken in the work by the Huguenots in Europe. He, therefore, tendered his resignation, to the regret of the Drakenstein people, and requested permission to return to the Netherlands. The Assembly of Seventeen consented to his request, on condition of his remaining until the arrival of the Rev. Hendrik Bek, who reached the Cape in 1702." (*Theal, Hist. of S. Africa*, l. c., p. 25.)

<sup>3</sup> *Psalmorum Davidis et aliorum Prophetarum argum. et paraph.*, par Theodor Beza, Londinum, 1580.

"The Psalms of Marot and Beza were", says a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, "recited by martyrs in the midst of torments; they were the battle-cry of the Huguenots at Courtras; they solaced the wounded Coligny at Moncontour; they were the 'Marseillaise' of the Camisards; they maintained the courage of the 'Forçats de la Foi' in the living-death of the galleys." (*Vide Edinburgh Review*, vol. clxxi, p. 391.)

<sup>4</sup> In orig.: "C'est une chose étonnante & déplorable, pour ne pas dire absurde, & criminelle, qu'on ait tardé si long-temps à mettre en exécution."

When our poor Brethren of the *Cape* had form'd a design in *Holland* to go and settle in that Country, they had a considerable Sum given them for their Encouragement,<sup>1</sup> were

tion le dessein formé en *France*, dans les derniers temps, de substituer enfin une Traduction propre à édifier, au jargon ancien, devenu ridicule, barbare, & scandaleux. La nécessité de cette Réformation est si grande, & si palpable, qu'il faut, pour ne la pas voir, & pour n'y pas céder, ou le travers d'esprit le plus effroyable, ou quelque secrette raison d'orgueil, ou quelque vilain motif d'intérêt, ou je ne sai quoi d'incompréhensible."

The necessity of a new translation of the Canticles is pointed out by the author of the *Voyage Littéraire*, p. 54 :—"Je trouvai ce jour-là, au sortir du Couvent des Barnabites, un Livre dont j'ai promis de parler à la page 21. C'est du *Contre-Poison des 52 Chansons* de Clement Marot & faulsement intitulées par lui Psalmes de David, fait & composé de plusieurs bonnes Doctrines & Sentences préservatives d'Hérésie, par Artus Desiré (Paris, 1561). N'avoit-il pas Raison de décrier les Pseaumes traduits par Marot, puisqu'il étoit Athée et Manichéen? Il le prouve avant que de versifier. Marot a nié la Providence, en disant :

' Car l'Eternel les Justes connoit bien,  
Et est soigneux de leur faire du Bien,  
Pourtant auront qu'il n'a ne Soing ne Cure  
Des Mal-vivans.'

Au lieu de dire au Pseaume viii—*Tu l'as fait moindre un petit que les Anges*, se Malheureux dict :

' Tu l'as fait tel, que plus il ne lui reste  
Fors estre Dieu.'

Donc, fault conclurre par ces Mots que Nôtre-Seigneur Jésus Christ n'est point Dieu."

<sup>1</sup> Captain Symson, in his relation of his voyage to East India in the year 1701-2, aboard the *Macklesfield* frigate, writes of the Cape :—" I do not remember in other Travellers to have found what means the Dutch use to people the lands about their Fort with Europeans, and therefore will add these few following lines. Such as desire to settle there are allowed their Transportation from *Holland gratis*. At their arrival they are allowed to range and view the Country; and having pitch'd upon some place that is not cultivated, they may take to themselves as much of it as they are able to stock or manage for the maintenance of themselves and families; and all the Land they can so possess and improve is intailed on them and their Heirs without paying any Rent or Acknowledgement for the same to the Dutch East India Company, or any other person whatsoever. When any are unable to



transported thither without any Charge, and upon their Arrival had as much Land assigned them as they could Manure. They were likewise furnished with Husbandry Tools, Victuals and Cloaths, without being obliged to pay any yearly Tribute or Interest, till such time as they should be in a condition to reimburse their Benefactors. There was also a considerable Collection made for them at *Batavia*,<sup>1</sup> which Sum was remitted to them proportionably to their Occasions. They took up their Provisions on the prices before mentioned, which are highly reasonable considering the Place: Besides it was a very advantageous thing for them that Slaves were not dear. Moreover, they have considerable services done them by the Natives of that Province, whom the *Hollanders* call *Hottentots*, because they often hear them pronounce that word. For the same reason the *Spaniards* gave the name of *Peru* to that part of the World which they had invaded.<sup>2</sup>

stock their Land the Dutch Governor gives them Credit, 'till such time as they are able to repay him. Notwithstanding this Encouragement, they have a great hardship upon them, which is that they must sell their goods to the Governor, and at his price; so that he runs away with most of the profit arising by their Labour and Industry: for the Governor buys at very low rates and sells to the ships that come in as dear as he pleases; and no man can sell anything to strangers without the Council's leave. Abundance of the Planters are *French Refugees* who have penetrated almost 100 miles up the country." (*A New Voyage to the East Indies*, by Capt. William Symson, 1715, p. 217.)

<sup>1</sup> Shortly after the Huguenot Refugees arrived in South Africa the board of deacons of *Batavia* sent a sum of money equal to twelve hundred English sovereigns to be distributed among them, according to their needs. The money was distributed in April 1690, and a copy of the list of distribution is in the archives of the Hague. It forms almost a complete list of the Huguenots who settled in South Africa at this period. (*Cape Quarterly Review*, April 1882.)

<sup>2</sup> "In orig. : "Et il y a beaucoup d'apparence que ce fut de la même manière que le pain celeste que Dieu donna autrefois à son Peuple fut appelé *Man*, ou *Manne* (*Exod. xvi, 17*), soit dit en passant," omitted by translator. "L'on a eu de coutume ordinairement en ces descouvertures du nouveau monde, de donner nom aux terres & ports de mer, selon l'occa-



Our *Refugees* made the *Hottentots* work in their Harvests, Vintages, and whatever else they please, for a little Bread or Tobacco. As they have leave to Hunt, their Victuals cost them little or nothing. Hardly any thing is scarce among them but Wood, and that is of no great Consequence, because the Climate being Hot, they have only occasion for it for the Kitchin. For the same reason they are put to no great expense for Cloaths, the slightest and meanest Stuffs being good enough. They buy, moreover, a great many things at very cheap rates of the Sailors, who touch at the *Cape* from all quarters of the World. 'Tis true, to sell their Commodities they must carry them to the Cape, which as I have already told you, is about ten Leagues from the Colony; but this Inconvenience is not over great, because the way is good and their Oxen will easily travel it in a day.

Every one must easily conceive there are no beginnings without Difficulties, and our honest Countrymen did not meet with a few at first, but then they were charitably reliev'd, as I have already observ'd, and at length God was pleas'd so to bless their Labours, that they are at present perfectly at ease, nay, some of them are become very Rich.

In some parts of the *Cape* the Landskips are wonderful fine, especially where our new Inhabitants were settled, and the Air is admirably good. Fine and large Rivulets contribute to the fertility of the Soil, which furnishes Wine in abundance, with all sorts of Corn. The little Hills are cover'd with Vines, expos'd to the best Sun, and shelter'd

sion qui se presentoit alors de l'arriué, & croy que le nom du Peru a esté ainsi trouué, & mis en vsage : car nous tenons icy que le nom a esté donné à toute ceste terre du Peru, à cause d'un fleuve ainsi appellé par les naturels du païs, auquel les Espagnols arriuerent quand ils firent la première descouuerte. Et de la nous disons que les mesmes Indiens naturels du Peru ignorent, & ne se seruent aucunement de ce nom & appellation, pour signifier leur terre." (*Histoire Natuelle et Morale des Indes*, par Joseph Acosta, 1616, liv. i, p. 25.)

from the bad Winds. Spring-water flows at the foot of these Hills, and waters in its course the Gardens and Orchards, which are fill'd with all sorts of Fruits, Herbs, and Pulse, as well *European* as *Indian*.

One of the *Refugees*, named *Taillefer*,<sup>1</sup> a very honest and ingenious Man, and curious above all things in these Particulars, has a Garden which may very well pass for fine. Nothing there is wanting, and all is in so good order, and so neat, that it may very well pass for Charming. He has likewise a great Yard very well fill'd, and a large quantity of Oxen, Sheep and Horses, which, according to the Custom of the Country, feed all the year without-doors, and find so great plenty of Nourishment, that they have no occasion for Winter-fodder. This generous Man receives and regales all those that are so happy as to come to see him. He has the best Wine in the Country, and which is not unlike our small Wines of *Champagne*.

All this consider'd, 'tis certain the *Cape* is an extraordinary Refuge for the poor *French* Protestants. They there peaceably enjoy their Happiness and live in good Correspondence with the *Hollanders*, who, as every one knows, are of a frank and down-right Humour.

The *Cafre Hottentots* are extremely ugly and loathsom, if one may give the name of Men to such Animals. They go in Companies, live in Holes or vile Cottages, and have no other care than to rear and feed their Cattle, of which tho' they have great Numbers, yet as I have been credibly assur'd, they will kill none for their Use, but eat such as generally die of Diseases. They are extremely Lazy, and had rather undergo almost Famine, than apply themselves to any Labour, contenting themselves with what Nature has produc'd of her self. They set great store by a Root that

<sup>1</sup> Isaac Taillefer's name is second in the list of distribution before mentioned (p. 284), and, with his wife and four children, was allotted 720 gulden of Indian currency (each equal 1s. 4d. English).



resembles our Skirrets.<sup>1</sup> They roast it, and oftentimes make it into Past, which is their Bread, and somewhat like our Chesnut. They eat raw Flesh and Fish, finding them, it seems, better, and more savoury so, than when they are boil'd or fry'd: Nay, they trouble the Kitchin so little, that when they find a dead Beast they immediately embowel him, sweet or stinking, and having press'd the Guts a little between their Fingers, they eat the remaining Tripe with the greatest Appetite that can be.

These People are almost all of that Stature which we call midling. Their Noses are flat, their Eyes round, their Mouths wide, their Ears the same, and their Foreheads low. They have very little Beard, and that which they have is black and woolly. Their Hair is extreamly frizled. They are not born very Tawny, but they quickly besmear themselves so with Soot and Grease, or some sort of Oil, that they become black as Jet, upon which they lay themselves on their Backs expos'd to the Sun, that the Colour may better penetrate and dry in. This Embellishment renders them so noisom, especially when it is hot, that one cannot come near them without being ready to Vomit.

In Summer they go all naked, except that part which the Men put into a Case made on purpose for it, and which hangs to a thong of Leather that is ty'd about their Reins. In Winter they generally cover their Shoulders with a Sheep Skin. They never wear anything upon their Heads. Their Hair is all frizled, greasie, and powder'd with Dust, and, moreover, matted together in Tufts, to each of which hangs a piece of Glass, or some small bit of Copper or other Metal. They pass thro' the lower part of their Ears, which are broad and large, a round Stick of the length of an Inch, and much thicker than one's Thumb. About this Larding-pin they

<sup>1</sup> Skirret = *Sium sisarum*, the "siser" of Varro and Columella, a plant abundantly cultivated in Europe at the present day. (*Vide* Pickering, *Physical Hist. of Man*, p. 397.)



hang Shells and such like Toys as they wear in their Hair, which, as you may imagine, occasions a pretty Jingling, such as their Horses likewise make with the same Materials. Strange that these sordid Creatures that live like Hogs should have any notion of Ornaments! In truth they have no Religion, yet I have been told they have certain mysterious Ceremonies, which seem to denote their having some Idea of a sovereign Being. I have many times seen them dance and clap their Hands, looking towards the Moon,<sup>1</sup> which I know they salute at certain Seasons, from her *New* to her *Wane*. It seem'd to be a kind of Worship they pay'd that Planet. However, it might be only a simple demonstration of Joy, on account of the Light that it brought them.

Some take for a sort of Circumcision what the Mothers do to their New-born Males, whose right Testicle they always tear away with their Teeth and eat it, but I rather think they do so to render those Children more nimble and proper for Hunting. However it be, this is the general practice of the *Hottentots*<sup>2</sup> at the *Cape*. After these barbarous Mothers have thus maim'd their poor Children, they

<sup>1</sup> "When the New Moon begins first to be discerned, they commonly in great Companies, turn themselves towards it, and spend the whole night in great joy, with Dancing, Singing, and Clapping of Hands." (Ogilby, *l.c.*, p. 595.)

<sup>2</sup> Leguat's account of the *Hottentots* seems to follow very closely that published by Dr. O. Dapper in Dutch, in 1668, and followed by Ogilby in his *English Atlas*, vol. i, p. 591:—"Their food consists generally of onely a sort of round roots of the bigness of Turnips, digg'd out of the Rivers and other places, and then boyl'd or roasted to eat. They kill no great Cattel, but such as either by sickness, lameness or age are unfit to follow the Herd; nor any Sheep except at a Wedding. They are utterly ignorant in all sorts of Cookery, and therefore fall upon dead Cattel like Dogs, eating it with Guts and Intraills, the Dung only thrust out; and when they can find no defunct Beast, they look out dead Fish on the Shore; as also Snails, Caterpillars, and Muscles." (Cf. Dapper, French edition, p. 387.)

An illustration is given in the original of a *Hottentot* man, in his

give them Sea-water to drink, and put Tobacco in their Mouths, believing these two things, in conjunction with what was before done, would render them so robust and supple, that they might overtake a Roe-Buck in his full Course.

For all this nastiness they are made use of by the Christians of these Parts, and so for a bit of Bread or Tobacco, may be made to work a whole Day. But then care must be taken of two things. First, rather to promise than threaten them, and by no means to abridge their Liberty<sup>1</sup>; and Secondly, not to give them any thing to eat till after their Work is done, this same Liberty which they are so fond of always enclining them to live at ease, and Necessity being the only Spur that pushes them on to work.

These vile Huts which I have before spoken of, are low and almost round. They are compos'd of Earth, Branches,

summer dress, holding a skirret-root in one hand and the hind-quarter of an antelope in the other. The leaf and fruit of a plant in the foreground is adapted from the *Bananier* figured by Rochefort. (*His. Nat. des Iles Antilles*, p. 225.)

"In kindness and fidelity towards their Neighbors, they shame the *Dutch*, and all the other *Europeans*, because whatsoever one hath, they willingly and readily impart it to others, be it little or much."

"The People which dwell about and near the *Cape of Good Hope* are of a middle Stature, Slouch-body'd, and uncomely of Person; of a Tawny colour, like Mulletto's. . . . The Hair of their Heads in general resembles Lambs Wool, short and Curl'd. . . . They pull all the Hair out of their Chins, and daub their Faces with Black, and then anoint them with Grease and Tallow, and thereby seem as if they never were washed. Those which dwell close by the *Cape* on the Shore, and come to the *Netherlanders* Ships, presently run to the Cook, Kettle, or Pottage-pot, and anoint themselves with the Soot thereof, which they esteem a Princely Ornament." (*Ogilby, l. c.*, pp. 589, 590.)

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "car ils ne souffriroient, disent-ils, jamais ces sortes de subordinations inutiles qui au lieu de servir à maintenir la justice & la paix dans la Société (ce qui est le vrai & ancien but de ceux qui ont établi les Dignitez & les Charges publiques) y autorisent en quelque manière la tyrannie & le brigandage," omitted by translator.



Leaves, and so ill built, that the Rain never fails to pour in on all sides. Their Fire is in the middle, and they lie all about higledy pigledy in the Ashes. I will not affirm that the two Sexes are always chast there, but 'tis certain these Barbarians, as barbarous as they are, profess not only to confine themselves within the Bonds of Marriage, but also to punish Adultery severely. They cudgel all those to Death, that have been taken in the Fact, as they likewise do Thieves and Assassins. I have read somewhere, that they cut off one Joint of the little Fingers<sup>1</sup> of their Women, when they offer'd to remarry, and so continu'd to do Joint by Joint where they marry'd several Husbands; but Persons worthy of Credit, that had liv'd among them divers years, assur'd me the thing was somewhat otherwise, for that they cut off only one Joint of the Women's little Fingers when they first marry'd, and which was done in token of their Subjection. The Men may take several Women, but for the most part they have but one, especially about the *Cape*. The Wives have somewhat yet more ugly and more forbidding Phyz's than their Husbands, for over and above that they are to the full as black and nasty as they, they have moreover the loathsom Custom to wear several rounds of raw Guts about their Necks and Legs in lieu of Necklaces and Garters, which being green and corrupted, stink abominably.<sup>2</sup>

They wear likewise Cockle shells, and bits of Coral and

<sup>1</sup> "When a Man or Woman dies, all the Friends to the third degree of Consanguinity must, by an ancient custom, cut off the little Finger of their left Hand, to be bury'd with the Dead in the Grave; but if the Deceased had in his Life any Cattel, and leaves some Relations to whom they might come by Inheritance, they must cut off a Joynt from each little Finger before they can take the Cattel; for the Sick cannot give away the least thing on his Death-bed, from those to whom it falls by inheritance." (Ogilby, *l. c.*, p. 593.)

<sup>2</sup> "Many of them wear as an Ornament, the Guts of Beasts, fresh and stinking, drawn two or three times one through another, about their Necks, and the like about their legs." (Ogilby, *l. c.*, p. 591.)



Glass fasten'd to their Hair and Fingers, and large Ivory Rings about their Elbows.

But what is yet more frightful, is their Necks; they seem to have two long, half-dry'd, and half-fill'd Hoggs Bladders hanging at them. These nasty Dugs, whose Flesh is black, wrinkled and rough as Shagreen, come down as low as their Navels, and have Fillemot<sup>1</sup> Teats as large as those of a Cow. In truth these swinging Udders have this commodious in them, that you may lead a Woman by them to the Right or Left, forwards or backwards as you please. For the most part they throw them behind their Shoulders to suckle their Child, who is slung upon their Backs. Notwithstanding all this, the vanity of these ugly Witches is incredible. They fancy themselves the finest Women in the World, and look on us from top to bottom with their Hands to their Sides disdainfully. 'Tis said, they are of a strange Temper, and that at certain times have a Madness come upon them, during which they emit as strong a Vapour from their Bodies, as those of a Hind in Season. They wear a sort of Petticoat which covers them from their Wasts to their Knees, which however is not necessary, since certain Skins hanging from their upper parts like Furbelo's are sufficient to do that Office. Some have told me they had the Curiosity to look under these Veils, and an end of Tobacco procur'd them that Liberty.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "un bout feuille-morte."

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : "chose qui ne leur feroit pas nécessaire, pour couvrir, ce que des peaux pendantes en Falbala, de la partie supérieure, déroberoient assez à la vue des passans. Plusieurs m'ont dit qu'ils ont eû la curiosité de voir ces voiles, & qu'on peut satisfaire ainsi ses yeux pour un bout de tabac."

M. Leguat gives an engraving representing a Hottentot woman without her petticoat, in which the so-called *tablier* is most conspicuous. In the background is figured a *papaye* tree, undoubtedly copied from p. 139 of Rochefort's book on the Antilles, from which so many other representations of plants have been borrowed.

M. de Pagès, who visited the Cape in 1773, remarks:—"Des

Men do not intermix with Women abroad; each Sex has its Affairs apart, and go in different Companies. They neither knew what Gold or Silver was, or had any notion of Money till the arrival of the *Hollanders* at the *Cape*. Their Humanity towards one another, yields in nothing to that of the *Chineses*. They mutually assist each other in their Necessities, to that degree that they may properly be said to have nothing of their own<sup>1</sup>: Their Address in darting their *Zagaye* is singular. This is a sort of Half-pike, arm'd at the end with somewhat that is hard and pointed. They are so exact when they throw this Pike, that they will do it within the compass of a Crown. 'Tis with this they dart Fish, so that they never want any Edible of that kind.

The *Company* has so considerable a Trade with them, that they have almost all their Cattle from them. They bring great numbers of Oxen and Sheep to the *Cape*, and the *Company* gives for each, as much roll'd Tobacco of the bigness of one's Thumb, as will reach from the Beasts Forehead, to the root of his Tail, or else they have for each Beast a certain measure of *Aqua-vitæ*, such as they agree upon. This Commerce is rigorously forbid to the new Inhabitants,

personnes que je ne pouvois soupçonner de n'être point instruites, m'ont assuré la fausseté du tablier que l'on prête aux femmes Hottentotes." (*Voyages autour du Monde*, ii, p. 25.)

M. Sonnerat, who landed at Cape Town subsequently (1774-81), also agrees with M. de Pagès in this respect:—"Le tablier fabuleux qu'on prête à leurs femmes, et qu'on dit leur avoir été donné par la nature, n'a point de réalité; il est vrai, qu'on aperçoit dans certaines une excroissance des nymphes qui quelquefois pend de six pouces, mais c'est un phénomène particulier, dont on ne peut pas faire une règle générale." (*Voyage aux Indes*, vol. iii, p. 319.) In a subsequent note, MM. Peron and Lesueur are quoted as observing in a memoir read at the Institute of France that the *tablier* is found throughout the African tribes to the north of the great Karoo and the mountains of Snewberg; and controverting the opinions of Levallant and Barrow on the subject.

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "Et effectivement, la lumière naturelle devoit porter les hommes à en user ainsi," omitted by translator.



who are not allowed to purchase any Cattel of the *Hottentots* in any manner whatsoever, under the penalty of 50 Sous<sup>1</sup> for the first Offence, 200 for the Second, and being whipp'd and banish'd for the third.<sup>2</sup> The *Company* sells every Ox again for 25 *Florins*, and every Sheep for seven, in a manner that without much burdening the Buyer, or running any Risque, they make great Profit.

However ignorant, or rather how bestial soever the *Hottentots* are, they know something of *Simples*, and make use of them with Success. Let one be bit with any venomous Creature, be one Wounded or Ulcerated, or let there be any Swelling of Inflammation, they know how to go exactly to the Plant that will cure them, and administer the Remedy with greater Success than we oftentimes do ours. The Sick that have been brought a-shoar at the *Cape* have often experienced this, and those Wounds that very skilful Surgeons have given over, have in a short time been cur'd by these People. The most ordinary way is to pound the Herbs, and apply them to the Wound, but the Patient swallows likewise divers Juices press'd out of the same Herbs.

Neither this Nation, nor any of the others of the Southern Point of *Africa*, are absolutely without Government. They have even hereditary Chiefs, who may reasonably be call'd *Kings*, because they wear a sort of Crowns as I have been often inform'd by a curious Traveller,<sup>3</sup> who penetrated two hundred Leagues up into the Country. But altho' these Chiefs may have a general Right to inspect the conduct of the People, they seldom make use of it but in time of War,

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "écus," i.e., crowns or rix dollars. (*Vide supra*, p. 154.)

<sup>2</sup> Ever since 1658 trade between the burghers and the *Hottentots* was strictly forbidden, and on the 19th October 1697, four months before Leguat's visit, Governor Van der Stel had issued a severe *placaat* on the subject. (Cf. Theal, *l. c.*, p. 20.)

<sup>3</sup> Possibly Captain Willem Padt, who had been employed in reducing to order the *Chainouqua* and *Hessequa* tribes. (*Vide Theal, l. c.*, p. 4.)



and then too not always. The Inhabitants scatter'd here and there, form to themselves certain sorts of little Republicks, where they observe Customs that have in time become Laws. I have already told you, they punish severely wilful Murther, Adultery and Theft. They have divers other usages founded upon natural Equity, which they make use of for conservation of their Kind, and the Republick.

The *Company* for the most part has a good understanding with these different Nations; but as there are some of them that have Wars with the *Hottentots*, Neighbours to the *Cape*, so the *Hollanders*, whose Interest it is to protect them, think themselves oftentimes oblig'd to declare on their side.

As we touch'd at the *Cape* the first time we saw a Detachment of thirty or forty *Dutch* Soldiers, who had been sent by the Governor against five or six Thousand *Hottentots*, return from that Expedition.<sup>1</sup> They had been a hundred Leagues up in the Country, and had defeated an Army of 8 or 10,000 Enemies. As soon as the Muskets had laid some few upon the Ground, the rest began to parly, and promis'd to live peaceably. The *Dutch* took above 10,000 Oxen from them, but restor'd them again and gave the *Hottentots* withal some Tobacco and Brandy to convince them that this was a Peace without fraud.

I will here add two or three things more concerning this People: They have no use of Reading, and consequently of Writing. Some Relation which I remember to have read, speaks of them as if they were Astrologers, but then their Astrology must be no great matter, at least I'm assur'd that they make no Division of Time, nor distinguish either by Weeks, Months or Years. The greatest part of those that are Neighbours to the *Cape*, have learnt to speak *Dutch*.

<sup>1</sup> In December 1696, Ensign Schryver had been sent with thirty soldiers and twenty burghers against the Grigriqua tribes on the banks of the Elephant river; one of many similar expeditions. (Cf. Theal, *l. c.*, p. 6.)

When they make Merry, their Cries or Howlings serve them for Songs. They Laugh sometime like to split their Sides, and their Dances are grotesque and indecent, altho' the women do not mix with the Men, but Dance by themselves.

I have often observ'd young People among them, making Love after an extraordinary gallant manner. The Lover approaches his Paramour, who expects him either sitting or standing, and without saying a word to her, presents Smiling the second finger of his Right Hand just over against her Eyes, as if he would tear them out. After he has mov'd his Finger about for a quarter of an Hour, Laughing all the while, from one Eye to another, he suddenly turns his Back, and goes away as he came. Their Marriages are without Ceremony.

Sometimes they assemble by Dozens or Twenties, and squat down upon their Heels without touching the Ground any otherwise. The Circle being thus form'd, a Pipe of Tobacco goes round, and every one takes a whiff till the Pipe is out. I never observ'd that this good Fellowship was ever interrupted by any Quarrel, and to say true, they are by no means Mutinous. They feed, lie, and live together like a Herd of Oxen and Cows, doing like them the ordinary functions of Nature with all manner of Simplicity. As Avarice is no reigning Passion among them, and all that come to Want are immediately reliev'd by the rest, it seldom happens that any of them mind Stealing, so that the Christian Inhabitants let them come and go without fearing to lose any thing by them.

There are at the *Cape* a great number of *Negro's* that are brought from *Madagascar*, *Ceilon*, and other Islands. Those among them that are Slaves, go almost Naked, and are treated as you have heard; but other that are free, have Horses and Coaches.<sup>1</sup> They say they worship one only God,

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "mais ceux qui sont libres ont des maisons à eux, & sont



Creator of all Things, and that they likewise have a great Veneration for the Sun and Moon, as his two chief Ministers, whose principal Commission is to vivify the Earth, and all the Inhabitants that inhabit it ; but this Adoration is Secret and Interior. They have neither Images, Ceremonies, nor any other manner of sensible Worship ; and admit no other Law than that of Nature. If they Feast and Dance at the renewing of the Moon, it is not to show any respect for her, but like the *Hottentots*, to rejoice at the return of the Light. In a word they are perfect Deists, whereupon I can't forbear taking notice by the by, tho' against the common Opinion, that there is no real difference to be made between these People, and those we call Atheists, since the indolent God of the Deist is no God, and that herein they are less Orthodox than the wicked Spirits, who have a juster Idea of the Divine Being.

Moreover to say that we worship God without loving him, without fearing him, without asking any thing of him, or expecting any thing from him ; without caring for him in any manner what soever, is properly speaking to have no God at all, and to have no God is to be an Atheist.

When these Negro-Slaves obtain their Liberty<sup>1</sup> it is a fatal Happiness for them, for whilst they are Slaves those that have Authority over them, take care to instruct them in Religion, and teach them to Read and Write, which the *French* Refugees above all employ themselves about with a great deal of Earnestness ; but when they become free, while they are young, they become at the same time Libertins. It

habiliez." "Horses and Coaches" must be misprinted for "Houses and Clothes".

<sup>1</sup> Many of the English ships which put into Table Bay at this time were engaged in the slave trade between the West Indies and Madagascar. Again, Dutch people proceeding home from Ceylon and Batavia often took slaves with them, who were left at the Cape. These last were treated as free persons, and sent back to their own countries. (Cf. Theal, *l. c.*, p. 50.)



seems to me likewise desirable, that the same care were taken of those *Hottentot* Children who are most conversant with the Inhabitants of the *Cape*.

Shall I remember the Reader, before I leave the *Cape*, that the Continent was discover'd by *Barthelemi Diaz*, a *Portuguese*, in the year 1493 <sup>1</sup> He had undergone a prodigious Tempest before he got a-shoar, whereupon he told his Master, (John II) at his Return, that he had nam'd this Territory the *Cape of Torments*, to which the King reply'd, *After a Storm comes a Calm*, therefore you ought to have call'd it the *Cape of Good Hope*.

After we had refresh'd our selves here for near a Month, we departed the 8th of *March*, 1698, and sail'd directly for *St. Helena*, an Island, as it is well known, belonging at present to the *English*.<sup>2</sup> We got sight of it on *Easter Day*. It seem'd to us extreamly high, and almost inaccessible on that side that presented it self to our View.<sup>3</sup>

In a word it is on that side environ'd with extraordinary steep Rocks even to the Sea shoar. About a quarter of a League to the Southward, you discover at a distance a Mountain of white Stone,<sup>4</sup> on which nothing grows; you see there an infinite number of Birds<sup>5</sup> that I have formerly spoken

<sup>1</sup> *Vide ante*, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Helena* had been captured by the Dutch in 1673, and retaken by Sir Richard Munden in the same year. The governor of the island at this time, 1698, was Captain Stephen Poirier.

<sup>3</sup> "*St. Helena*, from its position in the South Atlantic Ocean, lies in the strength of the S.E. trade wind, and is usually sighted by ships at a distance of sixty miles, rising like a huge fortress, with precipitous sides of 1,000 feet. These rampart-like cliffs are intersected with ravines, but the island is almost inaccessible except by two or three openings to leeward, at James' Town, Rupert's Valley, and Lemon Valley."

<sup>4</sup> "The mountain of *white stone* ('*pierre sèche*', in the original French) is the curious rock called *Lot*, a pinnacle which rises up prominently in the extinct crater-valley of Sandy Bay, portion of the great disintegrated dike of a fine hard crystalline greystone which extends four miles." (*Vide Melliss's St. Helena*, p. 50.)

<sup>5</sup> "Birds." In orig.: "*ces Fous & de ces Frégates*."—Noddies and

of: We Landed at the Fort built not long since on the shoar, at the foot of a Rock.<sup>1</sup> It formerly stood on a steep Eminence, to which you were oblig'd to mount by Stairs, like a Ladder, for a considerable while, which could not likewise be done without some Danger. There are two places on this side where one may cast Anchor, the best was that where we were, as well on account of the Bottom, which was very sound, as by reason of excellent fresh Water which falls from a Mountain hard by.<sup>2</sup> On this side, as I've already observ'd, there is no plain Ground, for the Mountain whence the Water Springs begins at the brink of the Shoar. This Mountain appear'd to us at a distance altogether barren, but when we came near it we perceived it had some Trees a-top.

The other Road<sup>3</sup> is not near so good, but to make you amends when you get a-shoar, you come into a fair Plain, where every thing that is sow'd thrives admirably well.

This Island lies almost in the 16th Degree of Southern Latitude, and is about six Leagues in Compass. The Air there is very good, and the Heats of the Sun are temper'd by refreshing Winds, in like manner as the Drought of the Soil is render'd fertile by the great Dews, and small Showers that fall frequently there. Fruit-Trees, Pulse, Herbs, and all the Plants which the *Portugueses* brought thither soon after their discovery of this Island, thrive there wonderfully well, and are to be found every where in great Abundance. Orange-Trees, Citron-Trees, Pomegranate-Trees, Ananas, Banane-Trees, Vines, Melons, Rice, Peas, Beans, Radishes, Turnips, etc., with all sorts of Corn. These same *Portugueses* took, likewise, care to transport thither all kinds of Cattle,

Frigate birds. The former Terns are yet numerous, and breed, with the Tropic bird, on the cliffs: but the Frigate or Man-of-War bird has nearly disappeared, and no longer breeds in the island, although a certain cliff is still denominat'd Man-of-War Roost, where they formerly frequented. (Cf. Melliss, *l. c.*, p. 97.)

<sup>1</sup> At Banks' Fort, under Sugar Loaf.

<sup>2</sup> James' Valley.

<sup>3</sup> Rupert's Valley.



which have since exceedingly multiply'd, such as Bulls and Cows, Goats, Sheep, etc. The Horses are become very Wild.<sup>1</sup> You find there, moreover, Partridges, Turtles, and divers other sorts of Game.<sup>2</sup> The Sea furnishes a great deal of good Fish, and we may say the few Inhabitants of this Island might live much better, and more at ease, were it not for a prodigious number of Rats that spoil their Fruit and Corn.

After having taken on Board the Refreshments that were necessary, we set sail with a favourable Wind the 26th of *April* about Noon, but did not lose sight of the Island till we were got eight or ten Leagues off. We contemplated with a great deal of Pleasure the assembled Mass of these steep Rocks in the midst of a vast extent of Ocean, whose impetuous and terrible Waves seemed to have a mind to absorb it every Moment.

Some few days after we found our selves off of the Island of *Ascension*,<sup>3</sup> which is in seven Degrees and a half of the same Latitude,<sup>4</sup> but we did not design to Land there, and so steer'd on.

<sup>1</sup> Island-bred ponies, remarkably sure-footed, are still extant in St. Helena, and number now about 250.

<sup>2</sup> The partridge of St. Helena is probably the *Caccabis chukar* of Northern India. There are also pheasants, which were abundant even in 1588, when they are mentioned by Cavendish. The only indigenous peculiar bird is the Wire-bird, *Egialitis*, a species of rail. In the French edition Leguat also mentions "pintades", guinea-fowl, and "tourterelles", turtle doves, translated "Turtles" in the text. (Cf. Melliss's *St. Helena*, p. 95.)

<sup>3</sup> Ascension is the next isolated spot in the midst of the Atlantic, in 8° lat., and its highest peak, called Green Mountain, is visible at the distance of sixty-five miles. This island is now possessed by the Admiralty, and used as a sanatorium and depôt for the West Coast of Africa. The best description of it is that written by the wife of Dr. Gill, the well-known Astronomer Royal at the Cape, after the *Mars* expedition of 1877.

<sup>4</sup> In orig.: "mais nous ne l'aperçumes point," omitted by translator.



This Island has neither Water,<sup>1</sup> Plants, nor any other Quality that can invite any body to inhabit it. It is all cover'd over in a manner with divers sorts of Birds, whose Flesh is exceeding ill-tasted, and very unwholsom. Their Eggs are good enough.<sup>2</sup> One sometimes goes a-shoar there to catch Tortoises, which are very plentiful, and a great Refreshment to the Ships.

We repass'd the *Line* with a good Wind, as we did at first, without being oblig'd to pull off our Cloaths on account of the Heat. We have experienc'd much hotter Weather in other parts. This depends on the condition of the Air.

I observ'd also that our Water, no more than our other Provisions, receiv'd no manner of Alteration in traversing all that *Torrid Zone*, which by no means agrees with what divers Travellers have writ on that Subject. Altho' each Ship of our Fleet had two Men that were hir'd to make every day the Sea-Water fresh, yet we found that Water so maukish, that the best use we made of it was to give it to our Animals,<sup>3</sup> and to boil our Meat with it.

After some few more days Sailing we came to a flat Shoar, where the Sea<sup>4</sup> was all cover'd with floating Weeds, whose

<sup>1</sup> Stavorinus (*l. c.*, i, p. 191) says that Ascension affords fresh water. A limited supply of fresh water is now obtained by certain drip-tanks on the sides of Green Mountain, whose summit, 2,818 ft., arrests some moisture from the trade clouds that drift past on the upper surface of the trade wind. What Leguat notices about Ascension was merely hearsay, as he did not sight the island.

<sup>2</sup> Innumerable noddy-terns and boobies frequent part of the island, where their nests and eggs are found in abundance. From the noise and multitude of the birds, this locality has long been known as Wide-awake Fair.

<sup>3</sup> In orig. : "aux animaux, veaux, moutons, cochons, poules, canards, & peut-être s'en servoit-on aussi pour faire cuire la viande."

<sup>4</sup> The Sargasso Sea lies in that comparatively quiet space of the North Atlantic which is bounded on the south by the Equatorial current, on the west and north by the Gulf stream, and on the east by the Guinea current, which flows southward. There are two principal banks, the larger near the Azores, and a smaller one near the Bahamas. The

Leaves much resembled those of an Olive Tree. You always find great store of these Weeds in this Place for twenty Leagues together: Our Pilots had inform'd us of it before They call this Place the Weed-Sea.<sup>1</sup> As we left *Batavia* in a good Season, we met with Summer every where, and our Navigation for seven Months together, till our arrival in *Holland*, was perfectly Pleasant and Successful. We had all along favourable Winds, no Calms, nor no Tempests. But in this the fairest Weather in the World, there happen'd an Accident to us that was like to destroy our Ship and another. The whole Fleet being to tack about upon a Signal the Admiral was to give us, every Ship was preparing to execute that Order, and all did it punctually upon the Signal given, except our Ship. While we were bringing about our Tackle, another Ship of the Fleet, that had already tack'd, was coming towards us with full Sails, and we thought it was impossible for us to avoid her. The Officers cry'd out on one side, and the Crew on the other, but for all that our Vessel did not obey, although the Consternation became general, and the Danger was so great and near, that the chief Pilot himself judg'd we could not escape it. The Captain,

situation of the banks of sea-weed varies according to the prevailing winds. Humboldt quotes a description from the *Periplus* of Scylax:—"The sea beyond Cerne ceases to be navigable in consequence of its great shallowness, its muddiness, and its sea-grass. The sea-grass lies a span thick, and is pointed at its upper extremity, so that it pricks."

The *sargassum* (*fucus natans*), or "gulf-weed", which forms this weed-sea, first discovered by Columbus, inhabits the tropical and adjacent seas of both hemispheres, and the genus includes many local species. In the Sargasso Sea plants have shorter leaves, the branches more contracted, and the bristles of the air-vessels broken off shorter than those of the Indian Ocean. The genus *sargassum* is the most highly organised of the *melanospermeæ*, or olive-coloured sea-weeds possessing root, stem, branches, leaves, air vesicles, and distinct organs of fructification. (*Vide* Miss Merrifield's paper, *On Gulf-weed*, in *Nature*, xviii, p. 709.)

<sup>1</sup> In orig.: "C'est une espèce d'Algue que l'agitation des flots détache des Rochers," omitted by translator.



however, did not lose his presence of Mind, which was so necessary on such Occasions. He caus'd the Ship speedily to be put before the Wind, and the Ship that came against us, running consequently the same Danger, because it was of the same Bigness, we manag'd our Tackle so successfully that we luckily avoided each other, which was the greatest chance in the World: We then began to search into the Cause that had hinder'd the Ship from obeying the Signal, and we found it had been occasion'd by the negligence of a Sailor that was at the Helm, who had not put the Whip-staff on that side it should have been. This happen'd either by reason he had not heard the word of Command, or had slighted it, or that he had drunk too much *Araque*. The Sub-Pilot,<sup>1</sup> whose business it was to give the word of Command, was very much blam'd, for that he should have gone himself to see whether the Sailor had obey'd Orders. See how it oftentimes happens that you are at the very brink of Danger when you least think of it.

Some days before we arriv'd upon the Coast of *Ireland*, we observ'd the Sea seem'd at a distance extreamly swell'd, which gave us reason to believe there had been bad Weather in those Parts, and which was indeed true, for our Vice-Admiral, who had set sail two days before us, had undergone so great a Tempest, that he had lost his Main-Mast.<sup>2</sup>

We were afterwards 15 days before we could see Land,<sup>3</sup> by reason of the great Fogs which environ'd us on all sides during all that time. They were so thick that we could not only perceive no Vessel of the Fleet, but were likewise at a loss to see one another upon Deck. To prevent our stragling from one another, we had the Precaution to fire now and then a great Gun Day and Night from each Ship, but by

<sup>1</sup> In orig. : "qui étoit de quart."

<sup>2</sup> In orig. : "grand Mât de hune," *i.e.*, main top-mast.

<sup>3</sup> In orig. : "sans pouvoir prendre hauteur," *i.e.*, without being able to take observations.



reason we did not know what Latitude we were in, we stray'd towards the North much farther than *Dungesby-Head*, the most Northerly Point of Scotland, in sight of which we ought to have sail'd. At length Divine Providence caus'd us to arrive at *Flushing*, 28th of *June* 1698. Our voyage had lasted just seven months from *Batavia*, and the whole course of my Travels were eight Years wanting twelve Days.

## A

## THANKSGIVING HYMN

*Mention'd Page 192, and Compos'd in the Island of St. Maurice, upon the Occasion of the happy News of my Deliverance.*

F. L.

Let us sing to th' Eternal a new Song!  
Come! Let us Rejoyce,  
In the Presence of th' Eternal!

Let us bless our God,  
And make the sound of his Praise Echo;  
For he comes to give Life to our Souls,  
He delivers our Souls from Thralldom,  
To the end that we may bless his Name.

Our Dwelling has been in an uncouth Place;  
Our habitation  
Has been in the Holes of Rocks:  
The bloody Persecutor has pursu'd our Souls;  
He has Trodden our Liberty under foot!  
He has buried us alive,  
In dark and gloomy Places.  
But th' Eternal has deliver'd Us  
From the hands of our Enemy!  
He has made him a-sham'd  
That would have swallow'd us up!  
Th' Eternal,  
The Rock of Ages,  
The Rock of our Salvation,

Has been to Us a safe Retreat  
 In the Desart of our Captivity!  
 He has hid us in his Palace  
 During the bad Weather,  
 He has been both a Fortress to Us,  
 And a Deliverer!

Come!

Ye that are his Well-beloved!  
 Let our Mouths relate his Wonders,  
 And let them bless him for evermore!

Come!

Ye Inhabitants of Rocks,  
 Let us Rejoyce with Songs of Triumph!

Our Days had almost fail'd Us:  
 Our Bones were in a manner dry'd up:  
 We were become like Cormorants  
 Of the Desart;  
 Like Owls,  
 That retire unto wild Places,  
 We were lying in the shadow of Death:  
 We were loaded  
 Both with Affliction, and Irons.

But th' Eternal has broken our Bonds!  
 He has strengthen'd our weak Hands,  
 And our trembling Knees!  
 He has bid those that had afflicted Hearts,  
 Take Courage, and fear no more!

Come then, let us praise th' Eternal!  
 For he is Good.

Let us Magnifie! Let us exalt his Name altogether!  
 For he has done great Things;  
 And his Goodness lasts to all Eternity!

The Red *Dragon*, the furious *Dragon*,  
 That makes War upon the Saints,  
 Is come down against Us  
 To devour Us.

We fled unto the Desarts,  
 To a Place prepar'd by the hand of God;  
 His Compassion here descended among Us,  
 And his Bounty has comforted Us.

## HYMN OF THANKSGIVING.

The profound Gulfs  
Have threatened to swallow us up :  
The Impetuous Storms  
Have caus'd Us to mount up to the Clouds,  
And then descend again to the lowest Abyss.

But

Th' Almighty who inhabits in the Heavens,  
Has been more powerful than the unruly Waters,  
Or the strongest Surges in the Ocean.  
Th' Eternal has commanded the Winds ;  
He has broken the Seas ;  
He has turned the Tempest into a Calm ;  
And the roaring Floods are appeas'd.

Th' Eternal

Has made us to traverse securely  
The Desarts, and Seas.  
He has deliver'd us from the current of Waters  
That bore Us away.  
Let Us bless without ceasing his Holy Name !  
Let Us set forth his Glory !  
'Tis a good thing to praise th' Eternal !  
He abounds in Compassion ;  
And his Goodness lasts for ever !

Rocks !

Bless th' Eternal !

Isles !

Bless th' Eternal !

Ocean, Whirl-winds, Waves, Calms, Tempests

Bless th' Eternal !

Mountains, Deeps !

Bless th' Eternal !

Rivers !

Clap your Hands ! Praise th' Eternal !

Fish, Birds, Insects !

Whales, Elephants !

Praise th' Eternal !

Heavens, Stars, Moon, Sun !

Men, Angels !

Praise th' Eternal !

My Soul !

Bless th' Eternal !

Let all that is within Me

Bless the Name of his Holiness !



I will bless th' Eternal at all times :  
 His Praise  
 Shall be continually in my Mouth.  
 As long as I breath  
 I shall praise th' Eternal.  
 Let us Praise, Bless and celebrate th' Eternal.

Lord !  
 Thou art worthy to receive  
 Glory, Honour and Power.  
 Holy ! Holy ! Holy !  
 Is the Almighty Lord God !  
 To Him  
 That sits upon the Throne,  
 And to the Lamb,  
 Be Praise, Honour and Glory,  
 And Strength,  
 For ever and ever !  
 Amen !

FINIS.

[The above hymn is omitted in the Dutch edition, which is in one volume of 178 pages.]

## APPENDIX.

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### A.

#### THE DISCOVERY OF THE MASCARENE ISLANDS.<sup>1</sup>

M. JULES CODINE, of the Société de Géographie at Paris, has succeeded in partially unravelling the interesting problem as to the actual date of the discovery of the several islands which compose the Mascarene archipelago. Absolute certainty as to this date must remain in obscurity until the Portuguese archives have been more thoroughly investigated.

Tradition assigns the first discovery of these islands to Mascarenhas, but M. Codine remarks that there were several voyagers and notable persons of that name who served in the Indies during the sixteenth century.

Don Joan Mascarenhas was governor of Diu in 1545, and M. Codine points out that as Don Joan Mascarenhas was at Diu throughout the year 1545, it could not have been that administrator who discovered the islands under the tropic of Capricorn in that year. The error of giving this date, 1545, as that of the first discovery of Réunion has arisen from a wrong interpretation given to certain inscriptions on a stone pillar, which M. de Flacourt speaks of and figures in his *History of Madagascar*.<sup>2</sup>

The error of the date 1545 is proved by the appearance of the names of the three islands, *Apolonia*, *Mascarenas*, and *Domigo Friz*, on the chart of the famous pilot, Diego Ribero, in the Atlas of Santarem, under date of 1529.

These islands, writes M. Codine, have on several maps the generic name "*Isles Mascarenhas*". This generic name has also

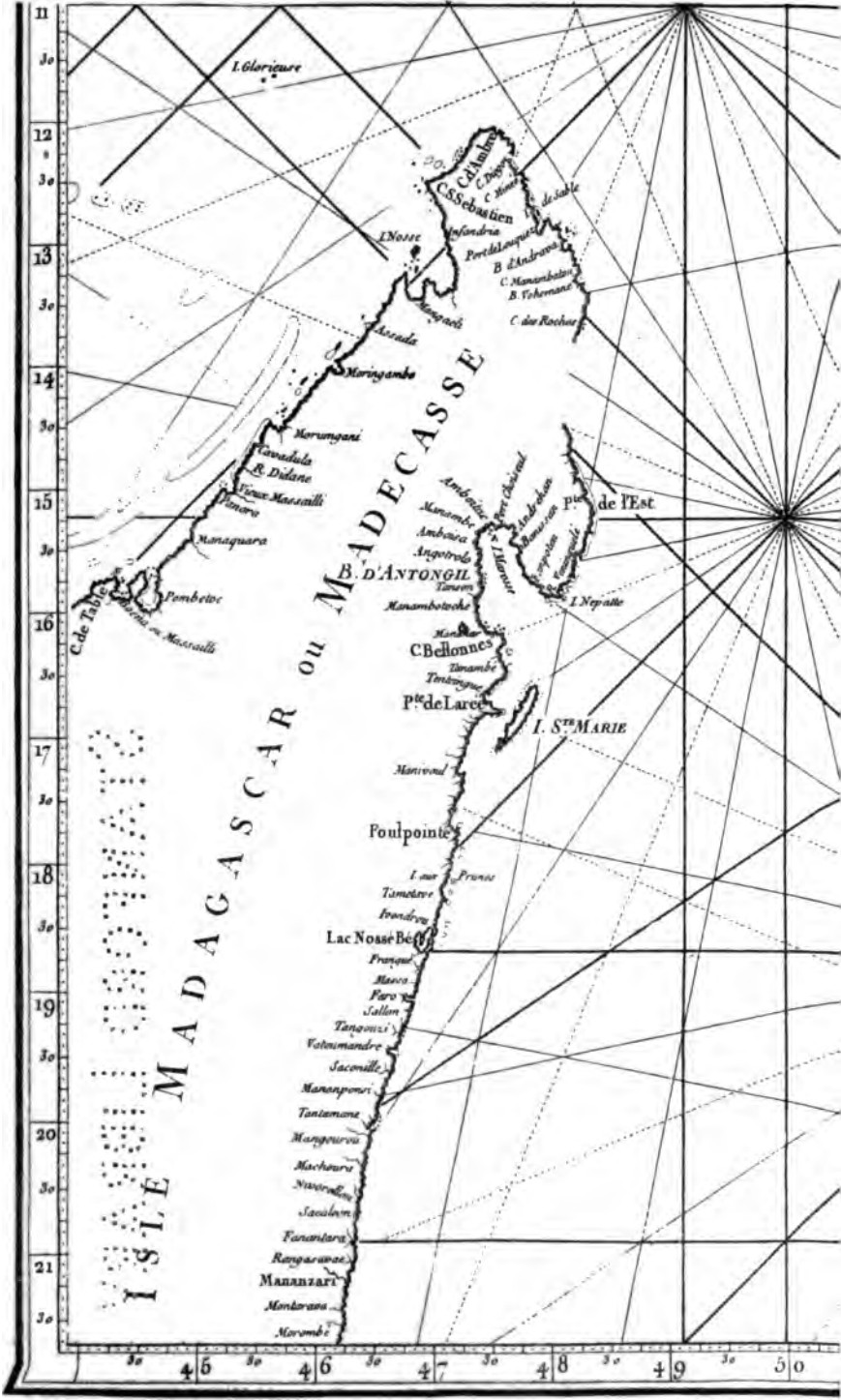
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<sup>1</sup> Vide *Mémoire Géographique sur la Mer des Indes*, par J. Codine, Paris, 1868, chap. vii, p. 188 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Vide *supra*, p. 41, and Addendum, *infra*.







been given to some island situated in latitude 5° S., or thereabouts, of which Père Hardouin speaks as being the Columns of Ephorus. In the maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a group of islands can be seen, situated to the east of the Amirantes, with the name *Islas Mascarenhas*. There are some technical allusions to these charts in the Voyage of Davis to the East Indies. "On leaving the Comoro Islands (in 1599), the islands of *Mascarenhas* were passed, without fear of the Amirante shoals, and, the navigation continuing favourable, on the 23rd May the Maldivé islands were sighted."

There are yet again other islands which have borne the name *Mascarenhas*, as, in the map given by De Bry in 1601, this name is applied to islands placed between Diego-Garcia and the Maldives. The same appears in the map appended to the Voyage of Van-der-Hagen (1612).

Meanwhile, it is especially to the Seychelles group that this denomination has been given, and it is thus that Bellin, on his map of the Eastern Ocean or Indian Sea, in 1756, has designated that group of islets—the *Isles Mascarenhas*. Indeed, Mascarenhas (Pierre?) on leaving Mozambique, could not have taken at the same time the direction of the island Amirante and that of the islands Bourbon, Maurice, Rodrigues. We shall solve the difficulty with the map of Ortelius, in 1570, where these Mascarene islands, situated to the east of Amirante, are designated as *isles de Vasco d'Acugna*; and we find, in Ortelius, Martinez de la Puente saying: "At one hundred and forty leagues to the north of Madagascar are five small islands which *Vasco d'Acugna* discovered, and which bear his name."

Let us admit, then, that the islands discovered by Pedro Mascarenhas are the islands of Réunion or Bourbon, Mauritius, and Rodrigues. . . .

Pedro Mascarenhas arrived for the first time in this sea in 1512. He commanded one of the vessels of the fleet of Garcia de Noronha. This fleet had a disastrous voyage, and arrived at Mozambique the 11th March 1512. A Portuguese ship just come from the Indies apprised the admiral that the Viceroy, Alfonso d'Albuquerque, believed that his fleet was destroyed. Garcia de

Noronha, not judging the season favourable for continuing his voyage, sent on immediately to India Pedro Mascarenhas. The fifteen years which this captain passed in Asia were occupied in his governments or military enterprises, whose success entailed his designation as successor of Henri de Menezes to the government of the Indies. He passed a second time through the Indian Ocean to go to Portugal, and set sail from Cochin in the last days of December 1527.

Was it in this return voyage that Pedro Mascarenhas might have discovered our three islands? That is not probable, for he only arrived in Portugal at a date closely approximating to that of the publication of the *mappa mundi* of 1529, by Diego Ribero. Moreover, this *mappa mundi* bears not only the name of Mascarenhas, but, as well, that of another discoverer, Domingo Friz. This is an indication that these two names date in cartography from a previous epoch; besides, there is on this *mappa mundi* a third name, Santa Appollonia, justified by a *mappa mundi* of 1527—*carta universalis*—preserved at Weimar, where is to be found a copy in the Santarem Atlas, and upon which the three islands bear the generic name of Santa Appollonia.

Excluding, therefore, the year 1528, we are brought back to the first voyage of Mascarenhas in 1512. We have before noticed on what account this captain was despatched from Mozambique to India. In 1507 the fleets which left Portugal about the month of April would arrive at Mozambique in the month of September, at the time when the contrary monsoon was just commencing. First and foremost, Ruy Soares, Commander of Rhodes, was sent to India in a ship commanded by Pero Quaresma. Ruy Soares took his course towards the north close up to Cape Guardafui; from thence he crossed the Indian Ocean, and was driven by stress of weather to Cape Comorin. It is impossible to suppose that, judging from his point of departure (Cape Guardafui), the bad weather had conducted him into the neighbourhood of our islands.

Pedro Mascarenhas, having a similar mission to accomplish, could not, without doubt, on account of the contrary monsoon, proceed north, and he tried, by a chance navigation, a course in



which he knew he should meet with the islands already laid down on his charts, and about which he had probably collected some information from his predecessors. The fleet of Garcia de Noronha arriving at Mozambique on the 12th March 1512, it could not have been until the end of this month, or in the month of April, that Mascarenhas was, perhaps, able to reach two of our islands, as shown him by the chart 10 of the Geography of Livio Sanuto, of 1588, where Bourbon and Mauritius are thus designated: *Mascaregnæ insulæ duæ*, perhaps our three islands, of which that most to the west, Santa Apollonia, had been already known by the Portuguese. In fact, this name indicates that the island which bears it was thus named, either by a ship of that name which had discovered it—and then the day of that discovery would be uncertain—or because the ship which discovered it arrived there on the 9th February of a year which could only be either 1512, or a year previous to 1512, as early as 1506, the year of the discovery of Madagascar.

It was not the year 1512. The fleet of Garcia de Noronha, leaving Lisbon in 1511, arrived, after a bad passage, at the island of Saint-Thomas; the pilot, imagining that he had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, took a course to the north-east and reached the west coast of Africa, which they coasted during a month and a half before doubling this cape. The Portuguese historian shows us the fleet, passing, half lost, between Sofala and the island of Saint-Lawrence (Madagascar), and landing, for the first time since its departure from the island of Saint-Thomas, at Mozambique, where it arrived on the 11th March 1512; was there repaired, and when the favourable monsoon commenced, continued its voyage on to India. During the stay in harbour of this fleet at Mozambique, it was joined by that of Pedro Mascarenhas.

Going back to previous years, we can eliminate the fleets of Gonzalo de Siqueira and of Diogo Mendez de Vasconcellos, who, leaving Lisbon on the 16th March 1510, followed the ordinary track; and the fleet of João Serrão, leaving Lisbon the 8th August the same year, since João Serrão, after having coasted along the island of Saint-Lawrence, made a course for Goa, by the north of that island, during which voyage Payo de Sa, on his way to

confer with João Serrão, was driven by bad weather to Mozambique. We can eliminate the year 1509, when, on the 10th March, there departed from Lisbon the fleet commanded by the Marshal Don Fernando Coutinho, who had a mission to put an end to the divisions existing between Alfonso d'Albuquerque and the Viceroy François d'Almeida, who declined to resign his government. We are thus brought to this conclusion : that the islands about which we are discussing were discovered under the government of the Viceroy François d'Almeida.

We take notice of three circumstances when the Portuguese ships could, by the date of their voyage, satisfy the conditions of finding themselves in the neighbourhood of our islands, in the month of February, or in having traversed the Indian Ocean by the eastward of Madagascar.

The three circumstances are as follows. *First*, Diego Lopez de Siqueira sailed from Lisbon the 5th April 1508, and arrived at Madagascar on the 4th August. He employed the end of the year in examining the east coast, and set sail for India, anchoring at Cochin on the 20th April 1509.

Barros states that this captain did not arrive at Cochin direct, but by way of Cape Comorin, and he adds that he only reached this cape with much trouble. It is, therefore, evident that Diego Lopez, not being able, on account of the north-east monsoon, to reach India by the north of Madagascar, directed his course more directly from Madagascar to Cape Comorin, and thus made from west to east a course similar to that which, in January 1506, Fernand Soares had made from east to west. Lopez de Castanheda says that Diego Lopez, on leaving the island of Saint-Lawrence, took his course towards the island of Ceylon.

In this route Diego Lopez could have met with our three islands; meantime, his name is borne on the charts of the sixteenth century, under the corruptions, *Don Galopes* and *don Galope*, which are seen on the maps of Mercator, of Ortelius, of Petrus Plancius, and on that appended to the *India Orientalis* of de Bry, and only applying to the island of Rodriguez; so we conclude that Diego Lopez really discovered only the island of Rodriguez. Perhaps, indeed, he saw it again or discovered it on



his return from India, for when he arranged to return to Portugal and had reached Sumatra, at Cape Cory, learning that François d'Almeida, whose part he had taken against Alfonso d'Albuquerque, had set out for Portugal, and fearing the indignation of the new Viceroy, Maffée says, "he set sail from Travancore, in January 1510, and keeping away from the west coast, he left on the right hand India and Arabia, and passed the Cape of Good Hope." Castanheda says likewise that Diego Lopez sailed direct to the Cape of Good Hope, passing to the south of the Maldives.

Unless we had for the island of Rodrigues other motives for conclusions, yet more valuable than those we have just stated, we should say that this island was discovered by Diego Lopes de Siqueira at the commencement of the year 1509, or at the commencement of the year 1510.

In spite of this consideration, exclusive of every other island, we cannot prevent ourselves from remarking that the 9th February, the day of Sainte Appoline, could be included in the time of this voyage of Diego Lopes, either by Madagascar to Cape Comorin, or from Travancore to the Cape of Good Hope.

*The Second Circumstance.*—The fleet of Fernand Soares, as we have said, left Cochin in December 1505; arrived incidentally at the Island of Madagascar on the 1st of February 1506. During its passage it would have been possible to meet with our islands; but the 9th February is beyond the limit of the time indicated, and according to the narration of Fernand Lopez de Castanheda, Fernand Soares and Ruy Freirio, who arrived at Madagascar on the 1st February, were still on the south side of that island, which they had not left on the 17th of that month.

Was there a delayed ship which, separated from its consorts, might have discovered the island Santa Apollonia on the 9th February, and again rejoined Fernand Soares on his way to Lisbon? For it should be remembered that Castanheda and Osorius, in their account of the discovery of Madagascar, only mention two ships, that of Fernand Soares and that of Roderic Freirio; although, according to Barros, there should have been three of which he names the captains, and the name of Frédéric Freirio does not appear among them. The silence of the his-



torians does not permit us to fix precisely anything; *but there is here a conjecture whereby the truth may be found*, for the year of this discovery is restricted between the year 1506 by the voyage of Fernand Soares, and the year 1507 by the voyage of Tristan da Cunha.

*The Third Circumstance.*—The fleet of fourteen sail of Tristan da Cunha and of Alfonso d'Albuquerque arrived at Mozambique in November 1506, consequently at the commencement of the contrary (North-East) monsoon, which prevented him from following his course. We find again a part of these fourteen ships at Madagascar on the 8th December 1506.

Some days afterwards Alfonso d'Albuquerque, next Tristan da Cunha, returned to Mozambique. The dates fail to fix the time that each of them stayed there before proceeding to Melinda, for commencing together their operations. Osorius fixes one useful date; they arrived at Brava "at a time when the wind arose and a fierce hurricane", which indicates the time of the change of monsoon, about the 1st May 1507. If we calculate back, before the 1st May, the time necessary to visit the King of Melinda, and the expedition against the cities of Oja and Lamo, in estimating fully this time at two months, it is seen that we can only follow the Portuguese fleet to the beginning of March. Castanheda says that Alfonso d'Albuquerque left Mozambique in February; and considering the adverse monsoon, the more we dismiss this juncture the more we shall be in the truth. Let us admit, then, the end of February. Until the month of March the Portuguese historians only relate the most important of the cruises of some ships; they say nothing of the less important incidents which are wanting.

Barros mentions three ships, named *Galega*, *Santa-Maria*, and *Cirné*.

The ship *Galega* is mentioned (*Décade II*, liv. 7, chapter 2) as having arrived from India at Mozambique in 1512; it had remained there in the impossibility of sailing. This ship was perhaps one of the fleet of Tristan da Cunha.

The *Santa-Maria des Virtudes* was the ship commanded by Jean Gomes d'Abreu. There was again in this fleet another ship, the *Santa-Maria*, commanded by Alvaro Fernandes.

The *Cirné* was the ship commanded by Alfonso d'Albuquerque. His pilot was Diogo Fernandes Pereira, who, in 1503, when captain of the ship *Setubal*, in the fleet of Antonio de Saldanha, had distinguished himself by his numerous captures and by the discovery of the island of Socotora.

In regard to the three names of ships, let us place the three islands of the Indian Ocean which bear them, where they derived the same names: *Galega*, *Santa-Maria*, or *Sainte-Marie*, and *Cirné*.

The islands *Galega* and *Sainte Marie* yet figure on our modern charts; *Cirné* is the name which various islands have borne, *viz.*, Mauritius, Rodrigues, besides a little island situated to the north of Madagascar, and which corresponds to the islet called Jean de Nova.

Can it be admitted that there has been in this triple coincidence the simple effect of chance? Is it not, on the contrary, natural to suppose that these islands have been discovered by the ships *Galega*, *Santa-Maria*, and *Cirné*, which have given them their names?

Rodrigues is figured on the chart of 1529 of Diego Ribero, under the name of *Domigo Friz*. According to M. d'Avezac, *Friz* is an abbreviated form of *Fernandes*. By adopting the abbreviation for *Friz*, and the alteration *Domigo* in place of *Diogo*, it may be conjectured that the two denominations, *Cirné* and *Domigo Friz*, applied to the island Mauritius and to the island Rodrigues, proceed from the same conjunction of discovery. The ship *Cirné* having discovered both the two, Mauritius had been named *Cirné* from the name of the ship; and the island Rodrigues has been named Diogo Fernandes from the name of the celebrated pilot of the ship *Cirné*.

It can be objected that the ship, the *Cirné*, had on board of her Alfonso d'Albuquerque, the Captain-General of one of the two squadrons placed, until after the projected expedition against the island Socotora, under the superior orders of Tristan da Cunha; that Alfonso d'Albuquerque left Mozambique with Tristan da Cunha, who accompanied him to Madagascar, and that he only left him to return to Mozambique, when he awaited until the



month of March an opportunity favourable for continuing his voyage to the north and along the east coast of Africa.

Indeed, Barros (*Décade II*, liv. 1, ch. 1) furnishes a useful indication. Tristan da Cunha had learnt, without doubt by the information of Ruy Pereira, that the coasts of Madagascar were much indented, that the waters of its harbours had little depth; judging therefore that his ship the *San-Iago*, was too great for the exploration which he projected, he gave over the command of it to Antonio de Saldanha, and went on board the *Santo-Antonio*, commanded by João da Veiga.

This detail has been brought forward by Barros, because it concerns the principal personage of the expedition; but it is evident that the same measure, prompted by the same motives, would have been taken for the vessel of Alfonso d'Albuquerque, the *Cirné*, of which, at various times, there is question in this historian.

From thenceforth the objection which we have raised ceases to exist; and there is nothing impossible in the supposition of some cruises undertaken by Diogo Fernandes Pereira, captain of the *Cirné*.

According to what we have said as to the date of the wintering of the fleet of Tristan da Cunha and of Alfonso d'Albuquerque at Mozambique, it appears that the island of Santa-Apollonia could be discovered on the 9th February 1507.

So, then, if the island Santa-Apollonia was not sighted in 1506, the islands of Réunion, Mauritius, and Rodrigues were, in all probability, discovered by Diogo Fernandes Pereira. Réunion, on the 9th February 1507, and called Santa-Apollonia; Mauritius and Rodrigues at some days' interval from the 9th February 1507. From this year, 1507, dates the name of Cirné given to Mauritius, and that of Diogo Fernandes given to the island Rodrigues under the alteration Domingo Friz.

At the commencement of 1509, Diogo Lopes de Siqueira saw the island Rodrigues, to which his name was applied under the alteration Don Galopes or Don Galope.

In April 1512, Pierre Mascarenhas, provided with information furnished by the preceding expedition, discovered them (the



islands) afresh. In fact, they were again met with by other navigators, amongst others by the pilot, Jean de Lisboa, and by the brother of the pilot, as several maps will show.—J. CODINE.

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ADDENDUM TO APPENDIX A.

M. DE FLACOURT'S PILLAR.<sup>1</sup>

M. CODINE notices that, when Flacourt wrote the passage quoted by Du Quesne and Leguat, he is on the eve of undertaking his return to France, and is at Fort Dauphin :—

“ Before leaving, I caused to be set up in my garden a large pillar of white marble, which I had brought from the islet of the Portuguese, upon which were cut the arms of Portugal, and on the other side I had engraved the arms of his most Christian Majesty, and on the base these words, which are in this figure. . . .” (Here follows the inscription given in the illustration.)

In order that the explanation of Du Quesne, of Leguat, and of those who have copied them may be plausible, it is necessary that the islet of the Portuguese should be the island of Mascarenhas, which these authors have supposed, having given only a very superficial attention to Flacourt's work.

Yet the islet of the Portuguese is not, in this historian, a vague denomination which can be applied to any locality, and above all, to an island at a long distance from Madagascar, it is a place well identified, situated at a few hours' march only from Fort Dauphin, and of which Flacourt speaks repeatedly, notably in the chapter xxxiv of his narrative, and in the chapter xii of his description of Madagascar. This old governor of the French establishments in that island has given the plan of it, which he has inserted in his work. In fact, the islet of the Portuguese is shown as well in his general map of Madagascar. The fate of the Portuguese who selected that spot as a settlement in 1545, and who inhabited it a little time, is recorded in detail ; and it might

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide ante*, p. 41, and map of Isle Bourbon, Pl. iv.

be said that the islet of the Portuguese is the part of Madagascar best described, and whose position it is impossible to misunderstand. Yet the description of the Portuguese and the date 1545 are foreign to the island Mascarenhas or Mascareigne.

As to the inscription of the French, and the date 1653, the text of Flacourt is quite clear; this stone had been placed by him in his garden at Fort Dauphin. To account for this inscription being made on the occasion of the taking possession of the island Mascareigne, it would be necessary that the date should be 1649, the year of the taking possession by Lebourg, under order of Flacourt, and Flacourt would not have omitted in his story so interesting a detail as that of this stone, in place of simply saying "the taking of possession was fastened to a tree below the arms of the King". But this is only a gratuitous supposition. The date 1653 agrees with the text and meaning of Flacourt. The last words of the inscription, which would be very strange if it had applied to a desert island like Mascareigne, form an incontestable proof of it: "*O advena, lege monita nostra, tibi, tuis, vitæ que tuæ profutura; cave ab incolis! vale!*" and Flacourt ends the chapter lxvii by the following explanation of this inscription: "Which I caused to be done to warn the first captains of Christian ships who should come from Europe to beware of treason of this nation, in case on arrival in our absence and that of the ship, and that the French getting impatient should go away to live beforehand inland."

As consequent to this description, we may remark that the vulgar error as to the discovery of the island of Réunion, in 1545, proceeds from the wrong localisation of the stone, of which we have just spoken, at the island of Mascareigne.

In glancing at the plate of Leguat, representing: in the centre, the shape of the island Mascareigne; to the right, the inscription of the Portuguese, with the date 1545; to the left, the inscription of the French, and the date 1653, and the whole on the same sheet, it is not difficult to understand the facility with which the eye could deceive the mind, indeed, without the knowledge of the misleading text, of which the plate is only a material reproduction.—J. CODINE.

LIST OF BIRDS IN BOURBON, REFERRED TO AT P. 45.  
AFTER MAILLARD.

- Perruche, *Poliopsitta cana*.  
 Perroquet noir, *Coracopsis vasa*.  
 Petite Salangane, *Collocalia esculenta*.  
 Hirondelle Salangane, *Collocalia francia*.  
 Hirondelle des blés, *Phedina borbonica*.  
 Huppe, *Fregilupus capensis*.  
 Martin, *Acridotheres tristis*.  
 Oiseau de la Vierge, *Muscipeta borbonica*.  
 Merle, *Hypsipetes olivaceus*.  
 Tuituit, *Oxynotus ferrugineus*.  
 Tec-tec, *Pratincola sybilla*.  
 Oiseau blanc, *Zosterops borbonica*.  
 Oiseau vert, *Zosterops hesitata*.  
 Calfat, *Munia oryzivora*.  
 Coutil, *Maja punctularia*.  
 Sénégal, *Estrela astrild*.  
 Bengali, *Estrela amandava*.  
 Cardinal, *Foudia madagascariensis*.  
 Moutardier, *Chlorospiza chloris*.  
 Moineau, *Passer domesticus*.  
 Tarin, *Serinus ictericus*.  
 Pigeon marron, *Columba Schimperi*.  
 Tourterelle malagache, *Turtur picturatus*.  
 Tourterelle du pays, *Geopelia striata*.  
 Caille, *Margaroperdrix striata*.  
 Caille de Chine, *Excalfactoria chinensis*.  
 Perdrix, *Francolinus perlatus*.  
 Aigrette, *Herodias calceolata*.  
 Poule d'eau, *Gallinula chloropus*.  
 Fou ou Fouquet, *Pterodroma aterrima*.  
 Hirondelle de mer, *Puffinus obscurus*.  
 Macoua, *Anous tenuirostris*.  
 Paille en queue, *Phaeton candidus*.  
 Courlis, *Numenius phaeopus*.  
 Alouette de mer, *Pelidna cinclus*.
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B.

RELATION DE L'ILE RODRIGUE.

M. ALPH. MILNE-EDWARDS presented to the Section of Anatomy and Zoology of the French Academy of Sciences, on the 10th May 1875, his *Observations on the Epoch of the Disappearance of the Ancient Fauna of the Island Rodriguez*,<sup>1</sup> in which he announced the discovery by M. Rouillard, a magistrate of Mauritius, among the archives of the Ministry of Marine at Paris, of a manuscript entitled *Relation de l'île Rodrigue*, reported to him by Professor A. Newton, of Cambridge, who requested him (M. Milne-Edwards) to make further investigation to fix the epoch when this manuscript was written; for it bore no date or name of author, but had been found bound up in tome xii of the *Correspondence of the Ile de France*, A.D. 1760. Was this date exact as regards the manuscript, and was it to be concluded that from this MS. narrative that the birds in question were still alive in 1760—that is to say, almost after a century from the time that Leguat wrote?

M. Milne-Edwards was able to convince himself that this document was of older date than that of the correspondence with which it was bound up; and, although he was unable to discover the name of the author, he was able to fix the date when it was written. In fact, he found in tome i of the correspondence an old inventory of the reports and letters from 1719 to 1732, enclosed in the files of the office before they had been arranged and bound in volumes. In this enumeration he found mentioned this *Relation de l'île Rodrigue* interpolated between documents dated from 1729 to 1730-31. Its index number corresponded exactly with that now on the *Relation* itself. It is No. 1 of the file (carton) 29. This indication, therefore, enabled him to establish with some accuracy the period when, if it was not written, at all events it was transmitted to the *Compagnie des Indes*. It is,

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<sup>1</sup> *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Sciences*, tome lxxx, 1875, p. 1212.

therefore, posterior to 1730,<sup>1</sup> and it is by mistake that it has become mixed up with the correspondence of 1760.

M. Milne-Edwards also remarked that this Carton 29 originally included a *Délibération du Conseil*, of the 20th July 1725, on the proposed taking possession of the Island of Diego Ruys, *i.e.*, Rodriguez. There is reason, therefore, to suppose, he adds, that, as the result of this deliberation, the Company dispatched one of its officers to study the resources of this island, and report if it was fit for an establishment to be formed there. The report, forwarded four years later, appears to correspond perfectly with the questions of this order for inquiry. The anonymous author of the following *Relation* gives all the necessary information for facilitating a disembarcation; he details all the islets and reefs, and then reviews the animal and vegetable productions, not forgetting the examination of the soil and its arable qualities.

M. Milne-Edwards states that the report is evidently the work of a practical marine surveyor, but not of a literary man, acquainted with the rules of orthography. M. Edwards has not published that portion of the report dealing with sailing directions and economic questions, confining himself solely to the descriptive parts relating to the fauna and flora of the island; moreover, he has corrected the grammatical faults in the original manuscript.

RELATION DE L'ILE RODRIGUE.<sup>2</sup>

There is so great a quantity of fish within the reefs and about them, that if a morsel of food is thrown into the sea, at once some thirty fishes appear, and immediately swallow it up. There are all sorts, of which I proceed to give the names of a few known to me.

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<sup>1</sup> It may be recollected that Leguat did not die until 1735. *Vide ante.*

<sup>2</sup> *Nouveaux Documents sur l'Epoque de la Disparition de la Faune ancienne de l'île Rodrigue*, par M. Alph. Milne-Edwards, in the *Annales des Sciences Naturelles, Zoologie et Paléontologie*, 6me Série, tome ii, p. 133 et seq., 1875.

The shark,<sup>1</sup> among others, is of a prodigious size, and there are some up to twelve feet in length. There are a quantity of small ones of different sizes, which are so hungry, that if a man had the misfortune to fall into the water, they would tear him with their teeth ; a proof of which is, that the day following our disembarkation, when proceeding to take soundings, they snatched the oars from the rowers, and gave us a good deal of trouble. We experienced suchlike during all the time we remained in the island.

There is a fish of a size nearly equal to that of the shark, and of the same form, which they call at Bourbon *Endormi*,<sup>2</sup> an appropriate name, for it sleeps in the water. If they wish to capture it they pass a rope around the tail, and haul it on shore ; when it awakes, and does not attempt to bite, but tries to escape. The skin is very like shagreen, and of the same colour as that of the shark.

The *Carangue*<sup>3</sup> there is excellent ; the largest I have seen was three feet and a half in length. The *Carangues* pursue the other small fish which fly to escape them, and fall afterwards into the jaws of the sharks, who show them no more mercy than the former.

The *Mullets*<sup>4</sup> are in quantity ; the largest that I have seen are of two feet and a-half in length. There are many *Rays*,<sup>5</sup> and numbers of some fish they call *Capitane*.<sup>6</sup> I have taken a fish of the shape of a Lamprey, having the mouth of a serpent, with teeth very sharp ; I did not think it prudent to eat it, not knowing it at all. (*Vide ante*, p. 174.)

The *Rougets*<sup>7</sup> are common, besides numerous other fish whose

<sup>1</sup> *Le Requin*. *Carcharodon* sp. *Carcharias*. *Vide ante*, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Basking Shark, *Cetorhinus*.

<sup>3</sup> Cobbler, or Cordonnier Horse-mackerel, *Caranx* sp. A species of *Hymnis* is also called *Carangue*.

<sup>4</sup> *Mugil* sp. *Mugil axillaris*, etc. The *Mulet voleur* of the Créoles is the best for eating of the mullets.

<sup>5</sup> *Raia* sp.

<sup>6</sup> Capitaine = *Pentapus duz*.

<sup>7</sup> Rougette = *Serranus*. Cardinal = *Priacanthus*.



names I do not know. The Lamantins<sup>1</sup> are abundant, especially at the time they are breeding. I have seen thirty or forty in a herd grazing on the weed, in two or three feet of water. They are from fifteen to eighteen feet long. The females suckle their little ones in the same fashion as a woman; I have only seen them nurse one at a time. They have two kinds of paws or hands, with which they hold their little ones; they have not fins; their tail is large and horizontal when the Lamantin is on its belly. The skin is hard, and nearly an inch thick. The flesh tastes something like that of veal, and the fat is firmer than that of pork.

The sea-turtle<sup>2</sup> is in such great abundance that a quantity of them is found stranded on the reefs when the tide is low, and not at all seasons. It is at the time of their laying and of their *cavelage* (calfatage?), that is, of the coupling of these animals, which remain in this manner for nine days; afterwards their eggs develop; but I have not been able to know how many they bear, whatever trouble I have taken. I have only remarked that two or three days before laying, they come to taste the sand, and if they find it good and properly warmed, they come to lay; in this fashion, they dig a hole in the sand where the sea does not reach, about three feet, and there put their eggs, from which, at the end of thirty-one days, issue all the little turtles by the same hole. I have remarked an extraordinary circumstance, which is, that if these little animals are placed at half a league from the sea they always find it; and immediately they reach it, unless they are careful to hide themselves under some rocks, the fish, especially the sharks, destroy many of them. The sea-turtles are caught easily by the hand, and without any instrument, or even a boat; they watch for them the night they come to lay; when they turn them on their back, they remain there. I have seen sea-turtles which laid upwards of 2,000 eggs.

There are crabs of five or six species.<sup>3</sup> I have not seen either lobsters or prawns, whatever pains I have taken.

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide ante*, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide ante*, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide ante*, p. 93.

The islet which we have named (*l'île aux Fols*) Booby Island,<sup>1</sup> is a rock, with its summit pointed, something like a cone of iron, without soil or grass; it may be about a quarter of a league in circumference. This rock is covered with birds, which are called Fols,<sup>2</sup> and which lay three times in the year; these creatures are of the size of a young pigeon; they kill them with stones and sticks. They do not lay from the month of January until April. Their eggs are of the size of those of a hen, and are very good to eat, and even served us as soap for washing.

Diamond Island<sup>3</sup> (*l'île aux Diamants*), which is to the south of the preceding, is almost of the same form, of the same size, and of the same material; there are also (Fols) boobies upon it, who live on fish. There are no land turtle on these two islets.

The two (*îles de sable*) sandy islands,<sup>4</sup> which are to the north-west of the island, are covered during severe hurricanes (*grands coups de vent*), excepting the larger, which is most to the west, which is full of (*Chiendent*) short grass, as well as Shearwaters (*Fouquets*). There are no land-tortoises, either on one or the

<sup>1</sup> Booby Island, a conical mass of basalt rock fifty feet high, forms one of the marks for vessels entering and leaving Mathurin Bay; it is one mile inside the reef bordering Mathurin Bay. (*Vide* Chart, p. 49; cf. Finlay, *l. c.*, pp. 515, 516.)

<sup>2</sup> *Fols*. "These birds", says M. Milne-Edwards, "are evidently not boobies (*Fous*), but probably belong to a species named *Pterodroma aterrima* (Verreaux), which to this day frequent the coasts of the Mascarene Islands." (*Vide ante*, 82, 178.)

<sup>3</sup> Diamond Island, a similar basaltic rock, is a little more than a mile south of Booby Island, at a cable's length from the headland, west of *Baie aux Huitres*, and forms a conspicuous sea-mark fifty feet in height.

<sup>4</sup> Sandy Island, only fifteen feet, opposite the opening in the reef, *Passé Demie*, and Cocoa Island, south of it, are mere sand-kays, near the western edge of the encircling reef, nearly two miles west of *Pte. de la Pouce*. The name Cocoa Island seems to indicate that cocoa-nut trees have grown there, and the *Chiendent* growing on it is a species of herb, *Cynodon Dactylon*. A low scrub grows on both islands now (*ibid.*, p. 514). The *Ile de Fouquets*, here mentioned, must not be confounded with Booby Island, which is bare rock, but refers to the islet, to the south-east, hereafter mentioned as the *Isle aux Fols et Fouquets*, near *Passé Platte* (cf. Balfour, *l. c.*, p. 365).



other of these two islands. Frigate Island<sup>1</sup> (*l'île Frégates*) must be nearly a mile in circuit (*un bon tiers de lieue*). There are some trees upon it, which grow, so to speak, in the rock, there being but very little soil. There are some tortoises on it, and it is full of frigates, which lay there twice in the year, and it is the only place where they lay. These frigates are all so lazy, that they perch by day on the trees,<sup>2</sup> at the edge of the sea, awaiting the other birds who go to fish. They make them disgorge; after an ineffectual resistance, they are constrained to vomit the fish which are in their gullets when the frigate devours it before it reaches the water. But when the largest of these birds are four or five together, the frigates, however strong and agile they may be, do not attack them, and thus they can feed their little ones who wait for them above. The males of the frigates have beneath the throat a red skin, which, when they are breeding, is swollen, and becomes round and as large as a chopine bottle, and red as scarlet, and at other times this skin is quite flat.

The little islet<sup>3</sup> which is to the N.N.E. of Frigate Island is a rock without soil on it, on which there are some shearwaters. There are some land-tortoises, but very few, because the islet is not large.

The little islet<sup>3</sup> which is to the E. of *Pte. du Palmier* is a rock where there are some Fouquets. *L'île Désirée*<sup>4</sup> may have nearly a twelfth of a league in circuit [in copy: *près d'une douzaine de lieues de tour*; this is impossible: the writer must have meant *près d'un douzième de lieue de tour*]. There is little wood upon it, and tortoises are found there, as well as upon the sister islet, and they are of some elevation.

<sup>1</sup> Frigate Island is of basaltic rock, 120 ft. high. The Frigate, according to M. Edwards, is *Tachypetes minor*.

<sup>2</sup> Mapou trees (*vide* Balfour, *l.c.*, p. 365).

<sup>3</sup> The little islet to the N.N.W. of Frigate Island must be Catharine Island, 75 ft. high, and the little islet to the W. of Lascar Bay is, apparently, Marianne I.

<sup>4</sup> *L'île Désirée* is the sister islet (*camarade*) of Frigate I., and about half its size.



The great island<sup>1</sup> is, perhaps, about a league-and-a-half in circuit, with very little soil ; there are, nevertheless, some trees on it, almost as fine as those on the main island. There is no water on it in the dry season, nor is there upon the others. It is high in the middle, and its two ends are flat. There is no lack of land-tortoises there.

The seven islets,<sup>2</sup> which are to the south of the main island, are all small and flat, the largest having only a quarter-of-a-league in circumference. Upon the largest there are some tortoises and some small shrubs without water, and they are formed of sharp pointed coral fragments.

Mast Island (*l'île au Mât*),<sup>3</sup> thus called because we found there a top-mast, fifty feet long, which was of pine, and which had never been fitted. This islet is at least a league in circumference, with a little scrub upon it, as well as tortoises, but without water, because it is quite flat, and is almost wholly composed of limestone. It is also full of (*Fols* and *Fouquets*) Noddies and Shearwaters.

Noddy and Shearwater Island (*l'île aux Fols et Fouquets*)<sup>4</sup> is one league in circuit ; it is flat, and composed of limestone ; there are some shrubs upon it. The Noddies and Shearwaters are here in great quantity, as also (*Equerets*) Terns.<sup>5</sup> It is covered with the eggs of these birds.

<sup>1</sup> The *grande île* is now known as Crab Island, which rises, in its centre, 120 ft. west of Coral Point. All these islets are near the main island to the S.W.

<sup>2</sup> The seven small islets include those named Pianqui I. and Misel I., and various small uncovered rocks south of the former. The largest would be Pianqui.

<sup>3</sup> *L'île au Mât*, now marked on the chart as Gombrani Island, perhaps meant at one time as Gouvernail I. This is the longest of all the islets, and now has some huts on it ; at the southern end it rises about twenty feet.

<sup>4</sup> *L'île aux Fols et Fouquets*, now known as Pierrot I., a broader islet than Gombrani, of the same altitude, and with some fishermen's huts thereon, with coco palms. Its modern name, Sparrow I., denotes that small birds frequent it.

<sup>5</sup> *Equerets*, probably *Onychoprion anasthætus*, Edwards ; *vide infra*.

Flat Island (*l'île Plate*),<sup>1</sup> which is to the south of the last ; there is nothing on it, and it is also of limestone and very small. There are meanwhile some small birds which live on fish.

Rocky Island (*l'île de Roche*)<sup>2</sup> is thus named because there is no soil upon it ; there are, nevertheless, some shrubs which grow on the rocks ; there are some tortoises also, as well as sea-fowl (*oiseaux pêcheurs*) ; it is slightly elevated, and may be a quarter-of-a-league round.

Of the birds which live on fish there are thirteen sorts, to wit :

The Frigate,<sup>3</sup> which, when it goes to fish, which does not often happen, goes to a great distance, 20, 25, 30 leagues away.

The Ox-birds (*Bœufs*)<sup>4</sup> are of the size of a large capon ; their plumage is all white, excepting some feathers of the wings and tail, which are black ; it has a beak about five inches in length, and which comes to a point at the end, and within it is like a saw. They call it *Bœuf* because it cries like an ox ; it often makes a noise with its wings in flying, that one would say it was a hurricane if he continued it as he is passing. They lay generally on the branches of trees, where they make their nests, and the male and the female sit on the egg in turn—for they only produce one egg—while one or the other goes to fish.

<sup>1</sup> South of Pierrot I. lies Flat Island, at the entrance of *Passe Platte*, one of the several narrow openings in the edge of the reef, which are used by fishermen to get to the deep water fishing-grounds. Cotton, *Gossypium barbadense*, introduced from the wreck of an American ship, now almost covers this islet ; also Balfour mentions *Stenotaphrum sublatum* as only growing on Gombrani and Pierrot Islands. *Zoysia pungens* is also noticed as common on the sandy and coral islets on the reef . . . (*l. c.*, p. 384). Such plants also as *Suriana maritima*, *Pemphis acidula*, *Oldenlandia Sieberi*, *Tournefortia argentic*, *Ipomœa fragrans*, *I. leucantha*, *Lycium tenue*, *Myoporum Mauritanium*, specially occur.

<sup>2</sup> *L'île de Roche*, now called Hermitage Island, described by Finlay as small and rocky, stands in the centre of the harbour of Port South-East. The highest point of the south end is 80 ft. high, and one of the Transit stations was established on the north part of it.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 325.

<sup>4</sup> This bird, writes Milne-Edwards, is probably a *Fou* (booby), perhaps the *Sula Capensis*. There is a sandpiper called Ox-bird.



The *Tra-tra* (Booby),<sup>1</sup> so called because it always cries thus, is a bird which is not so large as the *Bœuf*, and has a beak approaching that of the *Bœuf*; it is of grey colour, a little white under the belly. It roosts and makes its nests in the trees, and sits in turn; but it is in greater numbers than the *Bœufs*. When they are small they are all white, and the beak all black; and when they are full-grown, they are grey and the beak greenish. The Frigate does not approach them when they are settled on the ground, or on the trees, or in the water, when they defend themselves; and when they are refreshed, they take their flight to go to the spot where their nest is, and scarcely ever make a mistake when they arrive. One sees them come in prodigious numbers, from four o'clock in the evening until night.

The Noddy (*Fol*)<sup>2</sup> is, as I have said, of the size of a small pigeon; it goes to fish at two leagues distance at the farthest.

The Shearwater is of the same colour as the Noddy, but a little larger, and has the beak longer and hooked, like the Frigate. It does not go far to fish, and generally does not go except at night. There are some who affirm that it cannot fly because the light dazzles its sight. I have, indeed, seen them by day fly about without taking their direct way. They are in the holes of the rocks, and they cry like small infants. At night, when they go to fish, I have knocked over many on shore in this manner; when they come out of their hole, and one hears them cry, he must have a dry branch of palm and all of a sudden set alight to it, and when they see the light they tumble on the ground; on the other hand, if they do not see it they continue their way.

There are Hill-shearwaters (*Fouquets de montagne*),<sup>3</sup> but very few; I have only seen them flying, therefore I cannot speak particularly of them; they nest in the holes in the ground and on the top of the mountain.

The Terns (*Mauvettes*) are in small numbers, and do not go to

<sup>1</sup> *Tra-tra*, perhaps the *Sula piscator*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the *Anous stolidus*; *vide supra*.

<sup>3</sup> These birds are probably another species of shearwater.



fish at more than a league away. I have not been able to discover where they lay their eggs.

There are many Boatswain birds (*Paille-en-queue*)<sup>1</sup> which are all white, and others of white red. The Boatswain-birds nest ordinarily in the holes of the cliff or in the hollow trees which abound, especially the Benjoin.<sup>2</sup>

There are some Curlew (*Corlieux*),<sup>3</sup> which fish along the shore and at low tide on the reefs, where there remain some pools of water and small fishes. I have not killed any of them, because they do not let one approach them ; on the contrary, when they see people they take their flight, uttering cries.

There are also some birds which they call in France *Equerets*.<sup>4</sup> They are of the size of a pigeon ; beneath the belly it is white as well as under their wings ; the back is black, and the coverts of their wings the same ; the beak, two or three inches long, is pointed. They are on the islets which are to the south of the main island, and there lay their eggs.

There is another small bird,<sup>5</sup> which is of the size of a hoopoe, which is quite white, and the back black. They are also on the islets to the south of the island ; they are but few in number.

The bird which we have named *Sentinelle*<sup>6</sup> : it is one in fact, for directly it perceives any one approach, it takes to flight, crying without cessation. It is not possible to approach nearer than sixty paces. It fishes on the bank of the streams and marshes ; it is of dark colour mingled with light grey ; it is a little larger than a hoopoe, and is not in great numbers.

<sup>1</sup> *Phaeton phoenicurus* et *Phaeton flavirostris*.

<sup>2</sup> *Bois charron*, Terminalia Benzoin, an endemic Mascarene species, occurs abundantly. (Balfour, *l. c.*, p. 340.) Balfour, writing of the *Nyctaginaceæ*, describes the *Bois mapou* as a tree very abundant on a small ledge of coralline limestone, on the west side of Frigate Island, where it is the favourite nesting-place of the *Fou* (*l. c.*, p. 365 ; *vide supra*, p. 325).

<sup>3</sup> Curlew. Courlis, *Numenius phæopus* (*Scolopax phæopus*, Linn.).

<sup>4</sup> *Equerets*, or *Querets*, possibly the *Ferrets* mentioned by Leguat. Probably, says Milne-Edwards, *l'Onychoprion anasthetus*.

<sup>5</sup> *Gygis candida*, Wagl.

<sup>6</sup> *Sentinelle*, a species of Heron ; *Butorides atricapilla*, perhaps.

There are some sea-larks (*Alouettes de mer*),<sup>1</sup> but very few.

The eggs of all these birds are very good to eat, as also their flesh, but it has an oily taste.

The land-tortoise is very abundant. It is not very fat, owing to the great number of them and the dearth of grass; it eats leaves and the fruit of the trees, which the wind causes to drop on the ground. There are tortoises of three species, and the largest which I have seen are from three feet to three feet eight inches in length of shell. They are not so common in the heights as in the ravines, on account of the dearth of water in dry seasons.

The island is, as I have said, mountainous on the east side and in the middle; but on the west side it is flat. The mountains are intersected by valleys and ravines, which have a winding course of a league within the mountains, and which widen towards the sea-coast, on which account the fresh water, in the dry seasons, is lost before reaching the lower end, and there is no water but above in the pools. There is very little cultivable soil; all the ravines which are around the island share in it, some more, others less; and of almost all these recesses, there are scarcely any but are inundated by fresh water, and sea water in the hurricane season. It would be possible, however, to prescribe limits to the sea and prevent it coming within these localities with a little trouble. The most considerable of these valleys, in the first place, is half-a-league to the west of the Pointe du Sel, which has perhaps about fifty *toises* in area. The soil in this locality is about five feet in depth.

The large valley has, perhaps, about thirty to forty square *toises* of good soil; the sea comes up very far in high tides, gales, and hurricanes.

The habitations of François Leguat<sup>2</sup> may have about forty *toises* square. I speak of square, although the ground is not so; it is only the estimate that I make. Quite close to the settlements which I have just named is a flat piece of land to the south of a sandbank, which is near the settlements.

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*Alouette de mer*, a term applied to all small sea sandpiper or plover, so called.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide supra*, pp. 50, 64.

[Here follow details on the localities where cultivable ground exists.]

Large timber is not common in Rodrigue island, for the finest are not more than fifty feet high, and most of them are not straight. I here give their names as they are called in Bourbon, and commence with those which are in the greatest number, to wit:—

*Bois rouge*,<sup>1</sup> which is very large, but it is not high, and bearing branches fit to make ships' timbers (*membres de vaisseaux*, perhaps *membrures*?).

*Bois puant*<sup>2</sup> is neither large nor high, but throws out its branches below; then, growing upward, it forms an agreeable shade. This is the wood most fit for making the ribs of ships. I have seen one of these trees cover with its branches nearly sixty paces of ground.

*Benjoin*<sup>3</sup> is in large numbers, and exudes gum like that of ile Bourbon. The largest which I have seen are from forty to fifty feet in length, and two fathoms and a half in circumference; but these are rare, considering that they are for the most part twisted, and rotten at the heart, whilst there are plenty of other small Benjoints, which grow even in the rocks.

There are numbers of trees which they call *Affouche*<sup>4</sup> (*Affourché*?). These have no trunk, and are full of strong branches: they have a gum, white as milk.

There is a large quantity of *Bois d'ébène*,<sup>5</sup> about thirty to forty feet high, and one fathom and a half in thickness (in circumference?).

There is a little *Bois de fer*<sup>6</sup>; it is neither high nor straight, and is not found everywhere.

<sup>1</sup> *Bois rouge*, probably the *Bois d'olive rouge* (*Elæodendron orientale*) (*Balfour*, p. 334.)

<sup>2</sup> *Bois puant*; the modern *bois puant*, is the *Fatidia mauritiana*. (*Balfour*, p. 341.)

<sup>3</sup> *Benjoin*. *Terminalia mauritiana*.

<sup>4</sup> *Affouche*. *La fouche rouge*, or *La fouche petite feuille*. *Ficus rubra*, var. *amblyphylla*. (*Balfour*, p. 368.)

<sup>5</sup> *Bois d'ébène*. *Diospyros diversifolia*. (*Balfour*, p. 355.)

<sup>6</sup> *Bois de fer*. *Eugenia cotinifolia*. (*Balfour*, p. 341.)



*Bois de senteur*<sup>1</sup> is here in small quantity.

*Bois de Neff*<sup>2</sup> is found in great numbers, and more commonly on the mountains than elsewhere; it is not large, and is all twisted.

A tree is found which they call, at Bourbon, *La Face de Judas*,<sup>3</sup> in small quantity.

The *Bois de Buis*<sup>4</sup> is common here, and very small; the parrots eat its seeds.

There is not much *Bois de pomme*,<sup>5</sup> and it is good for nothing.

There are some *Bois de Renette*,<sup>6</sup> which are small tufted shrubs, the highest of which may be four or five feet.

There are very few trees fit for building; some rafters of moderate-sized houses and some poles, and they are not very straight.

There are *Lataniers*<sup>7</sup> throughout the island, and more frequently in the valleys and in the ravines; there are three sorts.

The *Palmistes* are in greater quantity than any one of the other trees, as well as the *Lataniers*; both one and the other are everywhere.

There is another species of *Palmiste*, which they call at Bourbon *Palmiste-poison*.<sup>8</sup>

A quantity of small trees is found, which they call at Bourbon *Pins*,<sup>9</sup> with which they make mats and bags. These trees are in height about ten feet, and which form a round parasol (*par en haut*), which they seem to have shaped expressly, for one leaf does

<sup>1</sup> *Bois de sentier*. Modern *Bois senti*, *Scutia Commersonii*. (*Balfour*, p. 334.)

<sup>2</sup> *Bois de Neff*, or *Bois de Nefle*; *Labourdonnaisia revoluta*.

<sup>3</sup> *La face de Judas*. Professor Balfour cannot identify this tree.

<sup>4</sup> *Bois de Buis*. *Murraya exotica*, or, perhaps, *Bois de quivi*, *Quivisia laciniata*, now *Bois balais*. (*Balfour*, p. 333.)

<sup>5</sup> *Bois de pomme*, *Sideroxylon* sp., one of the Sapotacæ. (*Balfour*, p. 355.)

<sup>6</sup> *Bois de Renette*, *Bois de natte*. *Imbricaria maxima*.

<sup>7</sup> *Lataniers*. *Vide ante*, p. 62.

<sup>8</sup> *Palmistes*. *Vide ante*, p. 62. *Areca jaunatre* (*A. lutescens*) was considered poisonous at Bourbon.

<sup>9</sup> *Pins*, i.e., screw-pines. *Pandani* various. *Vide supra*, p. 103.

not go beyond another. One is able to shelter oneself beneath, the sun's rays not being able to penetrate below, so tufted are they, and their leaves so well arranged.

*Bois blanc et rouge*<sup>1</sup> are rare.

*Bois d'éponge*<sup>2</sup> is not altogether so rare as the preceding.

There are, besides, other trees and shrubs of which I know not the names.

There is found a little *Chiendent*,<sup>3</sup> and also *Capillaire*.

*Bois de demoiselle*<sup>4</sup> is rather rare. The small birds eat the seeds of it.

There is found a little of the *Bois de Lostan*,<sup>5</sup> which strongly resembles the *Bois de coudre*,<sup>6</sup> which is in France.

[This *Relation*, proceeds M. Milne-Edwards, enables me to determine that forty years after the departure of Leguat, the fauna of Rodriguez still included all the ornithological types, so interesting to science, described by that traveller, and that their extinction is posterior to that date. It gives us, as well, details of the manners, forms, and colours of several species whose existence I had ascertained, with their zoological affinities, from their bone remains alone, and it confirms the results at which I had arrived. It deals successively with the *Solitaires*, and the birds which I have made known under the names *Erythromachus Leguati*, *Ardea megacephala*, *Athene murivora*, and of *Necropsittacus rodericanus*.<sup>7</sup>]

#### LAND BIRDS.<sup>8</sup>

The Solitaire is a large bird, which weighs about forty or fifty pounds. They have a very big head, with a sort of frontlet, as if

<sup>1</sup> *Bois blanc, et rouge.*

<sup>2</sup> *Bois d'éponge.* *Gastonia cutispongia.* (*Balfour*, p. 344.)

<sup>3</sup> *Chiendent.* *Cynodon Dactylon.* *Capillaire.* *Adiantum Capillus Veneris.* (*Balfour*, pp. 384, 386.) *Vide supra*, p. 324.

<sup>4</sup> *Bois de demoiselle,* *Kirganelia virginea.* *Phyllanthus Casticus*, now called *castique.* (*Balfour*, p. 369.)

<sup>5</sup> *Bois de Losta.* *Nuxia verticillata.*

<sup>6</sup> *Coudrier,* the filbert or hazel.

<sup>7</sup> *Annales des Sciences Naturelles.*

<sup>8</sup> *Vide Translation and Comments of Professor Alfred Newton, F.R.S., in Proceedings of Zoological Society, 1875.*

of black velvet. Their feathers are neither feathers nor fur; they are of a light grey colour, with a little black on their backs. Strutting proudly about, either alone or in pairs, they preen their plumage or fur with their beak, and keep themselves very clean. They have their toes furnished with very hard scales, and run with quickness, mostly among the rocks, where a man, however agile, can hardly catch them. They have a very short beak, of about an inch in length, which is sharp. They, nevertheless, do not attempt to hurt anyone, except when they find some one before them, and, when hardly pressed, try to bite him. They have a small stump [*sicot, chicot* ?] of a wing, which has a sort of bullet at its extremity, and serves as a defence. They do not fly at all, having no feathers to their wings, but they flap them, and make a great noise with their wings when angry, and the noise is something like thunder in the distance. They only lay, as I am led to suppose, but once in the year, and only one egg. Not that I have seen their eggs, for I have not been able to discover where they lay. But I have never seen but one little one alone with them, and, if any one tried to approach it, they would bite him very severely. These birds live on seeds and leaves of trees, which they pick up on the ground. They have a gizzard larger than the fist, and what is surprising is that there is found in it a stone of the size of a hen's egg, of oval shape, a little flattened, although this animal cannot swallow anything larger than a small cherry-stone. I have eaten them; they are tolerably well tasted.

[Professor Newton remarks that between the time of Leguat and that of the writer the ill-fated bird seems to have learnt to resent injurious treatment by biting, and that the black velvet-like frontal band is a feature not mentioned by the older author.]

[Compare above with Cauche's account.]

#### GELINOTTE.

There is a sort of bird, of the size of a young hen, which has the feet and the beak red. Its beak is a little like that of the curlew, excepting that it is slightly thicker and not quite so long. Its plumage is spotted with white and grey. They generally feed



on the eggs of the land tortoises, which they find in the ground, which makes them so fat that they often have difficulty in running. They are very good to eat, and their fat is of a yellowish red, which is excellent for pains. They have small pinions, without feathers, on which account they cannot fly; but, on the other hand, they run very well. Their cry is a continual whistling. When they see any one who pursues them they produce another sort of noise, like that of a person who has the hiccup.

[From the similarity of coloration we may, I think (says Professor Newton), without much risk of error, identify the bird of which these particulars are given with the *Gelinotte* of Leguat, *Erythromachus Leguati* of Milne-Edwards, and proved by Sir Edward Newton to belong to the *Rallidæ*—a determination which possibly may explain its unexpected egg-eating propensities.]

There are not a few *Butors*, which are birds which only fly a very little, and run uncommonly well when they are chased. They are of the size of an egret, and something like them.

[These bitterns are, no doubt, the *Ardea megacephala* of M. Milne-Edwards, and the passage is a remarkable corroboration of that naturalist's opinion that the species was brevipennate, though it had not entirely lost the power of flight. (See p. 81.)—A. N.]

A little bird is found which is not very common, for it is not found on the mainland. One sees it on the *islet au Mât*, which is to the south of the main island, and I believe it keeps to that islet on account of the birds of prey which are on the mainland, as also to feed with more facility on the eggs of the fishing birds which feed there, for they feed on nothing else but eggs or some turtles dead of hunger, which they well know how to tear out of their shells. These birds are a little larger than a blackbird, and have white plumage, part of the wings and tail black, the beak yellow as well as the feet, and make a wonderful warbling. I say a warbling, since they have many and altogether different notes. We brought up some with cooked meat, cut up very small, which they eat in preference to seeds.

[I am at a loss to conjecture what these birds were, unless, possibly, of some form allied to *Fregilupus*.—A. N.]

## PARROTS AND SMALL BIRDS.

The parrots are of three kinds, and in numbers. The largest are larger than a pigeon, and have a tail very long, the head large as well as the beak. They mostly come on the islets which are to the south of the island, where they eat a small black seed, which produces a small shrub whose leaves have the smell of the orange tree, and come to the mainland to drink water. The second species is slightly smaller and more beautiful, because they have their plumage green like the preceding, a little more blue, and above the wings a little red as well as their beak. The third species is small and altogether green, and the beak black. [Of these three species of parrot, the first can, without danger be referred to the *Necropsittacus Rodericanus*, determined by M. Milne-Edwards from bones sent him by my brother (Sir E. Newton) [see p. 85], and doubtless quite extinct; the second is unquestionably *Palæornis exsul*, described by myself (see p. 84), which has lingered into our own times; and the third is the species of *Agapornis*, known still to exist in Rodriguez, and thought by my brother to be *A. cana*. (*Ibis*, 1865, p. 149.)<sup>1</sup>]

The doves there are in great numbers, but on the mainland very few are seen, because they go to feed on the islets to the south, as well as the parrots, and come to drink likewise on the mainland. A bird is seen which is very like the brown owl, and which eats the little birds and small lizards. They live almost always in the trees; and when they think the weather fine, they utter at night always the same cry. On the other hand, when they find the weather bad they are not heard.

[This is evidently the *Athene murivora* of Milne-Edwards.]

There are plenty of goldfinches, which have a sweet warbling. Some wagtails are to be seen, with some other small birds, which have very sweet notes, but they are ever on the look-out for the birds of prey, which are the owls of which I have before spoken.

[The goldfinches may well be referred to *Foudia Rodericana*,

<sup>1</sup> Professor A. Newton, in *Pr. Zool. Society*, l. c.; also *Ibis*, 1872, p. 33. *Vide post*, p. 337. *Ann. des Sc. Nat. Zool.*, Ser. 5, viii, pp. 145-56.



discovered by Mr. Newton (*vide infra*); and among the other little birds was probably included *Drymœca flavicans* (!).]

## PALÆORNIS EXSUL.

Professor Newton refers in the *Ibis*<sup>1</sup> to "the passage in Leguat's narrative (see *ante*, p. 53), where he mentions the consolation that traveller and his companions found in the abundance of Perroquets. In the first passage he records their predilection for the nuts of a tree somewhat like an olive; in the second (i, p. 84), he speaks of their being '*verts & bleus, sur tout de médiocre & d'égale grosseur*', and having flesh not less good than that of young Pigeons; in the third (p. 105), he states that some of them were instructed by his company, and that they took one, which spoke French and Flemish, with them to Mauritius.

"The second of the passages is so vague as to raise the question whether there were green parakeets and blue parakeets, or only parakeets possessing a combination of both colours, and the solution of the doubt would require the discrimination of keen judges. . . .

"Pingré, who was in Rodriguez in 1761, writes (p. 195): '*La perruche me semblait beaucoup plus délicat.*' [He had just been mentioning the esculent qualities of a species of *Pteropus*.] '*Je n'aurais regretté aucun gibier de France, si celui-ci eut été plus commun à Rodrigue: mais il commence à devenir rare. Il y a encore moins de perroquets quoiqu'il y en ait eu encore autrefois en assez grande quantité, selon Fr. Leguat, et en effet une petite isle au sud de Rodrigue a encore conservé le nom d'Isle aux perroquets.*' It would hence appear that there was a '*perruche*' and a '*perroquet*', though unfortunately Pingré does not say what either was like.

"In 1864 Mr. Edward Newton observed a flock, and obtained an example of what he believed to be *Agapornis cana* (*vide infra*), a species introduced, no doubt, since Leguat's time. In 1867 M. Edwards described a fragment of a parrot's *maxilla* found with

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<sup>1</sup> "On an Undescribed Bird from the Island of Rodriguez," by Alfred Newton, M.A., F.R.S. (*Ibis*, 1872, p. 31.)



the bones of the *Solitaire* (*vide infra*). The large size of this bird (*Psittacus rodericanus*?),<sup>1</sup> equally with the small size of the *Agapornis*, precludes either from being the 'perroquet' characterised by Leguat as of '*médiocre grosseur*', and again mentioned by Pingré.

In 1871 Mr. Newton received from Mr. Jenner, the magistrate of Rodriguez, an example of a 'parrot' preserved in spirit. . . . and Professor Newton, in full confidence that it had never been named or described, characterised it as *Palæornis*, thus:

" 'PALEORNIS EXSUL, *sp. n. Diagn. (fæminæ). P. mediocris griseiglaucus, vitta menti obscura nigra, remigibus externe caruleo lavatis, interne nigris. Hab. in insula Rodericana. . . .*'

"In the belief that in this glaucous bird we see one of the '*Perroquets verts & bleus*' of Leguat, I have chosen a name for it which may help to commemorate the first writer who seems to have observed it, and in bestowing upon it the appellation of *Palæornis exsul*, have had in my mind the exile through whose means we are in some degree acquainted with the marvellous original fauna of the island which was to him productive of so much happiness, as a prelude to so much misery."

To continue, however, the remarks of M. Milne-Edwards:—

"The *Relation* MS. distinctly indicates that the ornithological fauna of Rodriguez had not undergone any notable modification during the first part of the eighteenth century, since the species noticed by Leguat still existed in 1730. We know, on the other hand, that when the astronomer Pingré stayed in this island in 1761, the *Solitaires* there had become so rare that that savant only spoke of them from hearsay, not having observed any himself." M. Milne-Edwards adds, that "he (Pingré) gives no in-

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<sup>1</sup> "The perruche of Pingré may be set down as the species indicated by M. Milne-Edwards. The naturalists attached to the Transit Expedition having returned from Rodriguez without procuring a specimen of the cock bird of this species, although one was seen by Mr. Slater, which will be found to have a red bill and a red star patch, according to the manuscript *Relation de l'île Rodrigue*, already cited." A plate showing the characteristics of the hen bird was published by Professor Newton in the *Ibis* for July 1875, which is reproduced at page 85.

formation about the other land-birds. There is reason, then, for supposing that the extinction of these species, which probably commenced at the date of Leguat's stay, progressed with an ever-increasing rapidity, and attained its maximum between 1730 and 1760.

“The documents forwarded to the Minister of Marine leave no more doubt on this subject, and, thanks to them, not only can we, so to speak, assist at the destruction of one of the animals which was formerly in abundance at Rodriguez (I mean the terrestrial tortoises), but render as well a fair account of the causes for their disappearance. The causes which have led to their extinction are, in all probability, those which have also extirpated the birds.

“We see in the reports addressed to the *Compagnie des Indes*, and preserved in the archives of the Ministry of Marine, that the Island Rodriguez was considered as a sort of magazine of supplies, not only for the Isles of France and of Bourbon, but also for the ships which frequented these seas. They came regularly to find the tortoises. Already, in 1726 or 1727, M. Lenoir, during his visit to the Isle of France, wrote to the Council of the French East India Company :—

“‘It cannot be permitted that ships going to the Indies, and returning thence, should go without hindrance to despoil the neighbouring islets of the land-tortoises ; and it is necessary to prohibit captains from sending their boats to take them, unless the commandant of the island gives permission, and gives the number which they may take away.’<sup>1</sup>

“Butchers' meat is often scarce in the Isle of France, and we find that by degrees a regular service of supply from Rodriguez was organised. The different Governors frequently despatched ships which returned laden with tortoises, and which had no other destination. In 1737 M. de la Bourdonnais organised expeditions of this kind ; but he has not left an exact account of them, and we cannot judge of their importance. On the other hand,

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<sup>1</sup> Manuscript documents collected under the title of *Code of the Isle of France, 1556 à 1768.* (*Archives de la Marine.*)



M. Desforges-Boucher, in his reports addressed to the Company from 1759 to 1760, enumerates not only the ships employed in this service, but also the number of tortoises received and carried away by each of them. Four small vessels—*la Mignonne*, *l'Oiseau*, *le Volant*, and *la Pénélope*—were at this time almost universally employed for transporting tortoises, and an officer resided at Rodriguez for superintending them.”

M. Milne-Edwards had not space to reproduce at length<sup>1</sup> the reports of M. Desforges-Boucher, in which he speaks of these expeditions. It is sufficient for him to tell us that he has calculated, from the incomplete accounts of these importations, that M. Boucher exported from Rodriguez in less than eighteen months more than thirty thousand (30,000) land-tortoises. When we consider the small extent of this islet, it is not wonderful that these animals, formerly so plentiful, have completely disappeared ; in spite of their fecundity, they could not resist such means of destruction.

What M. Milne-Edwards states about the tortoises equally applies, he says, to the land-birds. “It is evident that the sailors were not sparing in following and killing them. These species, the capture of which was rendered easy by the small development of their wings, at the same time that the delicacy of their flesh made them sought for, tended to their speedy extinction. In order to explain their extirpation, it is not, then, necessary to invoke changes in the biological conditions. The action of man has amply sufficed ; it has been there exercised without hindrance, and with greater facility than anywhere else ; it continues on many other points of the globe, and at the present day one can foresee the period when many apterous birds and large cetaceans, and certain species of Phocæ and Otaries, will be extinguished by man.”

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<sup>1</sup> Some extracts from the reports are given in a note, an example of which will here suffice :—“1759, 16 Decbr., the *Penelope* arrives from Rodriguez with 1035 land tortoises and 47 turtles. The cargo was of 5,000 of the former and 50 of the latter ; but a passage of eight days reduced the number to the few which she brings.”



C.

NOTES FROM A MEMOIR ON THE ANCIENT FAUNA  
OF THE MASCARENE ISLANDS,<sup>1</sup>

BY M. A. MILNE-EDWARDS.

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M. MILNE-EDWARDS' remarks on the ancient fauna of Rodriguez are so important, as confirming and illustrating Leguat's veracity and exactitude, that they cannot well be omitted. He writes:—

“The Island of Rodriguez, although inhabited at the time when Leguat lived there, seemed, from his accounts, to have a rich vegetation and a varied fauna, whereas to-day the animals there are almost entirely wanting, and its products hardly suffice for the need of a small number of negroes whom the traders of Mauritius keep there for their fishing operations. A change so completely effected in less than two centuries appeared improbable, and the veracity of Leguat was doubted.

“Nevertheless, the assertions of this naturalist deserve to be received with confidence; for the remains belonging to some extinct species, and discovered a few years ago in the cave earths of the island, must be considered as so many irrefutable witnesses of the exactitude of his observations.

“The interesting investigations of MM. Strickland and Melville, in 1848, and next of Messieurs Newton on the bird, which Leguat called the *Solitaire*, initiated the scientific rehabilitation of this traveller, and in a memoir published some years since I have shown that conformably to his assertions there has formerly existed at Rodriguez some great parrots, of which the species at the present day exists neither in this island nor on any other point of the globe. . . .

“The diggings carried out under the direction of Mr. Edward Newton have brought to light many other analogous remains, and from their examination I am enabled to declare that besides the *Solitaires* and the great parrots, of which I have just spoken, there existed many other birds corresponding with the zoological

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<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Sc. Nat. Zool.*, Ser. 5, viii, pp. 145 *et seq.*

types which Leguat observed at Rodriguez in 1691, but which no longer exist in our days."

Among the bone and fragments found in the caves side by side with the remains of the Pezophaps or Solitaire, M. Milne-Edwards discovered "portions of the skeleton of a small fowl, somewhat resembling the wingless rail (*Ocydromi*) of New Zealand, and, like that bird, incapable of flying, of which the *metatarsus* more resembled that of *Aphanapteryx* of Mauritius than of *Tribonyx*.

"At the present day there does not exist at Rodriguez any bird having the least resemblance with the *Ocydromi*, or the other species of the same family; but all the osteological characters which I have just pointed out agree very well with the idea that can be formed of certain birds which inhabited this island in great numbers some two centuries ago, and which Leguat noticed under the name of *Gelinotes*.

"These were evidently not moor-hens, and they could not belong to this zoological group, for they had, according to Leguat, their beak long and straight and pointed, something like that of the *Ocydromi*, and, like those rails, they were hardly able to fly; a peculiarity which is not observable with any other bird whose beak is shaped in this form. They also resembled the *Ocydromus* by a physiological singularity. 'If you offer them anything that is red, they are so angry that they will fly at you to catch it out of your hand, and in the heat of the combat we had an opportunity to take them with care.' (*Vide ante*, p. 81.)

"Now, I have observed the same instinct with the *Ocydromi* of the menagerie at the Museum of Natural History, and an English traveller, who has lived a long time in New Zealand, Mr. Strange, informs us that the best manner of catching these rails is to place oneself right in their sight, holding in the hand a piece of red stuff; for as soon as they perceive it, they throw themselves upon it, and allow themselves to be killed rather than be driven from the object which excites their anger. I should add that this instinct has been established and utilised in the same manner with the *Aphanapteryx*, which bird towards the end of the 17th century was living in Mauritius, but the species of which has nowadays disappeared.



"It seems to me, therefore, very probable that the rail whose bones are yet found at Rodriguez is the same bird as that which Leguat designated under the name of *Gelinote*; and as its anatomical characters do not allow of classifying it in any of the genera formerly established, I shall denote it under the name of *Erythromachus*, in order to record one of its peculiar manners noticed by this traveller. The description which Leguat gives tells us also that *Erythromachus* had a grey plumage for both sexes, and a red border around the eye.

"The different bones which we have been able to study indicate to us the relative proportions of the principal parts of the body, and, thanks to the description of Leguat, we can fill in the gaps which palæontological science alone finds wanting, and thus characterise the bird of Rodriguez:

"Family, of *Ocydromidæ*; Genus, *Erythromachus*; sp. *Erythromachus Leguati*. . . . This bird ought to feed on worms, insects, and molluscs.

"The difference of beak prevents *Erythromachus* being placed in the same genus as *Aphanapteryx*, as well as the height of its feet. From other considerations the vague genus, *Aptornis*, advocated by M. de Selys-Longchamps, cannot be adopted."

*Butors or Herons*.—"The fossil remains submitted to my examination," writes M. Milne-Edwards, "by Professor A. Newton, enable me to determine also that the family of Herons, at the present day unknown at Rodriguez, was formerly represented by a singular species with a large head, massive beak, and short feet: I have been able, almost entirely, to reconstruct the skeleton of this wader, and I do not doubt that this bird was that which Leguat mentions under the name of *Butor*." (*Vide ante*, p. 210.) "This bird is not a veritable *Butor*; but its head is so large and its feet so short that one understands how Leguat had referred it to this species. . . .

"The fossil skull of this Rodriguez bird presents the characteristics of the Herons, but it is distinguished, by its massive appearance, from all the other known species.

"This new species has been named *Ardea megacephala*.

"A fresh proof of the veracity of Leguat, and of the considerable



change which has taken place in the avifauna of Rodriguez in the course of only two centuries, has been furnished by the bones of some nocturnal birds, whose existence I have determined. At the present time no bird of prey is known in this locality; but when Leguat resided there, the nocturnal rapacious birds were in sufficiently great numbers to assist actively in the destruction of the rats with which the island was infested. (See p. 212.)

“Mr. E. Newton has recovered in the caves of Rodriguez some bones, by whose help we can describe the size and affinities of these Strigides. These bones belong to two species; one of these, sufficiently characterised by a tibia and metatarsus, appears to me to belong to the genus sparrow-owl, or *Athene*. The bones do not quite correspond with those of *Athene superciliaris* of Madagascar (Vieillot), or *A. Polleni* (Schlegel), or *Ninox madagascariensis*. This owl probably constitutes a new species (it is possible it yet survives at Rodriguez?), and I propose to give it the name of *Strix (Athene) murivora*.

“Another species, less well characterised . . ., I am disposed to consider as approaching the Eagle Owls (Grands Ducs).

“The other terrestrial birds of which Leguat makes mention as living at Rodriguez are: Pigeons, parrots, and a unique species of the group of sparrows. If the pigeons have not entirely disappeared from this island, they have become extremely rare, for Mr. Newton, in spite of his investigation, has not been able to see a single individual of them; but their former existence is demonstrated by the bone fragments which have been found associated with those of the Solitaire *Erythromachus*, the herons and the owls, of which I have just spoken. These remains permit me to declare that, formerly, there were two species of pigeons. One is evidently *Turtur picturatus*, which at present inhabits Madagascar and Mauritius, and it is probably to this which the passage of Leguat refers, where this traveller says: ‘the Pigeons here are somewhat less than ours, etc. . . .’ (Vide ante, p. 82.)

The second species of Pigeon has not been recorded by Leguat; but, from the study of a *sternum* in good preservation, M. Milne-Edwards finds it was different from *Turtur*, *Vinago*, and *Erythræna*. It belongs to a species of small size, hardly larger than *Colomba*

*tympanistria*, but evidently far better formed for flight. He has named it *Columba rodericana*.<sup>1</sup>

*Parrots*.—"The parrots observed by Leguat," writes M. A. Milne-Edwards, "were of moderate size; their plumage was green and blue. They were very abundant, and the flesh of the young ones had an agreeable taste. I have been able to see, according to the manuscripts of Pingré, preserved in the library of Saint Geneviève, that, in 1761, the date when that astronomer visited the Island of Rodriguez to observe the passage of Venus, these birds had commenced to become rare. Nevertheless, they do not seem to have entirely disappeared, for lately M. Newton has succeeded in procuring a parrot which, in all probability, is a representative of the species observed by Leguat, for very many bones found in the caverns of the island evidently correspond with it.

"This bird, quite distinct from all existing Psittacians, has been described by M. Newton under the name of *Palæornis exsul*.

"The same ornithologist has ascertained that the *Agapornis cana*, a small parroquet common to Madagascar and Mauritius, inhabits at the present moment Rodriguez, but the colonists assert that it is of foreign origin, and add that it had been brought by an American ship coming from Madagascar. As to the fossil great parrot of Rodriguez, which I have already made known under the name of *Psittacus rodericanus*,<sup>2</sup> it cannot be connected either

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<sup>1</sup> Professor Newton described, in 1879, three skins of the *Alectorænas nitidissima*, the extinct pigeon of Mauritius (the *Pigeon Hollandais* of Sonnerat, so called from its colours—red, blue, and white), which remain in the museums at Paris, Port Louis, and Edinburgh. He says: "Allied to this are three species which still survive, and are natives of Madagascar, the Comoros, and the Seychelles. . . . It is possible that Rodriguez once possessed another member of the group, the *Columba rodericana* of M. A. Milne-Edwards; but we have not received sufficient remains of that species (which is certainly extinct) to decide the point, and the older voyagers give us no help here, as they do in many other cases." (*Pro. Zool. Soc.*, 1879, p. 2.)

<sup>2</sup> *Psittacus rodericanus*.—Among the bones extracted from the recent earthy deposits of the caves in Rodriguez (1864) was found the fragment of a mandible, which was submitted by Sir Ed. Newton to Pro-



with *Agapornis cana* or *Palæornis exsul*, and furnishes one proof the more of the changes wrought in the fauna of this island."

*Small Birds.*—"It is difficult to know if the little birds which Leguat compares (p. 84) to the canaries still live at Rodriguez. Mr. E. Newton has only met with two sparrows in this island, which, although much resembling the Malagasy species, differ sufficiently from them to be inscribed in our catalogues under separate names. One of these species or particular races is a *Foudia* (*F. flavicans*), the other a *Drymæca* (*D. rodericana*), and they are both remarkable for a most pleasing song. Indeed, Leguat states positively that the little birds of his island do not sing. It seems to me, then, probable that there was not either *Foudia flavicans* or *Drymæca rodericana*. The introduction of these birds must be of recent date, and I am inclined to think that the sparrows observed by Leguat have undergone the same fate as the *Solitaires* and *Erythromachi*."

*Guinea-Fowls.*—"The guinea-fowls did not exist in Rodriguez at the time when Leguat made known to us with such exactitude the productions of that island; but since, these birds have been introduced there, and now they live there in a wild state. Thus Colonel Dawkins reports that he found only parrots and a guinea-fowl. But we are ignorant to what species this last bird belonged. However, the bones discovered by Mr. Newton permit me to solve this problem; and I am disposed to believe that it is the *Numida mitrata* of Central Africa, and not *Numida tiarata*, which now lives in Rodriguez."

*Flying Foxes.*—"In order to finish with what is relative to terrestrial animals whose remains have been found in the caverns of

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fessor Alph. Milne-Edwards. This naturalist easily recognised, at first glance, that this fragment belonged to a parrot, a genus of birds which appeared no longer to exist in Rodriguez. The anterior and middle portions of the upper mandible sufficed for the determination of the characteristic type. From the difference of conformation, M. Milne-Edwards concluded that it was extremely probable that this parrot of Rodriguez, or *Psittacus rodericanus*, like that of Mauritius, was allied to the Loris, and has become extinct. (Vide *Memoir on a Fossil Psittacian of the Island of Rodriguez*, by M. Alph. Milne-Edwards, Paris, 1866.)



Rodriguez, I ought to mention some bones of mammals. I have recognised the domestic cat, a very young pig, a rat (not the brown rat, but the *Mus Alexandrinus*), and numerous (*roussettes*) flying foxes.

“Leguat speaks of them (*vide ante*, p. 85).

“Pingré, who touched at Rodriguez in 1761 on his voyage for the observation of the transit of Venus has given some details of these animals: ‘The bats,’ he wrote, ‘are placed by naturalists among the quadrupeds; those which I have seen at Rodriguez were of the size of a pigeon, but longer. The head resembles somewhat that of a fox. The coat is reddish brown (*roux*), darker on the head and neck than on the rest of the body. The wings are of a dark grey colour; extended or stretched out, they perhaps have from a foot to a foot-and-a-half in length. These bats otherwise resemble our European bats; they are very fat.’

“These animals still live in Rodriguez. They are not *Pteropus Edwardsii* of Madagascar, which is much larger, or *Pteropus vulgaris* of Mauritius, whose remains are found with the Dodo, and is also much larger. The flying fox of Rodriguez is a smaller animal, probably *Pteropus rubricollis*.”

*Sea Fowl*.—“The sea-birds which frequent the coasts of Rodriguez are the same which have been there during the last two centuries. We see, as in the time of Leguat, the Frigates, the Boobies, the Boatswains, and the Petrels. The collection of Mr. E. Newton includes a considerable number of the bones of the Boatswain bird (*Paille-en-queue*), *Phaeton candidus*.

“Leguat describes with great exactitude these birds (*vide ante*, p. 83).

“Mingled with the bones of the Phaetons are found numerous remains of (*Procellaria*) Petrel, and some bones of a Shearwater, probably not different to *Puffinus aterrimus*.

“Only one fragment of the humerus of a Frigate and a Gannet (*Sula piscator*). These birds abound in these seas, and Leguat mentions them” (*ante*, p. 82).

*Extinction of Species*.—“It is by comparing the sedentary fauna,” writes M. Milne-Edwards, “such as it is at the present

day, with the species which are revealed by the bones dug out of the earth of the caves, and which Leguat observed, that it is possible to determine that, in less than two centuries, very considerable changes have taken place in the composition of this fauna, formerly so rich, and now so remarkably poor. The vegetation there has changed also its character, for the fine trees of which Leguat speaks have for the most part given place to brush-wood. But these modifications are not due either to a geological catastrophe or to special meteorological phenomena, for the climate has not varied. The local traditions attribute the destruction of the woods to great fires occasioned by human agency ; and it is also human influence, either direct or indirect, which seems to me to have brought about the extinction of the animal species which I have described.

“Leguat was one of the first who landed at Rodriguez ; the aboriginal animals were then multiplying in peace : they as yet had no enemies but the rats, whose introduction, due to sailors, was probably recent ; and the birds were so little shy that they let themselves be taken by the hand. Besides, the sailors of the ships which put in to Rodriguez did not fail always to hunt them down. In fact, the work of destruction commenced by the sailors, and by the rodents, which our ships carried everywhere, was completed, without doubt, when the Europeans established at Rodriguez a small colony of negro slaves, meagrely supplied.

“The climate of Rodriguez has not become unfavourable for the propagation of animal species, since the domestic fowls, the Guinea-fowls introduced by the colonists, breed well, and thrive even in a wild state.

“The disturbance due to the presence of man seems to have sufficed to cause the disappearance from the surface of the globe for the most part of the sedentary birds, to whom Rodriguez was probably the last refuge. Elsewhere man has been the cause, direct or indirect, of many other phenomena of the same order, and the influence which he has exercised upon the geographical distribution of animal species is more considerable than is generally supposed.

“I have already had occasion to state how the islands of



Mauritius, Réunion, and Rodriguez, at the date when our navigators first landed there, were in possession of a special fauna, very remarkable by the great wingless birds, unknown in the rest of the world, by gigantic tortoises, by saurians and many other terrestrial animals which could not have arrived there by sea, and which lived there in great numbers.

"This zoological population, so rich, so varied, does not seem as if it could have been born on lands of so restricted an extent; and considerations, on which I have already insisted, have led me to think that these islands must be considered as the remains of a continent whose inhabitants, before completely disappearing from the surface of the world, have found on the culminating points sunk almost to the level of the sea a last refuge.

"Indeed, from the general character of the aboriginal fauna of the Mascarene Islands we can be assured that these presumed lands never connected any of these stations either with Madagascar or Africa, or with India or Australia, for there is not seen any one of the animals deprived of wings which characterise the animal populations of these countries. The Malagasy fauna is altogether special, but it has, nevertheless, with the New Zealand fauna and that of the Antarctic region, certain points of resemblance, such as we need not hesitate to class among the southern fauna. It is, then, possible that formerly it might have extended more to the south, and we find ourselves brought to the idea of a great land formerly existing in the part of the Antarctic Ocean occupied at the present day by the immense banks of marine plants, which are designated under the common name of *Kelp*.

"In the present state of our knowledge, only most vague conjectures can be formed relating to the *ensemble* of the fauna of which the animal population of the Mascarene Islands affords us a specimen; but it is to be hoped that, when the travelled naturalists shall have explored the marshes, the caverns, and sedimentary deposits of the islands, Crozet, Kerguelen, St. Paul, and other points of the same region, they will discover there some fossil remains analogous to those found at Rodriguez or Mauritius, and that by the help of these remains it will be possible to recon-



struct more completely the extinct population of this region, and to estimate its relations with the New Zealand fauna, of which it is, perhaps, only a branch."

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MR. EDWARD NEWTON'S VISIT.<sup>1</sup>

MR. EDWARD NEWTON, after a short visit to Rodriguez, October 30, 1864, in H.M.S. *Rapid*, wrote:—"The country was covered with grass pretty well eaten down by cattle; here and there were scrubby trees—mostly the resinous *bois d'Olive*; a *Vacca* (*Pandanus* sp.), different, of course, from anything in Mauritius; and an acacia, very like *A. lebbek*. The island is very well depicted in Mr. Higgins' drawings,<sup>2</sup> engraved in *The Dodo and its Kindred* (Plates III and IV). It may be generally described as a long-backed range of hills, running from east to west, and sending out spurs to the sea-coast. The height in the centre may be from 1,000 to 1,500 feet.

"There is no forest, so far as I could learn; and the tradition is that it was destroyed by fire some forty or fifty years ago; but this story, I think, must be incorrect, as otherwise, in so short a time, there would surely be some traces of it left, whereas there are none. Moreover, I cannot find that Leguat speaks of it as being anything then beyond what it now is; and the place of his settlement, with the trees dotted about, as drawn, barring the *Solitaires*, just as it is now.

"I soon saw the 'yellow bird', which a negro who was with me called a '*zozo*' (*i.e.*, oiseau) '*du pays*', and declared at first to be the only bird in the island. He afterwards admitted the existence of a *Perruche*, but that, he said, was all." (The yellow bird was perfectly tame, and a distinct and well-marked species of *Foudia*, *F. flavicans*,<sup>3</sup> with a very pretty song not unlike that of the goldfinch.) "It is exceedingly numerous, and I saw a flock

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibis*, 1865, p. 166 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See photo-lithograph reproduction at p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *Pro. Zoo. Soc.*, 1865, p. 46 *et seq.*

of at least one hundred. . . . I shot two pair, and had them skinned. . . .

"Soon after I came upon a small flock of *Perruches*. This was to all appearance identical with the Madagascar species, *Agapornis cana*, and as the bird is said to have been introduced into Rodriguez, I have no doubt it is so.

"Going on to a hill where the negro said there were wild Guinea-fowl, I heard a melodious whistle. On my asking the Creole what the bird was, he said, 'Ca même zozo du pays avec le bec et le queue long-long.' I killed a specimen which I have little doubt is a new species (*Drymæca rodericana*). If my supposition (that it is one of the *Drymæcina*) is right, it will be satisfactory as affording another proof of the connection between the Mascarene Islands and India; and this will be the case should Rodriguez, the easternmost of them, be found to possess an Indian form which the more western members are without. . . .

"I saw, as I think, a Curlew (*Numenius arquatus*), and I had a shot at a Turnstone (*Streptilas interpres*.)

"On the 2nd November we went inside the reef to the cave on the south-west side of the island. Towards daylight we passed by some islets, from one of which proceeded a clamour like that of a distant crowd—produced, we were told, by the *Fouquets* (*Puffinus chlororhynchus*); and as the day dawned, I saw several Shearwaters. . . . From another islet harsher sounds were heard, and these were from the Boobies (*Sula piscator*), just waking up. I could see them sitting on the low bushes, while others were starting off for their day's fishing. . . .

"About six o'clock we landed, and at once walked up to the first cave, about a quarter of a mile inland. This part of the island appears to be quite flat, and one mass of rock. The cave was much the same as all other caves—plenty of stalactites and stalagmites; the width about fifty feet, the height from twenty to seventy feet, the floor nearly flat, and generally covered with a fine deep sand, perfectly dry. Near the entrance were a few crumbling pieces of land-tortoise shells, which fell to pieces on being picked up. . . . We then sailed back some three miles, and:—

"About eleven o'clock we started for another cave. We went



up a small rivulet with steep sides, the water in which was brackish and quite undrinkable by itself, and amid a grove of thick fan-palms. Here I saw the only forest trees I came across ; they were *bois d'olive*, and perhaps sixty or seventy feet high, and three or four in circumference at six feet from the ground. I picked up a shell or two of a land-tortoise and two bones. . . ."

Mr. Newton heard of a *Serin*, a *Bengali*, and a Dove. There were certainly no hawks, or "merles," or swallows. Of sea birds there were Noddies and Sooty Terns, Shearwaters, Boobies, and Frigate-birds. Wild Guinea-fowls were common. "Of Dodo's remains, no one knew anything more than that—'long temps passi, di monde, n'a pas conné qui, fin vini rodé pour li'—which, being interpreted, means 'in long time ago, someone, I know not who, came and looked for it'—and this was all the information that could be got."

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*Notice of a Memoir on the Osteology of the Solitaire, or Didine Bird of the Island of Rodriguez, by Professor Alfred Newton, F.R.S., and Mr. Edward Newton, M.A., Auditor-General of Mauritius. (Proceedings of the Royal Society, No. 103, p. 428 ; 1868.)*

"The *Solitaire* of Rodriguez was first satisfactorily shown to be distinct from the Dodo of Mauritius (*Didus ineptus*) by Strickland, in 1844, from a renewed examination of the evidence respecting it, consisting of the account given by Leguat in 1708, and of the remains sent to France and Great Britain. Strickland, in 1848, further proved it to be generically distinct from the Dodo. The remains existing in Europe in 1852 were eighteen bones, of which five were at Paris, six at Glasgow, five in possession of the Zoological Society, . . . . and two in that of Strickland, who, at the date last mentioned, described them as belonging to *two* species, the second of which he named *Pezophaps minor*, from the great difference observable in the size of the specimens. In 1864, Mr. E. Newton<sup>1</sup> visited Rodriguez, and there found in a cave two more

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<sup>1</sup> One of the authors.



bones; while a third was picked up by Captain Barclay at the same time. Mr. Newton urged Mr. Jenner, the magistrate of Rodriguez, to make a more thorough search of the caves, and in 1865 this gentleman sent no less than *eighty-one* specimens to Mauritius. News of this find reached England during the meeting of the British Association at Birmingham, and, prompted by Mr. P. L. Sclater, that body made a grant to aid further research, and in 1866 a very large collection of the bones of this bird, amounting to nearly two thousand specimens, was obtained.

"*Pezophaps* differs from *Didunculus* quite as much as *Didus* does, but it is nearly allied to the latter. . . .

"In *Pezophaps* the bones of the wing are made massive and smoother than in *Didus*. The most remarkable thing about them however, is the presence of a bony knob<sup>1</sup> on the radial side of the metacarpal, unlike what is found in any other bird. It is large in some of the specimens, supposed to have belonged to old males, but very little developed in the presumed females. It is more or less spherical, pedunculate, and consists of a callus-like mass with a roughened surface, exceedingly like that of diseased bone, and was probably covered by a horny integument. It is situated immediately beyond the proximal end and the index, which last would appear to be thrust away by it to some extent. It answers most accurately and most unexpectedly to Leguat's description of it: 'L'os de l'aïeron grossit à l'extrémité, et forme sous la plume une petite masse ronde comme une balle de mousquet.' (*Vide ante*, p. 78.) . . .

"A comparison of the entire skeleton shows that *Pezophaps* is in some degree, and perhaps on the whole, intermediate between *Didus* and the normal *Columba*. . . .

"Strickland was amply justified in arriving at the conclusion that the Solitaire was generically distinct from the Dodo. . . ."

Professor A. and Sir Edward Newton remark upon the different causes of extinction of species within historic time. This, when effected by men's agency, is seldom done by man's will; and various cases are cited to support this opinion. In extirpating

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<sup>1</sup> See photograph of skeleton, frontispiece.

species man generally acts indirectly; and they succumb to forces set in motion indeed by him, but without a thought on his part of their effect. In the case of the extinction of the *Solitaire* of Rodriguez, the cause usually suggested seems inadequate; and the authors consider it was probably effected by feral swine, and quote a remarkable passage from an old French Voyage, showing the extraordinary abundance of these creatures in Mauritius, where, in or about the year 1708, above *fifteen hundred* had been slain in one day. It is plain that where these pigs abounded, inactive birds could not long survive. It is supposed that the case was the same in Rodriguez as in Mauritius; for in every country newly discovered by Europeans, it has been the almost universal custom to liberate pigs, and there is no reason to believe that this island was an exception thereto.

The extraordinary fidelity of Leguat's account of the *Solitaire* is next considered. It is borne out in every point save one, perhaps, by a study of the remains. The rugose surface at the base of the maxilla, the convexity of the pelvis, the somewhat lighter weight of the *Solitaire* than of the *Dodo*, its capacity for running, and above all, the extraordinary knob on the wing, all agree with the description he has given us. The authors attempt also to account for the origin of this last, by observing that its appearance is so exactly that of diseased bone, that it may have been first occasioned by injuries received by the birds in such combats with one another as Leguat mentions, and aggravated by the continuance of their pugnacity. The authors remark, also, that it is the habit of pigeons to fight by buffeting with their pinions.

The particular in which Leguat may have erred, is in the assertion, or perhaps inference, as to the monogamous habits of the *Solitaire*: and the cause of the error (if such it be) may be ascribed, without derogating from his truthfulness, to his anxiety to point a moral, which may have led him to imagine he saw what he wished to see. He especially mentions that one sex would not fight with the other, which is just what takes place among polygamous birds. The case of a very well-known bird (*Otis tarda*) is cited to show, that even now, after centuries of observation, it is doubtful whether it be monogamous or poly-



gamous. Leguat, therefore, may easily have been mistaken in his opinion, even setting aside his evident leaning in the matter. The notion of *Pezophaps* having been polygamous was before entertained by one of the authors, and arises from a consideration of the great difference in the size of the two sexes, which, in birds, is generally accompanied by polygamous habits; but the question is now not likely to be solved.

The amount of variability which every bone of the skeleton of this species presents, warrants the conclusion that as much was displayed in those parts of its structure which have perished, letting alone Leguat's direct evidence as to the individual difference in the plumage of the females.

"If such a process, therefore, as has been termed 'natural selection', or 'survival of the fittest', exists, there would have been abundant room for it to operate; and there having been only one species of *Pezophaps* might at first sight seem an argument against the belief in such process. . . ."

Messrs. Newton proceed from arguments to show that "a believer in Darwin's theory would be inclined to predicate that, when a small oceanic island like Rodriguez is found tenanted by a *single* species subject to great individual variability, it would be just under such circumstances that the greatest amount of variability would be certain to occur. In its original state, attacked by no enemies, the increase of the species would only be dependent on the supply of food, which, one year with another, would not vary very much, and the form would continue without any predisposing cause to change, and thus no advantage would be taken of the variability of structure presented by its individuals.

"On the other hand, we may reflect on what certainly has taken place. Of the other terrestrial members of the avifauna of Rodriguez, but few now remain. A small Finch and a Warbler, both endemic, are the only two land-birds of its original fauna now known to exist. The Guinea-fowl and Love-bird have, in all probability, been introduced from Madagascar; but the Parrots and Pigeons, of which Leguat speaks, have vanished. The remains of one of the first, and the description of the last, leave little room to doubt but they also were closely allied to the forms found in



Madagascar, and the other Mascarene islands ; and thus it is certainly clear that *four* out of *six* indigenous species had their natural allies in other species belonging to the same zoological province. It seems impossible, on any other reasonable supposition than that of a common ancestry, to account for this fact." The authors are compelled to the belief that there was once a time when Rodriguez, Mauritius, Bourbon, Madagascar, and the Seychelles were connected by dry land, and that that time is sufficiently remote to have permitted the descendants of the original inhabitants of this now submerged continent to become modified into the many representative forms which are now known. Whether this result can have been effected by the process of "natural selection" must remain an open question ; but that the Solitaire of Rodriguez and the Dodo of Mauritius, much as they eventually came to differ, sprang from one and the same stock, seems a deduction so obvious, that the authors can no more conceive any one, fully acquainted with the facts of the case, hesitating about its adoption than that he can doubt the existence of the Power by whom these species were thus formed.

"We are not aware", write MM. E. Newton and Clark, "that the osteology of any vertebrate, other than man, has been studied with the same wealth of materials as that of the *Solitaire*."<sup>1</sup>

As soon as Rodriguez had been selected as a transit station in 1874, it was suggested that a thorough examination of the caves should be initiated, in the hope of obtaining skeletons of *Pezophaps*. Mr. Slater, one of the naturalists of the expedition, deputed for the purpose,<sup>2</sup> accordingly examined the caves in the tract of coralline limestone overlying the basalt rock on the south-west side of the island. In these caves was found a deposit of earth, varying from six inches to three feet in depth—in some places even to nine feet ; but, as a rule, no bones were found below two feet.

Mr. Slater supposes that the Solitaire resorted to the caverns

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<sup>1</sup> See also *Proceedings Zool. Soc.*, 1874, p. 474, and Art. "Fossil Birds", in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, by Professor A. Newton.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction.

in case of fire in the island, which has been known to have denuded it several times of its trees; more so as he found in several cases nearly perfect skeletons, which lay evidently as they died. This, he adds, precludes the idea that they were carried there by wild cats.

It is more likely that the birds took refuge in the caves during hurricanes, and were then overwhelmed by torrents of water and mud.

The attention of Mr. Slater was drawn to the statement of Leguat, as to the stone found within the *Solitaire*, before he went to Rodriguez in 1874; but notwithstanding his examination of the caves, he was unsuccessful in finding anything bearing out the strange report. Shortly after, however, Mr. Caldwell visited the island and obtained three of what he believed to be the stones mentioned by Leguat.<sup>1</sup> One is figured in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Roy. Soc., vol. clxviii. It weighed a little over  $1\frac{3}{4}$  oz. It is brown, somewhat rough, heavy, and hard. It can scarcely, however, be called flat on one side, but, in connection with this fact, it may be remarked that the bird with whose remains it was associated appears to have been young.

François Cauche, describing the birds of Madagascar and adjacent islands (1638), mentions somewhat similar stones.

“La figure de cet oiseau est dans la 2<sup>e</sup> navigation des Hollandois aux Indes Orientales, en 29 diée de l’an 1598. Ils l’appellent de nausée,

“J’ay veu dans l’isle Maurice des oiseaux plus gros qu’un cygne, sans plumes par le corps, qui est couuert d’un duvet noir, il a le cul tout rond, le cropion orné de plumes crespues, autant en nombre que chaque oiseau à d’années, au lieu d’aisles ils ont pareilles plumes que ces derniers, noires et recourbées, ils sont sans langues, le bec gros se courbant un peu par dessous, hauts de jambes, qui sont escailées, n’ayant que trois ergots à chaque pied. Il a un cry comme l’oison, il n’est du tout si sauoureux à manger, que les fouches et feiques, desquelles nous venons de

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<sup>1</sup> One of these stones is shown in the photograph of the skeleton in the Cambridge Museum. *Vide* frontispiece.



parler. Ils ne font qu'un œuf, blanc, gros comme un pain d'un sol, contre lequel ils mettent une pierre blanche de la grosseur d'un œuf de poules. Ils ponnent sur de l'herbe qu'ils amassent, et font leurs nids dans les forests, si on tuë le petit, on trouve une pierre grise dans son gesier, nous les appellions, oiseaux de Nazaret. La graisse est excellente pour adoucir les muscles, et nerfs.

"Peut-estre que ce nom leur a esté donné pour auoir esté trouuez dans l'isle de Nazare, qui est plus haut que celle de Maurice, sous le 17 degré delà L'Equateur du costé du Sud."<sup>1</sup>

Strickland and Melville also quote Carré, who visited Bourbon in 1668, and Dubois who followed in 1669 :—

"J'ay vû dans ce lieu une sorte d'oiseau que je n'ay point trouvé ailleurs : c'est celuy que les habitans ont nommé l'Oiseau Solitaire, parce qu'effectivement il aime la solitude, et ne se plait que dans les endroits les plus écartez ; on n'en a jamais vû deux ni plusieurs ensemble ; il est toujours seul. Il ne ressembleroit pas mal à un Coq d'Inde, s'il n'avoit point les jambes plus hautes. La beauté de son plumage fait plaisir à voir. C'est une couleur changeante qui tire sur le jaune. La chair en est exquise : elle fait un des meilleurs mets de ce país-la et pourroit faire les délices de nos tables." (*Voyages des Indes Orientales*, par M. Carré, vol. i, p. 12)

In the year after Carré's visit, Sieur Dubois described these same birds:—"Solitaires : Ces oiseaux sont nommés ainsi parce qu'ils vont toujours seuls. Ils sont gros comme une grosse Oye, et ont le plumage blanc, noir à l'extrémité des ailes et de la queue. A la queue il y a des plumes approchantes de celles d'Autruche, ils ont le col long, et le bec fait comme celui des Bécasses, mais plus gros, les jambes et pieds comme poulets d'Inde. Cet oiseau se prend à la course, ne volant que bien peu." [(Dubois) D. B., *Voyage à Madagascar*, Paris, 1674.<sup>2</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> *Relations Véritables et Curieuses de l'Isle de Madagascar, et du Brésil*, Paris, 1651, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> *The Dodo and its Kindred*, pp. 58-59.



D.

ON EXTINCT BIRDS OF THE MASCARENE ISLANDS.

A VALUABLE paper was contributed, 31st October 1857, to the Royal Academy of Sciences of Amsterdam (*Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeling "Natuurkunde"*, vol. vii, p. 116, which was originally written in Dutch ; but a translation into German of part of it appeared in the *Journal für Ornithologie* for 1858) by Professor H. Schlegel, the Director of the National Museum of the Netherlands, "On Extinct Gigantic birds of the Mascarene Islands." The translation of Schlegel's paper by Mr. Hessels was forwarded by Professor Newton of Cambridge to Dr. Selater for reproduction in the pages of the *Ibis*, where it appeared in April 1866, shortly after the discovery of the Didine remains near Mahebourg. (*Vide Ibis*, New Series, vol. i, pp. 146-168.)

Professor Schlegel announced that hitherto the recent investigations respecting the large birds which had become extirpated in Bourbon, Mauritius, and Rodriguez had entirely overlooked some species, one of which, in height at least, equalled the African Ostrich, and which did not belong to the Dodos, but to quite another order of birds.

"Remains of these birds have not hitherto been found ; but we know them from descriptions and a representation, which perhaps may, if rightly understood, give a better and more complete idea of these beings than the obscure sketch which can be obtained of the New Zealand Moas through their numerous remaining bones. The description and representation of the largest species, called by Leguat 'Géant', is given by that traveller in his narrative. (*Vide ante*, pp. 209, 210.)

"Among naturalists Leguat has, hitherto, been known only by his account of the *Solitaire* of Rodriguez, but everyone has accepted it without hesitation, and the remains of that bird, since discovered, have proved the exactness of his statements.

Besides this, it appears also, from the numerous observations which he communicates on known natural objects, that he was, as an amateur and for his time, an attentive and accurate observer, that he consulted in his investigations a multitude of works on natural history, that by comparing them mutually, and with nature, he tried to arrive at truth, and that he was anything but a servile repeater of another's words."

After having placed, as he thinks, the truthfulness of Leguat beyond all doubt, Professor Schlegel describes the bird, which he takes to be an unknown gigantic species, quoting from Leguat: "On voit beaucoup de certains oiseaux qu'on appelle *Géants*, etc. . . ." (see p. 210). This description is accompanied by a figure which represents the bird at about one twenty-fifth of its natural size. He further explains this description and figure, and proceeds, as follows:—

"Let us, meanwhile, first examine what has been the opinion of other naturalists about this bird. Hamel and Strickland are, so far as I know, the only persons who have offered their opinions on the subject.<sup>1</sup> They had not the least doubt as to the existence of this large animal; nor can such be possible, since the accounts of Leguat are too precise, and he observed it on two islands at a considerable distance from each other; but they have, in our opinion, completely mistaken this bird.

"Hamel<sup>2</sup> takes it for a struthious bird, which, as well as the *Solitaire* of Rodriguez, has been exterminated since Leguat's time. Our reasons why this opinion is entirely incorrect are the following:—

"1st, because the *Géant* of Leguat has a perfect tail with quills and under tail-coverts, which reach to its end, and that this tail is carried erect, which is never found among the struthious birds.

"2nd, that the toes are extraordinarily long and slender, and not short and very thick as in all known struthious birds.

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<sup>1</sup> We find also in Valentyu (v. ii, p. 152) some remarks on the *Géant* of Leguat, evidently derived from that author himself. (*Ante*, p. 210.)

<sup>2</sup> *Der Dodo, die Einsiedler und der erdichtete Nazarvogel*, in *Bulletin Phys.-Math. de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg*, 1848, vol. vii, Nos. 5, 6, pp. 65-96.







"3rd, that the gape by no means extends, as in the struthious birds, under the eye.

"4th, that the feet are covered over their whole length and breadth with large plates, and not partially or entirely with scales, as seen in the struthious birds.

"5th, that in Leguat's description and figure there is no appearance of the peculiar form of the feathers of the struthious birds, whereas he makes this to be so distinctly seen in his *Solitaire*.

"6th, that this bird lived in marshy places, where struthious birds do not abide.

"7th, that it could fly.

"8th, that, lastly, one had been carried away by a storm from Mauritius to Rodriguez, more than a hundred (about three hundred English) miles distant—a sea-voyage which such heavy birds as the *Struthionidæ* could not possibly perform.

"Strickland<sup>1</sup> has perpetually expressed the opinion that this bird has simply been a Flamingo, although the description of it gave him the impression of a Stork. This opinion is really as strange as that of Hamel; for, 1st, the physiognomy, or, if you will, the *habitus* of the bird is quite different.

"2nd. Neither the figure nor the description of the bill show any resemblance to that of the Flamingo.<sup>2</sup>

"3rd. The neck of the Flamingo is much longer, and very much thinner than in our bird.

"4th. Flamingos have a tail which is much shorter, has a different shape, and is never carried erect.

<sup>1</sup> *The Dodo and its Kindred, etc.*, pp. 60 and 64. Strickland's own words are: "The fact is that these *Géans* are evidently (notwithstanding the Stork-like aspect of Leguat's plate at p. 171) *Flamingos*."

<sup>2</sup> Leguat's expression, "ils ont un bec d'oye", should evidently, and especially from the addition of "mais un peau plus pointu", be understood as having reference to the form in general, and not to the *lamelle*, which the bill of the Flamingo has in common with that of the Geese. When Leguat says of his *Solitaire* (i, p. 98), "les males ont les pieds de coq d'Inde, et le bec aussi", we, in like manner do not conclude that these parts were formed exactly as in the Turkey, but that they had a general resemblance. [May not Leguat have meant that these birds had feet-like the *Avis Indica*, as represented by Collaert? *Vide Infra*.—S. P. O.]

"5th. The legs in the Flamingo are much longer, and for the greater part bare, whereas in our bird they are covered with feathers pretty nearly as far as the tarsus.

"6th. The Flamingo has much shorter fore-toes, united by a swimming-membrane, and an extremely small hind-toe, whereas in our bird, both according to the figure and to the description, the toes are extraordinarily long, and quite free.

"7th. The colour of the Flamingo is in the young grey, in the old more or less generally red, and never white, as in our bird.

"8th, and lastly, the whole of Strickland's supposition fails, seeing that, as we have mentioned above, Leguat knew very well what sort of appearance a Flamingo had.

"For ourselves, we do not hesitate a moment to declare that this *Géant* of Leguat's was a Waterhen, and this for the following reasons:—

"1st. This bird has the *habitus* of the Waterhen to such a degree that anybody who has a little experience in the recognition of animal-forms will take it for one.

"2nd. The extraordinarily long toes argue to the same conclusion.

"3rd. The form of the tail, with the under-coverts reaching to its end, and its erect attitude, is exactly as in the Waterhens.

"4th. Leguat's figure shows distinctly that the upper mandible was prolonged in a kind of rounded plate, which extended over the forehead and eyes, just as we see in the typical Waterhens, namely, *Gallinula*, *Porphyrio*, and *Fulica*.

"5th, and lastly, Leguat's expressions, 'gibier' and 'assez bon', can also be applied to the Waterhens.

"When we have agreed that this bird belongs to the family of Waterhens—and I really do not know in what other group we could, with any probability, place it—then arises the question, Under what genus of this family could we more positively arrange it? That it cannot be regarded as a Coot (*Fulica*), its toes, not bordered by lobed membranes, show. It should, therefore, be assigned rather to the genus *Porphyrio* or *Gallinula*; for one could not account it a Rail (*Rallus*), as it carries its tail erect and has a frontal plate, any more than a Crane (*Grus*), which



genus is most allied to *Rallus*.<sup>1</sup> The genus *Porphyrio*, though zoologically and geographically very natural and so very conspicuous by the more or less fine blue colour of the feathers, differs, really, from *Gallinula* in no respect than in the higher bill and oval nostrils, whilst these in *Gallinula* are more elongated. Since, then, the figure of our bird shows elongated nostrils, and also a bill (so far as one can determine its form in the plate, where it is represented as seen from above) which seems to have been less high than in *Porphyrio*, and finally, since its colour is very different from that of *Porphyrio*, we must accordingly range it under the genus *Gallinula*.

“We will now examine how far the exact proportion of the various parts of our bird is observed in Leguat’s figure. Since even in our own day, except Wolf, artists can hardly be found who are without failings in this respect, so can we much less expect that the contrary has been the case at the time Leguat lived, and with a mere amateur<sup>2</sup>—especially, too, as his figure represents the object in such a remarkable reduction as one twenty fifth. We have already remarked, in our treatise on the Dodos,<sup>3</sup> that in the existing rude drawing of that bird from Mauritius, in Van Neck’s Voyage, it is much more naturally and truthfully delineated than in the figures of all European artists up to this time, by whom the poor Dodo has been transformed into a real monster, and wherein the hind-toe of the foot in the foreground is always wrongly attached, and stands in a crooked direction.

“Now although the habitus of the *Géant* in Leguat’s figure is very well drawn, although the attitude of the feet, especially of the toes (notwithstanding the representation in perspective), in this plate betrays much more study from nature and more attention than the painters of the Dodo liked to give, yet the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ibis*, 1865, p. 533. (Dr. Sclater.)

<sup>2</sup> Professor Newton has remarked on the origin of Leguat’s representation of the *Géant* being derived from the print of *Avis Indica* in A. Collaert’s *Avium vivæ Icones*, 1590 (*Pro. Zool. Soc.*, 1873), reproduced in facsimile at p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> *Versel en Medadeel. Konink. Akad. Amsterdam*, 1854, pp. 232-256.

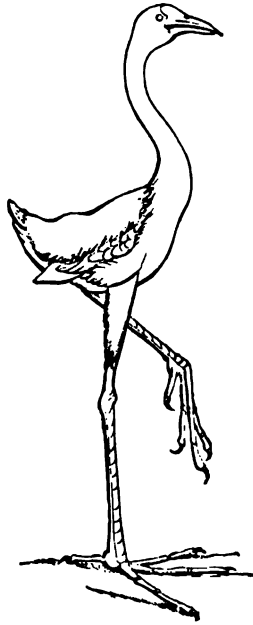
drawing of Leguat also has its evident faults. In inspecting my copy of this figure, enlarged to the natural size, it is directly obvious that the body, instead of being the size of that of a Goose<sup>1</sup> (as Leguat's description says), almost equals that of an African Ostrich. It is quite possible that the head, which is very often represented by the best artists as too big proportionately, is also too big here, and consequently that the neck should be thinner. The same remark is perhaps to be made with regard to the feet, which should be longer just as much as the body is too thick. As it, however, would be very presumptuous to make further inferences in this respect from pure analogies, we limit ourselves here to these remarks. But in order to make them more obvious to the eye, we have prepared a new drawing of this bird of the natural size, in which we have introduced the corrections just mentioned. We have here represented the bird in profile (see fig. p. 365), that one may gain a better idea of this animal—especially as Leguat has so drawn the tail (apparently that it might be better shown), and not half or three-fourths turned, as are the remaining parts.

“When we compare this bird with other species of the Waterhen—(or Rail)—family, we shall observe that, although constructed precisely on their ground-plan, it differs from them in several respects, especially in its gigantic size, its tall figure, its long neck, its proportionally very small body, and its white colour. One might, for the first three reasons, principally, regard it as representing the Crane-form among the Waterhens. Notwithstanding that it far exceeded in height even the largest of marsh-birds, its weight would yet be, in proportion to this extraordinary height, but very little, and with the help of its long toes it would consequently be able, as the Water-hens do, to run over marshy plains without sinking.

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<sup>1</sup> “There arises, however, with me the question whether in this comparison Leguat meant the body with, or (as sportsmen often do) without the feathers. In the last probable case, the body will have had, as occurs in the Waterhens, from their long and loose feathers, a much more considerable bulk than that of a Goose, the feathers of which are short and closely compressed.”

“ Although it could fly it had much trouble, according to Leguat, in rising from the ground, and its flight was doubtless slow and difficult, owing to the shortness of its wings and the length of its legs and neck. It is probable that, like all Waterhens, it could run fast, though not fast enough to escape from dogs, as Leguat states that they could catch it, and that it tried to save itself by flying up. As all marsh-birds, at least when



LE GÉANT.

they are obliged, can swim, and Waterhens, in particular, swim voluntarily and even very much, so this bird also will have swum regularly, and probably very well, owing to its light weight and the extraordinary development of its legs and long toes serving as oars. There is also no reason to suppose that its food and way of breeding would have been very different from that of the Waterhens. It was doubtless a stationary bird, being unfitted for migration ; and there was no occasion for it to undertake



voyages. This seems to be all that one can, with any probability, guess concerning its mode of life. Why, however, was this Waterhen so gigantic? Why was this gigantic animal just destined for such a small place on our globe—a place where arose neither great rivers nor extensive marshes? Why should it be in colour entirely white, and differ in that respect from all the species of the family?<sup>1</sup> Human knowledge fails to answer these questions, and they will, accordingly, it is probable, always remain riddles to us, the more so as this magnificent creature, like so many others, is withdrawn for ever from our gaze.

“We have still another question to decide: How comes it that Leguat is the only writer who has observed this gigantic Waterhen of Mauritius, while the voyagers who visited the island before him speak of several other most remarkable birds which they met with, but not this one? To explain the fact, one must evidently infer that the voyagers only made mention of the productions which they met with in the neighbourhood of their anchoring-places, and that the giant bird of Leguat did not frequent those places, because there were no marshes. This is no doubt the case with the harbour on the south-east coast, where the ships regularly come to land, and where stood in Leguat’s time, and long after, the only port in the island.

“All travellers report that the ground then was stony and unfruitful. It was at this place that the companions of Van

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<sup>1</sup> Since Professor Schlegel’s paper was written, attention has been called to the White Gallinule, figured in *Phillip’s Voyage to Botany Bay*, London, 1789 (p. 273), and in *White’s Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales*, London, 1790 (p. 238)—a bird which is said to have formerly inhabited Lord Howe’s and Norfolk Islands. This species Dr. Von Pelzeln refers (*Sitz. Akad. Wien.*, xli, p. 331) to the genus *Notornis* (cf. *Ibis*, 1860, pp. 422-423); and Mr. G. R. Gray (*Ibis*, 1862, p. 240) to that of *Porphyrus*. We know of only two specimens still existing, one at Vienna, obtained from the Leverian Museum, the other in the Derby Museum, at Liverpool, from Bullock’s collection. (This last example, according to Professor A. Newton, seems to be an albino of the ordinary Australian *Porphyrus*.) It would be very interesting to know if the bird is still found on either of the islands named. It is the *Gallinula alba* of Latham. (Editor of *Ibis*, Dr. P. L. Sclater.)

Neck and his successors observed the Dodo and the other birds which they describe. One must, therefore, suppose that Leguat and his comrades, who passed through the wilderness lying on the other side of the island, where fowling furnished them without trouble with abundant food (see p. 147), met with our gigantic bird by the rivers and marshes of these districts, while they were unknown to those who from time to time landed and again departed, as well as to the Europeans dwelling in the fort. In Leguat's time, however, there were, besides the Europeans dwelling in the fort, from thirty to forty Dutch families scattered over the island and there established. They lived partly by hunting, and had dogs expressly for this purpose. These Europeans living apart, the dogs (which, as we have seen from Leguat, easily overpowered the gigantic birds), the cats, and later, perhaps, the runaway negroes, have probably thus silently continued the work of destruction, and also completely extirpated this remarkable animal. How quickly and secretly such a destruction can be effected is proved, among other instances, by the history of the different species of Dodo on the Mascarene Islands. Even the great Dodo of Mauritius, first made known in 1598, was no more mentioned by any traveller after 1681 (see *Strickland*, p. 36); and Leguat, who recorded so many observations on the productions of the countries which he visited (1690-98), makes no mention of this strange bird. It must, therefore, be inferred that the Dodo, when Leguat was in Mauritius, was already extirpated, at least in the inhabited and accessible districts of the island. Perhaps also the abode of this bird, in contradistinction to that of the gigantic Waterhen, was limited to the stony, dry places which are round the south-east harbour, where it was observed in great numbers, and at which spot all the accounts of this bird were obtained."

[Leguat himself speaks of the extraordinary decrease of the animals of the island, see p. 209.]

[The remains of the Dodo have been since found in the *Mare aux Songes*, a marsh near Pte. d'Esny, close by Mahébourg. The remains of the *Géant* should be sought for in the *Mare aux Vacoas*, or *Grand Bassin* nearer the Rivière Noire (Zwarte River), where Leguat landed in 1693.—S. P. O.]



"It remains for us to inquire whether the Géant of Leguat was also found in the neighbouring island of Réunion or elsewhere. The only writer who makes mention of a gigantic marsh-bird in Réunion, and this under the self-same name of *Géant*, is the Marquis du Quesne. . . . In his work, according to Leguat, the *Géants* are named among the birds of Bourbon. (See *ante*, p. 44.) That by these *Géants* the *Solitaires* of Mascaregne (Réunion) cannot be meant, appears by their manner of living, and by the taste of their flesh. To determine them more precisely is not very possible on account of the incompleteness of Du Quesne's account; but this still shows that there lived in Bourbon a gigantic marsh-bird, which, like the Dodo, has long ago vanished, and which probably was of the same species as the *Géant* of Leguat, or related to it, since it lived by rivers and lakes; and these, with marshes, form the abode of Waterhens."

Professor Schlegel thus places in the system, with the following attributes, the gigantic birds he has described:—

"GALLINULA (LEGUATIA) GIGANTEA. '*Le Géant*,' Leguat, *Voyage*, ii, p. 72, fig. '*Le Géant*,' Du Quesne, *apud* Leguat, *op. cit.*, i, p. 55. (1) '*Straussartiger Vogel*,' Hamel, *Bulletin Acad. St. Pétersb.*, viii, Nos. 5 and 6 (pp. 65-96). '*Flamingo*,' Strickland, *The Dido and its Kindred*, p. 50, *note*.

"Stature, six feet high. Body, not heavier than that of a goose. Wings pretty short, but fit for flight. Feathers of the tibia, reaching pretty close to the tarsus. Toes long and quite free, those in front about as long as the tarsus. Upper mandible extended in a plate reaching beyond the eye. General colour white, with a reddish spot under the wing. Colour of the feet and bill unknown, but probably not very remarkable, as the description does not mention it.

"*Hab.* Mauritius, perhaps Réunion (Bourbon); once accidentally met with in Rodriguez.

"Observed with certainty only by Leguat in 1694. Since that time not remarked again, and evidently long ago completely extirpated.

"Seems to represent the Crane-type among the Waterhens."



## FULICA NEWTONII.

*Notes from a "Memoir on an Extinct Species of the Genus Fulica, which formerly inhabited the Island of Mauritius", by M. A. MILNE-EDWARDS.*<sup>1</sup>

The species, which M. Milne-Edwards notices in his memoir, belongs to the division of water-hens and to the genus Coot (*Foulque*), birds, rather runners and swimmers than flyers, and which never wander far from lakes or watercourses, on the borders of which they construct their nests, and easily find their food.

(The bones which were examined seem to have belonged to several individuals, and some were black and others brown, like the *débris* of the Dodo exhumed from the deposits in the marsh at Mauritius, known as the *Mare aux Songes*. . . .)

It is interesting to ascertain if the travellers who visited the Mascarene Islands at the time when the Dodo still existed had any knowledge of the *Fulica Newtonii*, Newton's Coot. The most precise information which we have upon the fauna of these islands has been transmitted to us by Dubois, who visited this region from 1669 to 1672.

This author, in his description of the river-birds of the island of Bourbon, speaks of "Water-hens, which are as large as fowls; they are all black, and have a large white crest on the head."

These characteristics do not apply to the Coot, which is met with at the present day in the same localities, that is to say, the *Fulica cristata*, for this species is not only smaller than an ordinary fowl, but is remarkable for the frontal *plaque*, which is of a deep red, whilst with the bird of which Dubois speaks, the rostral *plaque* was entirely white.

From an examination of the bone of the foot of *Fulica Newtonii*, the size of the entire animal can be judged, it would be very near the size of a large fowl. These indications permit the supposition that the *Fulica Newtonii* could well be the species described by Dubois, and which, instead of being specially localised in Bourbon, also inhabited Mauritius.

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Sc. Nat.*, 5 Ser. Zool., viii, pp. 194-220.

There is not to be found in the work of Leguat any passage which can be applied with certainty to this bird, for, when he says, "The island (Mauritius) was formerly filled with Geese and with Wild Ducks, Water-hens, Wood-hens (*Gelinottes*), Turtles, and Tortoises, but all that is become rare,"<sup>1</sup> there is nothing to prove that these Water-hens were Coots; and if they belonged to this genus it would be reasonable to suppose that he here spoke of the *Fulica cristata*.

M. Milne-Edwards then proceeds to explain how the disappearance of such a bird can be accounted for, in the same manner as other unwieldy birds which cannot fly well soon become extinct when brought into contact with man and carnivorous beasts. So the giant Coot of Chili, the *Dinornis* of New Zealand, and the *Æpyornis* of Madagascar, the Dodo of Mauritius, the Solitaire of Rodriguez, and even the Great Auk, despite its rapidity in swimming and the bad flavour of its flesh. So also the Apteryx of New Zealand and the Rhinocetus of New Caledonia are becoming daily more rare; and if the Cassowaries and the Ostriches are yet common, it is only attributable to the immensity of the desert plains where they dwell.

M. Milne-Edwards continues: "The Mascarene Islands are of so inconsiderable extent that they have not been able long to serve as a refuge for birds of massive form, which lived there in great numbers at an epoch when man had not yet penetrated to them.

"The Coot of Newton formed part of this ancient and so remarkable fauna, which also counted among its representatives the Dodos of Mauritius and Bourbon, the Solitaire, the Géant (*Leguatia Gigantea*), the Blue-bird, which Mr. Schlegel refers without doubt to the genus *Notornis*, and two extinct species of parrots. Several of these birds have been only met with, and some are only known by a fragment of skeleton, the others by a short description or an imperfect drawing: there are yet therefore many discoveries to awaken the attention of all zoologists, and ought to incite them to combine their efforts to lift the veil which

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<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 209.

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hides from us the greatest part of these forms so curious of a population now disappeared entirely."

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ADDENDUM TO APPENDIX D.

By the courtesy of Professor Newton a facsimile is here given from Plate II, of Part V, de Bry's *India Orientalis*,<sup>1</sup> which well illustrates the life and surroundings of the first Dutch colonists when they settled in Mauritius in 1598. The title of the first copper-plate engraving is:—"Delineatio insulæ Docerne, alias Mauritius dicta."—And the second, here reproduced, is entitled:—"Quae ab Hollandis in insula Mauritii, tum visa tum gesta sint."—Here are shown the land-tortoises, the dodo, the Latanier palm, the *Rabos Forcados*, the Indian Crow, so called (but which Professor Newton considers to be intended for the *Psittacus Mauritianus*, whose most extraordinary feature is the singular frontal crest (*Ibis*, 1866, p. 168), on account of which he proposes to name the group of Parrots of which it is the type, *Lophopsittacus*), the heraldic insignia on a wild tree, the cabbage palm, the flying-fox, the smithy, the huts, the preaching and the fishing, etc. In fact, the quaint engraving does not inaptly represent the first operations of colonists in the Mascarene islands up to the time when Leguat and his companions landed in them a hundred years later.

Mr. Strickland,<sup>2</sup> in his history of the extinct brevipennate birds of the Mascarene Islands (at page 26) quotes a MS. document in the British Museum, entitled "A eoppey of Mr. Benj. Harry's Journall, when he was chief mate of the Shippe *Berkley Castle*, Captain Wm. Talbot then Commander, on a voyage to the coste

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<sup>1</sup> *Collectiones Peregrinationum in Indiam Orientalem & Indiam Occidentalem XXV partibus comprehensae; Opus illustratum figuris æneis fratrum de Bry & Meriani*. Francofurti at Mœnum 1590, & ann. seq. ad ann. 1634, 7 vol. in fol. Pars quinta.

<sup>2</sup> *The Dodo and its Kindred, or the History, Affinities, and Osteology of the Dodo, Solitaire, and other Extinct Birds of the Islands Mauritius, Rodriguez, and Bourbon*, by H. E. Strickland and A. G. Melville, Part I, by H. E. Strickland.



and bay, 1679, which voyage they wintered at the Maurrisshees" (*fourteen years before Legual's arrival in Mauritius*).

"After all these turmoyles and various accidents, wee the beginning of 7ber. brought all to a period: one parte of our misery was that that time wee designed for recreation wee were forc<sup>t</sup> imp<sup>t</sup> in Labour.

"The ayre whilst wee have been here hath been very temperate, neither over hott nor over cold; itt hath been showery 3 or 4 Days sucksessively, and showery in the night, sometimes a Sea Brees, little wind morning and evenings.

"Now having a little respitt I will make a little description of the island, first of its Producks then of itt's parts: Ffirst of winged and feathered fflowle, the less passant are Dodos whose ffish is very hard. A small sort of Gees, reasonably good Teele, Curleves, Pasca flemingos, Turtle Doves, large Batts, many small Birdes which are good.

"The Dutch pleading a propriety to the island because of their settlement have made us pay for goates 1*d.* per pound or  $\frac{1}{2}$  piece of 8 per head, the which goates are butt reasonably good, these wild, as allso the deer which are as large as I believe any in the world, and as good ffish in their seasons; for these 3 pie of 8 per head, Bullocks large 6 pie of 8 per head: (that) ys for victualling, heer are many wild hoggs and land turtle which are very good, other small creators on the Land, as Scorpions and Musketoes, these in small numbers. Ratts and ffileys a multitude, Munkeys of various sorts.

"In the woodes Eaboney, Box, Iron wood blacke and read, a false but not lasting fire, various sortes of other wood, though heavy yett good for fiering.

"In ye Sea and River, green tortoise very good, Shirkes, Doggs, Mulletts, Jackabeirs (butt nott good though some 70 lb.), Breams, Pomfletts, Plaise, a ffish like a Salmound, and heer soe called, but full of small Boanes forked, severall sortes of read ffish butt nott houlsome, various sortes of small ffish for the Pann, good oysters and Crabes, Ells large and good.

"Herbage ffruite and Graine ffrench or Cidney Beans, Patatoes, sallating; Pumplemuses, oranges. . . ."



E.

THE GIGANTIC MASCARENE TORTOISES.

For many years Dr. Albert Günther, of the British Museum, informs us, naturalists were much exercised in curiosity by the shells of tortoises of enormous size that were brought home in vessels coming from India.<sup>1</sup> “From the greater convexity of their shell, these animals were known to be terrestrial and distinct from the marine turtles. From the accounts of voyagers of the sixteenth and seventeenth century it was found that these huge individuals of the Chelonian order existed in two widely separated regions, one being the Galapagos group in the Pacific, the others being certain islands in the Indian Ocean; yet, curiously enough, it does not appear that the intervening lands have contained within the historic period similar creatures. Leguat (*vide ante*, p. 70) mentions the immense numbers of land tortoises he and his companions found in Rodriguez; and, indeed, when we consider that the helpless creatures lived for ages in perfect security from all enemies, and that nature had endowed them with a most extraordinary degree of longevity, so that the individuals of many generations lived simultaneously in their island home, we can well account for the multitudes found by the first comers. For a period of more than a century they afforded wholesome food to the crews of passing ships; for these animals could be carried in the hold of a ship without food for many months, and could be slaughtered as occasion required, each tortoise yielding from 80 to 300 pounds of fresh meat, and we read that ships leaving Mauritius were wont to take on board upwards of 400 of these animals. . . .

“Down to 1740 tortoises continued to be numerous in Mauritius, as Baron Grant writes (*History of Mauritius*, p. 194):—“If,

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<sup>1</sup> *Philosophical Transactions*, paper read before Royal Society, June 1874.

however, we are not rich in cattle, we possess a great abundance of fowl as well as both land and sea-turtle, which are not only a great resource for the supply of our ordinary wants, but serve to barter with the crews of the ships who put in here for refreshment in their voyage to India." But they appear to have been much more scattered in the larger islands of Mauritius and Réunion, than in the smaller island of Rodriguez, for in 1761 Admiral Kempenfeldt writes:—"The best production of the island is the land turtle, which is in great abundance. Small vessels are continually employed in transporting them by thousands to the Isle of Mauritius, for the service of the hospital."<sup>1</sup>

Their number, Dr. Günther goes on to tell us, "rapidly diminished owing to their consumption, as above evidenced, as well as by the wide-spread and frequent conflagrations of the woods, by which the island has been well-nigh disforested, so that early in the present century the work of extermination was accomplished, and, so far as is known, there is not a single living example left alive at the present day. In the small island of Aldabra alone there still linger, in a wild state, a few representatives of this ancient Chelonian race, the contemporaries of the Dodo, the Géant, and the Solitaire. Even here the animals are constantly destroyed by the whalers, and the young tortoises and eggs are eaten up by the pigs which have been left there, and which have multiplied rapidly."

Leguat's account of the land-tortoises at Rodriguez corresponds closely with the experiences of the Dutch at Mauritius as recorded in their second voyage of 1598. Professor Newton furnishes a quaint copper-plate engraving which well illustrates the ponderous size of these huge chelonians, taken from de Bry's

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<sup>1</sup> "The principal point of view (in Rodriguez) is first the French Governor's house, or rather that of the Superintendent, appointed by the Governor of the Isle of France to direct the cultivation of the gardens there, and overlooks the park of land turtles. Secondly, the park of land-turtles, which is on the sea-shore, facing the house." (Admiral Kempenfeldt's *Report*, quoted by Viscount de Vaux, *op. cit.*, p. 101.)

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well-known *India Orientalis* before mentioned.<sup>1</sup> The title to this drawing, a facsimile of which is here given, runs thus:—"Quomodo Hollandi in Mauritii insulâ ingentes Testudines inuenerint." And the description as follows: "Cum Hollandicæ naues An. 1598, in Indiam expedirentur, in transitu Insulam quandam, Mauritij dictam occuparunt: quæ testudines peltatas tam grandes ferebat ut super una duo insidentes Hollandi, non secus ac ne minimu graues, citra omne impedimentum longè, proferrentur. Illarum nonnullæ ad eam usque magnitudine crescunt, vt in vnus auulsa testa decem viri commode sedere & epulari potuerint. In eadem Insula psittacorum columbarumque numerum quoque maximum repperunt tam cicurum, ut fustibus eas prostrauerint. Sed et aliæ ibidem aves visæ sunt, quas Walckvögel Batavi nominarunt et unam secum in Hollandiam importarunt."

A large example of what was probably one of the last of the Rodriguez species was imported more than half a century ago to England, and kept at the Zoological Gardens, where it was living when described in the *Proceedings* of the Zoological Society (1833, p. 81). It weighed 289 lbs., the shell being 4 ft. 4¼ ins. in length (over the curve), and 4 ft. 9 ins. in width.

When Mauritius was surrendered to General Abercrombie, in 1810, among the ordnance stores handed over to and taken in charge by the Royal Artillery there was a huge land tortoise which, not improbably, may be a Rodriguez animal, as from its size it must certainly have been living in the days of Leguat. It is still alive, and has been a denizen of Artillery Place and the barracks

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<sup>1</sup> Pars quarta. After the text, which finishes at p. iii, are to be found the plates which belong to this part, entitled:—"Icones seu genuinæ et expressæ delineationes eorum omnium quæ in hac quarta Indiæ orientalis descriptione singularia offeruntur. Vbi peregrinorum quorundam animalium, arborum, fructuum, plantarumque, &c. aliàs non visorum viva effigies exhibetur. Quæ omnia et sumptuosius impensis, & opera accurata in æs incisa, publicæque luci communicata sunt à Joanne Theodorico et Joanne Israël de Bry fratribus & ciuibus Moeno Francofurtensibus. Francoforti Imprimebat Matthæus Becker. Anno MDCI."



in Port Louis ever since, having survived many accidents and cruel experiments. Its shell is 9 ft. 3 ins. in circumference, and it stands 2 ft. 6 ins. high.<sup>1</sup>

Measures have been taken to preserve the tortoises in Aldabra, and some of these chelonians have been introduced into Flat Island near Mauritius, by the Mauritius Acclimatisation Society, and are, it is said, thriving if not multiplying. They lay their eggs three times in the year.

In the Botanical Gardens of Pamplemousses, in Mauritius, are two tortoises, of which one, measuring 7 ft. 2 ins. in circumference, stands 1 ft. 8 in. in height; and there are others at Rivière Sèche, belonging to M. Castel, and another to M. Daruty, at Mon Trésor, near Mahébourg, in Mauritius.

There are others in the Seychelles Islands, whence two fine specimens have been brought to the Zoological Gardens; and there were for a long time till lately (dating from before the days of Napoleon) two fine specimens in the grounds of Plantation House, at St. Helena, where one died in 1877.<sup>2</sup>

The osseous remains of the Rodriguez tortoises,<sup>3</sup> which Dr. Günther has examined, and for which he was indebted to M. Bouton and the Trustees of the Glasgow Museum, were found to include some exceedingly large bones, larger than any of those from Mauritius, and they must have belonged, he states, to individuals of the size of the large living males of Aldabra. From the perforation of the neural arch of the sixth nuchal vertebra Dr. Günther determines that these animals had the habit of bringing the neck in a vertical position, so that these

<sup>1</sup> See memorandum by Mr. Littleton, in *Nature*, Aug. 23, 1883, p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> Three enormous tortoises were brought from the Seychelles Islands to the Jardin d'Acclimatation at Paris, in July 1878. The largest weighed no less than 187 kilogrammes (nearly 4 cwt.), and measured 1.17 metres in diameter, about 46 inches, and in 1883 some large Aldabra tortoises were placed on Flat Island, by the Mauritius Acclimatisation Society.

<sup>3</sup> See *Gigantic Land-Tortoises, Living and Extinct, in the Collection of the British Museum*, by A. C. L. G. Günther, M.D., F.R.S., Keeper of the department of Zoology, 1877, p. 52.



two vertebræ were standing nearly at a right angle. It will be remembered that Leguat mentions (*ante*, p. 71)—“There’s one thing very odd among them ; they always place Sentinels at some Distance from their Troop, at the four corners of their Camp, to which the Sentinels turn their Backs, and look with the Eyes as if they were on the Watch.” This habit of raising their necks nearly perpendicular must have greatly aided the capability of seeing to some distance around them which these animals seem to have possessed.

Dr. Günther assumes that “some land tortoises were carried by stream or current from Madagascar or Africa to the Mascarene Islands, in preference to assuming a former continuity of land between the Mascarene Archipelago and Africa”; but the direction of the great equatorial current, and prevailing south-east trade wind, militate considerably against the theory.

“With this hypothesis” (of submergence of land between the Mascarene Islands), writes Dr. Günther, “we should be obliged to contend for this animal type an age extending over enormous periods of time, of which the period required for the loss of power of flight in the Dodo or Solitaire is but a fraction.” (See *Nature*, vol. xii, 1875, pp. 238, 259, 296.)

Of the remains from Rodriguez, the species *Testudo Vosmæri* can alone be distinguished ; of this reptile an extensive series is preserved in the Cambridge Museum, from Newton’s find.

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## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

(See pp. 74-75.)

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### THE DUGONG, HALICORE DUGONG, LEGUAT'S "MANATI".

LEGUAT was the first European to record the existence and observe the habits of the remarkable animal forming the subject of this note. During the nearly three years' stay he and his companions made on the island of Rodriguez, they used it as their principal food, and had unexampled opportunities of observing it. The account he gives of it is in the main quite in accord with the investigations of modern naturalists. I must premise these remarks by saying that the whole subject of the Sirenia has been treated in an exhaustive way in the *Proceedings* of learned societies, and there is really nothing new to add ; but the readers of our books like to have before them the opinions of modern authorities on points of interest touched upon by the early travellers.

The geographical distribution of the Sirenia, as Dr. H. Woodward has shown in his treatises,<sup>1</sup> extended in pre-historic times over a very wide area, fossil remains of no less than twenty-seven species having been discovered in Tertiary strata as far north as lat. 60° N., and as far south as the tropic of Cancer. These earlier species may be considered the ancestors of existing forms, differing, however, so much from them as to suggest intervening links which have not yet been found ; though it has been ascertained that when changes took place in the physical conditions of European seas the genus *Halitherium* prevailed.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Geol. Mag.*, 1885, Dec. 3, vol. ii, pp. 412-25 ; and *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc. Lond.*, 1885, vol. xli, pp. 457-72.

<sup>2</sup> H. Woodward, *op. cit.*

The Sirenia are allied to various orders of Mammalia, viz., to the *Cetacea* or whales, to the pachyderms, according to de Blainville and others, and possibly to the Ungulates; but they have peculiarities which distinguish them from all these orders. Their external appearance naturally suggested an affinity with the whales, but a closer examination showed striking points of contrast. The whale, with his huge jaws and enormous head, is carnivorous in its diet, while the Sirenia are herbivorous, their food consisting of aquatic plants, or of marine algæ growing in shallow waters. Unlike the whales, their heads are small in proportion to their bodies, and rounded rather than elongated. They have, too, this distinguishing peculiarity, that the cervical vertebræ (only six in number in the American species) are free and movable and form a neck enabling the animal to turn its head about, while in the case of the whale, the head and body are united together in one compact mass, the neck being almost immovable. Another peculiarity is the formation of the fore-limbs. These, instead of being pectoral fins, as in the whale tribe generally, have the character of the arm and hand of the higher mammalia, whence the name "Manatee", from *Manus*, given to the best known of the living species. The digits of the *Manus* are not, however, separate, but there is evidence of nails on the end of the fingers, which are united to form a flipper or paddle-like organ. This fore limb, capable of being moved at the elbow joint, is used by the animal to assist in bringing food to its mouth, and in the case of the females, to hold their young to the breast. Their fish-like form and peculiarly human way of suckling their young, suggested to the early navigators the idea of Sirens or mermaids, whence the name given to the order. They have also a few hairs on their thick, wrinkled skins, as Leguat correctly observes, while the whale has a perfectly smooth, glistening, hairless skin.

It is, however, in their dentition that the Sirenia differ in the most marked way from the whales, and approach the elephant and hippopotamus. The adult Dugong has a pair of tusk-like incisors in the upper jaw, and two (rarely three) molars, separated by a wide interval, on each side, above and below, making fourteen



teeth in all; the Manatee has forty-eight teeth altogether, viz. : 4 milk-incisors (which speedily disappear), and 44 molars and pre-molars, resembling, in pattern, the same teeth in the *Hippopotamus*, but very much smaller. The extinct edentulous *Rhytina* is nearer the Dugong than any other living species, having only two



MANATEE.

milk incisors, the absence of teeth being supplied by a horny covering on the jaws, gums, and palate, of peculiar structure, enabling the animal to masticate its food. These distinctions between the three genera of Manatee, Dugong, and *Rhytina*, are illustrated in



DUGONG.

the accompanying woodcuts, drawn from skulls preserved in the British Museum of Natural History, Cromwell Road, where

also a complete skeleton of *Rhytina*, from the peat of Behring's Island, is exhibited. The skeleton<sup>1</sup> of all the varieties is remarkable for the massiveness of the bones, especially of the ribs, which are intensely hard, and it is doubtless owing to the specific gravity of these that the animals are enabled to keep their bodies much below the surface in shallow waters whilst feeding on the marine vegetation.

Turning now to the literature of the subject, we find a curious figure of the killing of the Manatee by the natives in America in De Bry.<sup>2</sup> One is represented astride of the animal, driving wooden plugs into its nostrils, while another is towing it behind his canoe. Another curious illustration may be seen in a Spanish



RHYTINA.

work on the Orinoco by Father Joseph Gumilla.<sup>3</sup> In it the Manatee is represented on its back suckling two young, one under each flipper.

But our first real knowledge of this group of animals dates from the time of the German naturalist Steller, who, with the Russian captain and celebrated navigator Vitus Behring, were cast on an

<sup>1</sup> H. Woodward, *Geol. Mag.*, 1885, p. 422.

<sup>2</sup> Frankfort, 1602. *America*, part 9.

*El Orinoco ilustrado y defendido, Historia natural, Civil y geographica de este gran Rio*; Madrid, 1745, vol. ii, p. 112.

island in Behring's Straits in 1741, where the latter died. Steller saw vast numbers of the Rhytina, called, after him, Steller's sea-cow, or *vache marine*, pasturing in the shallows along the shore and collected in herds like cattle. As they fed they raised their heads every four or five minutes to breathe, before descending to browse on the thick beds of seaweed surrounding the coast. When full-grown, Steller says they attained a length of thirty-five feet and a weight of three or four tons, so that it required forty men to drag the body of one to land. Steller's report of their being good for food led to their complete annihilation, within the short space of forty years, 1741-1781; for when subsequent investigators visited Behring's and Copper Islands for the purpose of securing specimens, they did not find a single living one, or any of its bones. It was not till nearly a century later that a skull was obtained for the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, enabling Brandt to write his masterly monograph, entitled *Symbolæ Sirenologicæ*.<sup>1</sup> So little, indeed, was known of the animal at this time, that we find naturalists describing the Rhytina as a gigantic Manatee, giving it the name of "Le Grand Lamantin de Kamschatka". Cuvier was the first to distinguish it as a separate species, preserving, however, the name Lamantin, and calling it *Lamantin du nord*; while Illiger grouped these animals apart, and distinguished the three species, Manatee, Halicore, and Rhytina, placing them between the seals and *Cetacea*.

Within the last few years two living Manatees have been brought to this country<sup>2</sup>; one lived in the Zoological Gardens, where it died in 1889; the other flourished for several months at the Westminster Aquarium, till one cold day in March its keeper carelessly left the plug of its tank drawn, the water drained away, and the poor animal caught such a severe chill that it never recovered.

Dr. Woodward, who has kindly revised this note, adds the following:—

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<sup>1</sup> *Mém. Imp. Acad. Sci. St. Pétersburg*, 1846, vime série, pt. ii; *Sci. Nat.*, vol. v, livr. iv, pp. 1-160, tab. i-v.

<sup>2</sup> See the admirable Memoir by Dr. J. Murie, F.L.S., *Trans. Zool. Soc.*, vol. viii, p. 167, 1872.



The Manatee still inhabits the east coasts and the great rivers of South America, such as the Orinoco, the west coast of subtropical Africa, the Gaboon, and adjacent shores. The Dugong occupies the east coast of Africa, from the Red Sea to the tropic of Capricorn ; also the coasts of the East Indies and as far south as the north and east coasts of Queensland, Australia. But within late historic times the geographical distribution of the living Sirenia has everywhere become more and more restricted, and their extinction by man seems imminent, owing to the narrow limitation of their feeding-ground, which is confined to those spots in comparatively shallow water along those coasts only where marine algæ occur in most abundance.

E. D. M.

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<sup>1</sup> N.B.—The entries in the "Table" of the original version are distinguished by heavy type.

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