

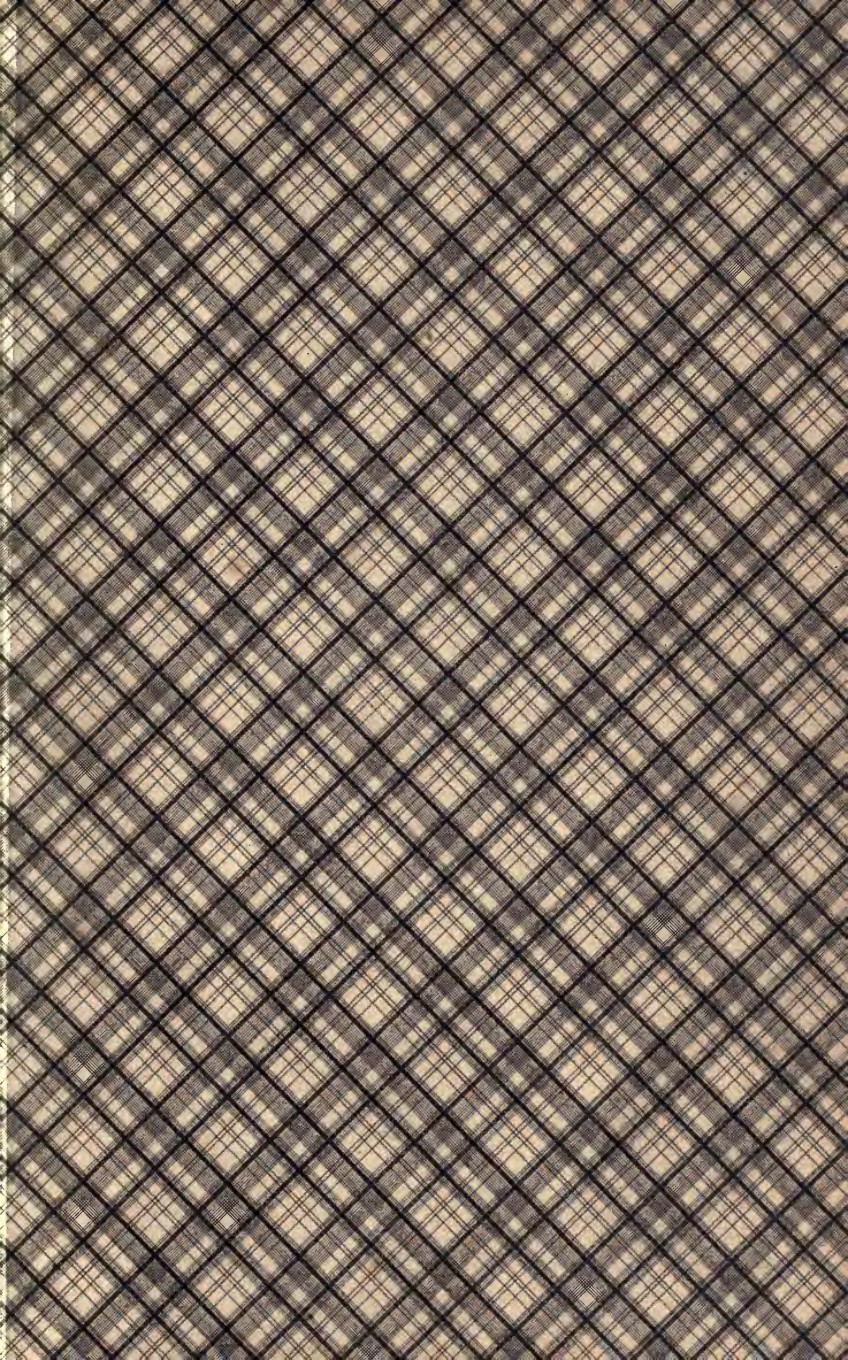
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A T O U R

THROUGH

SICILY AND MALTA,

BY P. BRYDONE, F.R.S.

WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR, AND NOTES, PREPARED FOR THE  
PRESENT EDITION.

EDINBURGH:

PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM AND ROBERT CHAMBERS.

1840.

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THE

RECORDS AND PAPERS

OF THE

EDINBURGH:  
PRINTED BY W. AND R. CHAMBERS,  
19, WATERLOO PLACE.

1850

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BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF MR BRYDONE.

THE author of this work was born in the year 1743, at Coldingham, in Berwickshire, of which parish his father was the established minister. Of his education no particulars are known, except that it was a complete course at one of the universities, and that Mr Brydone added to it an extensive acquaintance with natural science, particularly in the then almost new department of electricity. It has been stated that the first wishes of Mr Brydone respecting a profession pointed to the army; but we are not informed of the circumstances which induced him to adopt another career. In 1767, we find him accepting the situation of travelling tutor to Mr William Beckford, of Somerly in Suffolk, whom he accordingly accompanied, during that and the succeeding year, in a tour of Switzerland and Italy.

Having completed this engagement, he entered into another with Mr Fullarton, afterwards well known to the public as Colonel Fullarton, of Fullarton in the county of Ayr, a gentleman then only in his seventeenth year, but who, in the words of Robert Burns, became "a foreign ambassador almost as soon as he was a man, and a leader of armies as soon as he was a soldier, and that with an *eclat* unknown to the usual minions of a court." Colonel Fullarton distinguished himself, we believe, in the command of a large body of troops in India, and in a late period of life was governor of Trinidad. The poet just quoted makes honourable mention of him, with a reference to his connexion with Mr Brydone, in his "Vision:"

Brydone's brave ward I well could spy,  
Beneath old Scotia's smiling eye;  
Who call'd on Fame, low standing by,  
To hand him on,  
Where many a patriot name on high,  
And hero shone.

It was in the course of his travels with Mr Fullarton that he wrote the letters constituting the present work, these being addressed to his former pupil Mr Beckford. The series commences at Naples in May 1770, and, after an excursion through Sicily and Malta, terminates at the same place on the 1st of August—the journey having thus occupied two months and a half. The party included a third gentleman of the name of Glover.

The letters were published in 1773, under the title of "A Tour through Sicily and Malta,"\* and from the first the work attracted considerable attention. These islands were then nearly unknown to the British public; the singular physical phenomena presented by Mount *Ætna* in the one island, and the extraordinary society formed by the Knights of St John in the other, were calculated to make a strong impression: into all, there was, in Mr Brydone's narrative, a vivacity and playfulness in the highest degree captivating. The less superficial class of readers found a further value in this little work, in the scientific speculations introduced into it, particularly those respecting meteorology and electricity. Some of Mr Brydone's views in the latter science went much beyond his age, and the tendency of the subsequent progress of the science has been to justify the boldness with which he advanced them.

Soon after the publication of his book, Mr Brydone was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, to whose transactions he contributed some valuable papers on electricity. He also became a fellow of the Antiquarian Society, and of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. His literary and philosophical merits were at a subsequent time (December 1779) acknowledged by the government

\* In two volumes; Cadell, London; price 12s.—*Gentleman's Magazine for May 1773.*

appointment of accomptant and comptroller-general of stamp-duties, which, we presume, was a sinecure. Mr Brydone was married, April 4, 1785, to Miss Robertson, eldest daughter of the excellent author of the History of Charles V., and of America. He spent the latter part of his life in elegant retirement at Lennel House, near Coldstream in Berwickshire, a modern mansion reared on the site of an ancient convent. Sir Walter Scott, who often visited Mr Brydone at this place, takes occasion in "Marmion," when alluding to the convent as the resting-place of his hero the night before the battle of Flodden, to express his high sense of the agreeable social qualifications of the venerable traveller:

Where Lennel's convent closed their march,  
There now is left but one frail arch;  
Yet mourn thou not its cells—  
Our time a fair exchange has made—  
Hard by, in hospitable shade,  
A reverend pilgrim dwells,  
Well worth the whole Bernardine brood,  
That e'er wore sandal, frock, or hood.

Here Mr Brydone died, at an advanced age, June 19, 1818. Of his children, one is the present Countess of Minto, and another the wife of Admiral Sir Charles Adam of Barns, K.C.B.

The present edition of Mr Brydone's work has received such additions in the shape of notes as seemed necessary to bring the information forward to a late date; and, as usual in this series of reprints, all the classical quotations have been translated into English.

ADVERTISEMENT.

[BY THE AUTHOR.]

HAD there been any book in our language on the subject of the following letters, they never should have seen the light. The author wrote them for the amusement of his friends, and as an assistance to his memory; and if it will in any degree apologise for their imperfections, he can with truth declare that they never were intended for publication; nor, indeed, was that idea suggested to him till long after they were written. One principal motive, he will own, was the desire of giving to the world, and perhaps of transmitting to posterity, a monument of his friendship with the gentleman to whom they are addressed.

When Mr Foster's translation of Baron Riedesel's book first appeared, these letters were already in the press, and the author apprehended an anticipation of his subject; however, on perusal, he had the satisfaction to find that the two works did not much interfere.

In transcribing them for the press, he found it necessary both to retrench and to amplify; by which the ease of the epistolary style has probably suffered, and some of the letters have been extended much beyond their original length.

He now presents them to the public with the greatest diffidence; hoping that some allowance will be made for the very inconvenient circumstances, little favourable to order or precision, in which many of them were written: but he would not venture to new-model them, apprehending that what they might gain in form and expression they would probably lose in ease and simplicity, and well knowing that the original impressions are much better described at the moment they are felt than from the most exact recollection.

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## TOUR THROUGH SICILY AND MALTA.

### ITALY.—NAPLES.

DEAR BECKFORD, *Naples, May 14, 1770.*  
I REMEMBER to have heard you regret that in all your peregrinations through Europe, you had ever neglected the island of Sicily, and had spent much of your time in running over the old beaten track, and in examining the threadbare subjects of Italy and France, when probably there were a variety of objects not less interesting, that still lay buried in oblivion in that celebrated island. We intend to profit from this hint of yours. Fullarton\* has been urging me to it with all that ardour which a new prospect of acquiring knowledge ever inspires in him; and Glover, your old acquaintance, has promised to accompany us.

The Italians represent it as impossible, as there are no inns in the island, and many of the roads are over dangerous precipices, or through bogs and forests, infested with the most resolute and daring banditti in Europe. However, all these considerations, formidable as they may appear, did not deter Mr Hamilton,† his lady, and Lord Fortrose.‡ They made this expedition last summer, and returned so much delighted with it, that they have animated us with the strongest desire of enjoying the same pleasure.

Our first plan was to go by land to Regium, and from thence cross over to Messina; but on making exact inquiry with regard to the state of the country and method of travelling, we find that the danger from the banditti in Calabria and Apulia is so great, the accommodation so wretched, and inconveniences of every kind so numerous, without any consideration whatever to throw into the opposite scale, that we soon relinquished that scheme, and in spite of all the terrors of Scylla and Charybdis, and the more real terrors of sea-sickness (the most formidable monster of the three), we have determined to go by water; and that no time may be lost, we have already taken our passage on board an English ship, which is ready to sail with the first fair wind.

Now, as this little expedition has never been considered as any part of the grand tour, and as it will probably present many objects worthy of your attention, not mentioned in any of our books of travels, I flatter myself that a short account of these will not be unacceptable to you, and may in some degree make up for your having neglected to visit them. You may

therefore expect to hear of me from every town where we stop; and when I meet with any thing deserving of notice, I shall attempt to describe it in as few words as possible. We have been waiting with impatience for a fair wind, but at present there is little prospect of it. The weather is exceedingly rough, and not a ship has been able to get out of the harbour for upwards of three weeks past. This climate is by no means what we expected to find it; and the serene sky of Italy, so much boasted of by our travelled gentlemen, does not altogether deserve the great eulogiums bestowed upon it. It is now the middle of May, and we have not as yet had any continuance of what may be called fine weather. It has indeed been abundantly warm, but seldom a day has passed without sudden storms of wind and rain, which render walking out here to the full as dangerous to our invalids as it is in England.

I am persuaded that our physicians are under some mistake with regard to this climate. It is certainly one of the warmest in Italy; but it is as certainly one of the most inconstant, and, from what we have observed, disagrees with the greater part of our valetudinarians, but more particularly with the gouty people, who have all found themselves better at Rome, which, though much colder in winter, is I believe a healthier climate. Naples, to be sure, is more eligible in summer, as the air is constantly refreshed by the sea-breeze when Rome is often scorched by the most insupportable heat. Last summer Fahrenheit's thermometer never rose higher at Naples than seventy-six; at Rome it was eighty-nine. The difference is often still more considerable. In winter it is not less remarkable. Here our greatest degree of cold was in the end of January; the thermometer stood at thirty-six; at Rome it fell to twenty-seven: so that the distance between the two extremes of heat and cold last year at Naples was only forty degrees; whereas at Rome it was no less than sixty-two. Yet by all accounts their winter was much more agreeable and healthy than ours, for they had clear frosty weather while we were deluged with rains, accompanied with very high wind. The people here assure us that in some seasons it has rained every day for six or seven weeks. But the most disagreeable part of the Neapolitan climate is the sirocco or south-east wind, which is very common at this season. It is infinitely more relaxing, and gives the vapours in a much higher degree, than the worst of our rainy Novembers. It has now blown for these seven days without intermission, and has indeed blown away all our gaiety and spirits; and if it continues much longer, I do not know what may be the consequence. It gives a degree of lassitude both to the body and mind that renders them absolutely incapable of performing their usual functions. It is not perhaps surprising that it should produce these effects on a phlegmatic English constitution, but we have just now an instance that all the mercury of France must sink under the load of this horrid leaden atmosphere. A smart Parisian marquis came here about ten days ago; he was so full of ani-

\* [The young gentleman whose travelling preceptor Mr Brydone at this time was. See Biographical Memoir.]

† [Afterwards Sir William Hamilton, K.B., ambassador of the British government at Naples from 1764 to 1800, and author of several philosophical and archaeological works. Sir William's second marriage with an obscure female, who afterwards became connected in a disgraceful manner with Lord Nelson, made much noise. He died in April 1803, in the 73d year of his age.]

‡ [Kenneth Mackenzie, grandson of William fifth Earl of Seaforth, who was attainted in 1716. Mr Mackenzie was elevated to an Irish peerage in 1766 as Viscount Fortrose, to which title that of Earl of Seaforth was added in 1771. He raised the 78th (Highland) regiment, and died in 1791.]

mal spirits that the people thought him mad. He never remained a moment in the same place, but at their grave conversations used to skip from room to room with such amazing elasticity that the Italians swore he had got springs in his shoes. I met him this morning walking with the step of a philosopher, a smelling-bottle in his hand, and all his vivacity extinguished. I asked him what was the matter? "Ah, my dear sir," said he, "I am *ennuied* to death. If this execrable wind continues, in two hours more I shall hang myself!"

The natives themselves do not suffer less than strangers; and all nature seems to languish during this abominable wind. A Neapolitan lover avoids his mistress with the utmost care in the time of the sirocco, and the indolence it inspires is almost sufficient to extinguish every passion. All works of genius are laid aside during its continuance; and when any thing very flat or insipid is produced, the strongest phrase of disapprobation they can bestow is, "Era scritto in tempo del sirocco"—that it was written in the time of the sirocco. I shall make no apology for this letter; and whenever I happen to tire you, be kind enough to remember (pray do) that it is not me you are to blame, but the sirocco wind. This will put me much at my ease, and will save us a world of time and apologies.

I have been endeavouring to get some account of the cause of this very singular quality of the sirocco; but the people here seldom think of accounting for any thing, and I do not find, notwithstanding its remarkable effects, that it has ever yet been an object of inquiry amongst them.

I have not observed that the sirocco makes any remarkable change in the barometer. When it first set in, the mercury fell about a line and a half, and has continued much about the same height ever since; but the thermometer was at forty-three the morning it began, and rose almost immediately to sixty-five; and for these two days past it has been at seventy and seventy-one. However, it is certainly not the warmth of this wind that renders it so oppressive to the spirits; it is rather the want of that genial quality, which is so enlivening, and which ever renders the western breeze so agreeable: the spring and elasticity of the air seems to be lost, and that active principle which animates all nature appears to be dead. This principle we have sometimes supposed to be nothing else than the subtle electric fluid that the air usually contains; and indeed we have found that during this wind it appears to be almost annihilated, or at least its activity exceedingly reduced. Yesterday and to-day we have been attempting to make some electrical experiments, but I never before found the air so unfavourable for them.

Sea-bathing we have found to be the best antidote against the effects of the sirocco; and this we certainly enjoy in great perfection. Lord Fortrose, who is the soul of our colony here, has provided a large commodious boat for this purpose. We meet every morning at eight o'clock, and row about half a mile out to sea, where we strip and plunge into the water; were it not for this, we should all have been as bad as the French marquis. My lord has ten watermen, who are in reality a sort of amphibious animals, as they live one-half of the summer in the sea. Three or four of these generally go in with us, to pick up stragglers, and secure us from all accidents. They dive with ease to the depth of forty, and sometimes of fifty feet, and bring up quantities of excellent shell-fish, during the summer months; but so great is their devotion, that every time they go down they make the sign of the cross, and mutter an *Ave Maria*, without which they should certainly be drowned, and were not a little scandalised at us for omitting this ceremony. To accustom us to swimming in all circumstances, my lord has provided a suit of clothes, which we wear by turns; and from a very short practice, we have found it almost as commodious to

swim with as without them; we have likewise learned to strip in the water, and find it no very difficult matter: and I am fully persuaded, from being accustomed to this kind of exercise, that in case of shipwreck we should have greatly the advantage over those who had never practised it; for it is by the embarrassment from the clothes, and the agitation that people are thrown into, from finding themselves in a situation they had never experienced before, that so many lives are lost in the water.

After bathing, we have an English breakfast at his lordship's, and after breakfast a delightful little concert, which lasts for an hour and a half. Barbella, the sweetest fiddle in Italy, leads our little band. This party, I think, constitutes one principal part of the pleasure we enjoy at Naples. We have likewise some very agreeable society amongst ourselves, though we cannot boast much of that with the inhabitants. There are, to be sure, many good people among them; but in general, there is so very little analogy betwixt an English and a Neapolitan mind, that the true social harmony, that great sweetener of human life, can seldom be produced. In lieu of this (the exchange, you will say, is but a bad one), the country round Naples abounds so much in every thing that is curious, both in art and nature, and affords so ample a field of speculation for the naturalist and antiquary, that a person of any curiosity may spend some months here very agreeably, and not without profit.

Besides the discoveries of Herculaneum and Pompeii, which of themselves afford a great fund of entertainment, the whole coast that surrounds this beautiful bay, particularly that near Puzzoli, Cuma, Micenum, and Baia, is covered with innumerable monuments of Roman magnificence. But, alas! how are the mighty fallen! This delightful coast, once the garden of all Italy, and inhabited only by the rich, the gay, and luxurious, is now abandoned to the poorest and most miserable of mortals. Perhaps there is no spot on the globe that has undergone so thorough a change, or that can exhibit so striking a picture of the vanity of human grandeur. Those very walls that once lodged a Cæsar, and Lucullus, an Anthony, the richest and most voluptuous of mankind, are now occupied by the very meanest and most indigent wretches on earth, who are actually starving for want in those very apartments that were the scenes of the greatest luxury. There, we are told, suppers were frequently given that cost £50,000, and some that even amounted to double that sum.

The luxury, indeed, of Baia was so great, that it became a proverb, even amongst the luxurious Romans themselves; and at Rome, we often find them upbraiding with effeminacy and epicurism those who spent much of their time in this scene of delights; Clodius throws it in Cicero's teeth more than once; and that orator's having purchased a villa here, hurt him not a little in the opinion of the graver and more austere part of the senate. The walls of these palaces still remain, and the poor peasants, in some places, have built up their miserable huts within them; but at present there is not one gentleman or man of fashion residing in any part of this country; the former state of which, compared with the present, certainly makes the most striking contrast imaginable. Yesterday we rode over the greater part of it, a-shooting porcupines, a new species of diversion, which I had never heard of before. We killed several of these animals on the Monte Barbaro, the place that formerly produced the Falernian wine, but now a barren waste. I don't know if you are acquainted with this kind of sport. To me, I own, its novelty was its greatest merit; and I would not at any time give a day of partridge for a month of porcupine shooting. Neither, indeed, is the flesh of these animals the most delicious in the world, though to-day most of us have dined upon it. It is extremely luscious, and soon palls upon the appetite.

We are now going to lay in our sea store, as there is some probability that we shall sail in a day or two.—

Farewell; you shall hear from me again at Messina, if we are not swallowed up by Charybdis.

VOYAGE TO SICILY.

*On board the Charming Molly, off the Island of Capri, May 15.*

We have now begun our expedition with every auspicious omen. This morning the melancholy sirocco left us; and in place of it we have gotten a fine brisk tramontane (or north wind), which in a few hours blew away all our vapours, and made us wonder how much the happiness of mankind depends on a blast of wind. After eating a hearty dinner with many of our friends at Mr Walter's, and drinking plentifully of his excellent Burgundy, we took leave in the highest spirits. Had the sirocco blown as yesterday, we should probably have been in tears; and not one of us would have suspected that we were crying only because the wind was in the south. We are not apt to suppose it; but probably a great part of our pleasures and pains depend upon such trivial causes, though always ascribed to something else; few people being willing to own themselves like a weathercock, affected by every blast. Indeed, we should have naturally imputed it to the grief of parting with that excellent family whom you know so well, which no person could ever leave without regret, or see without pleasure; but the agreeable prospect of soon meeting again (probably better qualified to amuse and entertain them) absorbed all melancholy thoughts, and even added to that alacrity which the delightful tour before us had already inspired.

We sailed at five; and, after firing our farewell signals to our friends on shore (whom we discovered with our glasses at some miles' distance), we soon found ourselves in the middle of the Bay of Naples, surrounded by the most beautiful scenery in the world. It fell calm for an hour, on purpose to give us time to contemplate all its beauties.

The bay is of a circular figure, in most places upwards of twenty miles in diameter; so that, including all its breaks and inequalities, the circumference is considerably more than sixty miles. The whole of this space is so wonderfully diversified by all the riches both of art and nature, that there is scarce an object wanting to render the scene complete; and it is hard to say whether the view is more pleasing from the singularity of many of these objects, or from the incredible variety of the whole. You see an amazing mixture of the ancient and modern; some rising to fame, and some sinking to ruin. Palaces reared over the tops of other palaces, and ancient magnificence trampled under foot by modern folly. Mountains and islands that were celebrated for their fertility changed into barren wastes, and barren wastes into fertile fields and rich vineyards. Mountains sunk into plains, and plains swelled into mountains. Lakes drunk up by volcanoes, and extinguished volcanoes turned into lakes. The earth still smoking in many places, and in others throwing out flame. In short, nature seems to have formed this coast in her most capricious mood, for every object is a *lusus nature*. She never seems to have gone seriously to work, but to have devoted this spot to the most unlimited indulgence of caprice and frolic.

The bay is shut out from the Mediterranean by the island of Capri, so famous for the abode of Augustus, and afterwards so infamous for that of Tiberius. A little to the west lie those of Ischia, Prosidea, and Nisida; the celebrated promontory of Miceum, where Æneas landed; the classic fields of Baia, Cuma, and Puzzoli, with all the variety of scenery that formed both the Tartarus and Elysium of the ancients; the Camphi Phlegrei, or burning plains, where Jupiter overcame the giants; the Monte Novo, formed of late years by the fire; the Monte Barbaro; the picturesque

city of Puzzoli, with the Solfaterra smoking above it; the beautiful promontory of Paussillipe, exhibiting the finest scenery that can be imagined; the great and opulent city of Naples, with its three castles, its harbour full of ships from every nation, its palaces, churches, and convents innumerable; the rich country from thence to Portici, covered with noble houses and gardens, and appearing only a continuation of the city; the palace of the king, with many others surrounding it, all built over the roofs of those of Herculaneum, buried near 100 feet by the eruptions of Vesuvius; the black fields of lava that have run from that mountain, intermixed with gardens, vineyards, and orchards; Vesuvius itself, in the background of the scene, discharging volumes of fire and smoke, and forming a broad track in the air over our heads, extending, without being broken or dissipated, to the utmost verge of the horizon; a variety of beautiful towns and villages round the base of the mountain, thoughtless of the impending ruin that daily threatens them. Some of these are reared over the very roofs of Pompeii and Stabia, where Pliny perished; and with their foundations have pierced through the sacred abodes of the ancient Romans, thousands of whom lie buried here, the victims of this inexorable mountain. Next follows the extensive and romantic coast of Castello Mare, Sorrentum, and Mola, diversified with every picturesque object in nature. It was the study of this wild and beautiful country that formed our greatest landscape painters. This was the school of Poussin and Salvator Rosa, but more particularly of the last, who composed many of his most celebrated pieces from the bold craggy rocks that surround this coast; and no doubt it was from the daily contemplation of these romantic objects that they stored their minds with that variety of ideas they have communicated to the world with such elegance in their works.

Now, should I tell you that this extensive coast, this prodigious variety of mountains, valleys, promontories, and islands, covered with an everlasting verdure, and loaded with the richest fruits, is all the produce of subterraneous fire, it would require, I am afraid, too great a stretch of faith to believe me; yet the fact is certain, and can only be doubted by those who have wanted time or curiosity to examine it. It is strange, you will say, that nature should make use of the same agent to create as to destroy; and that what has only been looked upon as the consumer of countries, is in fact the very power that produces them. Indeed, this part of our earth seems already to have undergone the sentence pronounced upon the whole of it; but, like the phoenix, has arisen again from its own ashes, in much greater beauty and splendour than before it was consumed. The traces of these dreadful conflagrations are still conspicuous in every corner; they have been violent in their operations, but in the end have proved salutary in their effects. The fire in many places is not extinguished, but Vesuvius is now the only spot where it rages with any degree of activity.

Mr Hamilton, our minister here, who is no less distinguished in the learned than in the polite world, has lately examined it with a truly philosophic eye, and this is the result of all his observations; however, at present I only sit down to give you an account of the prospect of this singular country, and not to write its natural history, which would lead me into too vast a field. I shall reserve that curious subject till our return, when I shall have more leisure to make you acquainted with it. I beg, therefore, you would at least suspend your judgment for the present, and do not condemn me before I am heard.

After contemplating this delightful prospect till sunset, the wind sprang up again, and we have now almost reached Capri, thirty miles distant from Naples. We have just spoken with an English ship. They tell us that the Marquis of Carmarthen, Lord Fortrose,

and Mr Hamilton, observing the calm, took a boat to make us a visit; but unfortunately mistaking their vessel for ours, we have had the mortification to miss them.

The night is very dark, and Mount Vesuvius is flaming at a dreadful rate; we can observe the red-hot stones thrown to a vast height in the air, and, after their fall, rolling down the side of the mountain. Our ship is going so smooth, that we are scarce sensible of the motion; and if this wind continue, before to-morrow night we shall be in sight of Sicily. Adieu. The captain is making a bowl of grog, and promises us a happy voyage.

16th.—All wrong; sick to death; execrable sirocco wind, and directly contrary; vile heaving waves. A plague of all sea voyages; that author was surely right, who said that "land voyages" were much to be preferred.

17th, in the morning.—For these twenty-four hours past we have been groaning to one another from our beds; execrating the waves, and wishing that we had rather been at the mercy of all the banditti of Calabria. We are now beginning to change our tune. The sirocco is gone, and the wind is considerably fallen; however, we are still three woful figures. Our servants, too, are as sick and as helpless as we. The captain says that Philip, our Sicilian man, was frightened out of his wits, and has been praying to St Januarius with all his might. He now thinks he has heard him, and imputes the change of the weather entirely to his interest with his saint.

17th, three o'clock.—Weather pleasant and favourable. A fine breeze since ten; have just come in sight of Strombolo. Our pilot says it is near twenty leagues off. We have likewise a few of the mountains of Calabria, but at a very great distance. Ship steady; and sea-sickness almost gone.

Eleven at night.—The weather is now fine, and we are all well. After spying Strombolo, by degrees we came in sight of the rest of the Lipari islands, and part of the coast of Sicily. These islands are very picturesque, and several of them still emit smoke, particularly Volcano and Volcanello; but none of them, for some ages past, except Strombolo, have made any eruptions of fire. We are just now lying within three miles of that curious island, and can see its operations distinctly. It appears to be a volcano of a very different nature from Vesuvius, the explosions of which succeed one another with some degree of regularity, and have no great variety of duration. Now, I have been observing Strombolo ever since it fell dark, with a good deal of pleasure, but not without some degree of perplexity, as I cannot account for its variety. Sometimes its explosions resemble those of Vesuvius, and the light seems only to be occasioned by the quantity of fiery stones thrown into the air; and as soon as these have fallen down, it appears to be extinguished, till another explosion causes a fresh illumination; this I have always observed to be the case with Vesuvius, except when the lava has risen to the summit of the mountain, and continued without variety to illuminate the air around it. The light from Strombolo evidently depends on some other cause. Sometimes a clear red flame issues from the crater of the mountain, and continues to blaze without interruption for near the space of half an hour. The fire is of a different colour from the explosions of stones, and is evidently produced from a different cause. It would seem as if some inflammable substance were suddenly kindled up in the bowels of the mountain. It is attended with no noise or explosion that we are sensible of. It has now fallen calm, and we shall probably have an opportunity of examining this volcano more minutely to-morrow. We were told at Naples that it had lately made a violent eruption, and had begun to form a new island at some little distance from the old; which piece of intelligence was one of our great inducements to this expedition. We think we have discovered this

island, as we have observed several times the appearance of a small flame arising out of the sea, a little to the south-west of Strombolo, and suppose it must have issued from this new island; but it is possible this light may come from the lower part of the island of Strombolo itself. We shall see to-morrow.

18th.—We are still off Strombolo, but unfortunately at present it intercepts the view of that spot from whence we observed the flame to arise, and we can see no appearance of any new island, nor indeed of any lava that has of late sprung from the old one. We have a distinct view of the crater of Strombolo, which seems to be different from Vesuvius, and all the old volcanoes that surround Naples. Of these, the craters are without exception in the centre, and form the highest part of the mountain. That of Strombolo is on its side, and not within 200 yards of its summit. From the crater to the sea, the island is entirely composed of the same sort of ashes and burnt matter as the conical part of Vesuvius; and the quantity of this matter is perpetually increasing, from the uninterrupted discharge from the mountain; for of all the volcanoes we read of, Strombolo seems to be the only one that burns without ceasing. Etna and Vesuvius often lie quiet for many months, even years, without the least appearance of fire, but Strombolo is ever at work, and for ages past has been looked upon as the great lighthouse of these seas.

It is truly wonderful how such a constant and immense fire is maintained, for thousands of years, in the midst of the ocean! That of the other Lipari islands seems now almost extinct, and the force of the whole to be concentrated in Strombolo, which acts as one great vent to them all. We still observe Volcano and Volcanello throwing out volumes of smoke, but during the whole night we could not perceive the least spark of fire from either of them.

It is probable that Strombolo, as well as all the rest of these islands, is originally the work of subterraneous fire. The matter of which they are composed in a manner demonstrates this; and many of the Sicilian authors confirm it. There are now eleven of them in all, and none of the ancients mention more than seven. Fazello, one of the best Sicilian authors, gives an account of the production of Volcano, now one of the most considerable of these islands. He says it happened in the early time of the republic, and is recorded by Eusebius, Pliny, and others. He adds, that even in his time, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, it still discharged quantities of fire and of pumice-stones; but that in the preceding century, in the year 1444, on the 5th of February, there had been a very great eruption of this island, which shook all Sicily, and alarmed the coast of Italy as far as Naples. He says the sea boiled all around the island, and rocks of a vast size were discharged from the crater; that fire and smoke in many places pierced through the waves, and that the navigation amongst these islands was totally changed, rocks appearing where it was formerly deep water; and many of the straits and shallows were entirely filled up. He observes, that Aristotle, in his book on meteors, takes notice of a very early eruption of this island, by which not only the coast of Sicily, but likewise many cities in Italy, were covered with ashes. It has probably been that very eruption which formed the island. He describes Strombolo to have been, in his time, pretty much the same as at this day, only that it then produced a great quantity of cotton, which is not now the case. The greater part of it appears to be barren. On the north side there are a few vineyards, but they are very meagre; opposite to these, there is a rock at some distance from land; it seems to be entirely of lava, and is not less than fifty or sixty feet above the water.

The whole island of Strombolo is a mountain that rises suddenly from the sea; it is about ten miles round, and is not of the exact conical form supposed common to all volcanoes. We were determined to have landed

on the island, and to have attempted to examine the volcano; but our Sicilian pilot assures us that the crater is not only inaccessible (which indeed I own it appears to be), but that we shall likewise be obliged to perform a quarantine of forty-eight hours at Messina; and that, besides, we should run a great risk of being attacked by the natives, who are little better than savages, and always on the alarm against the Turks. On weighing these reasons, and putting the question, it was carried to proceed on our voyage.

I own it is with much regret that I leave this curious island without being better acquainted with it. I have been looking with a good glass all round, but can see no marks of the eruption we heard so much of at Naples; indeed, the south-west part, where we saw the appearance of fire, is still hid from us by the interposition of the island, and if there has been an eruption, it was certainly on that side: it is probable we shall never be able to learn whether there has been one or not, or at least to make ourselves masters of any of the particulars relating to it; for events of that kind do not make such a noise in this ignorant and indolent country, as the blowing of an alce or a gooseberry bush at Christmas does in England. Strombolo rises to a great height, our pilot says higher than Vesuvius; but I think he is mistaken. Both the captain and he agree, that in clear weather it is discoverable at the distance of twenty-five leagues, and that at night its flames are to be seen much farther; so that its visible horizon cannot be less than 500 miles, which will require a very considerable elevation.

The revenue these islands bring to the King of Naples is by no means inconsiderable. They produce great quantities of alum, sulphur, nitre, cinnabar, and most sorts of fruits, particularly raisins, currants, and figs, in great perfection; some of their wines are likewise much esteemed, particularly the Malvasia, well known all over Europe.

The island of Lipari, from which all the rest take their name, is by much the largest as well as the most fertile. By the description of Aristotle, it appears that it was in his time what Strombolo is in ours, considered by sailors as a lighthouse, as its fires were never extinguished. It has not suffered from subterraneous fires for many ages past, though it every where bears the marks of its former state. This is the island supposed by Virgil, who is one of our travelling companions, to be the habitation of Æolus, but indeed all of them were formerly called Æolian. As they were full of vast caverns, roaring with internal fires, the poets feigned that Æolus kept the winds prisoners here, and let them out at his pleasure. This allegorical fiction is of great use both to Virgil and Homer, when they want to make a storm, and forms no inconsiderable part of their machinery. A goddess has nothing to do but to take a flight to the Lipari islands, and Æolus, who was the very pink of courtesy, has always a storm ready at her command.

Homer, indeed, departing sadly from his usual dignity, supposes that Æolus kept the winds here, each tied up in their respective bags; and when any particular wind was demanded, he made them a present of a bagful of it, to use at discretion. Some of the ancient historians (Diodorus, I think) says that this fable took its rise from a wise king named Æolus, who, from observing the smoke of these burning islands, and other phenomena attending them, had learned to foretell the weather; and from thence was said to have the command of the winds.

The forge of Vulcan, too, has been supposed by the poets to be placed in Hiera, one of these islands.\* Virgil

\* Amid the Hesperian and Sicilian flood,  
All black with smoke, a rocky island stood—  
The dark Vulcanian land, the region of the god.  
Here the grim Cyclops ply in vaults profound,  
The huge Æolian forge that thunders round:  
Th' eternal anvils ring the dungeon o'er;  
From side to side the fiery caverns roar—&c.

sends him here to make the celestial armour for Æneas, and gives a noble description of this gloomy habitation, where he found the Cyclops busy forging a thunderbolt for Jupiter, the account of which is very singular.\* This island is now called Volcano, the same that is recorded to have been produced by fire in the time of the republic. So that Virgil commits here a very great anachronism, in sending Vulcan to a place which at that time did not exist, nor for many ages after. But this bold poetical license he amply repays us for by the fine description he gives of it. These islands, he says, were called Volcanian as well as Æolian:

Vulcani domus, et Volcania nomine tellus.  
[Vulcan's the land, from him Vulcanian named.]

So that the change of the name from Hiera to Volcano was a very natural one. This is the island that Pliny calls Terasia; and both Strabo and he gave an account of its productions.

19th.—Found ourselves within half a mile of the coast of Sicily, which is low but finely variegated. The opposite coast of Calabria is very high, and the mountains are covered with the finest verdure. It was almost a dead calm, our ship scarce moving half a mile in an hour, so that we had time to get a complete view of the famous rock of Scylla, on the Calabrian side, Cape Pylorus on the Sicilian, and the celebrated Straits of the Faro that run between them. Whilst we were still some miles distant from the entry of the straits, we heard the roaring of the current, like the noise of some large impetuous river confined between narrow banks. This increased in proportion as we advanced, till we saw the water in many places raised to a considerable height, and forming large eddies, or whirlpools. The sea in every other place was as smooth as glass. Our old pilot told us that he had often seen ships caught in these eddies, and whirled about with great rapidity, without obeying the helm in the smallest degree. When the weather is calm, there is little danger; but when the waves meet with this violent current, it makes a dreadful sea. He says that there were five ships wrecked in this spot last winter. We observed that the current set exactly for the rock of Scylla, and would infallibly have carried any thing thrown into it against that point; so that it was not without reason the ancients have painted it as an object of such terror. It is about a mile from the entry of the Faro, and forms a small promontory, which runs a little out to sea, and meets the whole force of the waters, as they come out of the narrowest part of the straits. The head of this promontory is the famous Scylla. It must be owned that it does not altogether come up to the formidable description that Homer gives of it; the reading of which (like that of Shakspeare's Cliff) almost makes one's head giddy. Neither is the passage so wondrous narrow and difficult as he makes it. Indeed, it is probable that the breadth of it is greatly increased since his time by the violent impetuosity of the current. And this violence, too, must have always diminished in proportion as the breadth of the channel increased.

Our pilot says there are many small rocks that show their heads near the base of the large ones. These are probably the dogs that are described as howling round the monster Scylla. There are likewise many caverns that add greatly to the noise of the water, and tend still to increase the horror of the scene. The rock is near 200 feet high. There is a kind of castle or fort built on its summit, and the town of Scylla or Sciglio, containing 300 or 400 inhabitants, stands on its south side, and gives the title of prince to a Calabrese family.

\* Beneath their hands, tremendous to survey!  
Half rough, half formed, the dreadful engine lay.  
Three points of rain, three forks of hail conspire,  
Three armed with wind, and three were barb'd with fire;  
The mass they temper'd thick with livid rays,  
Fear, wrath, and terror, and the lightning's blaze.—PITT.

As the current was directly against us, we were obliged to lie-to for some hours till it turned. The motion of the water ceased for some time, but in a few minutes it began in the opposite direction, though not with such violence. We lay just opposite to Cape Pylorus, where the lighthouse is now built. It is said to have been thus named by Hannibal, in recompense to Pelorus his pilot, for having put him to death on this spot, on a false suspicion of his wanting to betray him; for seeing himself landlocked on all sides, he thought there was no escaping, and that Pelorus had been bribed to deliver him up; but as soon as he discovered the straits, he repented of his rashness, and some years afterwards erected a statue here, in atonement to the manes of Pelorus. Pomponius Mela tells this story, from whence he draws two very wise inferences: that Hannibal must have been extremely passionate, and that he knew nothing at all of geography. Others deny this authority, and say it was named Pelorus from Ulysses' pilot, who was drowned near to this place; but there can be no sort of foundation for this conjecture, for Ulysses' whole crew were drowned at the same time, and he himself was driven through these straits mounted on the broken mast of his ship. It is, like most disputes among antiquaries, a matter of mighty little consequence, and I leave you at full liberty to choose which of the two accounts you please.

From hence we had an opportunity of observing a pretty large portion of Calabria, which formerly constituted a considerable part of that celebrated country known by the name of Great Greece, and looked upon as one of the most fertile in the empire. These beautiful hills and mountains are covered with trees and brushwood to the very summit, and appear pretty much in the same state as some of the wilds of America that are just beginning to be cultivated. Some little spots where the woods are cleared away, just serve to show the natural fertility of the soil, and what this country might soon be brought to, were industry and population encouraged; but it still remains a good deal in the same situation as when the barbarous nations left it; and I believe it is hard to say whether their tyranny or that of Spain has been the most oppressive. After the invasion of those nations, and during the time of the dark and barbarous ages, this country (like many others), from the highest state of culture and civilisation, became a wild and barren wilderness, overgrown with thickets and forests; and, indeed, since the revival of arts and agriculture, perhaps of all Europe this is the country that has profited the least—retaining still, both in the wildness of its fields and ferocity of its inhabitants, more of the Gothic barbarity than is to be met with any where else. Some of these forests are of a vast extent, and absolutely impenetrable, and no doubt conceal in their thickets many valuable monuments of ancient magnificence. Of this, indeed, we have a very recent proof in the discovery of *Pæstum*, a Grecian city, that had not been heard of for many ages; till of late some of its lofty temples were seen peeping over the tops of the woods, upbraiding mankind for their shameful neglect, and calling upon them to bring it once more to light. Accordingly, curiosity, and the hopes of gain, a still more powerful motive, soon opened a passage, and exposed to view these valuable and respectable relics. But here it would be out of place to give you an account of them; I shall reserve that till my return.

As soon as our ship entered the current, we were carried along with great velocity towards Messina, which is twelve miles from the entry of the straits.\* However, as the passage widens in proportion as you advance, the current of consequence becomes less ra-

pid. At Messina, it is four miles broad. At the mouth of the straits, betwixt the promontories of Pelorus in Sicily and the Coda de Volpe (or the Fox's Tail) in Calabria, it appears scarcely to be a mile. Most of the ancient writers are of opinion that Sicily was formerly joined to the continent in this spot, and that the separation must have been made by some violent convulsion of the earth. If this is true, which indeed does not appear improbable, it must have happened far beyond the reach of all historians, as none of them, at least that I have seen, pretend any thing but conjecture for the foundation of their opinion.\* Indeed, Claudian (were credit to be given to poets) says positively,

Trinacria quondam Italiæ pars una fuit.

[Trinacria (Sicily) was once a part of Italy.]

And Virgil, too, in this third *Æneid*, tells the same story:

Hæc loca vi quondam, et vasta convulsa ruina, &c.

[The Italian shore,

And fair Sicilia's coast, were one, before

An earthquake caused the flaw.—*Dryden's Virgil.*]

Pliny, Strabo, Diodorus, and many others, both historians and philosophers, are of the same sentiments, and pretend that the strata on the opposite sides of the strait perfectly correspond; like the white rocks near Dover and Boulogne, which have given rise to an opinion of the same kind. However, the similarity in that case is much more striking, to the eye at least, than in this.

The approach to Messina is the finest that can be imagined; it is not so grand as that of Naples, but it is much more beautiful, and the quay exceeds any thing I have ever yet seen, even in Holland. It is built in the form of a crescent, and is surrounded by a range of magnificent buildings, four storeys high, and exactly uniform, for the space of an Italian mile.†

\* [Sicily, anciently called Trinacria, is the largest and most populous island in the Mediterranean, being 180 miles in length by 130 in breadth, and containing, according to a late census, 1,787,771 inhabitants. The country is beautifully diversified by hill and vale, is fertile, and possesses an agreeable climate; but owing to the rudeness, indolence, and licentiousness of the inhabitants, the want of an enlightened government, and the consequent absence of all the social institutions which favour industry, the island has a very humble place in the commerce of Europe. It is, nevertheless, considered as improving. The exports, which consist of corn, hemp, oil, wine, sulphur, silk, &c., and the imports, which are chiefly of manufactured articles, respectively amount only to about a quarter of a million of British money. The Greek colonies of Syracuse, Agrigentum, and Messina, particularly the first, cast a great lustre on ancient Sicilian history, on account of their flourishing commerce, their advance in the arts, and their military achievements. After passing through the hands of many masters, the island was conquered, or rather regained, by Spain, in 1733. In 1759, it was, in union with Naples, placed under the government of Ferdinand, third son of Charles III. of Spain, the title of the united states being the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Ferdinand II., grandson of Ferdinand I., is the present monarch, and the affairs of Sicily are now administered by a council of eight, appointed by the king, and who remain constantly at his residence; the affairs of Naples being in like manner administered by a council of sixteen, and the two councils uniting to deliberate on affairs concerning both countries. The nobility of Sicily consists of six dukes, 217 princes, 217 marquises, 2000 barons, and the same number of an order called gentlemen; and the island contains 1117 convents, giving accommodation and support to 30,000 monks and 30,000 nuns. In all, there are 300,000 persons, or a sixth of the whole population, who either are ecclesiastics, or live upon ecclesiastical revenues. The enormous amount of the non-productive classes, in a country where there is no mercantile or middle class, necessarily depresses the condition of the working population, who, in such circumstances, become little superior to the beasts of burden which man calls in to aid him in his labours.]

† [The whole of this splendid line of palaces, usually called the Palazzata, was destroyed by the earthquake of 1783, when most of the inhabitants were buried in the ruins. When the rebuilding had proceeded to the first storey, government interfered to

\* [These straits, it is said, were for the first time passed by a modern fleet, when Nelson, after visiting Naples, advanced to the coast of Egypt in pursuit of Bonaparte, in 1798.]

The street betwixt these and the sea is about 100 feet wide, and forms one of the most delightful walks in the world. It enjoys the freest air, and commands the most beautiful prospect; it is only exposed to the morning sun, being shaded all the rest of the day by these buildings. It is besides constantly refreshed by the cooling breeze from the straits; for the current of the water produces likewise a current in the air, that renders this one of the coolest habitations in Sicily.

We cast anchor about four this afternoon, near the centre of this enchanted semicircle, the beauty of which greatly delighted us; but our pleasure was soon interrupted by a discovery that the name of one of our servants had been omitted in our bills of health, and an assurance from the captain that if he were discovered, we should certainly be obliged to perform a long quarantine. Whilst we were deliberating upon this weighty matter, we observed a boat with the people of the health-office approaching us. We had just time to get him wrapped up in a hammock, and shut down below the hatches, with orders not to stir in case of a search, and not to appear again above deck till he should be called. The poor fellow was obliged to keep in his hole till it was dark, as our consul, and some people of the health-office, stayed on board much longer than we could have wished; and we are still obliged to conceal him, for if he be discovered we shall probably get into a very bad scrape. They are particularly strict here in this respect, and indeed they have great reason to be so, since this beautiful city was almost depopulated by the plague in the year 1743, when upwards of 70,000 people are said to have died in it and its district in the space of a few months.

We have now got on shore, and are lodged in the most wretched of inns, although said to be a first-rate one for Sicily; but we are contented, for surely after bad ship-accommodation and sea-sickness, any house will appear a palace, and any bit of dry land a paradise.

I shall send this off by the post, which goes to-morrow for Naples, and shall continue from day to day to give you some account of our transactions: trifling as they are, there will probably be something new, and it will add greatly to the pleasure of our expedition to think that it has contributed to your entertainment. Adieu. Ever yours, &c.

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SICILY.—MESSINA.

*Messina, May 20.*

THE harbour of Messina is formed by a small promontory or neck of land that runs off from the east end of the city, and separates that beautiful basin from the rest of the straits. The shape of this promontory is that of a reaping-hook, the curvature of which forms the harbour, and secures it from all winds. From the striking resemblance of its form, the Greeks, who never gave a name that did not either describe the object or express some of its most remarkable properties, called this place Zankle, or the sickle, and feigned that the sickle of Saturn fell on this spot and gave it its form. But the Latins, who were not quite so fond of fable, changed its name to Messina (from *messis*, a harvest), because of the great fertility of its fields. It is certainly one of the safest harbours in the world after ships have got in, but it is likewise one of the most difficult of access. The celebrated gulf or whirlpool of Charybdis lies near to its entry, and often occasions such an intestine and irregular motion in the water,

prevent their further progress, on the ground that edifices higher than one storey in such a situation were dangerous. The Palazzata now, therefore, consists of a row of low buildings, with docked pillars and pilasters, and the other parts of the architectural design in general broken short, and covered in many instances by projecting tilework of mean appearance.]

that the helm loses most of its power, and ships have great difficulty to get in, even with the fairest wind that can blow. This whirlpool, I think, is probably formed by the small promontory I have mentioned, which contracting the straits in this spot, must necessarily increase the velocity of the current; but no doubt other causes of which we are ignorant concur, for this will by no means account for all the appearances which it has produced. The great noise occasioned by the tumultuous motion of the waters in this place, made the ancients liken it to a voracious sea-monster perpetually roaring for its prey; and it has been represented by their authors as the most tremendous passage in the world. Aristotle gives a long and formidable description of it in his 125th chapter *De Admirandis*, which I find translated in an old Sicilian book I have got here. It begins, "Adeo profundum, horridumque spectaculum," &c.; but it is too long to transcribe. It is likewise described by Homer,\* 12th of the *Odyssey*; Virgil,† 3d *Æneid*; Lucretius, Ovid, Sallust, Seneca, as also by many of the old Italian and Sicilian poets, who all speak of it in terms of horror, and represent it as an object that inspired terror even when looked on at a distance. It certainly is not now so formidable, and very probably the violence of this motion, continued for so many ages, has by degrees worn smooth the rugged rocks and jutting shelves that may have intercepted and confined the waters. The breadth of the straits, too, in this place, I make no doubt is considerably enlarged. Indeed, from the nature of things it must be so; the perpetual friction occasioned by the current must wear away the bank on each side, and enlarge the bed of the water.

The vessels in this passage were obliged to go as near as possible to the coast of Calabria, in order to avoid the suction occasioned by the whirling of the waters in this vortex;‡ by which means, when they came to the narrowest and most rapid part of the straits, betwixt Cape Pylorus and Scylla, they were in great danger of being carried upon that rock. From whence the proverb still applied to those who in attempting to avoid one evil fall into another—

Incidit in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim.

[Who flies Charybdis, upon Scylla strikes.]

There is a fine fountain of white marble on the quay,

\* Dire Scylla there a scene of horror forms,  
And here Charybdis fills the deep with storms;  
When the tide rushes from her rumbling caves,  
The rough rock roars, tumultuous boil the waves—  
They toss, they foam, a wild confusion raise,  
Like waters bubbling o'er the fiery blaze;  
Eternal mists obscure the aerial plain,  
And high above the rock she spouts the main.  
When in her gulfs the rushing sea subsides,  
She drains the ocean with her reluctant tides.  
The rock rebellows with a thundering sound;  
Deep, wondrous deep, below appears the ground.—POPE.

† That realm of old, a ruin huge, was rent  
In length of ages from the continent.  
With force convulsive burst the isle away;  
Through the dread opening broke the thundering sea.  
At once the thundering sea Sicilia tore,  
And sunder'd from the fair Hesperian shore;  
And stant the neighbouring coasts and towns divides  
With scanty channels and contracted tides.  
Fierce to the right tremendous Scylla roars,  
Charybdis on the left the flood devours:  
Thrice swallow'd in her womb subsides the sea,  
Deep, deep as hell, and thrice she spouts away,  
From her black bellowing gulfs disgorged on high,  
Waves after waves that dash against the sky.—PITT.

‡ [In reality, Charybdis is not a vortex of the ordinary nature, and does not endanger vessels by suction. It is said rather to have a centrifugal or repelling force. The danger seems to arise chiefly from the tumultuous movements of the water, which often breaks into three, four, or more whirling centres, amidst which all common expedients for guiding or managing vessels are in vain. The Sicilian government retains a body of pilots, for the express purpose of guiding vessels safely in this dangerous place.]

representing Neptune holding Scylla and Charybdis chained, under the emblematical figures of two sea-monsters, as represented by the poets.

The little neck of land, forming the harbour of Messina, is strongly fortified. The citadel, which is indeed a very fine work, is built on that part which connects it with the mainland. The farthest point, which runs out to sea, is defended by four small forts, which command the entry into the harbour. Betwixt these lie the lazaret, and a lighthouse to warn sailors of their approach to Charybdis, as that other on Cape Pylorus is intended to give them notice of Scylla.

It is probably from these lighthouses (by the Greeks called *pharoi*) that the whole of this celebrated strait has been denominated the Faro of Messina.

There are a number of galleys and galliots in this beautiful harbour, which still add greatly to its beauty. Three of these sailed this morning, in order to cruise round the island, and to protect it from the sudden invasions of the barbarians, who are often very troublesome on the south coast. These vessels made a very picturesque appearance as they went out of the harbour; their oars moving all together with the greatest regularity. I think there are nine or ten men to each oar; and, indeed, it appears to be the hardest work you can imagine. They all rise every stroke of the oar, and when they pull, they almost throw themselves on their backs, and seem to exert their utmost force. These wretches are chained to their oars, and sleep every night on the bare benches, without any thing to throw over them. Yet, what is strange, notwithstanding all the misery they suffer, I am told there was never known an instance of any of them putting themselves to death. They often, indeed, confer that favour upon one another, but it is only in their quarrels, and by no means out of kindness. In a company of English in the same circumstances, promotion would probably go on much faster, as there would be no want of vacancies, provided only ropes and knives were to be had.

We intended this morning to have paid our respects to the Prince of Villa Franca, the governor, and to have delivered our letters; but he is gone to his country-house, and as there are no carriages to be had, we are obliged to wait his arrival in town, which will probably be to-morrow or next day.

We are still under a good deal of uneasiness about our servant, and are obliged to conceal him carefully from the people of the health-office, who seem to haunt us, as we have met them this morning in all our walks. Were he to be discovered, perhaps some of us might have the pleasure of making a little voyage on board one of those galleys for our amusement. Indeed, the captain of the ship, poor fellow, would run the greatest risk, who is obliged to answer for every person on board. We shall leave this place as soon as possible; for I do not believe there is much more to be seen about it.

20th, at night.—After dinner, our depute-consul (a Sicilian) carried us to several convents, where we were received by the nuns with great politeness and affability. We conversed with them for some hours through the grate, and found some of them by no means deficient either in point of knowledge or sprightliness; but none of them had sincerity enough (which we met with in Portugal more than once) to acknowledge the unhappiness of their situation. All pretended to be happy and contented, and declared they would not change their prison for the most brilliant situation in life. However, some of them had a soft melancholy in their countenances, that gave the lie to their words; and I am persuaded, in a *tête-à-tête*, and on a more intimate acquaintance, they would have told a very different story. Several of them are extremely handsome, but, indeed, I think they always appear so; and I am very certain, from frequent experience, that there is no artificial ornament, or studied embellishment whatever, that can produce half so strong an effect, as the modest and

simple attire of a pretty young nun, placed behind a double iron grate. To see an amiable, unaffected, and unadorned person, that might have been an honour and an ornament to society, make a voluntary resignation of her charms, and give up the world and all its pleasures, for a life of fasting and mortification, it cannot fail to move our pity;

And pity melts the mind to love.

There is another consideration which tends much to increase these feelings; that is, our total incapacity ever to alter her situation. The pleasure of relieving an object in distress is the only refuge we have against the pain which the seeing of that object occasions; but here this is utterly denied us, and we feel with sorrow that pity is all we can bestow.

From these, and the like reflections, a man generally feels himself in bad spirits after conversing with amiable nuns. Indeed, it is hardly possible, without a heavy heart, to leave the grate, that inexorable and impenetrable barrier. At last we took our leave, expressing our happiness in being admitted so near them, but at the same time deploring our misery at seeing them for ever removed at so immeasurable a distance from us. They were much pleased with our visit, and begged we would repeat it every day during our stay at Messina; but this might prove dangerous.

On leaving the convent, we observed a great concourse of people on the top of a high hill, at some distance from the city. The consul told us it was the celebration of a great festival in honour of St Francis, and was worth our going to see. Accordingly, we arrived just as the saint made his appearance. He was carried through the crowd with vast ceremony, and received the homage of the people with a becoming dignity; after which he was again lodged in his chapel, where he performs a number of miracles every day, to all those who have abundance of money and abundance of faith. His ministers, however, are only a set of poor greasy capuchins, who, indeed, do not seem to have enriched themselves in his service. In general, he is but a shabby master, if one may judge by the tattered clothes of his servants; and St Benedict, who does not pretend to half his sanctity, beats him all to nothing. The people continued to dance in soft Sicilian measures till after sunset, when they retired. Many of the country girls are extremely handsome, and dance with a good grace. The young fellows were all in their Sunday's clothes, and made a good appearance. The assembly room was a fine green plain on the top of the hill. It pleased us very much, and put us in mind of some of Theocritus's descriptions of the Sicilian pleasures. But Theocritus, if he could have raised up his head, would probably have been a good deal puzzled what to make of the shabby figure of St Francis, marching through amongst them with such majesty and solemnity. Another part of the ceremony, too, would have greatly alarmed him, as indeed it did us. The whole court before the church was surrounded with a triple row of small iron cannon, about six inches long; these were charged to the muzzle, and rammed very hard; after which they were set close to each other, and a train laid, that completed the communication through the whole number, which must have exceeded 2000. Fire was set to the train, and in two or three minutes the whole was discharged by a running fire, the reports following one another so quick, that it was impossible for the ear to individualise them. The effect was very grand; but it would have been nothing without the fine echo from the high mountains on each side of the straits, which prolonged the sound for some considerable time after the firing was finished.

The view from the top of this hill is beautiful beyond description. The straits appear like a vast majestic river flowing slowly betwixt two ridges of mountains, and opening by degrees from its narrowest point, till it swells to the size of an ocean; its banks, at the same time, adorned with rich corn-fields, vineyards, orch-



ards, towns, villages, and churches. The prospect is terminated on each side by the tops of high mountains covered with wood.

We observed in our walks to-day many of the flowers that are much esteemed in our gardens, and others, too, that we are not acquainted with. Larkspur, flos Adonis, Venus's looking-glass, hawkweed, and very fine lupins, grow wild over all these mountains. They have likewise a variety of flowering shrubs; particularly one in great plenty, which I do not recollect ever to have seen before: it bears a beautiful round fruit of a bright shining yellow. They call it *il pomo dorò*, or golden apple. All the fields about Messina are covered with the richest white clover, intermixed with a variety of aromatic plants, which perfume the air, and render their walks exceedingly delightful. But what is remarkable, we were most sensible of this perfume when walking on the harbour, which is at the greatest distance from these fields. I mentioned this peculiarity to a Messinese gentleman, who tells me, that the salt produced here by the heat of the sun, emits a grateful odour, something like violets, and it is that probably which perfumes the sea-shore. On consulting Fazzello *De rebus Siculis*, I find he takes notice of the same singularity, and likewise observes, that the water of the straits has a viscous or glutinous quality, which by degrees cements the sand and gravel together, and at last consolidates them to the solidity of rock.

There are fine shady walks on all sides of Messina; some of these run along the sea-shore, and are for ever fanned by the cooling breeze from the straits. The houses are large, and most of the articles of life are cheap and in plenty, particularly fish, which are reckoned better here than any where else in the Mediterranean. The hire of lodgings is next to nothing; almost one-half of that noble range of buildings I have described being absolutely uninhabited since the desolation of 1743; so that the proprietors are glad to get tenants on any terms. It now occurs to me that from all these considerations, there is no place I have seen so admirably calculated for the residence of that flock of valetudinarians, which every autumn leave our country with the swallows in search of warm climates. I have been inquiring with regard to their winter season, and find all agree that in general it is much preferable to that of Naples. They allow they have sometimes heavy rain for two or three weeks, but it never lasts longer; and besides, they have always some fair hours every day, when people can go out for exercise; for the moment the rain is over the walks are dry, the soil being a light gravel.

The advantages of Messina over Naples in other respects, I think, are considerable. At Naples there are no walks; and the truth is, they have no occasion for them, no more indeed than they have for legs; for you know as well as I, that walking there is little less infamous than stealing; and any person that makes use of his limbs is looked upon as a blackguard, and despised by all good company. The rides, too, are all at a great distance, and you are obliged to go some miles on streets and pavement before you get into the country; besides passing the vile grotto of Pansillippe, where you are in danger of being blinded and stifled with dust. There are seldom any public diversions here; the attending of which at Naples, and complying with their bad hours, does often more than counteract all the benefit obtained from the climate. That detestable practice of gaming, too, is by no means so prevalent here; which, from the anxiety it occasions to the mind, and lassitude to the body, must be death to all hectic people, weak breasts, or delicate nerves. I could say much more on this subject, but as I have many of these circumstances only from the report of the inhabitants, it makes me more diffident than if I had known them from my own experience.

We found our banker, Mr M——, a very sensible man, and spent some hours with him, both this morn-

ing and evening, very agreeably. He has given us some account of the police of the country, the most singular, perhaps, of any in the world; to such a degree, indeed, that I shall not venture to tell it you till I have talked it over with some other people, to see if the accounts agree; though, from the character that gentleman bears, both here and at Naples, he is as good authority as any in the island.

The Prince of Villa Franca is arrived, so that we shall probably have our audience to-morrow morning. Adieu. We are just going to sup upon steaks made of the *pesce spada*, or sword-fish, which are caught in great plenty in these seas. The sword of this one is upwards of four feet long, and a formidable weapon it is—not unlike a Highland broad-sword. This fish, when cut, bears a perfect resemblance to flesh—so much, that none of us doubted it was beef-steaks they were dressing for us, and expressed our surprise at finding that dish in Sicily. Good night.

#### SICILIAN BANDITTI.—FATA MORGANA.

21st.—We are just returned from the prince's. He received us politely, but with a good deal of state. He offered us the use of his carriages, as there are none to be hired, and in the usual style desired to know in what he could be of service to us. We told him (with an apology for our abrupt departure) that we were obliged to set off to-morrow, and begged his protection on our journey. He replied, that he would give orders for guards to attend us, that should be answerable for every thing; that we need give ourselves no further trouble; that whatever number of mules we had occasion for should be ready at the door of the inn, at any hour we should think proper to appoint: he added, that we might entirely rely on those guards, who were people of the most determined resolution, as well as of the most approved fidelity, and would not fail to chastise on the spot any person who should presume to impose upon us.

Now, who do you think these trusty guards are composed of? Why, of the most daring, and most hardened villains, perhaps, that are to be met with upon earth, who, in any other country, would have been broken upon the wheel or hung in chains, but are here publicly protected, and universally feared and respected. It was this part of the police of Sicily that I was afraid to give you an account of: but I have now conversed with the prince's people on the subject, and they have confirmed every circumstance Mr M. made me acquainted with.

He told me, that in this east part of the island, called Val Demoni (from the devils that are supposed to inhabit Mount *Ætna*), it has ever been found impracticable to extirpate the banditti; there being numberless caverns and subterraneous passages in that mountain, where no troops could possibly pursue them: that besides, as they are known to be perfectly determined and resolute, never failing to take a dreadful revenge on all who have offended them, the Prince of Villa Franca has embraced it, not only as the safest, but likewise as the wisest and most politic scheme, to become their declared patron and protector. And such of them as think proper to leave their mountains and forests, though perhaps only for a time, are sure to meet with good encouragement and security in his service; they enjoy the most unbounded confidence, which in no instance they have ever yet been found to make an improper or dishonest use of. They are clothed in the prince's livery, yellow and green, with silver lace, and wear likewise a badge of their honourable order, which entitles them to universal fear and respect from the people.

I have just been interrupted by an upper servant of the prince's, who, both by his looks and language, seems to be of the same worthy fraternity. He tells

me that he has ordered our muleteers, at their peril, to be ready by daybreak, but that we need not go till we think proper; for it is their business to attend on *nostrî excellenzi*. He says he has likewise ordered two of the most desperate fellows in the whole island to accompany us; adding, in a sort of whisper, that we need be under no apprehension, for if any person should presume to impose upon us to the value of a single *baiocc*,\* they would certainly put them to death. I gave him an *ounce*,† which I knew was what he expected; on which he redoubled his bows and his excellenzis, and declared we were the most *honorabili signori* he had ever met with, and that if we pleased, he himself should have the honour of attending us, and would chastise any person that should dare to take the wall of us, or injure us in the smallest trifle. We thanked him for his zeal, showing him we had swords of our own. On which, bowing respectfully, he retired.

I can now, with more assurance, give you some account of the conversation I had with Signor M., who, as I said, appears to be a very intelligent man, and has resided here for these many years.

He says, that in some circumstances these banditti are the most respectable people of the island, and have by much the highest and most romantic notions of what they call their point of honour; that, however criminal they may be with regard to society in general, yet, with respect to one another, and to every person to whom they have once professed it, they have ever maintained the most unshaken fidelity. The magistrates have often been obliged to protect them, and even pay them court, as they are known to be perfectly determined and desperate; and so extremely vindictive, that they will certainly put any person to death who has ever given them just cause of provocation. On the other hand, it never was known that any person who had put himself under their protection, and showed that he had confidence in them, had cause to repent of it, or was injured by any of them in the most minute trifle; but, on the contrary, they will protect him from impositions of every kind, and scorn to go halves with the landlord, like most other conductors and travelling servants, and will defend him with their lives if there is occasion. That those of their number who have thus enlisted themselves in the service of society, are known and respected by the other banditti all over the island, and the persons of those they accompany are ever held sacred. For these reasons, most travellers choose to hire a couple of them from town to town, and may thus travel over the whole island in safety. To illustrate their character the more, he added two stories, which happened but a few days ago, and are still in every body's mouth.

A number of people were found digging in a place where some treasure was supposed to have been hid during the plague: as this had been forbid under the most severe penalties, they were immediately carried to prison, and expected to have been treated without mercy; but luckily for the others, one of these heroes happened to be of the number. He wrote to the Prince of Villa Franca, and made use of such powerful arguments in their favour, that they were all immediately set at liberty.

This will serve to show their consequence with the civil power; the other story will give you a strong idea of their barbarous ferocity, and the horrid mixture of stubborn vice and virtue (if I may call it by that name) that seems to direct their actions. I should have mentioned that they have a practice of borrowing money from the country people, who never dare refuse them; and if they promise to pay it, they have ever been found punctual and exact, both as to the time and the sum; and would much rather rob and murder an innocent person, than fail of payment at

the day appointed; and this they have often been obliged to do, only in order, as they say, to fulfil their engagements, and to save their honour.

It happened within this fortnight that the brother of one of these heroic banditti having occasion for money, and not knowing how to procure it, determined to make use of his brother's name and authority, an artifice which he thought could not easily be discovered; accordingly, he went to a country priest, and told him his brother had occasion for twenty ducats, which he desired he would immediately lend him. The priest assured him that he had not then so large a sum, but that if he would return in a few days, it should be ready for him. The other replied, that he was afraid to return to his brother with this answer, and desired that he would by all means take care to keep out of his way, at least till such time as he had pacified him, otherwise he could not be answerable for the consequences. As bad fortune would have it, the very next day the priest and the robber met in a narrow road; the former fell a-trembling as the latter approached, and at last dropped on his knees to beg for mercy. The robber, astonished at his behaviour, desired to know the cause of it. The trembling priest answered, "*Il denaro, il denaro*—the money, the money; but send your brother to-morrow, and you shall have it." The haughty robber assured him that he disdain'd taking money of a poor priest; adding, that if any of his brothers had been low enough to make such a demand, he himself was ready to advance the sum. The priest then acquainted him with the visit he had received the preceding night from his brother by his order, assuring him, that if he had been master of the sum, he should immediately have supplied it. "Well," says the robber, "I will now convince you whether my brother or I are most to be believed; you shall go with me to his house, which is but a few miles distant." On their arrival before the door, the robber called on his brother, who, never suspecting the discovery, immediately came to the balcony; but on perceiving the priest, he began to make excuses for his conduct. The robber told him there was no excuse to be made; that he only desired to know the fact, whether he had gone to borrow money of that priest in his name or not? On his owning he had, the robber with deliberate coolness lifted his blunderbuss to his shoulder, and shot him dead; and, turning to the astonished priest, "You will now be persuaded," said he, "that I had no intention of robbing you at least."

You may now judge how happy we must be in the company of our guards. I don't know but this very hero may be one of them, as we are assured they are two of the most intrepid and resolute fellows in the island. I will not close this letter till I give you some account of our journey. In the mean time, adieu. We are going to take a look of the churches and public buildings: but with these I shall trouble you very little.

21st, at night.—We have been well entertained, both from what we have seen and heard. We used to admire the dexterity of some of the divers at Naples, when they went to the depth of forty-eight or fifty feet, and could not conceive how a man could remain three minutes under water without drawing breath; but these are nothing to the feats of one Colas, a native of this place, who is said to have lived for several days in the sea, without coming to land, and from thence got the surname of *Pesce*, or the fish. Some of the Sicilian authors affirm that he caught fish merely by his agility in the water; and the credulous Kircher asserts that he could walk across the straits at the bottom of the sea. Be that as it will, he was so much celebrated for swimming and diving, that one of their kings (Frederick) came on purpose to see him perform; which royal visit proved fatal to poor *Pesce*; for the king, after admiring his wonderful force and agility, had the cruelty to propose his diving near the

\* A small coin.

† About eleven shillings.

gulf of Charybdis; and to tempt him the more, threw in a large golden cup, which was to be his prize, should he bring it up. Pese made two attempts, and astonished the spectators by the time he remained under water; but in the third it is thought he was caught by the whirlpool, as he never appeared more; and his body is said to have been found some time afterwards near Taurominum (about thirty miles distant)—it having been observed that what is swallowed up by Charybdis is carried south by the current, and thrown out upon that coast. On the contrary, nothing wrecked here was ever carried through the straits, or thrown out on the north side of Sicily, unless we believe what Homer says of the ship of Ulysses.

We have been again to take a view of the straits at this famous whirlpool, and are more and more convinced that it must be infinitely diminished; indeed, in comparison of what it was, almost reduced to nothing. The sea appeared to have no extraordinary motion there, and ships and boats seemed to pass it with ease. When we compare this its present state with the formidable description of so many ancient authors, poets, historians, and philosophers, it appears indeed not improbable that this island has been torn from the continent by some violent convulsion, and that near to this spot huge caverns have been opened, which, drinking in the waters in one course of the current, and throwing them out in the other, may perhaps in some measure account for the phenomena of Charybdis. I find it described both by Homer and Virgil, as alternately swallowing up and throwing out every object that approached it.\* Now, is it not probable that these caverns in process of time have been in a great measure filled up by the immense quantities of rocks, sand, gravel, &c., that were perpetually carried in by the force of the current? I own I am not quite satisfied with this solution, but at present I cannot think of a better. The fact, however, is certain, that it must have been a dreadful object even in Virgil's time, else he never would have made Æneas and his fleet perceive its effects at so great a distance, and immediately run out to sea to avoid it; nor would he have made Helenus at such pains to caution him against that dangerous gulf, and advise him rather to make the whole tour of Sicily than attempt to pass it. Indeed, it is so often mentioned both in the voyage of Æneas and Ulysses, and always in such frightful terms, that we cannot doubt of its having been a very terrible object.†

\* *Dextrum Scylla latus, Levum implacata Charybdis*

*Obsidet, atque imo barathri ter gurgite vastos*

*Sorbet in abruptum fluctus, rursusque sub auris*

*Erigit alternos, et sidera verberat unda.*

[Far on the right her dogs foul Scylla hides;

Charybdis roaring on the left presides,

And in her greedy whirlpool sucks the tides;

Then spouts them from below: with fury driven,

The waves mount up, and wash the face of heaven.

DRYDEN.]

† Seneca gives this account of it in a letter to Lucillus:—"Scyllam saxum esse, et quidem terribile navigantibus optime scio; Charybdis an respondeat fabulis perscribi mihi desidero, fac nos certiores, utrum uno tantum vento agatur in vortices, an omnis tempestas, ac mare illud contorqueat, et an verum sit quiddam illo freti turbine abruptum est," &c.

"That Scylla is a rock, and one terrible to navigators, I know very well; I wish you, however, to write and tell me if Charybdis agrees with the poetical accounts of it. Inform me whether the whirlpool is dangerous under one wind alone, or whether every tempest has the power of disturbing that sea; and if every thing absorbed in that yawning pool of the straits," &c.]

And the following is a translation from Strabo:—"Ante urbem Paululum in trajectu Charybdis ostenditur: profundum quidem immensum: quo inundationes freti: mirum in modum navigia detrahunt: magnas per circumdationes, et vortices precipitatas, quibus absorptis, ac dissolutis; naufragiorum fragmenta ad Tauromitanum litus atrahuntur," &c.

["Before the town of Paululum, in the strait, Charybdis is

After seeing the beautiful harbour of Messina, we have found nothing much worthy of notice in the city. Some of the churches are handsome, and there are a few tolerable paintings. One ceremony, from the account they give of it, I should like much to have seen—the celebration of the feast of the Vara. It appears, indeed, to be a very singular exhibition, and I am heartily sorry it does not happen at this season. In order to the more dignified appearance of the Virgin Mary on this occasion, they have invented a very curious machine, which I am told represents heaven, or at least a part of it. It is of a huge size, and moves through the street with vast pomp and ceremony. In the centre is the principal figure, which represents the Virgin; and a little higher, there are three others to denote the Trinity. Round these there are a number of wheels, said to be of a very curious construction. Every wheel contains a legion of angels, according to their different degrees of precedency—seraphim, cherubim, and powers. These are represented by a great number of beautiful little children, all glittering in clothes of gold and silver tissue, with wings of painted feathers fixed to their shoulders. When the machine is set in motion, all these wheels move round, and the different choirs of angels continue in a constant flutter, singing hallelujahs round the Trinity and the Virgin during the whole of the procession, and are said to make a most beautiful appearance. This is all I could learn of this singular show, neither were we admitted to see the machine; conscious, I suppose, of the ridicule of which it is susceptible, they did not choose to unveil so sacred an object to the eyes of heretics. This island has ever been famous for the celebration of its feasts, even in ancient as well as modern times. They spare no expense; and as they have a large share both of superstition and invention, they never fail to produce something either very fine or very ridiculous. The feast of St Rosalia at Palermo is said to be the finest show in Europe, and costs that city every year a large sum. They assure us there is more taste and magnificence displayed in it, than in any thing of the kind in Italy; and advise us by all means to attend it, as it happens some time near the middle of summer, when we shall probably be in that end of the island.

If you please, we shall now take leave of Messina: \* I did not expect to make so much out of it. But it would not be fair neither, without at least putting you in mind of the great veneration it has ever been held in by the rest of Sicily, for the assistance it gave to Count Rugiero in freeing the island from the yoke of the Saracens; in consideration of which, great privileges were granted it by the succeeding kings; some of which are said still to remain. It was here that the Normans landed; and this city, by the policy of some of its own inhabitants, was the first conquest they made; after which their victorious arms were soon

pointed out—truly a profound gulf; whence the currents of the frith, so prodigiously destructive to ships; these being sucked in by sweeping whirlpools, and often engulfed and wrecked, their fragments passing to the Tauromitan shore," &c.]

"Est igitur Charybdis (says Sallust) mare periculosum nautis; quod contrariis fluctuum cursibus, collisionem facit, et rapta, quoque absorbet."

["Therefore is Charybdis a point of the sea perilous to vessels, hurrying them into collision by the conflicting courses of its waves, and often swallowing them up when it has drawn them to it."]

But these are moderate indeed when compared to the descriptions of the poets.

\* [At the time of Mr Brydone's visit, Messina was in a very poor state, and the number of its inhabitants was not above 25,000. A few years later (1783), it was brought still lower in consequence of an earthquake of unusual violence, which destroyed half the buildings in the city. Since then it has revived. Its being a station of British troops during the last war, tended greatly to improve its condition. Its commerce is now considerable, and the inhabitants are now probably four times more numerous than in 1770.]

extended over the whole island, and a final period put to the Saracen tyranny. Count Rugiero fixed the seat of government at Palermo, and put the political system of the island upon a solid basis, of which the form (and the form alone) still remains to this day. He divided the whole island into three parts; one he gave to his officers, another to the church, and a third he reserved for himself. Of these three branches he composed his parliament, that respectable body, of which the skeleton only now exists; for it has long ago lost all its blood, nerves, and animal spirits; and for many ages past has been reduced to a perfect *caput mortuum*. The superstitious tyranny of Spain has not only destroyed the national spirit of its own inhabitants, but likewise that of every other country which has fallen under its power. Adieu. Ever yours.

P. S.—Apropos! There is one thing I had almost forgot, and I never should have forgiven myself. Do you know the most extraordinary phenomenon in the world is often observed near to this place? I laughed at it at first as you will do, but I am now convinced of its reality; and I am persuaded, too, that if ever it had been thoroughly examined by a philosophical eye, the natural cause must long ago have been assigned.

It has often been remarked, both by the ancients and moderns, that in the heat of summer, after the sea and air have been much agitated by the winds, and a perfect calm succeeds, there appears, about the time of dawn, in that part of the heavens over the straits, a great variety of singular forms, some at rest, and some moving about with great velocity. These forms, in proportion as the light increases, seem to become more aerial, till at last, some time before sunrise, they entirely disappear.

The Sicilians represent this as the most beautiful sight in nature: Leanti, one of their latest and best writers, came here on purpose to see it. He says the heavens appeared crowded with a variety of objects: he mentions palaces, woods, gardens, &c., besides the figures of men and other animals that appear in motion amongst them. No doubt, the imagination must be greatly aiding in forming this aerial creation; but as so many of their authors, both ancient and modern, agree in the fact, and give an account of it from their own observation, there certainly must be some foundation for the story. There is one Giardini, a Jesuit, who has lately written a treatise on this phenomenon, but I have not been able to find it: the celebrated Messinese Gallo has likewise published something on this singular subject; if I can procure either of them in the island, you shall have a more perfect account of it. The common people, according to custom, give the whole merit to the devil; and indeed it is by much the shortest and easiest way of accounting for it. Those who pretend to be philosophers, and refuse him this honour, are greatly puzzled what to make of it. They think it may be owing to some uncommon refraction or reflection of the rays, from the water of the straits, which, as it is at that time carried about in a variety of eddies and vortices, must consequently, say they, make a variety of appearances on any medium where it is reflected. This, I think, is nonsense, or at least very near it; and till they can say more to the purpose, I think they had much better have left it in the hands of the old gentleman. I suspect it is something of the nature of our aurora borealis, and like many of the great phenomena of nature, depends upon electrical causes; which, in future ages, I have little doubt, will be found to be as powerful an agent in regulating the universe, as gravity is in this age, or as the subtle fluid was in the last.

The electrical fluid, in this country of volcanoes, is probably produced in a much greater quantity than in any other. The air, strongly impregnated with this matter, and confined betwixt two ridges of mountains—at the same time exceedingly agitated from below by the violence of the current, and the impetuous whirling of the waters—may it not be supposed

to produce a variety of appearances? And may not the lively Sicilian imaginations, animated by a belief in demons, and all the wild offspring of superstition, give these appearances as great a variety of forms? Remember, I do not say it is so; and hope yet to have it in my power to give you a better account of this matter.\* However, if you should suppose me in this story, or in any future one I may tell you, to be inclined to the fabulous, you will please to remember that I am now in the country of fable; this island having given rise to more, perhaps, except Greece, than all the world beside. You have, therefore, only to suppose that these regions are still contagious; and call to mind that Mount *Ætna* has ever been the great mother of monsters and chimeras, both in the ancient and modern world. However, I shall, if possible, keep free of the infection, and entertain you only with such subjects as fall under my own observation. But, indeed, from what I have already heard of that wonderful mountain, the most moderate account of it would appear highly fabulous to all such as are unacquainted with objects of this kind. Adieu. We think of setting off to-morrow by daybreak. I am sorry it has not been a storm, that we might have had a chance of seeing *Pandemonium* reared over our heads, and all the devils at work around it.

I shall leave this to be sent by the first post, and shall write you again from Catania, if we escape unhurt from all the perils of *Ætna*. Adieu.

\* [The phenomena here described so dubiously are now acknowledged as natural, and are described in science by the term *Fata Morgana*. To the best of our knowledge, they occur nowhere but in the Straits of Messina. The following philosophical account of them is given in the *Conversations Lexicon*, from the *Astronomie Physique* of M. Biot:—"When the rising sun shines from that point whence its incident ray forms an angle of forty-five degrees, on the sea of Reggio, and the bright surface of the water in the bay is not disturbed either by wind or current—when the tide is at its height, and the waters are pressed up by the currents to a great elevation in the middle of the channel; the spectator being placed on an eminence, with his back to the sun, and his face to the sea, the mountains of Messina rising like a wall behind it, and forming the background of the picture—on a sudden there appear in the water, as in a catoptric theatre, various multiplied objects—numberless series of pillars, arches, castles, well delineated regular columns, lofty towers, superb palaces, with balconies and windows, extended alleys of trees, delightful plains, with herds and flocks, armies of men on foot, on horseback, and many other things, in their natural colours and proper actions, passing rapidly in succession along the surface of the sea, during the whole of the short period of time while the above-mentioned causes remain. The objects are proved, by accurate observations of the coast of Reggio, to be derived from objects on shore. If, in addition to the circumstances already described, the atmosphere be highly impregnated with vapour and dense exhalations, not previously dispersed by the action of the wind and waves, or rarefied by the sun, it then happens that, in this vapour, as in a curtain extended along the channel to the height of above forty palms and nearly down to the sea, the observer will behold the scene of the same objects not only reflected on the surface of the sea, but likewise in the air, though not so distinctly or well defined. Lastly, if the air be slightly hazy and opaque, and at the same time dewy, and adapted to form the iris, then the above-mentioned objects will appear only at the surface of the sea, as in the first case, but all vividly coloured or fringed with red, green, blue, or other prismatic colours." It will be observed from this account that the optical principle of reflection is alone concerned in the phenomena, and that Mr Brydone is wrong in his surmise of an electrical cause. Another class of phenomena, which pass under the name of *mirage*, and by which distant objects are brought into view on the verge of the horizon, are produced by refraction, in consequence of a difference of density (the result of heat) in two strata of the atmosphere—being thus identical with the common wonder of water poured into a bowl to make a shilling at the bottom rise into observation. *Mirage* often takes place in great sandy plains in tropical countries, as Persia, Egypt, and Mexico.]

## RUINS OF TAUROMINUM.

*Giardini, near Taurominum, May 22.*

WE have had a delightful journey, and if all Sicily be but as agreeable, we shall not repent of our expedition. We left Messina early this morning, with six mules for ourselves and servants, and two for our baggage. This train, I assure you, makes no contemptible appearance; particularly when you call to mind our front and rear guard, by far the most conspicuous part of it. These are two great drawcansir figures, armed cap-à-pie, with a broad hanger, two enormous pistols, and a long arquebuss: this they kept cocked and ready for action in all suspicious places; where they recounted abundance of wonderful stories of robberies and murders, some of them with such very minute circumstances, that I am fully persuaded they themselves were the principal actors. However, I look upon our situation as perfectly secure; they pay us great respect, and take the utmost pains that we shall not be imposed upon. Indeed, I think they impose upon every body except us; for they tax the bills according to their pleasure; and such cheap ones I never paid before. To-day's dinner for eleven men, (our three muleteers included), and feeding for ten mules and horses, did not amount to half-a-guinea; and although we pay them high (an ounce a-day each), yet I am persuaded they save us at least one-half of it on our bills. They entertained us with some of their feats, and make no scruple of owning their having put several people to death; but add, "*Mas tutti, tutti honorabilmente*"—that is to say, they did not do it in a dastardly manner, nor without just provocation.

The sea-coast of Sicily is very rich; the sides of some of the mountains are highly cultivated, and present the most agreeable aspect that can be imagined—corn, wine, oil, and silk, all mixed together, and in the greatest abundance. However, the cultivated part is but small in proportion to what is lying waste, and only serves to show the great fertility of this island, were it peopled and in industrious hands. The sides of the road are covered with a variety of flowers and of flowering shrubs, some of them exceedingly beautiful. The enclosures are many of them fenced with hedges of the Indian fig, or prickly pear, as in Spain and Portugal; and our guides assure us, that in many of the parched ravines round *Ætna*, there are plenty of trees which produce both cinnamon and pepper; not so strong, they allow, as those of the spice islands, but which are sold to the merchants at a low price, by a set of banditti who dress themselves like hermits. These spices are mixed with the true pepper and cinnamon from the Indies, and sent over all Europe.

The road from Messina to this place is extremely romantic. It lies the whole way along the coast, and commands the view of Calabria, and the south part of the straits, covered with chebecs, galleys, galliots, and a quantity of fishing-boats. The view on the right hand is confined by high mountains, on the very summits of which they have built several considerable towns and villages, which, with their churches and steeples, make a very picturesque appearance. They have chosen this elevated situation, I suppose, with a double view—to protect them both from their enemies, and from the violent heat of the climate. This forenoon we found it excessive, but had the finest swimming in the world before dinner, which kept us cool and fresh for all the rest of the day. We have besides provided ourselves with umbrellas, without which, at this season, travelling would be impracticable.

Between this place and Messina, a little to the right, lie the mountains formerly called the *Nebrodes*; and likewise the mountain of *Neptune*, which is reckoned the highest of that chain. It is celebrated for a gulf or crater on its summit, from whence, at particular times, there issues an exceeding cold wind, with such

violence that it is difficult to approach it. I was sorry to pass this singular mountain, but it would have delayed us a day or two to visit it, and we are hastening with impatience to a much greater object: it is now named *Il monte Scudero*, and is said to be so high that the *Adriatic* can be seen from its summit. From the description they give of it, it appears evidently to be an old volcano. The *Nisso* takes its rise from this mountain—a river renowned in antiquity for the gold found in its channel, for which reason it was by the Greeks called *Chrysothoas*. It is said that the remains of the ancient gold mines are still to be seen near the source of this river; but the modern masters of Sicily have never been enterprising enough to explore them. It was on this charming coast where the flocks of *Apollo* were kept by his daughters, *Phæthusa* and *Lampetie*; the seizing of which, by *Ulysses'* companions, proved the cause of their deaths, and of all his subsequent misfortunes. The mountain of *Tauromina* is very high and steep, and the road up to it is exceedingly rugged.

This once famous city is now reduced to an insignificant borough; yet even these small remains give a high idea of its former magnificence. The theatre, I think, is accounted the largest in the world. It appears to me greatly superior to that of *Adrian's villa* near *Rome*. It is entire enough to give a very tolerable idea of the Roman theatre, and indeed astonishes by its vastness; nor can I perceive how any voice would extend through the prodigious number of people it must have contained. I paced about one quarter of it, over the boxes that were intended for the women, which is not near the outward circle of all; the rest is so broken that I could get no farther. It measured about 120 ordinary steps, so that you may conceive the greatness of the whole. The seats front *Mount Ætna*, which makes a glorious appearance from this place, and no doubt has often diverted their attention from the scene. It arises from an immense base, and mounts equally on all sides to its summit. It is just now throwing out volumes of white smoke, which do not rise in the air, but seem to roll down the side of the mountain like a vast torrent. The ascent of *Ætna* on each side is computed at about 30 miles, and the circumference of its base at 150. I think it does not appear to be so much; but I shall probably be enabled to give you a fuller account of it afterwards.

After admiring the great theatre of *Taurominum*, we went to examine the *Naumachia*, and the reservoirs for supplying it with water. About 150 paces of one side of the wall of the *Naumachia* remains; but as this is not complete, there is no judging of its original dimensions. This is supposed to have been a large square, enclosed with strong walls, and capable of being filled with water on occasion, intended for the exhibition of sea-fights and all naval exercises. There were four reservoirs for supplying this with water. All are upon the same grand scale. One of these is almost entire; it is supported by a great number of strong pillars in the same manner as those of *Titus's baths* at *Rome*, and several others you may have seen in Italy. I would dwell longer on objects of this kind, but I am persuaded descriptions can give but a very imperfect idea of them; and to mark out the precise dimensions with a mathematical exactness, where there is nothing very remarkable, must surely be but a dry work, both to the writer and reader. I shall therefore content myself (I hope it will content you too) with endeavouring to communicate, as entire as possible, the same impression I myself shall receive, without descending too much to particulars, or fatiguing myself or you with the mensuration of antique walls, merely because they are such, except where there is indeed something both striking and different from what has already been described in Italy.

I own I despair of success; few things I believe in writing being more difficult than thus *s'emparer de l'imagination*—to seize, to make ourselves masters of

the reader's imagination, to carry it along with us through every scene, and make it in a manner congenial with our own—every prospect opening upon him with the same light, and arising in the same colours, and at the same instant, too, as upon us; for where descriptions fail in this, the pleasure of reading them must be very trivial. Now, perhaps, this same journal style is the most favourable of any to produce these effects. It is at least the most agreeable to the writer, who never has his subject to seek, but needs only recollect what has passed since he has laid down the pen, and travel the day over again; and if he travels it to good purpose, it ought to be equally agreeable to the reader, too, who thereby becomes one of the party, and bears a share in all the pleasures of the journey, without suffering from the fatigues of it.

One of my great difficulties, I see, will be the finding proper places to write in, for the inns are altogether execrable, and there is no such thing as getting a room to one's self. I am just now writing on the end of a barrel, which I chose rather than the table, as it is farther removed from noise. I must therefore entreat you, once for all, to excuse incorrectness and want of method. How can one be methodical upon a barrel? It has ever been the most declared enemy to method. You might as well expect a sermon from Bacchus, or a coherent speech from our friend Lord — after he has finished the third bottle. You will be pleased, then, just to take things as they occur. Were I obliged to be strictly methodical, I should have no pleasure in writing you these letters; and then, if my position is just, you could have no pleasure in reading them.

Your guards have procured us beds, though not in the town of Taurominum, but in Giardini, a village at the foot of the mountain on which it stands. The people are extremely attentive, and have procured us an excellent supper and good wine, which now waits—but shall wait no longer. Adieu. To-morrow we intend to climb Mount *Ætna* on this (its east) side, if we find it practicable. Ever yours.

#### ASCENT OF MOUNT *ÆTNA*.

*Catania, May 24.*

I AM already almost two days in arrears. Yesterday we were so much fatigued with the abominable roads of Mount *Ætna*, that I was not able to wield a pen; and to-day, I assure you, has by no means been a day of rest; however, I must not delay any longer, otherwise I shall never be able to make up my *læ* way. I am afraid you will suffer more from the fatigues of the journey than I at first apprehended.

We left Giardini at five o'clock. About half a mile farther the first region of Mount *Ætna* begins, and here they have set up the statue of a saint, for having prevented the lava from running up the mountain of Taurominum, and destroying the adjacent country; which the people think it certainly must have done, had it not been for this kind interposition; but he very wisely, as well as humanely, conducted it down a low valley to the sea.

We left the Catania road on the left, and began to ascend the mountain in order to visit the celebrated tree, known by the name of *Il Castagno de Cento Cavalli* (the chestnut-tree of a hundred horse), which, for some centuries past, has been looked upon as one of the greatest wonders of *Ætna*. We had likewise proposed, if possible, to gain the summit of the mountain by this side, and to descend by the side of Catania; but we were soon convinced of the impossibility of this, and obliged, with a good deal of reluctance, to relinquish this part of our scheme.

As we advanced in the first region of *Ætna*, we observed that there had been eruptions of fire all over this country at a great distance from the summit, or

principal crater of the mountain. On our road to the village of Piedmonte, I took notice of several very considerable craters, and stones of a large size scattered all around, that had been discharged from them. These stones are precisely such as are thrown out of the crater of Mount Vesuvius; and indeed the lava, too, seems to be of the same nature, though rather more porous.

The distance from Giardini to Piedmonte is only ten miles; but as the road is exceedingly rough and difficult, we took near four hours to travel it. The barometer, which at Giardini (on the sea-side) stood at 29 inches 10 lines, had now fallen to 27 inches 3 lines. Fahrenheit's thermometer (made by Mr Adams in London) stood at 73 degrees. We found the people extremely inquisitive to know our errand, which, when we told, many of them offered to accompany us. Of these we chose two; and after drinking our tea, which was matter of great speculation to the inhabitants, who had never before seen a breakfast of this kind, we began to climb the mountain.

We were directed for five or six miles of our road by an aqueduct, which the Prince of Palagonia has made at a great expense, to supply Piedmonte with water. After we left the aqueduct, the ascent became a good deal more rapid, till we arrived at the beginning of the second region, called by the natives *La Regione Sylvoso*, or the woody region, because it is composed of one vast forest that extends all around the mountain. Part of this was destroyed by a very singular event, not later than the year 1755. During an eruption of the volcano, an immense torrent of boiling water issued, as is imagined, from the great crater of the mountain, and in an instant poured down to its base, overwhelming and ruining every thing it met with in its course. Our conductors showed us the traces of the torrent, which are still very visible, but are now beginning to recover verdure and vegetation, which for some time appeared to have been lost. The track it has left seems to be about a mile and a half broad, and in some places still more.

The common opinion, I find, is, that this water was raised by the power of suction, through some communication betwixt the volcano and the sea, the absurdity of which is too glaring to need a refutation. The power of suction alone, even supposing a perfect vacuum, could never raise water to more than thirty-three or thirty-four feet, which is equal to the weight of a column of air the whole height of the atmosphere. But this circumstance, I should imagine, might be easily enough accounted for, either by a stream of lava falling suddenly into one of the valleys of snow that occupy the higher regions of the mountain, and melting it down; or, what I think is still more probable, that the melted snow sinks into vast caverns and reservoirs in the mountain, where it is lodged for some time, till the excessive heat of the lava below bursts the sides of these caverns, and produces this phenomenon, which has been matter of great speculation to the Sicilian philosophers, and has employed the pens of several of them. The same thing happened in an eruption of Vesuvius last century, and in an instant swept away about five hundred people, who were marching in procession at the foot of the mountain to implore the mediation of St Januarius.

Near to this place we passed through some beautiful woods of cork and evergreen oak, growing absolutely out of the lava, the soil having as yet hardly filled the crevices of that porous substance; and, not a great way farther, I observed several little mountains that seemed to have been formed by a late eruption. I dismounted from my mule, and climbed to the top of them all. They are seven in number, every one of them with a regular cup or crater on the top; and in some the great gulf or (as they call it) *Voragine*, that had discharged the burnt matter of which these little mountains are formed, is still open. I tumbled stones down into these gulfs, and heard the

noise for a long time after. All the fields round, to a considerable distance, are covered with large burnt stones discharged from these little volcanoes.

From this place it is not less than five or six miles to the great chestnut-trees, through forests growing out of the lava, in several places almost impassable. Of these trees, there are many of an enormous size; but the Castagno de Cento Cavalli is by much the most celebrated. I have even found it marked in an old map of Sicily, published near a hundred years ago; and in all the maps of *Ætna* and its environs it makes a very conspicuous figure. I own I was by no means struck with its appearance, as it does not seem to be one tree, but a bush of five large trees growing together. We complained to our guides of the imposition, when they unanimously assured us, that by the universal tradition and even testimony of the country, all these were once united in one stem; that their grandfathers remembered this when it was looked upon as the glory of the forest, and visited from all quarters; that for many years past it had been reduced to the venerable ruin we beheld. We began to examine it with more attention, and found there was indeed an appearance as if these five trees had really been once united in one. The opening in the middle is at present prodigious, and it does indeed require faith to believe that so vast a space was once occupied by solid timber. But there is no appearance of bark on the inside of any of the stumps, nor on the sides that are opposite to one another. Mr Glover and I measured it separately, and brought it exactly to the same size, namely, 204 feet round. If this was once united in one solid stem, it must with justice, indeed, have been looked upon as a very wonderful phenomenon in the vegetable world, and was deservedly styled the glory of the forest.

I have since been told by the Canonico Recupero, an ingenious ecclesiastic of this place, that he was at the expense of carrying up peasants with tools to dig round the Castagno de Cento Cavalli; and he assures me, upon his honour, that he found all these stems united below ground in one root. I alleged that so extraordinary an object must have been mentioned by many of their writers. He told me that it had, and produced several examples—Philateo, Carrera, and some others. Carrera begs to be excused from telling its dimensions, but says he is sure there was wood enough in that one tree to build a large palace. Their poet Bagolini, too, has celebrated a tree of the same kind, perhaps the same tree;\* and Massa, one of their most esteemed authors, says he has seen solid oaks upwards of forty feet round, but adds, that the size of the chestnut-trees was beyond belief, the hollow of one of which, he says, contained 300 sheep, and thirty people on horseback had often been in it at a time. I shall not pretend to say that this is the same tree he means, or whether it ever was one tree or not. There are many others that are well deserving the curiosity of travellers. One of these, about a mile and a half higher on the mountain, is called *Il Castagno del Galea*; it rises from one solid stem to a considerable height, after which it branches out, and is a much finer object than the other. I measured it about two feet from the ground, and found it seventy-six feet round. There is a third called *Il Castagno del Nave*, that is pretty nearly of the same size. All these grow on a thick rich soil, formed originally, I believe, of ashes thrown out by the mountain.

The climate here is much more temperate than in

\* *Supremos inter montes monstrosior omni*

*Monstrosi fœtum stiptis Ætna dedit*

*Castaneam genit, ejus modo conceva cortex*

*Turram equitum haud parvam continet, atque greges, &c.*

[Of lofty mounts by far the loftiest,

Prodigious *Ætna* bore a wondrous tree—

A chestnut—whose vast hollow may contain

A well-sized band of horse, or flocks, or herds, &c.]

the first region of *Ætna*, where the excessive heats must ever prevent a very luxuriant vegetation. I found the barometer had now fallen to 26 degrees  $5\frac{1}{2}$  lines, which announces an elevation of very near four thousand feet, equivalent, in the opinion of some of the French academicians, to eighteen or twenty degrees of latitude in the formation of a climate.

The vast quantity of nitre contained in the ashes of *Ætna*, probably contributes greatly to increase the luxuriance of this vegetation; and the air, too, strongly impregnated with it from the smoke of the volcano, must create a constant supply of this salt, termed by some, not without reason, the food of vegetables.

There is the ruins of a house in the inside of the great chestnut-tree, which had been built for holding the fruit it bears, which is still considerable; here we dined with excellent appetite, and being convinced that it was in vain to attempt getting to the top of the mountain on that side, we began to descend; and after a very fatiguing journey over old lavas, now become fertile fields and rich vineyards, we arrived about sunset at Jaci Reale, where, with no small difficulty, we at last got lodging in a convent of Dominicans.

The last lava we crossed before our arrival there is of a vast extent. I thought we never should have had done with it; it certainly is not less than six or seven miles broad, and appears in many places to be of an enormous depth.

When we came near the sea, I was desirous to see what form it had assumed in meeting with the water. I went to examine it, and found it had driven back the waves for upwards of a mile, and had formed a large black high promontory, where before it was deep water. This lava, I imagined, from its barrenness, for it is as yet covered with a very scanty soil, had run from the mountain only a few ages ago; but was surprised to be informed by Signior Recupero, the historiographer of *Ætna*, that this very lava is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus to have burst from *Ætna* in the time of the second Punic war, when Syracuse was besieged by the Romans. A detachment was sent from Taorminum to the relief of the besieged. They were stopped on their march by this stream of lava, which having reached the sea before their arrival at the foot of the mountain, had cut off their passage; and obliged them to return by the back of *Ætna*, upwards of one hundred miles about. His authority for this, he tells me, was taken from inscriptions on Roman monuments found on this lava, and that it was likewise well ascertained by many of the old Sicilian authors. Now, as this is about two thousand years ago, one would have imagined, if lavas have a regular progress in becoming fertile fields, that this must long ago have become at least arable; this, however, is not the case; and it is as yet only covered with a very scanty vegetation, and incapable of producing either corn or vines. There are indeed pretty large trees growing in the crevices, which are full of a rich earth; but in all probability it will be some hundred years yet before there is enough of it to render this land of any use to the proprietors.

It is curious to consider, that the surface of this black and barren matter, in process of time, becomes one of the most fertile soils upon earth. But what must be the time to bring it to its utmost perfection, when after two thousand years it is still in most places but a barren rock? Its progress is possibly as follows:—The lava, being a very porous substance, easily catches the dust that is carried about by the wind, which at first, I observe, only yields a kind of moss; this rotting, and by degrees increasing the soil, some small meagre vegetables are next produced, which, rotting in their turn, are likewise converted into soil. But this progress, I suppose, is often greatly accelerated by showers of ashes from the mountain, as I have observed in some places the richest soil, to the depth of five or six feet and upwards; and still below

that, nothing but rocks of lava. It is in these spots that the trees arrive at such an immense size. Their roots shoot into the crevices of the lava, and lay such hold of it, that there is no instance of the winds tearing them up, though there are many of its breaking off their largest branches. A branch of one of the great chestnut-trees, where we passed yesterday, has fallen across a deep gully, and formed a very commodious bridge over the rivulet below. The people say it was done by St Agatha, the guardian saint of the mountain, who has the superintendance of all its operations.

In the lowest part of the first region of *Ætna*, the harvest is almost over; but in the upper parts of the same region, near the confines of the *Regione Sylvosa*, it will not begin for several weeks.

The reapers, as we went along, abused us from all quarters, and more excellent blackguards I have never met with; but, indeed, our guides were a full match for them. They began as soon as we were within hearing, and did not finish till we were got without reach of their voices, which they extended as much as they could. As it was all Sicilian, we could make very little of it, but by the interpretation of our guides; however, we could not help admiring the volubility and natural elocution with which they spoke. This custom is as old as the time of the Romans, and probably much older, as it is mentioned by Horace and others of their authors. It is still in vogue here as much as ever; the masters encourage it; they think it gives them spirits, and makes the work go on more cheerfully; and I believe they are right, for it is amazing what pleasure they seemed to take in it, and what laughing and merriment it occasioned.

I forgot to mention that we passed the source of the famous cold river (*Il fiume freddo*). This is the river so celebrated by the poets in the fable of *Acis* and *Galatea*.\* It was here that *Acis* was supposed to have been killed by *Polyphemus*, and the gods out of compassion converted him into this river, which, as still retaining the terror inspired by the dreadful voice of the Cyclops, runs with great rapidity, and about a mile from its source throws itself into the sea. It rises at once out of the earth a large stream. Its water is remarkably pure, and so extremely cold, that it is reckoned dangerous to drink it; but I am told it has likewise a poisonous quality, which proceeds from its being impregnated with vitriol to such a degree, that cattle have often been killed by it. It never freezes; but, what is remarkable, it is said often to contract a degree of cold greater than that of ice.

These particulars I was informed of by the priests at *Acis*; which place, anciently called *Acis Aquileia*, and several others near it, *Acis Castello*, *Acis Terra*, &c., take their names from the unfortunate shepherd *Acis*.

A little to the east of the river *Acis* is the mouth of the river *Alcantara*, one of the most considerable in the island. It takes its rise on the north side of Mount *Ætna*, and marks out the boundary of the mountain for about sixty miles. Its course has been stopped in many places by the eruptions of the volcano; so that, strictly speaking, the skirts of *Ætna* extend much beyond it, though it has generally been considered as the boundary. We passed it on our way

\* [*Acis*, according to heathen fable, was the son of *Faunus* and the nymph *Symæthis*. He fell in love with *Galatea*, and had for his rival *Polyphemus*, who crushed him with a stone. See *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, xlii. The local memorials of this story, enumerated in the text, are very curious: probably, while they seem to an unenlightened mind to establish the veracity of the entire fable, they are only the result of the poetical fictions built upon that fable, or the slight foundation which it may have had in fact, the popular mind being always ready to find a place for any incident, however imaginary, which becomes familiarly known. Already the incidents of the *Lady of the Lake* are all realised, in connexion with certain spots, by the peasantry around Loch *Katrine*.]

to *Piedmonte*, over a large bridge built entirely of lava; and near to this the bed of the river is continued for a great way, through one of the most remarkable, and probably one of the most ancient lavas that ever ran from *Ætna*. In many places the current of the river, which is extremely rapid, has worn down the solid lava to the depth of fifty or sixty feet. *Recupero*, the gentleman I have mentioned, who is engaged in writing the natural history of *Ætna*, tells me he has examined this lava with great attention, and he thinks that its course, including all its windings, is not less than forty miles. It issued from a mountain on the north side of *Ætna*, and finding some valleys that lay to the east, it took its course that way, interrupting the *Alcantara* in many places, and at last arrived at the sea, not far from the mouth of that river.

The city of *Jaci*, or *Acis*, and indeed all the towns on this coast, are founded on immense rocks of lava, heaped one above another, in some places to an amazing height; for it appears that these flaming torrents, as soon as they arrived at the sea, were hardened into rock, which not yielding any longer to the pressure of the liquid fire behind, the melted matter continuing to accumulate, formed a dam of fire, which in a short time run over the solid front, pouring a second torrent into the ocean; this was immediately consolidated, and succeeded by a third, and so on.

Many of the places on the coast still retain their ancient names; but the properties ascribed to them by the ancients are now no more. The river *Acis*, which is now so poisonous, was of old celebrated for the sweetness and salubrity of its waters;\* which *Theocritus* says were ever held sacred by the Sicilian shepherds.

We were surprised to find that so many places retained the name of this swain, who, I imagined, had never existed but in the imagination of the poets: but the Sicilian authors say, that *Acis* was the name of a king who reigned in this part of the island in the time of the most remote antiquity, in confirmation of which, *Massa* gives the translation of an inscription found near *Acis Castello*.† He is said to have been slain in a fit of jealousy by *Polyphemus*, one of the giants of *Ætna*, which gave rise to the fable. *Anguillara*, a Sicilian poet, in relating this story, gives a tremendous idea of the voice of *Polyphemus*: the passage has been greatly admired.

Tremo per troppo horrore *Ætna*; e Tifeo  
Fece maggior la fiamma uscir del monte;  
E Pacchino, e Peloro, e Lilibeo  
Quasi attuffar nel mar l'altra fronte;  
Cadde il martel di man nel monte *Etneao*,  
All Re di Lenno, a Sterope, e a Bronte;  
Fugir fiere et augel di lor ricetto  
E si strinse ogni madre il figlio al Petto.‡

\* *Quique per Ætneos Acis petit æquora fines,  
Et dulci gratum Nereida perliit unda.—Sil. Ital.*  
[*Acis* through *Ætna's* bounds that seeks the ocean-waves,  
And with its waters sweet the grateful *Nereid* laves.]

† *DIE*  
OONIS, SATURNIE, ÆTNEÆ  
DEORUM,  
MARTI, FILLE, UXORI,  
IN PORTU  
SEPULCHRUM, TEMPLUM, ET ARCEM  
ACIS,  
FAUNI FILIUS, PICI NEPOS,  
SATURNI PRONEPOS,  
LATINI FRATER.

[Few scholars would probably agree in the interpretation of this inscription, which we therefore leave unattempted, begging the reader to console himself with the reflection that it is but a silly forgery of comparatively late times, got up by some Sicilian with the *Æneid* before him, for the patriotic purpose of making out *Acis* to be the "great-grandson of Saturn."]

‡ [The parallel passage in *Virgil* will give nearly the sense of the Sicilian verses, and is as follows:—

And now the goddess, exercised in ill, \*\*\*



You will observe, however, that the Sicilian poet cannot in justice claim the entire merit of these lines, as they are evidently borrowed from Virgil's description of the sound of the Fury Alecto's horn, in the 7th Æneid. The last line, perhaps the most beautiful of the whole, is almost word for word:—

Et trepidæ matres pressere ad pectora natos.

[And frighted mothers closely clasped their young.]

It has been observed, too, by some critics, that even this description of Virgil is not his own, but copied from the account that Apollonius Rhodius gives of the roaring of the dragon that guarded the golden fleece; so that you see there is nothing new under the sun. Rhodius probably stole it from somebody else, and so on. Poets have ever been the greatest of all thieves; and happy it is that poetical theft is no felony, otherwise, I am afraid, Parnassus would have been but thinly peopled.

Farewell: to-morrow I shall endeavour to bring you up with us; for at present you will please to observe, that you have got no farther than the city of Jaci, and have still many extinguished volcanoes to pass before your arrival here. Ever yours, &c.

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LAVAS AROUND ÆTNA.

Catania, May 25.

THE road from Jaci to this city is entirely over lava, and consequently very fatiguing and troublesome. Within a few miles of that place, we counted eight mountains formed by eruption, with every one its crater, from whence the burnt matter was discharged. Some of these are very high, and of a great compass. It appears evidently that the eruptions of Mount Ætna have formed the whole of the coast, and in many places have driven back the sea for several miles from its ancient boundary. The account the Sicilian authors give of the conflict betwixt these two adverse elements is truly tremendous; and in relating it, they seem to have been shaken with horror. Conceive the front of a torrent of fire, ten miles in breadth, and heaped up to an enormous height, rolling down the mountain, and pouring its flames into the ocean. The noise, they assure us, is infinitely more dreadful than the loudest thunder, and is heard through the whole country to an immense distance. The water seemed to retire and diminish before the fire, and to confess its superiority, yielding up its possessions, and contracting its banks, to make room for its imperious master, who commands it—"Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther." The clouds of salt vapour darken the face of the sun, covering up this scene under a veil of horror and of night, and laying waste every field and vineyard in these regions of the island. The whole fish on the coast are destroyed, the colour of the sea itself is changed, and the transparency of its waters lost for many months.

There are three rocks of lava at some little distance from shore, which Pliny takes frequent notice of, and calls them the *Three Cyclops*. It is pretty singular that they are still distinguished by the same name.

The fate of Catania has been very remarkable, and will ever appear fabulous. It is situated immediately at the foot of this great volcano, and has been several times destroyed by it. That, indeed, is not extraordinary; it would have been much more so had it es-

caped; but what I am going to relate is a singularity that probably never happened to any city but itself. It was always in great want of a port, till by an eruption in the sixteenth century, and, no doubt, by the interposition of St Agatha, what was denied them by nature they received from the generosity of the mountain. A stream of lava, running into the sea, formed a mole which no expense could have furnished them. This lasted for some time a safe and commodious harbour, till at last, by a subsequent eruption, it was entirely filled up and demolished; so that probably the poor saint had sunk much in her credit, for, at this unfortunate period, her miraculous veil, looked upon as the greatest treasure of Catania, and esteemed an infallible remedy against earthquakes and volcanoes, seems to have lost its virtue. The torrent burst over the walls, sweeping away the images of every saint that was placed there to oppose it, and, laying waste great part of this beautiful city, poured into the sea. However, the people say that at that time they had given their saint very just provocation, but that she has long ago been reconciled to them, and has promised never to suffer the mountain to get the better of them for the future. Many of them are so thoroughly convinced of this (for they are extremely superstitious), that I really believe if the lava were at their walls they would not be at the pains to remove their effects. Neither is it the veil of St Agatha alone that they think possessed of this wonderful dominion over the mountain, but every thing that has touched that piece of sacred attire they suppose is impregnated in a lesser degree with the same miraculous properties. Thus there are a number of little bits of cotton and linen fixed to the veil, which, after being blessed by the bishop, are supposed to acquire power enough to save any person's house or garden; and wherever this expedient has failed, it is always ascribed to the want of faith of the person, not any want of efficacy in the veil. However, they tell you many stories of these bits of cotton being fixed to the walls of houses and vineyards, and preserving them entirely from the conflagration.

On our arrival at Catania, we were amazed to find that in so noble and beautiful a city there was no such thing as an inn. Our guides, indeed, conducted us to a house they called such; but it was so wretchedly mean and dirty, that we were obliged to look out for other lodgings; and by the assistance of the Canonico Recupero, for whom we had letters, we soon found ourselves comfortably lodged in a convent. The Prince of Biscaris (the governor of the place) a person of very great merit and distinction, returned our visit this forenoon, and made us the most obliging offers.

Signior Recupero, who obligingly engages to be our Cicerone, has shown us some curious remains of antiquity; but they have been all so shaken and shattered by the mountain, that hardly any thing is to be found entire.

Near to a vault, which is now thirty feet below ground, and has probably been a burial-place, there is a draw-well, where there are several strata of lavas, with earth to a considerable thickness over the surface of each stratum. Recupero has made use of this as an argument to prove the great antiquity of the eruptions of this mountain. For, as it requires two thousand years or upwards to form a scanty soil on the surface of a lava, there must have been more than that space of time betwixt each of the eruptions which have formed these strata. But what shall we say of a pit they sunk near to Jaci, of a great depth? They pierced through seven distinct lavas, one under the other, the surfaces of which were parallel, and most of them covered with a thick bed of rich earth. Now, says he, the eruption which formed the lowest of these lavas, if we may be allowed to reason from analogy, must have flowed from the mountain at least 14,000 years ago.

Ascends the roof, and to her crooked horn \* \* \*  
Adds all her breath. The rocks and woods around,  
And mountains, tremble at the infernal sound.  
The sacred lake of Trivis from afar,  
The Veline fountains, and sulphureous Nar,  
Shake at the baleful blast, the signal of the war.  
Young mothers wildly stare, with fear possess'd,  
And strain their helpless infants to their breast.]

Recupero tells me he is exceedingly embarrassed by these discoveries in writing the history of the mountain; that Moses hangs like a dead weight upon him, and blunts all his zeal for inquiry; for that really he has not the conscience to make his mountain so young as that prophet makes the world. What do you think of these sentiments from a Roman Catholic divine? The bishop, who is strenuously orthodox—for it is an excellent see—has already warned him to be upon his guard, and not to pretend to be a better natural historian than Moses, nor to presume to urge any thing that may in the smallest degree be deemed contradictory to his sacred authority.\* Adieu. Ever yours.

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CATANIA.—CATHOLIC SUPERSTITIONS.

*Catania, May 26.*

THIS morning we went to see the house and museum of the Prince of Biscaris, which, in antiques, is inferior to none I have ever seen, except that of the King of Naples at Portici. What adds greatly to the value of these is, that the prince himself has had the satisfaction of seeing the most of them brought to light. He has dug them out of the ruins of the ancient theatre of Catania at an incredible expense; but, happily, his pains have been amply repaid by the number and variety of curious objects he has discovered. It would be endless to enter into an enumeration of them; even during our short stay, we had the satisfaction of seeing part of a rich Corinthian cornice, and several pieces of statues, produced again to the light, after lying for so many ages in darkness and oblivion. His collection of medals, cameos, and intaglios, is likewise very princely, and so are the articles in natural history; but the polite and amiable behaviour of the owner gives more pleasure than all his curiosities. He did not ostentatiously, like the Prince of Villa Franca, tell us that his house and carriages were at our command; but without any hint being given of it, we found his coach waiting at our door; and we shall probably be obliged to make use of it during our stay. His family consists of the princess his wife, a son, and a daughter, who seem to emulate each other in benignity. They put me in mind of some happy families I have seen in our own country, but resemble nothing we have met with on the continent. He is just now building a curious villa on a promontory formed by the lava of 1669. The spot where the house stands was formerly at least fifty feet deep of water, and the height of the lava above the present level of the sea is not less than fifty more.

This afternoon I walked out alone to examine the capricious forms and singular appearances that this

\* [This passage has been the subject of much severe comment. That Mr Brydone, in putting into a whimsical light many of the religious superstitions of the countries through which he travelled, was incautious respecting the essential things of religion, is very evident: it was an error into which a young man of sprightly talents and thorough devotion to natural science was then very apt to fall. The passage also shows incautiousness in point of science. It was pointed out in Dodsley's Annual Register (xviii. p. 134), that there must be great differences in the rapidity of the growth of soil above lava in different places; that, in a low place like that spoken of in the text, the washing effect of rains would be apt to create a stratum of earth in a comparatively short time; and that Mr Brydone himself admits, in the passage respecting Mel Passi, that a lava surface was "soon" made fertile by a shower of ashes from the volcano. We are fortunately not called upon to argue the question seriously, as geological inquiries of a more profound nature have now established the age of the world as much beyond what the above circumstances in their greatest latitude would infer, while it is alike clearly shown that the supposition of its age being about 6000 years is nowhere directly affirmed by Moses.]

destructive branch has assumed in laying waste the country. I had not gone far when I spied a magnificent building at some distance, which seemed to stand on the highest part of it. My curiosity led me on, as I had heard no mention of any palace on this side of the city. On entering the great gate, my surprise was a good deal increased on observing a façade almost equal to that of Versailles, a noble staircase of white marble, and every thing that announced a royal magnificence. I had never heard that the kings of Sicily had a palace at Catania, and yet I could not account for what I saw in any other way. I thought the vast front before me had been the whole of the palace; but conceive my amazement, when, on turning the corner, I found another front of equal greatness, and discovered that what I had seen was only one side of a square.

I was no longer in doubt, well knowing that the church alone could be mistress of such magnificence. I hastened home to communicate this discovery to my friends, when I found the Canonico Recupero already with them. He abused us exceedingly for presuming to go out without our Cicerone, and declared he had never been so much disappointed in his life, as he had come on purpose to carry us there, and to enjoy our surprise and astonishment. He then told us that it was no other than a convent of fat Benedictine monks, who were determined to make sure of a paradise, at least in this world, if not in the other. He added that they were worth about £15,000 a-year—an immense sum, indeed, for this country.

We went with Recupero to pay our respects to these sons of humility, temperance, and mortification; and we must own they received and entertained us with great civility and politeness, and even without ostentation. Their museum is little inferior to that of the Prince of Biscaris, and the apartments that contain it are much more magnificent. But their garden is the greatest curiosity; although it be formed on the rugged and barren surface of the lava, it has a variety and a neatness seldom to be met with. The walks are broad, and paved with flints; and the trees and hedges (which, by the bye, are in a bad state, and cut into a number of ridiculous shapes) thrive exceedingly. The whole soil must have been brought from a great distance, as the surface of this lava (only 150 years old) is as hard and bare as a piece of iron. The church belonging to this convent, if finished, would be one of the finest in Europe; but as it is founded on the surface of the porous and brittle lava, part of the foundation has given way to the pressure of so huge a fabric; and several of the large arches that were intended to form the different chapels, have already fallen down. Only the west limb of the cross (not a fifth of the whole) is finished, and even this alone makes a very fine church. Here they have the finest organ I ever heard, even superior, I think, to that at Haerlem.

We went next to examine where the lava had sealed the walls of Catania. It must have been a noble sight. The walls are sixty-four palms high (near sixty feet), and of great strength, otherwise they must have been borne down by the force of the flaming matter which rose over this height, and seems to have mounted considerably above the top of the wall before it made its entry; at last it came down, sweeping before it every saint in the calendar, who were drawn up in order of battle on purpose to oppose its passage, and marching on in triumph, annihilated, in a manner, every object that dared to oppose it. Amongst other things, it covered up some fine fountains, one of which was so much esteemed, that they have at a great expense pierced through the lava, and have now recovered their favourite spring. This excavation is a very curious work, and worthy of the attention of travellers.

Catania is looked upon as one of the most ancient cities in the island, or indeed in the world. Their legends bear, that it was founded by the Cyclops, or

giants of *Ætna*, supposed to have been the first inhabitants of Sicily after the Deluge; and some of the Sicilian writers pretend that it was built by Deucalion and Pyrrha as soon as the waters subsided, and they had got down again to the foot of the mountain. Its ancient name was *Catetna*, or the city of *Ætna*.

It is now reckoned the third city in the kingdom, though, since Messina was destroyed by the plague, it may well be considered as the second. It contains upwards of thirty thousand inhabitants, has a university, the only one in the island, and a bishopric. The bishop's revenues are considerable, and arise principally from the sale of the snow on Mount *Ætna*, one small portion of which, lying on the north of the mountain, is said to bring him in upwards of £1000 a-year; for *Ætna* furnishes snow and ice not only to the whole island of Sicily, but likewise to Malta, and a great part of Italy, and makes a very considerable branch of commerce; for even the peasants in these hot countries regale themselves with ices during the summer heats, and there is no entertainment given by the nobility of which these do not always make a principal part: a famine of snow, they themselves say, would be more grievous than a famine of either corn or wine. It is a common observation amongst them, that without the snows of Mount *Ætna* their island could not be inhabited, so essential has this article of luxury become to them. But *Ætna* not only keeps them cool in summer, but likewise keeps them warm in winter; the fuel for the greatest part of the island being carried from the immense and inexhaustible forests of this volcano, and constitutes, too, a very large branch of commerce. But this amazing mountain perpetually carries me away from my subject: I was speaking of this city. What of it was spared by the eruption of 1669, was totally ruined by the fatal earthquake in 1693, when the greater part of its inhabitants were buried under the walls of their houses and churches. Yet, after such repeated and such dismal disasters, so strange is their infatuation, that they could never be prevailed upon to change its situation. The whole city was soon rebuilt, after a new and elegant plan, and is now much handsomer than ever. There is scarce any doubt that in some future commotion of the mountain, it will be again laid in ashes. But at present they are in perfect security; the Virgin and St Agatha have both engaged to protect them; and under their banner they hold *Ætna*, with all the devils it contains, at defiance.

There are many remains of antiquity in this city, but indeed most of them are in a very ruinous state. One of the most remarkable is an elephant of lava, with an obelisk of Egyptian granite on his back. There are likewise considerable remains of a great theatre, besides the one belonging to the Prince of Biscaris; a large bath almost entire; the ruins of the great aqueduct, eighteen miles long; the ruins of several temples, one of Ceres, another of Vulcan; the church called *Bocca di Fuoco* was likewise a temple. But the most entire of all is a small rotundo, which, as well as the Pantheon at Rome, and some others to be met with in Italy, in my opinion demonstrates that form to be the most durable of any.

It has now been purged and purified from all the infection contracted from heathen rites, and is become a Christian church, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, who has long been constituted universal legatee and executrix to all the ancient goddesses, celestial, terrestrial, and infernal; and, indeed, little more than the names are changed, the things continuing pretty much the same as ever. The Catholics themselves do not attend to it, but it is not a little curious to consider, how small is the deviation in almost every article of their present rites from those of the ancients. I have somewhere seen an observation, which seems to be a just one, that during the long reign of heathenism, superstition had altogether exhausted her talent for invention, so that when a superstitious spirit seized

Christians, they were under the necessity of borrowing from their predecessors, and imitating some part of their idolatry. This appears to be strictly the case. I took notice of it to Signior *Recupero*, who is not the most zealous sectary in the world, and who frankly owned the truth of the observation.

In some places the very same images still remain: they have only christened them; and what was *Venus* or *Proserpine*, is now *Mary Magdalene* or the *Virgin*. The same ceremonies are daily performed before these images, in the same language, and nearly in the same manner. The saints are perpetually coming down in person, and working miracles, as the heathen gods did of old. The walls of the temples are covered with the vows of pilgrims, as they were formerly. The holy water, which was held in such detestation by the first Christians, is again revered, and sprinkled about with the same devotion as in the time of Paganism. The same incense is burnt, by priests arrayed in the same manner, with the same grimaces and genuflections, before the same images, and in the same temples, too. In short, so nearly do the rites coincide, that were the Pagan high-priest to come back, and re-assume his functions, he would only have to learn a few new names, to get the *Mass*, the *Paters*, and the *Aves* by heart, which would be much easier to him, as they are in a language he understands, but which his modern successors are often ignorant of. Some things, to be sure, would puzzle him; and he would swear that all the mysteries of *Eleusis* were nothing to the amazing mystery of transubstantiation, the only one that ever attempted to set both our understanding and our senses at defiance, and baffles equally all the faculties both of the soul and body. He would likewise be a good deal at a loss to account for the strange metamorphosis of some of his old friends. That (he would say) I can well remember, was the statue of *Venus Meretrix*, and was only worshipped by the loose and voluptuous. She seems to be wonderfully improved since you made her a Christian, for I find she is now become the great protectress of chastity and of virtue. *Juno*, too, who was so implacable and so revengeful, you have softened down into a very moderate sort of deity, for I observe you address her with as little fear or ceremony as any of the rest of them; I wish you would make the *Furies* Christians, too, for surely they would be much the better for it. But observing the figure of *St Anthony*, he would exclaim with astonishment, But what do I behold!—*Jupiter*, the sovereign of gods and men, with a ragged cloak over his shoulders! What a humiliating spectacle! Well do I remember with what awe we bent before that once respectable image. But what has become of the thunderbolt, which he held in his hand to chastise the world, and what is that he has got in its place? His conductor would tell him that it was only a piece of rope, with knots upon it, to chastise himself; adding, that he was now doing penance for his long usurpation, and that the thunder had long ago been put into better hands. However, he would soon find, that even these saints sometimes change their names, according to the enthusiastic caprice of the people; and from this versatility, he would still be in hopes, in process of time, to see his friend *Jupiter* re-assume his bolt and his dignity.

Do you remember old *Huet*—the greatest of all originals? One day, as he passed the statue of *Jupiter* in the capitol, he pulled off his hat, and made him a bow. A Jacobite gentleman who observed it, asked him why he paid so much respect to that old gentleman. "For the same reason," replied *Huet*, "that you pay so much to the Pretender. Besides," added he, "I think there is rather a greater probability that his turn will come round again than that of your hero; I shall therefore endeavour to keep well with him, and hope he will never forget that I took notice of him in the time of his adversity."

Indeed, within the course of my own observation, I

can recollect some of the most capital saints in the calendar who have been disgraced by the people, and new names given to their statues. When we were in Portugal last war, the people of Castel Branco were so enraged at St Antonio, for allowing the Spaniards to plunder their town, contrary, as they affirmed, to his express agreement with them, that they broke many of his statues to pieces; and one that had been more revered than the rest, they took the head off, and clapped on one of St Francis in its place, whose name the statue ever after retained. Even the great St Januarius himself, I am told, was in imminent danger during the last famine at Naples. A Swiss gentleman assured me, that he had heard them load him with abuse and invective; and declare point-blank, that if he did not procure them corn by such a time, he should no longer be their saint. However, such instances are but rare; and, in general, the poor Catholics are fully indemnified for these sudden fits of passion and resentment, by the full persuasion of the immediate presence and protection of their beloved patrons.

I have observed with pleasure that glow of gratitude and affection that has animated their countenances; and am persuaded that the warmth of the enthusiastic devotion they often feel before their favourite saints, particularly their female ones, must have something extremely delightful in it; resembling, perhaps, the pure and delicate sensations of the most respectful love. I own I have sometimes envied them their feelings, and in my heart cursed the pride of reason and philosophy, with all its cool and tasteless triumphs, that lulls into a kind of stoical apathy these most exquisite sensations of the soul. Who would not choose to be deceived, when the deception raises in him these delicious passions, that are so worthy of the human heart, and for which, of all others, it seems to be the most fitted? But if once you have steeled it over with the hard and impenetrable temper of philosophy, these fine-spun threads of weakness and affection that were so pliable, and so easily tied, become hard and inflexible, and for ever lose that delicate tone of sensibility that puts them into a kind of unison and vibration with every object around us; for what has been so truly said of one part of our species, may almost with equal justice be applied to the whole—

That to their weakness half their charms we owe.

I remember Dr Tissot told me, he had a patient that actually died of love for Christ; and when in the last extremity, seemed still to enjoy the greatest happiness; calling upon him with all the fondness of the most enthusiastic passion. And from what I have often observed before the statues of the Virgin and St Agatha, I am persuaded they have many inamoratos that would willingly lay down their lives for them.

Now, pray, don't you think too, that this personal kind of worship is much better adapted to the capacities of the vulgar than the more pure and sublime modes of it, which would only distract and confound their simple understandings, unaccustomed to speculation, and that certainly require something gross and material, some object of sense, to fix their attention? This even seems to have been the opinion of some of the sacred writers, who often represent God under some material form.

Were you to attempt to give a country fellow an idea of the Deity—were you to tell him of a being that is immaterial, and yet whose essence penetrates all matter—who has existed from all eternity, and whose extension is equally boundless with his duration—who fills and pervades millions of worlds, and animates every object they contain—and who, in the sublime language of our poet,

Though changed through all, is yet in all the same,  
Great in the earth as in the ethereal frame;  
Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,  
Glow in the stars, and blossoms in the trees;

Lives through all life, extends through all extent;

Spreads undivided, operates unspent.

To him no high, no low, no great, no small;

He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all.

Now, what do you imagine he would think of such a being? I am afraid his understanding would be so bewildered that he could not think at all. But set up before him the figure of a fine woman, and a beautiful child in her arms, the most interesting object in nature, and tell him she can procure him every thing he wants, he knows perfectly well what he is about, feels himself animated by the object, and prays to her with all his might.

Adieu. We are going to be very busy, and are preparing every thing for one of the greatest objects of our expedition, the examination of Mount *Ætna*. Indeed, we have received but bad encouragement, and are beginning to doubt of the possibility of success. *Recupero* tells us that the season is not far enough advanced yet, by some months, and that he does not think it will be possible to get near the summit of the mountain. The last winter, he says, was so uncommonly severe, that the circle of snow extended much nearer the foot of the mountain than usual; that, although this circle is now greatly contracted, it still extends nine or ten miles below the crater. He advises us to return this way in the month of August; and, if possible, make *Ætna* the last part of our expedition. It we do not succeed to-morrow, we shall probably follow his advice; but we are all determined to make a bold push for it. The weather is the most favourable that can be imagined; here is a delightful evening, and by the star-light we can observe the smoke rolling down the side of the mountain like a vast torrent. *Recupero* says this is a sure indication of the violence of the cold in these exalted regions of the atmosphere, which condenses the vapour, and makes it fall down the moment it issues out of the crater. He advises us, by all means, to provide plenty of liquors, warm fur cloaks, and hatchets to cut wood, as we shall probably be obliged to pass the night in the open air, in a climate, he assures us, as cold as that of Greenland. It is very singular if this be true, for at present we are melting with heat, in thin suits of taffeta. Adieu. You shall know it all on our return, if we do not share the fate of *Empedocles*. Ever yours.

#### REGIONS OF *ÆTNA*.—ERUPTIONS.

*Catania, May 29.*

On the 27th, by daybreak, we set off to visit Mount *Ætna*, that venerable and respectable father of mountains. His base and his immense declivities are covered over with a numerous progeny of his own, for every great eruption produces a new mountain; and, perhaps, by the number of these, better than by any other method, the number of eruptions, and the age of *Ætna* itself, might be ascertained.

The whole mountain is divided into three distinct regions, called *La Regione Culta* or Piedmontese, the fertile region; *La Regione Sylvoosa* or *Nemorosa*, the woody region; and *La Regione Deserta* or *Scoperta*, the barren region.

These three are as different, both in climate and productions, as the three zones of the earth; and perhaps, with equal propriety, might have been styled the torrid, the temperate, and the frigid zone. The first region surrounds the foot of the mountain, and constitutes the most fertile country in the world on all sides of it, to the extent of about fourteen or fifteen miles, where the woody region begins. It is composed almost entirely of lava, which, after a number of ages, is at last converted into the most fertile of all soils.

At *Nicolosi*, which is twelve miles up the mountain, we found the barometer at 27 degrees  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lines; at

Catania it stood at 29 degrees 8½ lines: although the former elevation is not very great, probably not exceeding three thousand feet, yet the climate was totally changed. At Catania the harvest was entirely over, and the heats were insupportable; here they were moderate, and in many places the corn is as yet green. The road for these twelve miles is the worst I ever travelled; entirely over old lavas and the mouths of extinguished volcanoes, now converted into corn-fields, vineyards, and orchards.

The fruit of this region is reckoned the finest in Sicily, particularly the figs, of which they have a great variety. One of these, of a very large size, esteemed superior in flavour to all the rest, they pretend is peculiar to *Ætna*.

The lavas, which, as I have already said, form this region of the mountain, take their rise from an infinite number of the most beautiful little mountains on earth, which are every where scattered on the immense declivity of *Ætna*. These are all of a regular figure; either that of a cone, or a semisphere; and all but a very few are covered with beautiful trees, and the richest verdure: every eruption generally forms one of these mountains. As the great crater of *Ætna* itself is raised to such an enormous height above the lower regions of the mountain, it is not possible that the internal fire, raging for a vent, even round the base, and no doubt vastly below it, should be carried to the height of twelve or thirteen thousand feet, for probably so high is the summit of *Ætna*. It has therefore generally happened, that after shaking the mountain and its neighbourhood for some time, it at last bursts open its side, and this is called an eruption. At first it only sends forth a thick smoke and showers of ashes, that lay waste the adjacent country; these are soon followed by red-hot stones and rocks of a great size, thrown to an immense height in the air. The fall of these stones, together with the quantities of ashes discharged at the same time, at last form the spherical and conical mountains I have mentioned. Sometimes this process is finished in the course of a few days, sometimes it lasts for months, which was the case in the great eruption 1669. In that case, the mountain formed is of a great size; some of them are not less than seven or eight miles round, and upwards of one thousand feet in perpendicular height; others are not more than two or three miles round, and three or four hundred feet high.

After the new mountain is formed, the lava generally bursts out from its lower side, and bearing every thing before it, is for the most part terminated by the sea. This is the common progress of an eruption; however, it sometimes happens, though rarely, that the lava bursts at once from the side of the mountain without all these attending circumstances; and this is commonly the case with the eruptions of Vesuvius, where the elevation being so much smaller, the melted matter is generally carried up into the crater of the mountain, which then exhibits the phenomena I have described; discharging showers of stones and ashes from the mouth of the volcano without forming any new mountain, but only adding considerably to the height of the old one, till at last the lava, rising near the summit, bursts the side of the crater, and the eruption is declared. This has literally been the case with two eruptions I have been an attentive witness of in that mountain; but *Ætna* is upon a much larger scale, and one crater is not enough to give vent to such oceans of liquid fire.

Recupero assures me he saw in an eruption of that mountain, large rocks of fire discharged to the height of some thousand feet, with a noise much more terrible than that of thunder. He measured from the time of their greatest elevation till they reached the ground, and found they took twenty-one seconds to descend; which, according to the rule of the spaces, being as the squares of the times, amounts, I think, to upwards of seven thousand feet—a most astonish-

ing height surely, and requiring a force of projection beyond what we have any conception of. I measured the height of the explosions of Vesuvius by the same rule, and never observed any of the stones thrown from it to take more than nine seconds to descend, which shows they had risen to little more than twelve hundred feet.

Our landlord at Nicolosi gave us an account of the singular fate of the beautiful country near Hybla, at no great distance from hence. It was so celebrated for its fertility, and particularly for its honey, that it was called *Mel Passi*, till it was overwhelmed by the lava of *Ætna*; and having then become totally barren, by a kind of pun, its name was changed to *Mal Passi*. In a second eruption, by a shower of ashes from the mountain, it soon re-assumed its ancient beauty and fertility, and for many years was called *Bel Passi*. Last of all, in the unfortunate era of 1669, it was again laid under an ocean of fire, and reduced to the most wretched sterility, since which time it is known again by its second appellation of *Mal Passi*. However, the lava in its course over this beautiful country, has left several little islands or hillocks, just enough to show what it formerly was. These make a singular appearance, in all the bloom of the most luxuriant vegetation, surrounded and rendered almost inaccessible by large fields of black and rugged lava. The mountain from whence the first eruption issued that covered *Mel Passi*, is known by the name of *Monpelieri*: I was struck with its beautiful appearance at a distance, and could not resist the desire I had of examining it minutely, as well as of observing the effects of the two eruptions that overwhelmed this celebrated country.

*Monpelieri* is rather of a spherical than a conical shape, and does not rise in perpendicular height above three hundred feet, but it is so perfectly regular on every side, and so richly overspread with fruits and flowers, that I could not leave so heavenly a spot without the greatest regret. Its cup or crater is large in proportion to the mountain, and is as exactly hollowed out as the best made bowl. I walked quite round its outward edge, and think the circumference must be somewhat more than a mile.

This mountain was formed by the first eruption that destroyed the country of *Mel Passi*, and is of a very old date. It buried a great number of villages and country houses, and particularly two noble churches, which are more regretted than all the rest, on account of three statues, reckoned at that time the most perfect in the island. They have attempted, but in vain, to recover them, as the spot where the churches stood could never be justly ascertained. Indeed, it is impossible it should; for these churches were built of lava, which it is well known is immediately melted when it comes into contact with a torrent of new erupted matter; and *Massa* says, that in some eruptions of *Ætna*, the lava has poured down with such a sudden impetuosity, that, in the course of a few hours, churches, palaces, and villages, have been entirely melted down, and the whole run off in fusion, without leaving the least mark of their former existence. But if the lava has had any considerable time to cool, this singular effect never happens.

The great eruption of 1669, after shaking the whole country around for four months, and forming a very large mountain of stones and ashes, burst out about a mile above *Monpelieri*, and descending like a torrent, bore directly against the middle of that mountain, and (they pretend) perforated it from side to side; this, however, I doubt, as it must have broken the regular form of the mountain, which is not the case. But certain it is that it pierced it to a great depth. The lava then divided into two branches, and surrounding this mountain, joined again on its south side; and laying waste the whole country betwixt that and Catania, scaled the walls of that city, and poured its flaming torrent into the ocean. In its way, it is said to have destroyed the possessions of near

thirty thousand people, and reduced them to beggary. It formed several hills where there were formerly valleys, and filled up a large lake, of which there is not now the least vestige to be seen.

As the events of this eruption are better known than any other, they tell a great many singular stories of it, one of which, however incredible it may appear, is well ascertained. A vineyard, belonging to a convent of Jesuits, lay directly on its way. This vineyard was formed on an ancient lava, probably a thin one, with a number of caverns and crevices under it. The liquid lava entering into these caverns, soon filled them up, and by degrees bore up the vineyard; and the Jesuits, who every moment expected to see it buried, beheld with amazement the whole field begin to move off. It was carried on the surface of the lava to a considerable distance, and though the greater part was destroyed, yet some of it remains to this day.

We went to examine the mouth from whence this dreadful torrent issued, and were surprised to find it only a small hole, of about three or four yards diameter. The mountain from whence it sprung, I think, is little less than the conical part of Vesuvius.

There is a vast cavern on the opposite side of it, where people go to shoot wild pigeons, which breed there in great abundance. The innermost parts of this cavern are so very dismal and gloomy, that our landlord told us some people had lost their senses from having advanced too far, imagining they saw devils and the spirits of the damned; for it is still very generally believed here that *Ætna* is the mouth of hell.

We found a degree of wildness and ferocity in the inhabitants of this mountain that I have not observed any where else. It put me in mind of an observation the Padre della Torre (the historiographer of Mount Vesuvius) told me he had often made in the confines of Naples—that in the places where the air is most impregnated with sulphur and hot exhalations, the people were always most wicked and vicious. Whatever truth there may be in the observation, the people about Nicolosi at least seem to confirm it. The whole village flocked round us, and the women, in particular, abused us exceedingly, the cause of which we at last found was, that Fullarton's blooming complexion and white skin had made them take him for one of their own sex. They made a great clamour, and it was with difficulty we could appease them. The person whom Recupero had appointed to accompany us, known by the name of the Cyclops (the man in the island that is best acquainted with Mount *Ætna*), was ordered by them not to go with us; and if we had not at last obtained their consent by soothing and flattery, the best method with women, he durst not have disobeyed them. At first we had been obliged to shut the gate of the court, they were so very noisy and tumultuous; but when our landlord (a priest), for whom we had letters from Catania, assured them that we were Christians, and came with no bad intentions, they became more moderate, and we ventured out amongst them. This confidence soon acquired theirs; and in a short time we became good friends, and had a great deal of conversation.

It was with much difficulty I could persuade them that we were not come to search for hidden treasures, a great quantity of which they believe is to be found in Monpelieri; and when I went to that mountain they were then fully convinced that this was our intention. Two of the men followed me, and kept a close eye on every step that I took; and when I lifted any bit of lava or pumice, they came running up, thinking it was something very precious; but when they observed they were only bits of stone, and that I put them into my pocket, they laughed heartily, talking to one another in their mountain jargon, which is unintelligible even to Italians. However, as most of them speak Italian so as to be understood, they asked me what I was going to make of these bits of stone? I told them they were of great value in our

country; that the people there had a way of making gold of them; at this they both seemed exceedingly surprised, and spoke again in their own tongue. However, I found they did not believe me; one of them told me if that had been true I certainly would not have been so ready in telling it; but, said he, if it is so, we will serve you for ever if you will teach us that art, for then we shall be the richest people on earth. I assured them that I had not yet learned it myself, and that it was a secret known only to very few. They were likewise a good deal surprised to see me pull out of my pocket a magnetical needle and a small electrometer, which I had prepared at Catania to examine the electrical state of the air; and I was at first afraid they should have taken me for a conjuror (which you know already happened among the Apennines), but luckily that idea did not strike them.

On our way back to Nicolosi we were joined by three or four more, with their wives. I began to be a little afraid of myself, lest they should insist on knowing the secret. However, I took out my bits of lava, and told them they were at their service, if they had any occasion for them. But they refused them, saying, they wished to the Virgin and St Agatha, that I could take away the whole of it, as it had ruined the finest country in all Sicily.

One fellow, who assumed an air of superior wisdom and dignity to the rest, made them form a circle round him, and began to interrogate me with great gravity and composure. It was with difficulty I could keep my countenance; but as I was alone with them, at some distance from the village, I was afraid of offending. He desired me to answer him with truth and precision, what were the real motives of our coming so fatiguing and disagreeable a journey. I told him, on my word, that we had no other motive but curiosity to examine Mount *Ætna*. On which, laughing to one another with great contempt, "*Un bel ragione questo, non è vero?*" said they—(A very pretty reason, truly.) The old fellow then asked me what country we were of. I told him we were Inglese. "*E dov' è loro paese?*" said he—(Whereabouts does their country lie?) I told him it was a great way off, on the other side of the world. "*Da vero,*" said the fellow; "*e credono in Christo quelli Inglese?*"—[Do these English believe in Christ?] I told him, laughing, that they did. "Ah!" said he, shaking his head, "*mi pare che non credono troppo.*"—[I suppose they don't believe too much.] One of the company then observed, that he remembered several of these Inglese that had paid visits to Mount *Ætna*, and that they never yet could find out their motive; but that he recollected very well to have heard many of their old people say, that the Inglese had a queen that had burnt in the mountain for many years past, and that they supposed these visits were made from some devotion or respect to her memory. I assured them that the Inglese had but too little respect for their queens when they were alive, and that they never troubled themselves about them after they were dead; however, as all the others confirmed this testimony, I thought it best to say little against it; but I was extremely curious to know who this queen might be. They alleged that I knew much better than they, but added that her name was Anna.

I could not conceive what Queen Anne had done to bring her there, and was puzzling myself to find it out, when one of them soon cleared up the matter; he told me she was wife to a king that had been a Christian, and that she had made him a heretic, and was in consequence condemned to burn for ever in Mount *Ætna*. In short, I found it was no other than poor Anne Boleyn. As soon as I mentioned the name, "*Si, signor,*" said the fellow; "*l'istessa, l'istessa, la conosce meglio che noi.*"—[Yes, sir, the self-same—you know her better than we.] I asked if her husband was there too, for that he deserved it much better than she. "Certainly," said he, "and all his heretic subjects, too; and if you are of that number, you need not be

in such a hurry to get thither, you will be sure of it at last." I thanked him, and went to join our company, not a little amused with the conversation.

We soon after left Nicolosi, and in an hour and a half's travelling, over barren ashes and lava, we arrived on the confines of the *Regione Sylvoosa*, or the temperate zone. As soon as we entered these delightful forests, we seemed to have got into another world. The air, which before was sultry and hot, was now cool and refreshing; and every breeze was loaded with a thousand perfumes, the whole ground being covered over with the richest aromatic plants. Many parts of this region are surely the most heavenly spots upon earth; and if *Ætna* resembles hell within, it may with equal justice be said to resemble paradise without.

It is indeed a curious consideration, that this mountain should re-unite every beauty and every horror; and, in short, all the most opposite and dissimilar objects in nature. Here you observe a gulf, that formerly threw out torrents of fire, now covered with the most luxuriant vegetation, and from an object of terror become one of delight. Here you gather the most delicious fruit, rising from what was but lately a black and barren rock. Here the ground is covered with every flower; and we wander over these beauties, and contemplate this wilderness of sweets, without considering that hell, with all its terrors, is immediately under our feet, and that but a few yards separate us from lakes of liquid fire and brimstone.

But our astonishment still increases on casting our eyes on the higher regions of the mountain. There we behold in perpetual union the two elements that are at perpetual war—an immense gulf of fire, for ever existing in the midst of snows which it has not power to melt, and immense fields of snow and ice, for ever surrounding this gulf of fire, which they have not power to extinguish.

The woody region of *Ætna* ascends for about eight or nine miles, and forms a zone or girdle of the brightest green all around the mountain. This night we passed through little more than the half of it, arriving sometime before sunset at our lodgings, which was no other than a large cave, formed by one of the most ancient and venerable lavas. It is called *La Spelonca del Capriole*, or the Goats' Cavern, because frequented by those animals, who take refuge there in bad weather.

Here we were delighted with the contemplation of many grave and beautiful objects; the prospect on all sides is immense; and we already seemed to be lifted up from the earth, and to have got into a new world.

Our cavern is surrounded by the most stately and majestic oaks, of the dry leaves of which we made very comfortable beds; and with our hatchets, which we had brought on purpose, we cut down great branches, and in a short time had a fire large enough to roast an ox. I observed my thermometer, and found, from 71 degrees at Nicolosi, it had now fallen below 60 degrees. The barometer stood at 24 degrees 2 lines. In one end of our cave we still found a great quantity of snow, which seemed to be sent there on purpose for us, as there was no water to be found. With this we filled our tea-kettle, as tea and bread and butter was the only supper we had provided, and probably the best one to prevent us from being overcome by sleep or fatigue.

Not a great way from this cavern, are two of the most beautiful mountains of all that number that spring from *Ætna*. I mounted one of our best mules, and with a good deal of difficulty arrived at the summit of the highest of them, just a little before sunset. The prospect of Sicily, with the surrounding sea and all its islands, was wonderfully noble. The whole course of the river *Semetus*, the ruins of *Hybla*, and several other ancient towns, the rich corn-fields and vineyards on the lower region of the mountain, and the amazing number of beautiful mountains below, made a delightful scene. The hollow craters of these

two mountains are each of them considerably larger than that of *Vesuvius*. They are now filled with stately oaks, and covered to a great depth with the richest soil. I observed that this region of *Ætna*, like the former, is composed of lava; but this is now covered so deep with earth, that it is nowhere to be seen but in the beds of the torrents. In many of these it is worn down by the water to the depth of fifty or sixty feet, and in one of them still considerably more. What an idea does not this give of the amazing antiquity of the eruptions of this mountain?

As soon as it was dark, we retired to our cave, and took possession of our bed of leaves. Our rest, however, was somewhat disturbed by the noise of a mountain that lay a good way off on our right. It discharged quantities of smoke, and made several explosions like heavy cannon at a distance; but what is singular, we could observe no appearance of fire. This mountain was formed by an eruption in 1766, now upwards of four years ago, the fire of which is not yet extinguished, neither is the lava by any means cold. This lava spent its fury on a beautiful forest, which it laid waste to the extent of a good many miles. In many places it has run into gulleys of a great depth, which it has filled up to the height, we are told, of two hundred feet. It is in these places where it retains the greatest heat. On our road to-day, we scrambled up this lava, and went a considerable way over its surface, which appeared perfectly cold; but it is certain that in many places it still emits volumes of smoke, particularly after rain; and the people say, what I can readily believe, that this will continue to be the case for some years, where the lava is thickest. A solid body of fire some hundreds of feet thick, and of so great an extent, must certainly retain its heat for many years. The surface, indeed, soon becomes black and hard, and encloses the liquid fire within, in a kind of solid box, excluding all impressions from the external air or from the weather. Thus I have seen, many months after eruptions of Mount *Vesuvius*, a bed of lava, though only of a few feet thick, has continued red hot in the centre long after the surface was cold, and a stick thrust into its crevices instantly took fire, although there was no perceptible heat without.

Massa, a Sicilian author of credit, says he was at Catania eight years after the great eruption in 1669, and that he still found the lava in many places was not cold: but there is an easy method of calculating the time that bodies take to cool. Sir Isaac Newton, I think, in his account of the comet of 1680, supposes the times to be as the squares of their diameters; and finding that a solid ball of metal of two inches, made red-hot, required upwards of an hour to become perfectly cold, made the calculation from that to a body of the diameter of the earth, and found it would require upwards of twenty thousand years. If this rule be just, you may easily compute the time that the lava will take to become thoroughly cold; and that you may have time to do so, I shall here break off my letter, which I am obliged to write in bed, in a very awkward and disagreeable posture, the cause of which shall be explained to you in my next. Adieu. Ever yours.

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SUMMIT OF ÆTNA.

*Catania, May 29, at night.*

AFTER getting a comfortable nap on our bed of leaves in the *Spelonca del Capriole*, we awoke about eleven o'clock, and melting down a sufficient quantity of snow, we boiled our tea-kettle, and made a hearty meal, to prepare us for the remaining part of our expedition.

We were nine in number, for we had our three servants, the Cyclops (our conductor), and two men to take care of our mules. The Cyclops now began to display his great knowledge of the mountain, and we

followed him with implicit confidence. He conducted us over "antres vast and deserts wild," where scarce human foot had ever trod. Sometimes through gloomy forests, which by daylight were delightful, but now, from the universal darkness, the rustling of the trees, the heavy dull bellowing of the mountain, the vast expanse of ocean stretched at an immense distance below us, inspired a kind of awful horror. Sometimes we found ourselves ascending great rocks of lava, where, if our mules should make but a false step, we might be thrown headlong over the precipice. However, by the assistance of the Cyclops, we overcame all these difficulties; and he managed matters so well, that in the space of two hours we found we had got above the regions of vegetation, and had left the forests of *Ætna* far behind. These appeared now like a dark and gloomy gulf below us that surrounded the mountain.

The prospect before us was of a very different nature: we beheld an expanse of snow and ice that alarmed us exceedingly, and almost staggered our resolution. In the centre of this, but still at a great distance, we descried the high summit of the mountain, rearing its tremendous head, and vomiting out torrents of smoke. It indeed appeared altogether inaccessible, from the vast extent of the fields of snow and ice that surrounded it. Our diffidence was still increased by the sentiments of the Cyclops. He told us it often happened that the surface of the mountain being hot below, melted the snow in particular spots, and formed pools of water, where it was impossible to foresee our danger; that it likewise happened that the surface of the water, as well as the snow, was sometimes covered with black ashes, that rendered it exceedingly deceitful; that, however, if we thought proper, he would lead us on with as much caution as possible. Accordingly, after holding a council of war, which you know people generally do when they are very much afraid, we detached our cavalry to the forest below, and prepared to climb the snows. The Cyclops, after taking a great draught of brandy, desired us to be of good cheer, that we had plenty of time, and might take as many rests as we pleased; that the snow could be little more than seven miles, and that we certainly should be able to pass it before sunrise. Accordingly, taking each of us a dram of liqueur, which soon removed every objection, we began our march.

The ascent for some time was not steep, and as the surface of the snow sunk a little, we had tolerable good footing; but as it soon began to grow steeper, we found our labour greatly increased: however, we determined to persevere, calling to mind in the midst of our labour that the Emperor Adrian, and the philosopher Plato, had undergone the same, and from the same motive, too, to see the rising sun from the top of *Ætna*. After incredible labour and fatigue, but at the same time mixed with a great deal of pleasure, we arrived before dawn at the ruins of an ancient structure, called *Il Torre del Filosofo*, supposed to have been built by the philosopher Empedocles, who took up his habitation here the better to study the nature of Mount *Ætna*. By others it is supposed to be the ruins of a temple of Vulcan, whose shop all the world knows (where he used to make excellent thunderbolts and celestial armour, as well as nets to catch his wife when she went astray) was ever kept in Mount *Ætna*. Here we rested ourselves for some time, and made a fresh application to our liqueur bottle, which I am persuaded both Vulcan and Empedocles, had they been here, would have greatly approved of after such a march.

I found the mercury had fallen to 20 degrees 6 lines. We had now time to pay our adorations in a silent contemplation of the sublime objects of nature. The sky was clear, and the immense vault of the heavens appeared in awful majesty and splendour. We found ourselves more struck with veneration than below, and at first were at a loss to know the cause, till we ob-

served with astonishment that the number of stars seemed to be infinitely increased, and the light of each of them appeared brighter than usual. The whiteness of the milky way was like a pure flame that shot across the heavens, and with the naked eye we could observe clusters of stars that were invisible in the regions below. We did not at first attend to the cause, nor recollect that we had now passed through ten or twelve thousand feet of gross vapour, that blunts and confuses every ray, before it reaches the surface of the earth. We were amazed at the distinctness of vision, and exclaimed together, "What a glorious situation for an observatory! Had Empedocles had the eyes of Galileo, what discoveries must he not have made!" We regretted that Jupiter was not visible, as I am persuaded we might have discovered some of his satellites with the naked eye, or at least with a small glass which I had in my pocket. We observed a light a great way below us on the mountain, which seemed to move amongst the forests; but whether an *ignis fatuus*, or what it was, I shall not pretend to say. We likewise took notice of several of those meteors called falling stars, which still appeared to be as much elevated above us as when seen from the plain; so that in all probability those bodies move in regions much beyond the bounds that some philosophers have assigned to our atmosphere.

After contemplating these objects for some time, we set off, and soon after arrived at the foot of the great crater of the mountain. This is of an exact conical figure, and rises equally on all sides. It is composed solely of ashes and other burnt materials, discharged from the mouth of the volcano, which is in its centre. This conical mountain is of a very great size: its circumference cannot be less than ten miles. Here we took a second rest, as the greatest part of our fatigue still remained. The mercury had fallen to 20 degrees 4½ lines. We found this mountain excessively steep, and although it had appeared black, yet it was likewise covered with snow, but the surface (luckily for us) was spread over with a pretty thick layer of ashes thrown out from the crater. Had it not been for this, we never should have been able to get to the top, as the snow was every where frozen hard and solid, from the piercing cold of the air.

In about an hour's climbing, we arrived at a place where there was no snow; and where a warm and comfortable vapour issued from the mountain, which induced us to make another halt. Here I found the mercury at 19 degrees 6½ lines. The thermometer was fallen three degrees below the point of congelation, and before we left the summit of *Ætna*, it fell two degrees more, namely to 27. From this spot it was only about three hundred yards to the highest summit of the mountain, where we arrived in full time to see the most wonderful and most sublime sight in nature.

But here description must ever fall short, for no imagination has dared to form an idea of so glorious and so magnificent a scene. Neither is there on the surface of this globe any one point that unites so many awful and sublime objects. The immense elevation from the surface of the earth, drawn, as it were, to a single point, without any neighbouring mountain for the senses and imagination to rest upon, and recover from their astonishment in their way down to the world. This point, or pinnacle, raised on the brink of a bottomless gulf as old as the world, often discharging rivers of fire, and throwing out burning rocks, with a noise that shakes the whole island. Add to this, the unbounded extent of the prospect, comprehending the greatest diversity and the most beautiful scenery in nature, with the rising sun advancing in the east, to illuminate the wondrous scene.

The whole atmosphere by degrees kindled up, and showed dimly and faintly the boundless prospect around. Both sea and land looked dark and confused, as if only emerging from their original chaos, and light and darkness seemed still undivided, till the morning,



by degrees advancing, completed the separation. The stars are extinguished, and the shades disappear. The forests, which but now seemed black and bottomless gulfs, from whence no ray was reflected to show their form or colours, appear a new creation rising to the sight, catching life and beauty from every increasing beam. The scene still enlarges, and the horizon seems to widen and expand itself on all sides, till the sun, like the great Creator, appears in the east, and with his plastic ray completes the mighty spectacle. All appears enchantment, and it is with difficulty we can believe we are still on earth. The senses, unaccustomed to the sublimity of such a scene, are bewildered and confounded; and it is not till after some time that they are capable of separating and judging of the objects that compose it. The body of the sun is seen rising from the ocean, immense tracks both of sea and land intervening; the islands of Lipari, Panari, Alicudi, Stromboli, and Volcano, with their smoking summits, appear under your feet; and you look down on the whole of Sicily as on a map, and can trace every river through all its windings, from its source to its mouth. The view is absolutely boundless on every side, nor is there any one object within the circle of vision to interrupt it, so that the sight is every where lost in the immensity; and I am persuaded it is only from the imperfection of our organs, that the coasts of Africa, and even of Greece, are not discovered, as they are certainly above the horizon. The circumference of the visible horizon on the top of *Ætna*, cannot be less than two thousand miles. At Malta, which is near two hundred miles distant, they perceive all the eruptions from the second region; and that island is often discovered from about one-half the elevation of the mountain; so that at the whole elevation, the horizon must extend to near double that distance, or four hundred miles, which makes eight hundred for the diameter of the circle, and two thousand four hundred for the circumference. But this is by much too vast for our senses, not intended to grasp so boundless a scene. I find, indeed, by some of the Sicilian authors, particularly Massa, that the African coast, as well as that of Naples, with many of its islands, have been discovered from the top of *Ætna*. Of this, however, we cannot boast, though we can very well believe it. Indeed, if we knew the height of the mountain, it would be easy to calculate the extent of its visible horizon; and, *vice versa*, if its visible horizon was exactly ascertained, it would be an easy matter to calculate the height of the mountain. But the most beautiful part of the scene is certainly the mountain itself, the island of Sicily, and the numerous islands lying round it. All these, by a kind of magic in vision, that I am at a loss to account for, seem as if they were brought close round the skirts of *Ætna*, the distances appearing reduced to nothing. Perhaps this singular effect is produced by the rays of light passing from a rarer medium into a denser; which (from a well-known law in optics) to an observer in the rare medium, appears to lift up the objects that are at the bottom of the dense one; as a piece of money placed in a basin appears lifted up as soon as the basin is filled with water.

The Regione Deserta, or the frigid zone of *Ætna*, is the first object that calls your attention. It is marked out by a circle of snow and ice, which extends on all sides to the distance of about eight miles. In the centre of this circle, the great crater of the mountain rears its burning head; and the regions of intense cold and of intense heat seem for ever to be united in the same point. On the north side of the snowy region, they assure us, there are several small lakes that are never thawed; and that in many places, the snow, mixed with the ashes and salts of the mountain, is accumulated to a vast depth: and indeed I suppose the quantity of salts contained in this mountain is one great reason of the preservation of its snows. The Regione Deserta is immediately succeeded by the *Sylvosa*, or the woody region, which forms a circle

or girdle of the most beautiful green, which surrounds the mountain on all sides, and is certainly one of the most delightful spots on earth. This presents a remarkable contrast with the desert region. It is not smooth and even, like the greatest part of the latter; but it is finely variegated by an infinite number of those beautiful little mountains that have been formed by the different eruptions of *Ætna*. All these have now acquired a wonderful degree of fertility, except a very few that are but newly formed; that is, within these five or six hundred years—for it certainly requires some thousands to bring them to their greatest degree of perfection. We looked down into the craters of these, and attempted, but in vain, to number them.

The circumference of this zone or great circle on *Ætna* is not less than seventy or eighty miles. It is every where succeeded by the vineyards, orchards, and corn-fields, that compose the Regione Culta, or the fertile region. This last zone is much broader than the others, and extends on all sides to the foot of the mountain. Its whole circumference, according to Recupero, is 183 miles. It is likewise covered with a number of little conical and spherical mountains, and exhibits a wonderful variety of forms and colours, and makes a delightful contrast with the other two regions. It is bounded by the sea to the south and south-east, and on all its other sides by the rivers Semetus and Alcantara, which run almost round it. The whole course of these rivers is seen at once, and all their beautiful windings through these fertile valleys, looked upon as the favourite possession of Ceres herself, and the very scene of the rape of her daughter Proserpine.

Cast your eyes a little farther, and you embrace the whole island, and see all its cities, rivers, and mountains, delineated in the great chart of nature: all the adjacent islands, the whole coast of Italy, as far as your eye can reach, for it is nowhere bounded, but every where lost in the space. On the sun's first rising, the shadow of the mountain extends across the whole island, and makes a large track visible even in the sea and in the air. By degrees this is shortened, and in a little time is confined only to the neighbourhood of *Ætna*.

We now had time to examine a fourth region of this wonderful mountain, very different, indeed, from the others, and productive of very different sensations, but which has undoubtedly given being to all the rest—I mean the region of fire.

The present crater of this immense volcano is a circle of about three miles and a half in circumference. It goes shelving down on each side, and forms a regular hollow like a vast amphitheatre. From many places of this space issue volumes of sulphureous smoke, which, being much heavier than the circumambient air, instead of rising in it, as smoke generally does, immediately on its getting out of the crater, rolls down the side of the mountain like a torrent, till coming to that part of the atmosphere of the same specific gravity with itself, it shoots off horizontally, and forms a large track in the air, according to the direction of the wind, which, happily for us, carried it exactly to the side opposite to that where we were placed. The crater is so hot that it is very dangerous, if not impossible, to go down into it; besides, the smoke is very inconvenient, and, in many places, the surface is so soft, there have been instances of people sinking down in it, and paying for their temerity with their lives. Near the centre of the crater is the great mouth of the volcano—that tremendous gulf, so celebrated in all ages, looked upon as the terror and scourge both of this and another life, and equally useful to ancient poets or to modern divines, when the Muse or when the Spirit inspires. We beheld it with awe and with horror, and were not surprised that it had been considered as the place of the damned. When we reflect on the immensity of its depth, the vast cells and caverns whence so many lavas have issued; the force of its internal fire to raise

up those lavas to so vast a height, to support as it were in the air, and even to force it over the very summit of the crater, with all the dreadful accompaniments; the boiling of the matter, the shaking of the mountain, the explosions of flaming rocks, &c., we must allow that the most enthusiastic imagination, in the midst of all its terrors, hardly ever formed an idea of a hell more dreadful.\*

It was with a mixture both of pleasure and pain that we quitted this awful scene. But the wind had risen very high, and clouds began to gather round the mountain. In a short time they formed like another heaven below us, and we were in hopes of seeing a thunderstorm under our feet—a scene that is not uncommon in these exalted regions, and which I have already seen on the top of the high Alps; but the clouds were soon dispelled again by the force of the wind, and we were disappointed in our expectations.

I had often been told of the great effect produced by discharging a gun on the top of high mountains. I tried it here, when we were a good deal surprised to find that, instead of increasing the sound, it was almost reduced to nothing. The report was not equal to that of a pocket-pistol—we compared it to the stroke of a stick on a door; and surely it is consistent with reason, that the thinner the air is the less its impression must be on the ear; for in a vacuum there can be no noise, or no impression can be made; and the nearer the approach to a vacuum the impression must always be the smaller. Where those great effects have been produced, it must have been amongst a number of mountains, where the sound is reverberated from one to the other.

When we arrived at the foot of the cone, we observed some rocks of an incredible size, that have been discharged from the crater. The largest that has been observed from Vesuvius is a round one of about twelve feet diameter. These are much greater; indeed, almost in proportion of the mountains to each other.

On our arrival at the *Torre del Filosofo* we could not help admiring, that the ruins of this structure have remained uncovered for so many ages, so near the top of *Ætna*, when thousands of places at a great distance from it have been repeatedly buried by its lavas in a much shorter time—a proof that few eruptions have risen so high in the mountain.

Empedocles was a native of Agrigentum, and is supposed to have died 400 years before the Christian era. Perhaps his vanity more than his philosophy led him to this elevated situation; nay, it is said to have carried him still much farther:—That he might be looked upon as a god, and that the people might suppose he was taken up to heaven, he is recorded to have thrown himself headlong into the great gulf of Mount *Ætna*, never supposing that his death could be discovered to mankind; but the treacherous mountain threw out his slippers, which were of brass, and announced to the world the fate of the philosopher, who,

\* ["With great fatigue, I at length reached the brink of the crater, and could now look down into the caldron, which shelves gradually to the depth of a hundred feet or so; the circumference being, according to Gemellaro's computation, above two miles. There would thus have no difficulty in walking down into it; but the sulphureous vapour rising from thousands of small openings was an insurmountable obstacle; and yet the guides assured us that the smoke was so inconsiderable that it could not be seen from Catania. In the middle of the bottom of the crater opened many deep black holes, from which issued the thickest smoke. When a gust of wind swept into the caldron, its bottom would for a short moment be cleared, and then displayed a large field of sulphur, strewed over with stones and fragments of lava. The main colour is a decided yellow, which, through innumerable shades, softens into the palest white, or darkens to a red brown. From the side walls, single lava rocks here and there jut out, upon which this play of colours is most apparent. They are covered on the upper side with a coating of sulphur of the liveliest yellow; the shady side passes through a magnificent orange into strong red and a rusty brown."—*Wanderings through Sicily and the Levant: Berlin, 1834.*]

by his death, as well as life, wanted only to impose upon mankind, and make them believe that he was greater than they.

However, if there is such a thing as philosophy on earth, this surely ought to be its seat. The prospect is little inferior to that from the summit, and the mind enjoys a degree of serenity here, that even few philosophers, I believe, could ever boast of on that tremendous point. All nature lies expanded below your feet in her gayest and most luxuriant dress, and you still behold united under one point of view, all the seasons of the year, and all the climates of the earth. The meditations are ever elevated in proportion to the grandeur and sublimity of the objects that surround us; and here, where you have all nature to arouse your admiration, what mind can remain inactive?

It has likewise been observed, and from experience I can say with truth, that on the tops of the highest mountains, where the air is so pure and refined, and where there is not that immense weight of gross vapours pressing upon the body, the mind acts with greater freedom, and all the functions both of soul and body are performed in a superior manner. It would appear that, in proportion as we are raised above the habitations of men, all low and vulgar sentiments are left behind, and that the soul, in approaching the ethereal regions, shakes off its earthly affections, and already acquires something of their celestial purity. Here, where you stand under a serene sky, and behold with equal serenity the tempest and storm forming below your feet—the lightning darting from cloud to cloud, and the thunder rolling round the mountain, and threatening with destruction the poor wretches below—the mind considers the little storms of the human passions as equally below her notice. Surely the situation alone is enough to inspire philosophy, and Empedocles had good reason for choosing it.

But, alas! how vain are all our reasonings! In the very midst of these meditations, my philosophy was at once overset, and in a moment I found myself relapsed into a poor miserable mortal, was obliged to own that pain was the greatest of evils, and would have given the world to have been once more arrived at those humble habitations, which, but a moment before, I had looked down upon with such contempt. In running over the ice, my leg folded under me, and I received so violent a sprain, that in a few minutes it swelled to a great degree, and I found myself unable to put my foot to the ground. Every muscle and fibre was at that time chilled and frozen by the extreme cold, the thermometer continuing still below the point of congelation. It was this circumstance, I suppose, that made the pain so violent, for I lay a considerable time on the ice in great agony; however, in these exalted regions it was impossible to have a horse or a carriage of any kind, and your poor philosopher was obliged to hop on one leg, with two men supporting him, for several miles over the snow; and our wags here allege that he left the greatest part of his philosophy behind him, for the use of Empedocles's heirs and successors.

I was happy to get to my mule; but when I once more found myself on our bed of leaves in the *Splonca del Capriole*, I thought I was in paradise. So true it is, that a removal of pain is the greatest of pleasures. The agony I suffered had thrown me into a profuse sweat and a fever; however, in an instant I fell fast asleep, and in an hour and a half awaked in perfect health. We had an excellent dish of tea, the most refreshing and agreeable I ever drank in all my life.

We left the summit of the mountain about six o'clock, and it was eight at night before we reached Catania. We observed both with pleasure and pain the change of the climate as we descended. From the regions of the most rigid winter, we soon arrived at those of the most delightful spring. On first entering the forests, the trees were still bare as in December, not a single leaf to be seen; but after we

had descended a few miles we found ourselves in the mildest and the softest of climates, the trees in full verdure, and the fields covered with all the flowers of the summer; but as soon as we got out of the woods, and entered the torrid zone, we found the heats altogether insupportable, and suffered dreadfully from them before we reached the city. On the road I saw many mountains which I intended to have visited, but my sprain put it out of my power. One of the most remarkable is called the Monte Pelluse, the lava of which destroyed the great aqueduct of Catania for eighteen miles. It has here and there left a few arches, but nothing of any consequence.

Not far from this mountain stands the Monte Victoria, one of the most beautiful of all the numerous family of *Ætna*. It is of a pretty large size, and perfectly regular, and seems to be in the gayest dress of any. Many of its trees, which at a distance we took to be oranges and citrons, appeared to be in full blow. It was the lava of this mountain that is said to have covered up the port of Ulysses, which is now three miles distant from the sea; but I should suppose this eruption to have been much older than either Ulysses or Troy.

On our arrival at Catania, we went immediately to bed, being exceedingly oppressed by the fatigue of our expedition, but still more by the violent heat of the day—a day in which I think I have enjoyed a greater degree of pleasure and suffered a greater degree of pain than in any other day of my life.

As my leg continues very much swelled, I am still confined to my room, and mostly, indeed, to my bed, from whence I have written you the greater part of these two epistles, the enormous length of which I am ashamed of. However, as I have still omitted several articles that I intended to take notice of, I shall add a sequel to-morrow, and so conclude my account of Mount *Ætna*. Had it not been for this abominable sprain, that holds me fast by the foot, you probably had not got off so easily; but I am obliged to drop all further thoughts of climbing mountains, though there are many things I still wanted to examine. Adieu. Ever yours.

HEIGHT OF *ÆTNA*.—ELECTRICITY.—NATURAL PRODUCTIONS.

*Catania, May 30.*

We took care to regulate two barometers at the foot of the mountain, one of which was left with the Canonico Recupero, and the other we carried along with us. The former, our friend assures us, had no sensible variation during our absence. We both left, and found it at 29 inches  $8\frac{1}{2}$  lines English measure. On our arrival at Catania, the one we carried up with us had risen again exactly to the same point.

I have likewise a good quicksilver thermometer, which I borrowed from the Neapolitan philosopher, the Padre della Torre, who furnished us with letters for this place, and would have accompanied us, could he have obtained leave of the king. It is made by Adams at London, and (as I myself proved) exactly graduated from the two points of freezing and boiling water. It is upon Fahrenheit's scale. I shall mark the heights in the different regions of *Ætna*, with the rules for estimating the elevation of mountains by the barometer, which, I am sorry to say, have been hitherto so very ill ascertained; Cassini, Boguer, and the others who have written on the subject, to the reproach of science, differing so much amongst themselves, that it is with difficulty we can come near the truth.

*Ætna* has been often measured, but I believe never with any degree of accuracy; and it is really a shame to the society established in this place, called the *Ætnean Academy*, whose original institution was to study the nature and operations of this wonderful mountain. It was my full intention to have measured

it geometrically; but I am sorry to say, although this is both the seat of an academy and university, yet there was no quadrant to be had. Of all the mountains I have ever seen, *Ætna* would be the easiest to measure, and with the greatest certainty, and perhaps the most proper place on the globe to establish an exact rule of mensuration by the barometer. There is a beach of a vast extent, that begins exactly at the foot of the mountain, and runs for a great many miles along the coast. The sea-mark of this beach forms the meridian to the summit of the mountain. Here you are sure of a perfect level, and may make the base of your triangle of what length you please. But unfortunately this mensuration has never been executed, at least with a tolerable degree of precision.

Kircher pretends to have measured it, and to have found it 4000 French toises in height, which is more than any of the Andes, or indeed than any mountain upon earth. The Italian mathematicians are still more absurd. Some of them make it eight miles, some six, and some four. Amici, the last, and I believe the best who has made the attempt, reduces it to 3 miles 264 paces; but even this must be exceedingly erroneous; and probably the perpendicular height of *Ætna* does not exceed 12,000 feet, or little more than two miles.\* I shall mark the different methods of determining heights by the barometer, and you may choose which you please. I believe the allowance in all of them, particularly in great elevations, where the air is so exceedingly thin and light, is much too small. Mikeli, whose mensurations are esteemed more exact, has ever found it so. Cassini allows, I think, ten French toises of elevation for every line of mercury, adding one foot to the first ten, two to the second, three to the third, and so on. But surely the weight of the air diminishes in a much greater proportion.

Boguer takes the difference of the logarithms of the height of the barometer in lines (supposing these logarithms to consist only of five figures); from this difference he takes away a thirtieth part, and what remains he supposes to be the difference of elevation. I do not recollect his reason for this supposition; but the rule seems to be still more erroneous than the other, and has been entirely laid aside. I am told, that accurate experiments have been made at Geneva, to establish the mensuration with the barometer, but I have not yet been able to procure them. Mr de la Hire allows twelve toises four feet for the line of mercury; and Picart, one of the most exact French academicians, fourteen toises, or about ninety English feet.

HEIGHT OF FAHRENHEIT'S THERMOMETER.

At Catania, May 26, at mid-day, - - - - -	76°
Ditto, May 27, at five in the morning, - - - - -	72
At Nicolosi, 12 miles up the mountain, mid-day, - - - - -	78
At the cave, called Spelonca del Capriole, in the second region, where there was still a considerable quantity of snow, at seven at night, - - - - -	61
In the same cave, at half an hour past eleven, - - - - -	52
At the Torre del Filosofo, in the third region, at three in the morning, - - - - -	34)
At the foot of the crater of <i>Ætna</i> , - - - - -	33
About half way up the crater, - - - - -	29
On the summit of <i>Ætna</i> , a little before sunrise, - - - - -	27

HEIGHT OF THE BAROMETER IN INCHES AND LINES. *in l.*

At the sea-side at Catania, - - - - -	29 8
At the village of Piedmonte, in the first region of <i>Ætna</i> , - - - - -	27 8
At Nicolosi, in the same region, - - - - -	27 1
At the Castagno de Cento Cavalli, in the second region, - - - - -	26 $\frac{1}{2}$
At the Spelonca del Capriole, in the second region, - - - - -	24 2
At the Torre del Filosofo, in the third region, - - - - -	20 5
At the foot of the crater, - - - - -	20 4
Within about 300 yards of the summit, - - - - -	19 6
At the summit of <i>Ætna</i> (supposed to be about), - - - - -	19 4

The wind at the summit was so violent that I could

\* [The height of *Ætna* is now believed to be about 10,960 feet. Its surface, calculated by Buffon at 220 square leagues, presents 77 cities, towns, and villages, containing a population of 100,000.]

not make the observation with perfect exactness; however, I am pretty certain that it was within half a line.

I own I did not believe that we should find *Ætna* so high. I had heard, indeed, that it was higher than any of the Alps, but I never gave credit to it. How great, then, was my astonishment to find that the mercury fell almost two inches lower than I had ever observed it on the very highest of the accessible Alps. At the same time, I am persuaded there are many inaccessible points of the Alps (particularly Mont Blanc), that are still much higher than *Ætna*.\*

I found the magnetical needle greatly agitated near the summit of the mountain, (the Padre della Torre told me he had made the same observation on Vesuvius); however, it always fixed at the north point, though it took longer time in fixing than below. But what Recupero told me happened to him was very singular. Soon after the eruption 1755, he placed his compass on the lava. The needle, he says, to his great astonishment, was agitated with much violence for some considerable time, till at last it entirely lost its magnetical power, standing indiscriminately at every point of the compass; and this it never after recovered, till it was again touched with the lodestone.

The wind, and my unfortunate sprain together, in a great measure prevented our electrical experiments, on which we had built not a little; however, I found that round Nicolosi, and particularly on the top of Montpellier, the air was in a very favourable state for electrical operations. Here the little pith-balls, when isolated, were sensibly affected, and repelled each other above an inch. I expected this electrical state of the air would have increased as we advanced on the mountain, but at the cave where we slept, I could observe no such effect. Perhaps it was owing to the exhalations from the trees and vegetables, which are there exceedingly luxuriant, whereas about Nicolosi, and round Montpellier, there is hardly any thing but lava and dry hot sand. Or perhaps it might be owing to the evening being farther advanced, and the dews beginning to fall. However, I have no doubt, that upon these mountains formed by eruption, where the air is strongly impregnated with sulphureous effluvia, great electrical discoveries might be made. And, perhaps, of all the reasons assigned for the wonderful vegetation that clothes this mountain, there is none that contributes so much towards it as this constant electrical state of the air: for, from a variety of experiments it has been found, that an increase of the electrical matter adds much to the progress of vegetation. It probably acts there in the same manner as on the animal body; the circulation we know is performed quicker, and the juices are driven through the small vessels with more ease and celerity. This has often been proved from the immediate removal of obstructions by electricity; and probably the rubbing with dry and warm flannel, esteemed so efficacious in such cases, is doing nothing more than exciting a greater degree of electricity in the part; but it has likewise been demonstrated, by the common experiment of making water drop through a small capillary syphon, which the moment it is electrified runs in a full stream. I have, indeed, very little doubt, that the fertility of our seasons depends as much on this quality in the air, as either on its heats or moisture.

Electricity will probably soon be considered as the great vivifying principle of Nature, by which she carries on most of her operations. It is a fifth element, distinct from, and of a superior nature to the other four, which only compose the corporeal parts of matter: but this subtle and active fluid is a kind of soul that pervades and quickens every particle of it. When an equal quantity of this is diffused through the air, and over the face of the earth, every thing continues

calm and quiet; but if by any accident one part of matter has acquired a greater quantity than another, the most dreadful consequences often ensue before the equilibrium can be restored. Nature seems to fall into convulsions, and many of her works are destroyed: all the great phenomena are produced—thunder, lightning, earthquakes, and whirlwinds; for I believe there is little doubt that all these frequently depend on this sole cause. And again, if we look down from the sublime of nature to its minutia; we shall still find the same power acting, though perhaps in less legible characters; for as the knowledge of its operations is still in its infancy, they are generally misunderstood, or ascribed to some other cause. However, I have no doubt that in process of time these will be properly investigated, when mankind will wonder how much they have been in the dark. It will then possibly be found, that what we call sensibility of nerves, and many of those diseases that the faculty has as yet only invented names for, are owing to the body's being possessed of too large or too small a quantity of this subtle and active fluid—that very fluid, perhaps, that is the vehicle of all our feelings, and which they have so long searched for in vain in the nerves; for I have sometimes been led to think that this sense was nothing else than a slighter kind of electric effect, to which the nerves serve as conductors, and that it is by the rapid circulation of this penetrating and animating fire that our sensations are performed. We all know that in damp and hazy weather, when it seems to be blunted and absorbed by the humidity—when its activity is lost, and little or none of it can be collected—we ever find our spirits more languid, and our sensibility less acute: but in the sirocco wind at Naples, when the air seems totally deprived of it, the whole system is unstrung, and the nerves seem to lose both their tension and elasticity, till the north or west wind awakens the activity of this animating power, which soon restores the tone, and enlivens all nature, which seemed to droop and languish during its absence.

It is likewise well known that there have been instances of the human body becoming electric without the mediation of any electric substance, and even emitting sparks of fire with a disagreeable sensation, and an extreme degree of nervous sensibility.

About seven or eight years ago, a lady in Switzerland was affected in this manner, and though I was not able to learn all the particulars of her case, yet several Swiss gentlemen have confirmed to me the truth of the story. She was uncommonly sensible of every change of weather, and had her electrical feelings strongest in a clear day, or during the passage of thunder-clouds, when the air is known to be replete with that fluid. Her case, like most others which the doctors can make nothing of, was decided to be a nervous one; for the real meaning of that term I take to be only that the physician does not understand what it is.

Two gentlemen of Geneva had a short experience of the same sort of complaint, though still in a much superior degree. Professor Saussure and young Mr Jalabert, when travelling over one of the high Alps, were caught amongst thunder-clouds, and, to their utter astonishment, found their bodies so full of electrical fire, that spontaneous flashes darted from their fingers with a crackling noise, and the same kind of sensation as when strongly electrified by art. This was communicated by Mr Jalabert to the Academy of Sciences at Paris, I think in the year 1763, and you will find it recorded in their Memoirs.

It seems pretty evident, I think, that these feelings were owing to the body's being possessed of too great a share of electric fire. This is an uncommon case, but I do not think it at all improbable that many of our invalids, particularly the hypochondriac, and those we call *malades imaginaires*, owe their disagreeable feelings to the opposite cause, or the body's being pos-

\* [Mont Blanc, now ascertained to be the chief of European mountains, is upwards of 15,000 feet high.]

essed of too small a quantity of this fire; for we find that a diminution of it in the air seldom fails to increase their uneasy sensations, and *vice versa*.

Perhaps it might be of service to these people to wear some electric substance next their skin, to defend the nerves and fibres from the damp or non-electric air. I would propose a waistcoat of the finest flannel, which should be kept perfectly clean and dry, for the effluvia of the body, in case of any violent perspiration, will soon destroy its electric quality: this should be covered by another of the same size, of silk. The animal heat, and the friction that exercise must occasion betwixt these two substances, produce a powerful electricity, and would form a kind of electric atmosphere around the body, that might possibly be one of the best preservatives against the effect of damps.

As for our Swiss lady, I have little doubt that her complaints were owing in great part, perhaps entirely, to her dress; and that a very small alteration, almost in any part of it, would effectually have cured her. A lady who has her head surrounded with wires, and her hair stuck full of metal pins, and who, at the same time, stands upon dry silk, is to all intents and purposes an electrical conductor insulated, and prepared for collecting the fire from the atmosphere; and it is not at all surprising that, during thunder-storms, or when the air is extremely replete with electrical matter, she should emit sparks, and exhibit other appearances of electricity. I imagine a very trifling change of dress, which, from the constant versatility of their modes, may some day take place, would render this lady's disease altogether epidemical amongst the sex. Only let the soles of their shoes be made of an electric substance, and let the wires of their caps, and pins of their hair, be somewhat lengthened and pointed outwards, and I think there is little doubt that they will often find themselves in an electrified state. But, indeed, if they only wear silk, or even worsted stockings, it may sometimes prove sufficient; for I have often insulated electrometers as perfectly by placing them on a piece of dry silk or flannel as on a glass.

How little do our ladies imagine, when they surround their heads with wire, the most powerful of all conductors, and at the same time wear stockings, shoes, and gowns of silk, one of the most powerful repellents, that they prepare their bodies in the same manner, and according to the same principles, as electricians prepare their conductors for attracting the fire of lightning. If they cannot be brought to relinquish their wire caps and their pins, might they not fall upon such preservatives as those which of late years have been applied to objects of less consequence?

Suppose that every lady should provide herself with a small chain or wire, to be hooked on at pleasure during thunder-storms. This should pass from her cap over the thickest part of her hair, which will prevent the fire from being communicated to her head, and so down to the ground. It is plain this will act in the same manner as the conductors on the tops of steeples, which, from the metal spires that are commonly placed there, analogous to the pins and wires, were so liable to accidents. You may laugh at all this, but I assure you I never was more serious in my life. A very amiable lady of my acquaintance, Mrs Douglas of Kelso, had almost lost her life by one of those caps mounted on wire. She was standing at an open window during a thunder-storm; the lightning was attracted by the wire, and the cap was burnt to ashes: happily, her hair was in its natural state, without powder, pomatum, or pins, and prevented the fire from being conducted to her head; for as she felt no kind of shock, it is probable that it went off from the wires of the cap to the wall, close to which she then stood. If it had found any conductor to carry it to her head or body, in all probability she must have been killed. A good strong head of hair, if it is kept perfectly clean and dry, is probably one of the best preservatives against the fire of lightning. But so soon as it is

stuffed full of powder and pomatum, and bound together with pins, its repellent force is lost, and it becomes a conductor.\* But I beg pardon for these surmises; I throw them in your way only for you to improve upon at your leisure, for we have it ever in our power to be making experiments in electricity. And although this fluid is the most subtle and active of any we know, we can command it on all occasions; and I am now so accustomed to its operations, that I seldom comb my hair, or pull off a stocking, without observing them under some form or other. How surprising is it, then, that mankind should have lived and breathed in it for so many thousand years, without almost ever supposing that it existed. But to return to our mountain.

Recupero told me he had observed the same phenomenon here that is common in the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius, namely, red forked lightning darting from the smoke, without being followed by the noise of thunder. The reason possibly is, that the crater and smoke is at that time so highly electrical, that, like a cylinder or globe heated by friction, it throws off spontaneous flashes into the air, without being brought into the attraction of any conductor or body less electric than itself (indeed, the spontaneous discharges from a good electrical globe often bear a perfect resemblance to this kind of lightning); however, if a non-electric cloud were to pass near the crater at that time, the crash of thunder would probably be very violent, which indeed is often the case when the air is full of wet clouds in the time of an eruption; but when this does not happen, the equilibrium is probably restored by degrees, and without any shock, from the surplus of electrical matter being gradually communicated to the earth and sea all around the mountain, the immense lavas that have run from it serving as conductors.

So highly electric is the vapour of volcanoes, that it has been observed in some eruptions both of *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*, that the whole track of smoke, which sometimes extended above a hundred miles, produced the most dreadful effects—killing shepherds and flocks on the mountains, blasting trees, and setting fire to houses, wherever it met with them on an elevated situation. Now, probably the flying of a kite, with a wire round its string, would soon have disarmed this formidable cloud. These effects, however, only happen when the air is dry and little agitated; but when it is full of moist vapour, the great rarefaction from the heat of the lava generally brings it down in violent torrents of rain, which soon convey the electrical matter from the clouds to the earth, and restore the equilibrium.

As *Recupero*, who is a facetious and an agreeable companion, was kind enough to sit a good deal with me during my confinement, I have gathered many remarks from his conversation that may perhaps be worthy of your attention.

\* Since the writing of these letters, the author has made some experiments on the electricity of hair, which tend still to convince him the more of what he has advanced. A lady had told him, that on combing her hair in frosty weather, in the dark, she had sometimes observed sparks of fire to issue from it. This made him think of attempting to collect the electrical fire from hair alone, without the assistance of any other electrical apparatus. To this end he desired a young lady to stand on a cake of bees' wax, and to comb her sister's hair, who was sitting on a chair before her. Soon after she began to comb, the young lady on the wax was greatly astonished to find her whole body electrified, darting out sparks of fire against every object that approached her. The hair was extremely electrical, and affected an electrometer at a very great distance. He charged a metal conductor from it with great ease, and in the space of a few minutes collected as much fire immediately from the hair as to kindle common spirits; and by means of a small phial, gave many smart shocks to all the company. A full account of these experiments was lately read before the Royal Society. They were made during the time of a very hard frost, and on a strong head of hair, where no powder or pomatum had been used for many months.

The variety of waters about *Ætna*, he tells me, is surprising. I have already mentioned the Fiume Freddo, or the river of Acis. Recupero confirms what I had been told of it. There is a lake on the north of the mountain, of about three miles in circumference, which receives several considerable rivers; yet, although there is no apparent outlet, it never overflows its banks. I suggested the probability of a subterraneous communication betwixt this and the Fiume Freddo. He said, there was no resemblance in the quality of their waters; however, I think it is probable that in a course of so many miles through the caverns of *Ætna*, full of salts and minerals, it may acquire both its cold and its vitriolic qualities.

There is another lake on the top of a mountain to the west of *Ætna*, the bottom of which could never be found. It is observed never either to rise or fall, but always to preserve the same level. It is undoubtedly the crater of that mountain (which is all of burnt matter) converted into a lake. The river which supplies the baths of Catania is of a very different nature; it never continues the same, but is perpetually changing. Its current is for the most part confined under ground by the lavas; but sometimes it bursts out with such violence, that the city has suffered greatly from it; and, what is still more unfortunate, these eruptions are generally followed by some epidemical distemper. It has now been constantly diminishing for these two years past, and is at present almost reduced to nothing. They are in perpetual dread of its breaking out, and laying waste their fields, as it has so often done before. What is singular, it generally bursts out after a long tract of the driest and warmest weather. The *Ætnean Academy* have never been able to account for this circumstance. I think it is most probable that it arises from the melting of the snows on *Ætna*, but I shall not pretend to say how. These, perhaps, overflowing the caverns that usually receive their water, the surplus is carried off into this river.

The river of Alcantara certainly takes its rise from the melting of these snows. Its waters, I observed, are of the same whitish colour as all the rivers are that run from the glaciers amongst the Alps. There are several periodical springs on *Ætna*, that flow only during the day and stop during the night. These are naturally and easily accounted for from the melting of the snow; for it melts only during the day, being hard frozen every night, even in the hottest season. There are likewise a variety of poisonous springs, some of so deadly a quality that birds and beasts have been found lying dead on their banks from having drunk of their water. But (what is perhaps still more singular) Recupero told me, that about twenty years ago a rent opened in the mountain, that for a considerable time sent forth so mephitic a vapour, that, like the lake *Avernus*, birds were suffocated in flying over it.

There are many caverns where the air is so extremely cold, that it is impossible to support it for any time. These the peasants make use of as reservoirs for the snow; and, indeed, they make the finest ice-houses in the world, preserving it hard frozen during the hottest summers. It would be endless to give an account of all the caverns and other curious appearances about *Ætna*. Kircher speaks of a cave which he saw, capable, he says, of containing thirty thousand men. Here, he adds, numbers of people have been lost from their temerity in going too far. One of these caverns still retains the name of *Proserpine*, from its being supposed by the ancients the passage by which *Pluto* conveyed her into his dominions; on this occasion *Ovid* describes *Ceres* as searching for her daughter, with two trees which she had plucked from the mountain, and lighted by way of torches. These he calls *teda*, which is still the name of a tree I have seen nowhere but on Mount *Ætna*. It produces a great quantity of rosin, and was surely the most proper tree *Ceres* could have pitched upon

for her purpose. This rosin is called *catalana*, and is esteemed a cure for sores.

I have mentioned the great variety of flowers, trees, &c., on Mount *Ætna*. I have found a long list of them in *Massa*; but as I am not acquainted with their Sicilian names, I can make little out of it. I have engaged a person here to procure me a collection of their seeds in the season. I find of the number, the cinnamon, sarsaparilla, saffra, rhubarb, and many others, that I thought had not been natives of Europe. The *Palma Christi*, too, that plant so much celebrated of late, from the seed of which the castor-oil is made, grows both here and in many other places of Sicily in the greatest abundance. Our botanists have called it *Ricinus Americanus*, supposing it only to be produced in that part of the world. A Bath physician, I remember, has lately written a treatise on this plant, and the virtues of the oil extracted from its seed, which he makes a sort of catholicon. You may believe we shall not leave Sicily without providing ourselves with a quantity of this precious seed.

Mount *Ætna*, I find, is as much celebrated by the ancients as the moderns, for the variety of its odoriferous productions. *Plutarch* says, their smell was so strong, that on many places of the mountain it was impossible to hunt. I shall transcribe the passage as it is before me in an old translation I have borrowed. "*Circum Ætnam in Sicilia neminem ferunt cum canibus venatum iri; quia enim multos perpetuo illic ut in viridario prata, collesque flores mittunt a fragantia, quæ eam oram occupat, obfuscare ferarum anhelationes.*"\* &c. Aristotle has likewise a passage to the very same purpose; but this may suffice.

There were formerly a variety of wild beasts in the woody regions of *Ætna*; but notwithstanding this advantage they had over the dogs and hunters, the number of these is now greatly reduced. They have still, however, the wild boar, the roebuck, and a kind of wild goat; but the race of stags, which was much celebrated, as well as that of bears, is thought to be extinct. Several places of the mountain are still named from those animals.

The horses and cattle of Mount *Ætna* were esteemed the best in Sicily. The cattle are still of a large size, and have horns of such a length that they are preserved as curiosities in some museums. The horses, I am afraid, have degenerated.

There are said to be quantities of porcupines and land tortoises on some parts of *Ætna*; but we had not the good fortune to meet with any of them. Neither did we see any eagles or vultures, which are likewise said to be inhabitants of this mountain.

The accounts given of Mount *Ætna* by the old Sicilian authors (several of whom I have borrowed from Recupero) are very various. Some of them describe the hollow of the crater as being seven or eight miles in circumference, some make it five, and others only three; and probably all of them are right; for I find, by all their accounts, that generally once in about one hundred years, the whole crater has fallen down into the bowels of the mountain; that in process of time, a new crater is seen peeping out of the gulf; which, perpetually increasing by the matter thrown up, is by degrees raised again to its ancient height, till at last, becoming too heavy for its hollow foundations, it again gives way, and at once sinks down into the mountain. This happened about one hundred years ago, in the year 1669, as recorded by *Borelli*, whose account of it I have before me. "*Universum cacumen,† quod ad*

\* [They say that no one can hunt around *Ætna* in Sicily, because the plains and eminences bear flowers perpetually of such garden-like fragrance, and in such profusion, that the whole region is pervaded with an atmosphere in which the scent of wild beasts will not lie, &c.]

† [The whole summit, which was raised, like an observatory or tower, into a huge and lofty mass, was depressed along with the vast surrounding plain of sand, and absorbed in the profound gulf, &c.]

instar speculae, seu turris, ad ingentem altitudinem elevabatur, quod una cum vasta planitie arenosa depressa, atque absorpta est in profundam voraginem," &c. The same likewise happened in the year 1536, as recorded by Fazzello and Filoteo, and in the year 1444, 1329, and 1157. Of all these I have read an account; but probably betwixt the two last mentioned, there has been another that is not recorded, as the intervals betwixt all the rest are pretty nearly equal.

Some of them give a dreadful account of it. Folcando, one of their historians, tells us it shook the whole island, and resounded through all its shores. And their poet Erico says, on the same occasion :

S'ode il suo gran mugito  
Per mille plaghe o lidi.

The bellowing dire a thousand lands resound,  
Whose trembling shores return the dreadful sound.

In all probability, this event will very soon happen, as the circumference of the crater is nowhere recorded to have been reduced to less than three miles; and Recupero says it is at present only three miles and a half; besides, a hundred years, the common period, have now elapsed since its last fall.

There are many stories of people perishing by their temerity, in being too curious spectators of the eruptions of this mountain; but there are still many more of those that have been miraculously saved by the interposition of some saint or the Virgin, who are supposed to be in a perpetual state of warfare with the devils in Mount *Ætna*. That part of the island where *Ætna* stands, has ever been named *Il Val Demoni*, from the frequent apparitions of these devils. It makes one-third of the island. The other two are named the *Val di Noto*, and the *Val di Mazzara*.

There is one story, though a very old one, that is still related at Catania; it is taken notice of by Seneca, Aristotle, Strabo, and others. In the time of a great eruption, when the fire was pouring down upon the city, and every one was carrying off his most valuable effects, two rich brothers, named *Anfinomius* and *Anapias*, neglecting all their wealth, escaped from the conflagration with their aged parents on their backs. These authors add, that the fire, respecting such filial piety, spared them, whilst many others that took the same road were consumed.

This action has been wonderfully extolled, and proves, I think, that feats of this kind were by no means common in those days. Now, pray, don't you think, in the world at present, bad as it is supposed to be, there are few sons who would not have acted in the same manner? and sure I am, the rest of mankind would not have made such a fuss about it. Humanity and natural affection, I believe, in those ages we are inclined to extol so much, were not, by many degrees, so powerful as they are at present. Even the pious *Æneas* himself, one of the most renowned of all their heroes, was in effect but a savage, notwithstanding all that *Virgil* says to persuade us of the contrary; for you find him sacrificing his weak and captive enemies, at the same time that he is canting and preaching up piety and justice.

These two brothers were so celebrated for this action, that there was a dispute betwixt *Syracuse* and *Catania* which of these cities had given them birth; and temples were erected in both of them, dedicated to *Filial Piety*, in memory of the event.

In the accounts of the more recent destructions of *Catania*, there occurs no instance of this sort. We find them only lamenting the loss of priests and nuns, and very much out of humour at their saints for allowing the devils to get the better of them. I have been a good deal entertained with some of those authors. *Selvaggio*, one of their poets, speaking of the terrible earthquake in the year 1169, that destroyed *Catania*, and buried multitudes of people in the ruins, describes it in the following manner, which may serve as a specimen of the poetry of that time.

Cataneam doleo, dolor est miserabile dictu:

Clara potens antiqua fuit; plebe, milite, clero,

Divitiis, auro, specie, virtute, triumphis.

Heu terræ motu ruit illa potentia rerum!

Morte ruit juvenis, moritur vir, sponsa maritus.

Unde superbit homo? Deus una diruit hora

Turres, ornatus, vestes, cunctosque paratus.

In tanto gemitu perit pars maxima gentis,

Proh dolor! et monachi quadraginta quatuor et plus.

Et perit pastor patriæ, pater ipse Johannes

Pontificalis honor, lux regni sic perire.

[I weep Catania! sad the tale to tell.

Famed, potent, ancient was she—in her priests,

Her people, valour, triumphs, commerce, wealth.

Alas! the earthquake all this bravery whelm'd!

By death the boy, the man, wife, husband fell.

Whence human pride? Fate in an hour destroys

Towers, garnishings, and garbs—all man's array.

So sadly fell Catania's chiefest sons,

And four and forty men of God and more!

The pastor of the land there died; and father John,

The priesthood's light and honour, perished there.]

But another, *Gustanavilla*, one of their historians, gives a very different account of this affair: as it is likewise somewhat curious in its way, I shall copy it for your amusement: "In omnem terram, et in fines orbis terræ jam exiit plaga illa, qua nuper in Sicilia percussus sunt Catanenses in vigilia B. Agathæ; cum episcopus ille damnatissimus, qui, sicut scitis, sibi sumpsit honorem, non vocatus a Domino, tanquam *Aaron*, et qui ad sedem illam, non electione canonica, sed *Gieziâ* venalitate intravit; cum, inquam, abominatiois offerret incensum, intonuit de cælo Dominus, et ecce terræ motus factus est magnus; angelus enim Domini percuteus episcopum in furore Domini cum populo, et universa civitate subvertit."\* He adds, that if *St Agatha's* veil had not been produced, the angel of the Lord was in such a fury, that he would not have left one soul alive.

There is a curious painting of the great eruption in 1669, in the cathedral of this place. It is but indifferently painted, but gives a dreadful idea of that event. *Borelli*, who was upon the spot, describes it. He says, on the 11th of March, some time before the lava burst out, after violent earthquakes and dreadful subterraneous bellowing, a rent was opened in the mountain twelve miles long; in some places of which, when they threw down stones, they could not hear them strike the bottom. He says, that burning rocks, sixty palms in length, were thrown to the distance of a mile; and that the giants, supposed to be buried under Mount *Ætna*, seemed to have renewed their war against heaven: that stones of a lesser size were carried upwards of three miles; and that the thunder and lightning from the smoke was scarce less terrible than the noise of the mountain. He adds, that after the most violent struggles and shaking of the whole island, when the lava at last burst through, it sprung up into the air to the height of sixty palms. In short, he describes that event, as well as the universal terror and consternation it occasioned, in terms full of horror. For many weeks the sun did not appear, and the day seemed to be changed into night. Soon after the lava got vent, which was not till four months from the time that the mountain began to labour, all these dreadful symptoms abated, and it was soon after perfectly quiet.

He says this deluge of fire, after destroying the finest country in *Sicily*, and sweeping away churches,

\* [Already over the whole earth, even to its farthest boundaries, have passed the tidings of that blow which fell upon the *Catanians*, in *Sicily*, on the eve of *St Agatha*: when that most accused prelate, who, as you know, was not called by the Lord like *Aaron*, but assumed of himself his honours, and stepped into his high office, not by canonical election, but by Jesuitical venality—when he, I say, offered up the incense of his abominations, the Lord thundered from heaven, and behold! a great earthquake took place; for an angel, striking the bishop in the wrath of the Lord, overthrew him with the people, and the whole city.]

villages, and convents, broke over the lofty walls of Catania, and covered up five of its bastions, with the intervening curtains. From thence, pouring down on the city, it destroyed every object it met with, overwhelming and burying all in one promiscuous ruin.

What he regrets most, was some precious remains of antiquity, the names, the situation, and even the memory of whose existence, is now lost in the place. He mentions an amphitheatre, which he calls *Colliseo*, the *Circus Maximus*, the *Naumachia*, and several temples.

An account of this great eruption was sent to Charles II. by Lord Winchelsea, who was then returning from his embassy at Constantinople, and stopped here on purpose to see so remarkable an event. But his lordship has not been at that pains to examine it we could have wished. His curiosity was satisfied in one day; and he seems to have been contented only to look at the lava at a great distance, but did not think of examining its source, or ascending the mountain, although at that time all the most formidable circumstances of the eruption were already over.

I should not finish this account of Mount *Ætna*, without saying something of the various fables and allegories to which it has given rise; but it would probably lead me into too vast a field, and give this more the air of a dissertation than a letter or a journal. These you will easily recollect. They have afforded ample employment for the muse, in all ages and in all languages; and, indeed, the philosopher and natural historian have found, in the real properties of this mountain, as ample a fund of speculation, as the poets have done in the fictitious. It is so often mentioned by the ancient writers, that it has been said of *Ætna* as well as of Greece—

*Nullum est sine nomine saxum.*

[There is no single stone without its name.]

However, I am afraid this saying was much more applicable to it formerly than it is at present; for we even found several large mountains that had no name, and it does not at all appear that the number of philosophers in Sicily have by any means increased in the latter ages. Their ambition is now changed; and if they can get a saint to keep the devils of *Ætna* in order, they trouble themselves very little about the cause of its operations, and do not value their island half so much for having given birth to *Archimedes* or *Empedocles*, as to *St Agatha* and *St Rosalia*.

The ancients, as well as the moderns, seem ever to have considered *Ætna* as one of the highest mountains on the globe. There are many passages in their authors that show this, though perhaps none more strongly than their making *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* take refuge on the top of it, to save themselves from the universal deluge.\*

I shall now conclude this long account of Mount *Ætna* with Virgil's celebrated description of it in the third *Æneid*, which has been so much admired. You may compare it with the following description of the famous poet *Raitano*, held, I assure you, in full as high estimation by the Sicilians.

*Nel mezzo verso l'ethere avvicina  
Ætna la fronte sua cinta di orrori,  
E con ispavantevole rovina  
Rimbomba, e con orribili fragori.  
Sovente negri nubi al ciel destina  
Fumanti di atro turbine, e di ardori,  
Ergi globbi di fiamma, e su lambisce  
Le stelle omai con infocate striscie;*

\* *Cataclysmus quod nos Diluvium dicimus cum factus est, omne genus humanum interit præter Deucalionem et Pyrrham, qui in monte Ætnam qui altissimus in Sicilia esse dicitur fugerunt, &c.—HIGIUS.*

[When the catastrophe which we call the Deluge took place, the whole human race perished, with the exception of *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha*, who took refuge upon Mount *Ætna*, said to be the highest in Sicily, &c.]

*Scogli, e divelte viscere di monti  
Eruttando tal volta avido ostello;  
E con gemiti volta, e con onte  
Liquifatti macigni, e in fondo bolle.*

So sings the Sicilian muse; you will not, however, hesitate to give the preference to the Roman one, although the former is evidently stolen from her.

————— *Horrificis juxta tonat Ætna ruinis,  
Interdumque atram prorumpit ad æthera nubem,  
Turbine fumantem piceo et candente favilla,  
Attollitque globos flammaram, et sidera lambit.  
Interdumque scopulis, avolsaque viscera montis  
Erigit eructans, liquefactaque saxa sub auras  
Cum gemitu glomerat, fumoque exæstat imo.*

[The port capacious, and secure from wind,  
Is to the foot of thundering *Ætna* join'd;  
By turns a pitchy cloud she rolls on high;  
By turns hot embers from her entrails fly,  
And flakes of mounting flames, that lick the sky.  
Oft from her bowels massy rocks are thrown,  
And, shiver'd by the force, come piecemeal down;  
Oft liquid lakes of burning sulphur flow,  
Fed from the fiery springs that boil below.]

But both these have been greatly outdone by the wonderful imagination of our great countryman, Sir *Richard Blackmore*, who accounts at once for the whole phenomena of *Ætna*, by the simple idea of giving the mountain a fit of the colic—a thought that had escaped all the poets and philosophers of antiquity, and seems for ever to have been reserved for the profound genius of this great master and father of the bathos. I have forgot the passage, but you will find it, I think, in *Prince Arthur*.

The philosophical poet, *Lucretius*, has likewise mentioned the eruptions of Mount *Ætna*; but *Pindar* is the oldest poet we know of that has taken any notice of them. His description is, I think, the most satisfactory of all, and conveys a clearer idea both of the mountain itself, and an eruption of the mountain, than either the Roman or Sicilian poet, though it is not near so much laboured, nor worked up with all that variety of circumstances they have found means to introduce. Its greatest fault is, that *Pindar* had still kept in view that absurd idea of the ancients, that *Jupiter* had buried the giants under Mount *Ætna*, and that their struggling to get loose was the cause of its eruptions; but even this he touches but slightly, as if ashamed to give such a reason. The passage is translated into English by Mr *West*.

*Now under smoking Cuma's sulphurous coast  
And vast Sicilia, lies his tortured breast,  
By snowy Ætna, nurse of endless frost,  
The mighty prop of heaven, for ever prest;  
Forth from whose flaming caverns issuing rise  
Tremendous fountains of pure liquid fire,  
Which veil in ruddy mists the noonday skies,  
While wrapt in smoke the eddy flames aspire;  
Or gleaming through the night with hideous roar,  
Far o'er the redd'ning main huge rocky fragments pour.*

This passage decides what has been much disputed, that *Ætna* was, in these early ages, of as great an elevation as at present. It has been alleged, that volcanoes always increase in height till they are extinguished, when they are supposed to moulder down, and by degrees sink into the caverns that are below them, like the *astruni*, and the *solfaterra* at *Naples*: however, we find that *Ætna* was at that time as now, covered with eternal snows, and was supposed, like *Atlas*, to be one of the great props of heaven. But what pleases me the most in this description is, that it proves beyond the possibility of a doubt, that in these very remote eruptions, it was common for the lavas of *Ætna* to run a great way out to sea. The conclusion, I think, is fully as just, and perhaps not less sublime, than the "*avolsaque viscera montis erigit eructans*" of *Virgil*, which, I must own, I think rather comes too near Sir *Richard's* fit of the colic.

*Thucydides* speaks of three eruptions of this moun-



tain, but is not so particular as we could have wished. He does not mention the date of the first, but says it was the earliest after the arrival of the Greeks in Sicily. The second happened about the time of the 77th Olympiad, and the last in that of the 88th, which was nearly about the period when Pindar wrote; so that we cannot doubt that his description is taken from the accounts he had heard of some of those eruptions, the circumstances of which, no doubt, at that time, had afforded matter of conversation all over Greece.

I think we may now try to take leave of *Ætna*, though I am afraid, during the remainder of our expedition, we shall meet with nothing worthy to succeed it. We shall sail from hence to-morrow morning, and expect to sleep at Syracuse, as it is only about fifty miles distant. I shall write to you again from the ruins of that celebrated city. Farewell. Ever yours.

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VOYAGE TO SYRACUSE.—RUINS OF THE CITY.

*Syracuse, June 1st.*

On the 31st of May, we embarked on board a felucca, and set sail for the mighty Syracuse. The wind was favourable, and for some time we went at a great rate. The view of Mount *Ætna*, for the whole of this little voyage, is wonderfully fine, and the bold black coast, formed for near thirty miles of the lava of that immense volcano, gives the most awful idea of its eruptions. There is no part of this coast nearer than thirty miles to its summit; and yet there has hardly been any great eruption where the lava has not reached the sea, and driven back its waters to a great distance, leaving high rocks and promontories, that for ever set its waves at defiance, and prescribe their utmost limits. What a tremendous scene must the meeting betwixt these adverse elements have formed?

We may easily conceive the variety of changes this coast has undergone in the space of some thousands of years, as every great eruption must have made a considerable difference. Virgil is wonderfully minute and exact in his geography of Sicily; and this is the only part of the island that seems to be materially altered since his time. He says there was a large port at the foot of *Ætna*, where ships are secure from every wind:

*Portus ab accessu ventorum immotus et ingens;*  
[The port capacious and secure from wind.]

of which, at present, there are not the least remains. It is probably the same that was called by the Sicilians the port of Ulysses, which is often mentioned by their writers. The place of its existence is still shown betwixt three and four miles up the country, amongst the lavas of *Ætna*. However, I can see no sort of reason why they have called this the port of Ulysses; for surely Homer does not bring his hero near the precincts of Mount *Ætna*. Indeed, I think it is evident, that this volcano did not burn during the time of Homer, nor for some ages preceding it, otherwise it is not possible that he would have said so much of Sicily, without taking any notice of so great and capital an object, which, of all others, the daring and sublime imagination of Homer would have been the most eager to grasp at. It is evident from his account, that Ulysses landed at the west end of Sicily, opposite to the island of Lachæa, now Favignana, almost two hundred miles distant from this port.

Virgil, with more judgment, lands his hero at the foot of *Ætna*, which gives him an opportunity of introducing some of the finest descriptions in the *Æneid*. But it is somewhat odd, that here he makes *Æneas* find one of Ulysses's companions, who had escaped the rage of Polyphemus, and had lived for several months in the woods and caverns of this mountain. Virgil must have been aware of this impropriety, as he well

knew that Homer had landed Ulysses, and placed the cave of Polyphemus at the most distant point of the island. But he could not prevail on himself to pass Mount *Ætna*. He was so thoroughly convinced that this was the most proper landing-place for an epic hero, as well as the most proper habitation for the Cyclops, that, by a bold poetical license, he has fairly taken it for granted that Homer really made it so. Indeed, in this passage, the pleasure he affords to the imagination of his reader makes an ample amends for his having imposed on his judgment. But to return to our voyage.

The view of the mountain from the sea is more complete and satisfactory than any where on the island. The eye takes in a greater portion of the circle, and you observe, with more distinctness, how it rises equally on all sides, from its immense base, overspread with the beautiful little mountains I have mentioned, and at once can trace the progress of vegetation, from its utmost luxuriance to where it is checked by the two extremes of heat and of cold. The different regions of the mountain are distinctly marked out by their different colours and different productions, exposing at once to the ravished eye every climate and every season, with all their variety—

Where blossoms, fruits, and flowers, together rise,  
And the whole year in gay confusion lies.

The first region exhibits every object that characterises summer and autumn; the second, those of the most delightful spring; the third, an eternal and unrelenting winter; and the fourth, to complete the contrast, the regions of unextinguishable fire.

The circumference of the great base of *Ætna*, *Recupero* told me, he had been at a good deal of pains to ascertain, as it had generally been computed at only a hundred miles, or little more, although the radii of that circle had ever been esteemed at thirty of those miles, an absurdity in computation that had put him upon making this inquiry. The result was, that taking the supposed distances of one place from another, all the way round, the sum of the whole amounted to 183 miles, an immense circle surely, and which is still enlarged by every considerable eruption. The whole of this circle is formed of lava and burnt matter; and I have observed, that near the very outermost borders of it, there have been many little eruptions that have pierced through some of the thickest lavas of *Ætna*. The small eruptions, at so vast a distance from the great furnace of the mountain, are probably occasioned by the intense heat of the lava, which continues for many years, rarifying the air in the caverns it has run over, which, bursting forth from its prison, the lava sinks down, and kindling the sulphur and nitre with which these caverns are filled, exhibits in miniature the phenomena of a great eruption.

There is a large sandy beach that extends from the mouth of the river *Simetus*, a great way to the south of Catania, and was probably continued the whole way to the foot of the mountain of *Taurominum* (where there are still some remains of the east end of it), till it was broken in upon many thousand years ago by the lavas of *Ætna*, which, from a flat sandy shore, have now converted it into a high, bold, black iron coast. What is a strong proof of this—in many places where they have sunk deep wells, after piercing through the lava, they have at last come to beds of shells and sea sand.

There is nothing else very interesting in the voyage from Catania to Syracuse. If you will read the conclusion of the third book of the *Æneid*, you will find a much better description of it than any I can give you. The coast lies low, and, except *Ætna*, there are no very striking objects.

We passed the mouths of several rivers: the first and most considerable is the *Giaretta*, or river of St Paul, formerly the *Simetus*, and under that name celebrated by the poets. The nymph *Thalia*, after

her amour with Jupiter, is supposed to have been changed into this stream; and, to avoid the resentment of Juno, sunk under ground near Mount *Ætna*, and continued her subterraneous course to the sea. This river was navigable in the time of the Romans, and *Massa* says, the only one in the island that was so. It takes its rise on the north side of *Ætna*, and surrounding the west skirts of the mountain, falls into the sea near the ruins of the ancient *Morgantio*. It no longer sinks under ground as it did formerly; but it is now celebrated for a quality it does not appear to have possessed in the times of antiquity, as none of the old writers take notice of it. It throws up near its mouth great quantities of fine amber; this is carefully gathered by the peasants in the neighbourhood, and brought to *Catania*, where it is manufactured into the form of crosses, beads, saints, &c., and is sold at high prices to the superstitious people on the continent. We bought several of these respectable figures, and found them electrical in a high degree; powerfully attracting feathers, straws, and other light bodies; somewhat emblematical, you will say, of what they represent. Some pieces of this amber contain flies and other insects curiously preserved in its substance; and we were not a little entertained with the ingenuity of one of the artists, who has left a large blue-bottle fly, with its wings expanded, exactly over the head of a saint, to represent, he told us, *lo Spirito Santo* descending upon him. I have got some fine pieces of this amber, more electric, I think, and emitting a stronger smell, than that which comes from the Baltic. The generation of this substance has long been a controverted point among naturalists, nor do I believe it is as yet ascertained whether it is a sea or a land production. It is generally supposed to be a kind of gum or bitumen, that issues from the earth in a liquid state, at which time the flies and other insects that light upon it are caught, and by their struggles to get loose, soon work themselves into its substance, which hardening round them, they are for ever preserved in the greatest perfection. Large fine pieces are constantly found at the mouth of the *Sinetus*, supposed to have been brought down by the river; but it is singular that none of it is ever found any where but on the sea-shore: they have likewise here a kind of artificial amber, made, I am told, from copal, but it is very different from the natural.

Not far from the mouth of this river there are two of the largest lakes in Sicily—the *Beviere* and the *Pantana*, the first of which is supposed to have been made by *Hercules*, in consequence of which it was held sacred by the ancients. They are full of a variety of fish, one species of which, called *moletti*, is much esteemed: the salting and exportation of these makes a considerable branch of their commerce at *Leontini*, which is in that neighbourhood: that city is one of the most ancient in the island, and is supposed to have been the habitation of the *Lestrigons*.

The *Leontine* fields have been much famed for their fertility. Both *Diodorus* and *Pliny* assert that they yielded wheat a hundred-fold, and that grain grew spontaneously here without culture; but this was only during the reign of *Ceres*, and is not now the case.

In a few hours' sailing we came in sight of the city of *Augusta*, which is beautifully situated in a small island that was formerly a peninsula; it was therefore called by the *Greeks* *Chersonesus*. Both the city and the fortifications seem considerable, and are said to contain about nine thousand inhabitants. The ruins of the *Little Hybla*, so celebrated for its honey, lie within a few miles of this place.

Some time before our arrival at *Syracuse* it fell a dead calm, and we spied a fine turtle fast asleep on the surface of the water. Our pilot ordered a profound silence, and only two oars to row very gently, that if possible we might surprise him. Every thing was put in order, and two men were placed ready at the prow to secure the prize. We were all attention and

expectation, and durst hardly breathe for fear of disturbing him.

We moved slowly on, and the turtle lay stone still: the two men bent down their bodies, and had their arms already in the water to seize him. No alderman, with all deference be it spoken, ever beheld his turtle upon the table with more pleasure and security, nor feasted his imagination more lasciviously upon the banquet. He was already our own in idea, and we were only thinking of the various ways in which he should be dressed; when—how vain and transitory all human possessions!—the turtle made a plunge, slipped through their fingers, and disappeared in a moment, and with him all our hopes. We looked very foolish at each other, without uttering a word, till *Fullarton* asked me, in the most provoking manner in the world, whether I would choose a little of the callipash or the callipee. The two men shrugged up their shoulders, and said *pazienza*; but *Glover* told them in a rage, that all the *pazienza* on earth was not equal to a good turtle.

Soon after this the remains of the great *Syracuse*\* appeared—the remembrance of whose glory, magnificence, and illustrious deeds, both in arts and arms, made us for some time even forget our turtle. But, alas! how are the mighty fallen! This proud city, that vied with *Rome* itself, is now reduced to a heap of rubbish, for what remains of it deserves not the name of a city. We rowed round the greater part of the walls without seeing a human creature—those very walls that were the terror of the *Roman* arms, from whence *Archimedes* battered their fleets, and with his engines lifted their vessels out of the sea and dashed them against the rocks. We found the interior part of the city agreed but too well with its external appearance. There was not an inn to be found, and after visiting all the monasteries and religious fraternities in search of beds, we found the whole of them so wretchedly mean and dirty that we preferred at last to sleep on straw; but even that we could not have clean, but were eaten up with vermin of every kind.

We had letters for the *Count Gaetano*, who made an apology that he could not lodge us, but in other respects showed us many civilities, particularly in giving us the use of his carriage, in explaining the ruins, in pointing out every thing that was worthy of our attention; and likewise in giving us letters of recommendation for *Malta*. He is a gentleman of good sense, and has written several treatises on the antiquities of Sicily.

Of the four cities that composed the ancient *Syracuse*, there remains only *Ortigia*, by much the smallest, situated in the island of that name. It is about two miles round, and supposed to contain about fourteen thousand inhabitants. The ruins of the other three, *Tycha*, *Achradina*, and *Neapoli*, are computed at twenty-two miles in circumference, but almost the whole of this space is now converted into rich vineyards, orchards, and corn-fields; the walls of these are indeed every where built with broken marbles full of engravings and inscriptions, but most of them defaced and spoiled. The principal remains of antiquity are a theatre and amphitheatre, many sepulchres, the La-

\* [Now called *Siragosa*, with a population of 13,900; anciently the chief city of Sicily, and one of the most magnificent in the world, with 300,000 inhabitants. It was the principal of the colonies which the *Greeks* planted in Sicily, being founded by the *Corinthians*, 736 years before Christ. The modern city still has an excellent harbour, capable of receiving vessels of the greatest burden, and of containing a numerous fleet. The ancient city was of a triangular form, twenty-two miles in circuit, and consisted of four parts, each surrounded by distinct walls. During the three years between 212 and 215 B.C., *Syracuse* was besieged by the *Romans*. It was at this time that *Archimedes*, its celebrated geometrician, used so many extraordinary expedients in its defence. Its subsequent history, for many centuries, was that of a part of the *Roman* empire.]

tomie, the Catacombs, and the famous ear of Dionysius, which it was impossible to destroy. The Latomie now makes a noble subterraneous garden, and is indeed one of the most beautiful and romantic spots I ever beheld. Most of it is about one hundred feet below the level of the earth, and of an incredible extent. The whole is hewn out of a rock as hard as marble, composed of a concretion of shells, gravel, and other marine bodies. The bottom of this immense quarry, from whence probably the greater part of Syracuse was built, is now covered with an exceeding rich soil, and as no wind from any point of the compass can touch it, it is filled with a great variety of the finest shrubs and fruit-trees, which bear with vast luxuriance, and are never blasted. The oranges, citrons, bergamots, pomegranates, figs, &c., are all of a remarkable size and fine quality. Some of these trees, but more particularly the olives, grow out of the hard rock, where there is no visible soil, and exhibit a very uncommon and pleasing appearance.

There is a variety of wild and romantic scenes in this curious garden, in the midst of which we were surprised by the appearance of a figure under one of the caverns, that added greatly to the dignity and solemnity of the place. It was that of an aged man, with a long flowing white beard that reached down to his middle. His old wrinkled face and scanty grey locks pronounced him a member of some former age as well as of this. His hands, which were shook by the palsy, held a sort of pilgrim's staff, and about his neck there was a string of large beads with a crucifix hanging to its end. Had it not been for these marks of his later existence, I don't know but I should have asked him whether, in his youth, he had not been acquainted with Theocritus and Archimedes, and if he did not remember the reign of Dionysius the tyrant. But he saved us the trouble, by telling us he was the hermit of the place, and belonged to a convent of Capuchins on the rock above; that he had now bid adieu to the upper world, and was determined to spend the rest of his life in this solitude, in prayer for the wretched mortals that inhabit it.

This figure, together with the scene in which it appears, are indeed admirably well adapted, and reflect a mutual dignity upon each other. We left some money upon the rock; for the Capuchins, who are the greatest beggars on earth, never touch money, but save their too tender consciences, and preserve their vows unbroken, by the simple device of lifting it with a pair of pincers, and carrying it to market in their sack or cowl. This I have seen more than once. We were much delighted with the Latomie, and left it with regret: it is the very same that has been so much celebrated by Cicero about eighteen hundred years ago: "Opus est ingens," says he, "magnificum, regum ac tyrannorum. Totum ex saxo in mirandam altitudinem depressum," &c.\* A little to the west of it is supposed to have stood the country-house, the sale of which you will remember he gives so lively and pleasant an account of, by which a goldsmith (I have forgot his name) cheated a Roman nobleman in a very ingenious manner.

The ear of Dionysius is no less a monument of the ingenuity and magnificence than of the cruelty of that tyrant. It is a huge cavern cut out of the hard rock, in the form of the human ear. The perpendicular height of it is about eighty feet, and the length of this enormous ear is not less than two hundred and fifty.† The cavern was said to be so contrived that every sound made in it was collected and united into one point, as into a focus; this was called the tympanum; and exactly opposite to it the tyrant has made a small hole, which communicated with a little apartment where he used to conceal himself. He applied his own ear to this

hole, and is said to have heard distinctly every word that was spoken in the cavern below. This apartment was no sooner finished, and a proof of it made, than he put to death all the workmen that had been employed in it. He then confined all that he suspected were his enemies; and, by overhearing their conversation, judged of their guilt, and condemned or acquitted accordingly.

As this chamber of Dionysius is very high in the rock, and now totally inaccessible, we had it not in our power to make proof of this curious experiment, which our guides told us had been done some years ago by the captain of an English ship.

The echo in the ear is prodigious, much superior to any other cavern I have seen. The holes in the rock, to which the prisoners were chained, still remain, and even the lead and iron in several of them. We surprised a poor young porcupine who had come here to drink, of whom our guides made lawful prize. Near to this there are caverns of a great extent, where they carry on a manufactory of nitre, which is found in vast abundance on the sides of these caves.

The amphitheatre is in the form of a very eccentric ellipse, and is much ruined; but the theatre is so entire that most of the gradini or seats still remain. Both these are in that part of the city that was called Neapoli, or the New City. "Quarta autem est urbs," says Cicero, "quæ quia postrema ædificata est, Neapolis nominatur, quam ad summam theatrum est maximum," &c.\* However, it is but a small theatre in comparison of that of Taurominum. We searched amongst the sepulchres, several of which are very elegant, for that of Archimedes, but could see nothing resembling it. At his own desire it was adorned with the figure of a sphere inscribed in a cylinder, but had been lost by his ungrateful countrymen, even before the time that Cicero was quæstor of Sicily. It is pleasant to observe with what eagerness this great man undertakes the search of it, and with what exultation he describes his triumph on the discovery. "Ego autem cum omnia collustrarem oculis (est enim ad portas Agragianas magna frequentia sepulchrorum) animadverti columnellam non multum e dumis eminentem, in qua inerat spheræ figura et cylindri. Atque ego statim Syracusanis (erant autem principes mecum) dixi, me illud ipsum arbitrari esse quod quærerem. Immissi cum falcebus multi purgarunt, et aperuerunt locum: quo cum patefactus esset aditus ad adversam basim accessimus; apparebat epigramma exesis posterioribus partibus versiculorum dimidiatis fere: ita nobilissima Græciæ civitas, quondam vero etiam doctissima sui civis unius acutissimi monumentum ignorasset, nisi ab homine Arpinate didicisset,"† &c.

The catacombs are a great work, little inferior either to those of Rome or Naples, and in the same style. There are many remains of temples. The Duke of Montalbano, who has written on the antiquities of Syracuse, reckons near twenty; but there is hardly any of these that are now distinguishable. A few fine columns of that of Jupiter Olympus still remain; and the temple of Minerva (now converted into the cathedral of the city, and dedicated to the Virgin) is almost entire. They have lately built a

\* [But there is a fourth (part of) the city, which, from its being last built, has been called Neapoli, and on the ascent of which stands a very large theatre, &c.]

† [But while I was closely examining the whole space (for there is an abundance of sepulchres at the Agragantine gates), I observed a small column, rising but slightly above the brambles, on which were graven the figures of a sphere and a cylinder. Turning to the Syracusan nobles who were with me, I at once exclaimed, that there was, in my own opinion, the very object of our search. A number of persons were immediately employed to clear away the weeds from the spot, and as soon as a passage was opened up, we drew near, and found on the opposite base the inscription, with nearly the latter half of the verses eaten away. Thus would the noblest, and formerly the most learned of Greek cities, have remained in ignorance respecting the tomb of its most ingenious citizen, had it not been pointed out by a native of Arpinum, &c.]

\* [It is a huge and magnificent work of kings, the whole being cut out of a hollow rock, to a great height, &c.]

† [It has been more accurately described as 170 feet long, 60 high, and from 20 to 35 wide.]

new façade to it; but I am afraid they have not improved on the simplicity of the antique. It is full of broken pediments, and I think in a bad style.

Ortigia, the only remaining part of Syracuse, was anciently an island; it is often denominated such by Virgil, Cicero, and many of the Greek and Latin historians. In latter ages, and probably by the ruins of this mighty city, the strait that separated it from the continent was filled up, and it had now been a peninsula for many ages, till the present King of Spain, at a vast expense, cut through the neck of land that joined it to Sicily, and has again reduced it to its primitive state.

Here he has raised a noble fortification, which appears to be almost impregnable. There are four strong gates, one within the other, with each a glacis, covered way, scarp and counter-scarp, and a broad deep ditch filled with sea-water, and defended by an immense number of embrasures, but not so much as one single piece of artillery. This you will no doubt think ridiculous enough; but the ridicule is still heightened when I assure you there is not a cannon of any kind belonging to this noble fortress, but one small battery of six-pounders for saluting ships that go in and out of the port. If you are at a loss to account for this, you will please remember that it is a work of the King of Spain. However, the ditches are very useful; they are perpetually covered with fishing-boats; and they can use their nets and lines here with the greatest success, even in the most stormy weather, though I dare say this was none of the motives that induced his majesty to make them. The nobility of the place have likewise barges here for their amusement.

As the celebrated fountain of Arethusa has ever been looked upon as one of the greatest curiosities of Syracuse, you may believe we were not a little impatient to examine it; and, indeed, only by observing Cicero's account of it,\* we soon found it out. It still exactly answers the description he gives, except with regard to the great quantities of fish it contained, which seem now to have abandoned it.

The fountain of Arethusa was dedicated to Diana, who had a magnificent temple near it, where great festivals were annually celebrated in honour of the goddess. We found a number of nymphs up to the knees in the fountain, busy washing their garments, and we dreaded the fate of Actæon and Alpheus; but if these were of Diana's train, they are by no means so coy as they were of old, and a man would hardly choose to run the risk of being changed either into a stag or a river for the best of them.

It is indeed an astonishing fountain, and rises at once out of the earth to the size of a river. The poetical fictions concerning it are too well known to require that I should enumerate them. Many of the people here believe to this day that it is the identical river Arethusa that sinks under ground near Olympia in Greece, and continuing its course for five or six hundred miles below the ocean, rises again in this spot.

It is truly astonishing that such a story as this should have gained such credit among the ancients, for it is not only their poets, but natural historians and philosophers too, that take notice of it. Pliny mentions it more than once; and there are few or none of the Latin poets that it has escaped.

This strange belief has been communicated to the Sicilian authors, and, what is amazing, there is hardly

\* In hac insula extrema est fons aque dulcis, cui nomen Arethusa est, incredibili magnitudine plenissimus piscium, qui fluctu totus operiretur, nisi munitione, ac mole lapidum a mari disjunctus esset, &c.

[There is in this island a fountain of sweet water, named Arethusa, and filled with an incredible number of fishes, which would be concealed from view in its whole course but for the check of an embankment and pile of stones disjoining it from the sea, &c.]

any of them that doubts of it; Pomponius Mela, Pausanias, Massa, and Fazzello, are all of the same sentiments, to support which they tell you the old story of the golden cup won at the Olympic games, which was thrown into the Grecian Arethusa, and was soon after cast up again by the Sicilian one.

They likewise add, that it had always been observed, that after the great sacrifices at Olympia, the blood of which fell into that river, the waters of Arethusa rose for several days tinged with blood. This, like many modern miracles, was probably a trick of the priests. Those of Diana had the charge of the fountain of Arethusa, and no doubt were much interested to support the credit of the story; for it was that goddess that converted the nymph Arethusa into a river, and conducted her by subterraneous passages from Greece to Sicily, to avoid the pursuit of Alpheus, who underwent the same fate.

At a little distance from the fountain of Arethusa there is a very large spring of fresh water that boils up in the sea. It is called Occhi di Zilica, and by some Alpheus, who is supposed by the poets to have pursued Arethusa below the sea all the way to Sicily.\*

As this spring is not taken notice of by any of the great number of the ancients that speak of Arethusa, it is most probable that it did not then exist, and is a part of that fountain that has since burst out before its arrival at the island of Ortigia. Had it been visible in the time of the Greeks, there is no doubt that they would have made use of this as a strong argument to prove the submarine journey of Arethusa, as it in fact rises at some distance in the sea, and pretty much in the same direction that Greece lies from Ortigia. It sometimes boils up so strongly, that after piercing the salt water, I am told it can be taken up very little affected by it.

Syracuse has two harbours, the largest of which, on the south-west side of Ortigia, is reckoned six miles round, and was esteemed one of the best in the Mediterranean. It is said by Diodorus to have run almost into the heart of the city, and was called Marmoreo, because entirely surrounded with buildings of marble; the entry into this harbour was strongly fortified, and the Roman fleets could never penetrate into it.

The small port is on the north-east of Ortigia, and is likewise recorded to have been highly ornamented. Fazzello says there is still the remains of a submarine aqueduct that runs through the middle of it, which was intended to convey the water from the fountain of Arethusa to the other parts of the city.

Near this port they show the spot where Archimedes's house stood, and likewise the tower from whence he is said to have set fire to the Roman galleys with his burning-glasses—a story which is related by several authors, but which is now almost universally exploded, from the difficulty to conceive a burning-glass, or a concave speculum, with a focus of such an immense length as this must have required.

However, I should be apt to imagine, if this be not entirely a fiction (of which there is some probability), that it was neither performed by refracting burning-glasses nor speculums, but only by means of common looking-glasses, or very clear plates of metal. Indeed, from the situation of the place, it must have been done by reflection; for Archimedes's tower stood on the north of the little port where the Roman fleet are said to have been moored, so that their vessels lay in a right line betwixt him and the sun at noon, and at a very small distance from the wall of the city where this tower stood. But if you will suppose this to have

\* [According to a German traveller of 1822, "the Arethusa has lost the translucent purity of her virgin waters, which have become turbid and muddy; and, being further defiled by her condemnation to serve the base office of cleansing all the foul linen in Syracuse, she is any thing but a fair bride when she falls into the arms of Alpheus, who still fondly awaits her upon the margin of the sea-shore."—*Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. 23.]

been performed by common burning-glasses, or by those of the parabolical kind, it will be necessary to raise a tower of a most enormous height on the island of Ortigia, in order to interpose these glasses betwixt the sun and the Roman galleys; and even this could not have been done till late in the afternoon, when his rays are exceedingly weak. But I have very little doubt that common looking-glasses would be found all-sufficient to perform these effects.

Let us suppose that a thousand of these were made to reflect the rays to the same point; the heat, in all probability, must be increased to a greater degree than in the focus of most burning-glasses, and abundantly capable of setting fire to every combustible substance. This experiment might be easily made by means of a battalion of men, arming each with a looking-glass instead of a firelock, and setting up a board at two or three hundred yards distance for them to fire at. I suppose it would take a considerable time before they were expert at this exercise; but by practice, I have no doubt that they might all be brought to hit the mark instantaneously at the word of command, like the lark-catchers in some countries, who are so dexterous at this manœuvre, that with a small mirror they throw the rays of light on the lark, let her be never so high in the air, which, by a kind of fascination, brings down the poor animal to the snare.

You may laugh at all this; but I don't think it is impossible that a looking-glass may one day be thought as necessary an implement for a soldier as at present it is for a beau. I am very apprehensive the French will get the start of us in this signal invention, as I have been assured long ago, that few of their men ever go to the field without first providing themselves with one of these little warlike engines, the true use of which, happily for us, they are as yet unacquainted with. You will easily perceive, that if this experiment succeeds, it must alter the whole system of fortification as well as of attack and defence; for every part of the city that is exposed to the view of the besiegers may be easily set in a flame, and the besieged would have the same advantage over the camp of the besieging army.\*

We are already completely tired of Syracuse, which, of all the wretched places we have yet met with, is by many degrees the most wretched; for, besides that its inhabitants are so extremely poor and beggarly, many of them are so overrun with the itch, that we are under perpetual apprehensions, and begin to be extremely well satisfied that we could not procure beds. It is truly melancholy to think of the dismal contrast that its former magnificence makes with its present meanness. The mighty Syracuse, the most opulent and powerful of all the Grecian cities, which, by its own proper strength alone, was able, at different times, to contend against all the power of Carthage and of Rome—which is recorded (what the force of united nations is now incapable of) to have repulsed fleets of two thousand sail, and armies of two hundred thousand men, and contained within its own walls, what no city ever did before or since, fleets and armies that were the terror of the world—this haughty and magnificent city, reduced even below the consequence of the most insignificant burgh: "*Sic transit gloria mundi*." I have not been able to procure a table to write upon, but, by way of succedaneum, am obliged to lay a form over the back of two chairs. We have got into the most wretched hovel you can conceive, and the most dirty; but what is still worst of all, we can find nothing to eat; and if we had not brought some cold fowls along with us, we might have starved.

\* Since the writing of these letters, the author has been informed that Mr Buffon actually made this experiment. He constructed a kind of frame, in which were fixed four hundred small mirrors, disposed in such a manner that the rays reflected from each of them fell exactly on the same point. By means of this he melted lead at the distance of one hundred and twenty feet, and set fire to a hay-stack at a much greater distance.

The heat has been considerably greater here than at Catania. The thermometer is just now at 78 degrees. There is an old remark made on the climate of this place by some of the ancients, which is still said to hold good, that at no season the sun has ever been invisible during a whole day at Syracuse. I find it mentioned by several Sicilian authors, but shall not vouch for the truth of it. Adieu. My next will probably be from Malta, for we shall sail to-morrow, if it be possible to procure a vessel. Ever yours.

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### VOYAGE TO MALTA.

#### *Capo Passero, June 3.*

As we found the mighty city of Syracuse so reduced that it could not afford beds and lodging to three weary travellers, we agreed to abridge our stay in it, and accordingly hired a Maltese sponararo to carry us to that island. This is a small six-oared boat, made entirely for speed, to avoid the African pirates and other Barbareque vessels, with which these seas are infested, but so flat and so narrow, that they are not able to bear any sea, and of consequence keep always as near the coast as possible.

On the 2d of June, by daybreak, we left the Marmoreo, or great port of Syracuse; and although the wind was exactly contrary and pretty strong, by the force of their oars, which they manage with great dexterity, we got on at the rate of four miles an hour. They do not pull their oars as we do, but push them like the Venetian gondoliers, always fronting the prow of the boat, and seldom or never sit down while they row, allowing the whole weight of their bodies to be exerted every stroke of the oar. This gives a prodigious momentum, and is certainly much more forcible than a simple exertion of the muscles of the arm.

At ten o'clock the wind became favourable, when we went indeed at an immense rate. At twelve it blew a hurricane, and with some difficulty we got under shore, but the wind was so exceedingly violent, that even there we had like to have been overset, and we were obliged to run aground to save us from that disaster. Here we were a good deal annoyed by the sand carried about by the wind; however, the hurricane was soon over, and we again put to sea with a favourable gale, which in a few hours carried us to Capo Passero.

In this little storm we were a good deal amused with the behaviour of our Sicilian servant, who at land is a fellow of undaunted courage, of which we have had many proofs; but here (I don't know why) it entirely forsook him, although there was in fact no real danger, for we never were more than a hundred yards from the shore. He gave himself up to despair, and called upon all his saints for protection, and never again recovered his confidence all the rest of this little voyage, perpetually wishing himself back at Naples, and swearing that no earthly temptation should ever induce him to go to sea again. The same fellow, but a few days ago, mounted a most vicious horse, and without the least fear or concern, galloped along the side of a precipice, where every moment we expected to see him dashed to pieces; so singular and various are the different modes of fear and of courage.

Capo Passero, anciently called Pachinus, is the remotest and most southerly point of Sicily. It is not a peninsula, as represented in all the maps, but a wretched barren island of about a mile round, with a fort and a small garrison to protect the neighbouring country from the incursions of the Barbary corsairs, who are often very troublesome on this part of the coast. This little island and fort lie about a mile and a half distant from the small creek of which we have taken possession, and are separated from the rest of Sicily by a strait of about half a mile broad.

Our pilot told us we must not think of Malta, which

is almost a hundred miles off, till there were more settled appearances of good weather.

As there is no habitation here of any kind, we searched about till at last we found a small cavern, where we made a very comfortable dinner. We then sallied forth to examine the face of the country, as well as to try if we could shoot something for our supper. We found that we had now got into a very different world from any thing we had yet seen. The country here is exceedingly barren, and to a considerable distance produces neither corn nor wine; but the fields are adorned with an infinite variety of flowers and of flowering shrubs, and the rocks are every where entirely covered with capers, which are just now fit for gathering. If we had vinegar, we could soon pickle hogsheds of them.

We found here, in the greatest perfection, that beautiful shrub called the palmeta, resembling a small palm-tree, with an elegant fine flower; but, to our great mortification, the seed is not yet ripe. We likewise found great quantities of a blue everlasting flower, which I don't remember to have seen in Miller, or any of our botanical books. The stem rises about a foot high, and is crowned with a large cluster of small blue flowers, the leaves of which are of a dry substance like the elychnisum, or globe amaranthus. Some of these are of a purple colour, but most of them blue. I have gathered a pretty large quantity for the speculation of the botanists on our return.

We found a good swimming-place, which is always one of the first things we look out for, as this exercise constitutes one of the principal pleasures of our expedition.

As soon as it was dark, we got on board our little boat, and rowed about a hundred yards out to sea, where we cast anchor; our pilot assuring us that this was absolutely necessary, as the people in this part of the country are little better than savages; and, were we to stay on land, might very possibly come down during the night, and rob and murder us.

He likewise told us that the Turks had made frequent invasions upon this point of the island, which of all others lay most exposed to their depredations; that lately three of their chebecks ran into a small harbour a few miles from this, and carried off six merchant ships; and that very often some of their light vessels were seen hovering off the coast; that the only way to be in perfect security from these two enemies by sea and land, was to choose a place on the coast so deep that the banditti by land could not wade in to us; and at the same time so shallow as to be equally inaccessible to the banditti by sea.

When we found ourselves thus in security on both hands, we wrapt ourselves up in our cloaks, and fell asleep: however, we had but a very uncomfortable night; the wind rose, and the motion of our little bark was exceedingly disagreeable, and made us heartily sick. As soon as day began to appear, we made them pull into shore, when we were immediately cured of our sickness; and as the weather continues still unfavourable, we have fallen upon a variety of amusements to pass the time.

We have been thrice in the water, which is warm and pleasant; and in the intervals I have written you this letter on the top of a large basket, in which we carry our sea-store. We have likewise gathered shells, pieces of coral, of sponge, and several beautiful kinds of sea-weed. The rocks here are all of sand and gravel run together, and become as hard as granite. There are many shells and other marine substances mixed in their composition, which renders them objects of curiosity in the eye of a naturalist.

This morning we made a kind of tent of a sail, drawn over the point of a rock, and fixed with an oar, by way of pole. Here we breakfasted most luxuriously on excellent tea and honey of Hybla.

I was interrupted in this part of my letter by an officer from the fort of Capo Passero. He tells us

that we may give over all thoughts of getting farther for these six days. What do you think is his reason? I own I was in some pain till he mentioned it. This wind set in exactly as the moon entered her second quarter, and it will certainly continue till she is full. There is a rascal for you! If he be telling truth, I shall certainly study astrology. He likewise told us, that two galliots had been seen off the coast, and desired us to be upon our guard; but I own the moon, together with other circumstances, has considerably weakened his evidence with me.

We have learned from his conversation, that the fort of Capo Passero is made use of as a place of exile for the delinquents in the army, of which number I have not the least doubt that he is one. He told us there were two near relations of the viceroy that had been lately sent there for misdemeanours; that for his part, he belonged to a very agreeable garrison; but as he loved retirement, he chose to accompany them. However, his countenance told a very different story; and said, in strong language, that he was a *tres mauvais sujet* [a very bad subject]. Besides, he is a stupid fellow, and has tired me. I could learn nothing from him.

It must be owned, this is an excellent place of exile for a young rake who wants to show away in the *beau monde*. It is not within many miles of any town or village, so that the gentleman may enjoy retirement in its utmost perfection.

We were surprised to find on this coast quantities of the true pumice-stone, which at first we supposed to have been brought by the sea from Ætna, till we likewise discovered many large pieces of lava, which makes us imagine there must have been some eruption of fire in this part of the island; yet I see no conical mountain, or any other indication of it.

If our officer's prognostications prove true, and we are detained here any longer, I shall examine the country to a much greater distance. The wind continues directly contrary; the sea is very high in the canal of Malta, and our Sicilian servant is in a sad trepidation. But I see Glover and Fullarton coming for their dinner, so I shall be obliged to give up the basket. This sea air gives one a monstrous appetite, and it is with grief that I mention it, we are already brought to short allowance—only one cold fowl amongst three of us, all three pretty sharp set, I assure you. Those infamous rascals, to lose our turtle! They have spied a fishing-boat, and are hailing her as loud as they can roar—but, alas! she is too far off to hear them. They have just fired a gun to bring her to, and happily she obeys the signal, so there is still hopes; otherwise we shall soon be reduced to bread and water. Our tea and sugar, too, are just upon a close, which is the cruelest article of all; but we have plenty of good bread and Hybla honey, so we are in no danger of starving.

We have likewise made an admirable and a very comfortable disposition for our night's lodging. The spononaro is so very narrow that it is impossible for us all to lie in it; besides, we are ate up with vermin, and have nothing but the hard boards to lie on: all these considerations, added to the cursed swinging of the boat, and the horrid sickness it occasions, have determined us rather to trust ourselves to the mercy of the banditti than to lie another night at sea; besides, we have made the happiest discovery in the world—a great quantity of fine, soft, dry sea-weed, lying under the shelter of a rock, and seemingly intended by providence for our bed; over this we are going to stretch a sail, and expect to sleep most luxuriously; but, to prevent all danger from a surprise, we have agreed to stand sentry by turns, with Fullarton's double-barrelled gun, well primed and loaded for the reception of the enemy, at the first discharge of which, and not before, the whole guard is to turn out, with all the remaining part of our artillery and small arms, and, as our situation is a very advanta-

geous one, I think we shall be able to make a stout defence.

As we are six in number, three masters and three servants, the duty, you see, will be but trifling, and five of us will always sleep in security. Our guard, to be sure, might have been stronger, but our sparano men have absolutely refused to be of the party, having much more confidence in their own element; however, they have promised, in case of an attack, immediately to come to our assistance. I think the disposition is far from being a bad one, and we are not a little vain of our generalship.

The fishing-boat is now arrived, and they have brought some excellent little fishes, which are already on the fire. Adieu. These fellows are roaring for their cold fowl, and I can command the basket no longer. Ever yours.

#### ARRIVAL IN MALTA.

*Malta, June 4.*

In spite of appearances, and our officer's wise prognostications, the wind changed in the afternoon, and we got under sail by six o'clock; we passed the straits, and coasted along till eight, when we landed to cook some macaroni we had purchased of our sailors, and try if we could shoot something for sea-store, as we have still a long voyage before us.

We came to the side of a sulphurous lake, the smell of which was so strong that we perceived it upwards of a mile distant. We found the water boiling up with violence in many places, though the heat at the banks of the lake is very inconsiderable. However, this, added to the pumice and lava we found near Capo Passero, tends greatly to confirm us in the opinion that this part of the island, as well as about *Ætna*, has in former ages been subject to eruptions of fire.

I think it is more than probable that this is the celebrated *Camerina*, which *Æneas* saw immediately after his passing *Pachynus* (or *Capo Passero*), which *Virgil* says the Fates had decreed should never be drained:

*Hinc altas cautes projectaque saxa Pachyni  
Radimus; et fatis nunquam concessa moveri  
Adparet Camarina procul.*

[Then, doubling *Capo Pachynus*, we survey  
The rocky shore extended to the sea.  
The town of *Camarina* from far we see,  
And fenny lake, undrain'd by fate's decree.]

*Virgil* had good reason to say so, for the level of the lake or marsh (it being somewhat betwixt the two), is at least as low as that of the sea, and consequently never could be drained.

It is surrounded with a variety of fine evergreens and flowering shrubs, of which the palmeta, and the arbutus or strawberry tree, are the most beautiful. We saw a great many wild-fowl, but what surprised me, in so unfrequented a place, they were so shy that there was no getting near them: there was one kind, in particular, that attracted our attention; it was of the size and form of a grey plover, and flew in the same manner, but had a tail of a great length, which seemed to be composed only of two small flexible feathers, that made a very uncommon appearance in the air. After using all our art to shoot one of them, we were obliged to give up the attempt.

Here we killed a small black snake, which I think answers the description I have seen of the asp. We dissected out its tongue, the end of which appears sharp like a sting, and I suppose is one, as it darted out with violence against our sticks when we presented them to it. Now, as all animals, when attacked, make use of those weapons that nature has armed them with for their defence, it appeared evident to us (supposing this rule a just one), that this animal was conscious

of a power of hurting in its tongue, and we have been more fully convinced of it from dissection. The sting appears considerably larger than that of a bee. We found a little bag at the other end of the tongue, and probably, if we had had a microscope, should have found the tongue perforated. This snake had no teeth, but very hard gums. I have taken care to preserve the tongue for your inspection.

As I think it has always been supposed that serpents hurt only with their teeth, I thought this might be worthy of your notice. It is true that the darting out of the tongue is a trick of the whole serpent tribe; but this animal seemed to do it with peculiar ferocity, and to strike it with violence against our sticks. It was this that put us upon the examination.

I don't recollect that this singularity is mentioned in any book of natural history, but possibly I may be mistaken; nor indeed do I remember either to have seen or heard of any animal armed in this manner—unless you will suppose me to adopt the sentiments of poor Mr S—, who, ever since his marriage, alleges that the tongues of many females are formed after this singular fashion, and remarks one peculiarity, that the sting seldom or never appears till after matrimony. He is very learned on this subject, and thinks it may possibly have proceeded from their original connexion with the serpent. Let this be as it may, I sincerely hope that you and I shall never have such good reason for adopting that opinion.

A little after nine we embarked. The night was delightful, but the wind had died away about sunset, and we were obliged to ply our oars to get into the canal of *Malta*. The coast of *Sicily* began to recede, and in a short time we found ourselves in the ocean. There was a profound silence, except the noise of the waves breaking on the distant shore, which only served to render it more solemn. It was a dead calm, and the moon shone bright on the waters. The waves from the late storm were still high, but smooth and even, and followed one another with a slow and equal pace. The scene had naturally sunk us into meditation: we had remained near an hour without speaking a word, when our sailors began their midnight hymn to the *Virgin*. The music was simple, solemn, and melancholy, and in perfect harmony with the scene and with all our feelings. They beat exact time with their oars, and observed the harmony and the cadence with the utmost precision. We listened with infinite pleasure to this melancholy concert, and felt the vanity of operas and oratorios. There is often a solemnity and a pathos in the modulation of these simple productions, that causes a much stronger effect than the composition of the greatest masters, assisted by all the boasted rules of counter-point.

At last they sung us asleep, and we awoke forty miles distant from *Sicily*. We were now on the main ocean, and saw no land but *Mount Ætna*, which is the perpetual polar star of these seas. We had a fine breeze, and about two o'clock we discovered the island of *Malta*, and in less than three hours more reached the city of *Valetta*. The approach of the island is very fine, although the shore is rather low and rocky. It is every where made inaccessible to an enemy by an infinite number of fortifications. The rock in many places has been sloped into the form of a glacis, with strong parapets and intrenchments running behind it. The entry into the port is very narrow, and is commanded by a strong castle on either side. We were hailed from each of these, and obliged to give a strict account of ourselves, and on our arrival at the side of the quay we were visited by an officer from the health office, and obliged to give oath with regard to the circumstances of our voyage. He behaved in the civilest manner, and immediately sent us Mr *Rutter*, the English consul, for whom we had letters of recommendation.

On getting on shore we found ourselves in a new world indeed—the streets crowded with well-dressed

people, who have all the appearance of health and affluence, whereas at Syracuse, there was scarce a creature to be seen, and even those few had the appearance of disease and wretchedness. Mr Rutter immediately conducted us to an inn, which had more the appearance of a palace. We have had an excellent supper, and good Burgundy; and as this is the king's birthday, we have almost got tipsy to his health. We are now going into clean comfortable beds, in expectation of the sweetest slumbers. Think of the luxury of this, after being five long days without throwing off our clothes! Good night. I would not lose a moment of it for the world. People may say what they please, but there is no enjoyment in living in perpetual ease and affluence, and the true luxury is only to be attained by undergoing a few hardships. But this is no time to philosophise. So adieu.

#### MALTA.—FORTRESS OF VALETTA.

*Malta, June 5.*

OUR banker, Mr Pousilach, was here before we were up, inviting us to dine with him at his country-house, from whence we are just now returned. He gave us a noble entertainment, served on plate, with an elegant dessert, and a great variety of wines.\*

\* [Malta is sixty miles in circumference, twenty long, and two broad; situated in latitude 35° 53' N., and longitude 14° 30' E. (calculated for the site of the observatory). It is 60 miles from Sicily, and 200 from Calipia, the nearest point of the African coast. A smaller island named Gozo, and a rock named Cumino, are usually considered as, with Malta, forming one group of islands. The population of the whole was once 114,000, now only 94,000. Malta is mentioned by Homer in his *Odyssey*, under the name of *Hyperia*. The basis of the population is Arabian, with an admixture of the neighbouring European nations, particularly the Italian; and the language corresponds with and confirms this view of their origin. About 1519 years before Christ, the Phœnicians, conceiving that it might be rendered an useful commercial station, seized upon the island, and established a colony on its shores. In process of time, it was taken possession of by the Greeks, from whom it passed successively into the hands of the Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals and Goths, Arabs, Normans, Germans, French, and Spaniards, with whom it remained until the year 1530. At that period, the Emperor Charles V., finding the support of its garrison expensive, ceded the perpetual sovereignty of Malta and its dependencies, together with the city of Tripoli, to the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, who, having been expelled from Rhodes by the Turks, were at this time wandering over the Mediterranean in quest of an asylum. This order was instituted about the end of the eleventh century, and was originally composed of a few charitable individuals, who established a house at Jerusalem for the reception of the sick and wounded crusaders. In time it became a powerful religious society, of a military character; and, with professions on its lips of poverty and humility, was practically rich, luxurious, and profligate. It was divided into seven different languages, of which the three first were French, namely, those of Provence, Auvergne, and France; the four others were those of Italy, Arragon, England, and Germany. The language of Castile was afterwards added; and that of England, abolished at the Reformation, was replaced by the Anglo-Bavarian. There was a more important division of the order into three classes, the first consisting solely of persons of noble birth, and called *Chevaliers de Justice*; the second comprehending the *Priests* of the order; the third being composed of inferior persons, styled *Servans d'armes*, and corresponding to the *squires* of the chivalrous era.—*Edinburgh Review*, vi. 206. The professed objects of the Knights of St John, from an early period of their history, were to make war on the infidels, namely, the Turks and other Mohammedans. Latterly, however, the order and its funds were only a means of providing for the younger sons of noble families throughout Europe. Their spirit having greatly declined, they yielded up their impregnable island to General Bonaparte in 1798, when he was on his way to Egypt. The French banished the order, and seized all their valuables. In 1800, after enduring a protracted siege, the French garrison surrendered the island to the British, to whom it was definitively assigned by the congress

After dinner we went to visit the principal villas of the island, particularly those of the grand master and the general of the galleys, which lie contiguous to each other. These are nothing great or magnificent, but they are admirably contrived for a hot climate, where, of all things, shade is the most desirable. The orange groves are indeed very fine, and the fruit they bear is superior to any thing you have seen in Spain or Portugal.

The aspect of the country is far from being pleasing: the whole island is a great rock of very white freestone,\* and the soil that covers this rock, in most places, is not more than five or six inches deep; yet, what is singular, we found their crop in general was exceedingly abundant. They account for it from the copious dews that fall during the spring and summer months; and pretend likewise, that there is a moisture in the rock below the soil, that is of great advantage to the corn and cotton, keeping its roots perpetually moist and cool, without which singular quality, they say, they could have no crops at all, the heat of the sun is so exceedingly violent.

Their barley harvest has been over some time ago, and they are just now finishing that of the wheat. The whole island produces corn only sufficient to support its inhabitants for five months, or little more; but the crop they most depend upon is the cotton. They began sowing it about three weeks ago, and it will be finished in a week more. The time of reaping it is in the month of October and beginning of November.

They pretend that the cotton produced from this plant, which is sown and reaped in four months, is of a much superior quality to that of the cotton-tree. I compared them, but I cannot say I found it so; this is indeed the finest, but that of the cotton-tree is by much the strongest texture. The plant rises to the height of a foot and a half, and is covered with a number of nuts or pods full of cotton; these, when ripe, they are at great pains to cut off every morning before sunrise, for the heat of the sun immediately turns the cotton yellow, which, indeed, we saw from those pods they save for seed.

They manufacture their cotton into a great variety of stuffs. Their stockings are exceedingly fine. Some of them, they assured us, had been sold for ten sequins a-pair. Their coverlets and blankets are esteemed all over Europe. Of these the principal manufactures are established in the little island of Gozo, where the people are said to be more industrious than those of Malta, as they are more excluded from the world, and have fewer inducements to idleness. Here the sugarcane is still cultivated with success, though not in any considerable quantity.

The Maltese oranges certainly deserve the character they have of being the finest in the world. The season continues for upwards of seven months, from November till the middle of June, during which time those beautiful trees are always covered with abundance of this delicious fruit. Many of them are of the red kind, much superior, in my opinion, to the others,

of Vienna, in 1814. It has since then remained under the British government.

The support of the Maltese having previously been of an extrinsic kind, they have, since the loss of their knights, been sunk in great poverty, and their number is much fallen off. Yet it is considered as still one of the most densely peopled spots of earth in Europe. It has been calculated that an extent of ground which in England supports 152 persons, contains in Malta eight times that number. This is owing to the low moral and intellectual state of the people. The poverty of the humbler orders is shown strikingly in the low price of all provisions. There is a saying in the island, that a man may dine on fish, flesh, and fowl for a halfpenny. A shopkeeper will not refuse to serve some portion of cooked meat for even a single grain, the sixth part of a halfpenny. But then, to obtain a grain or a halfpenny by labour in Malta is more difficult than in other countries to win a shilling or half-a-crown.—*Athenæum*, No. 504.]

\* [The rock is in reality of a calcareous nature.]



which are rather too luscious. They are produced, I am told, from the common orange bud, engrafted on the pomegranate stock. The juice of this fruit is red as blood, and of a fine flavour. The greatest part of their crop is sent in presents to the different courts of Europe, and to the relations of the chevaliers. It was not without a good deal of difficulty that we procured a few chests for our friends at Naples.

The industry of the Maltese in cultivating their little island is inconceivable. There is not an inch of ground lost in any part of it; and where there was not soil enough, they have brought over ships and boats loaded with it from Sicily, where there is plenty and to spare. The whole island is full of enclosures of freestone, which gives the country a very uncouth and a very barren aspect, and in summer reflects such a light and heat, that it is exceedingly disagreeable and offensive to the eyes. The enclosures are very small and irregular, according to the inclination of the ground. This, they say, they are obliged to observe, notwithstanding the deformity it occasions, otherwise the floods to which they are subject would soon carry off their soil.

The island is covered over with country houses and villages, besides seven cities, for so they term them; but there are only two, the Valetta and the Citta Vecchia, that by any means deserve that appellation. Every little village has a noble church, elegantly finished and adorned with statues of marble, rich tapestry, and a large quantity of silver plate. They are by much the handsomest country churches I have ever seen. But I am interrupted in my writing, by the beginning (I am told) of a very fine show. If it be so, I shall give you some account of it by and by.

*Eleven at night.*—The show is now finished, and has afforded us great entertainment. It was the departure of a Maltese squadron to assist the French against the Bey of Tunis, who, it seems, has fallen under the displeasure of the *grand monarque*, because he refused to deliver up without ransom the Corsican slaves that were taken before the French were in possession of that island. The squadron consisted of three galleys, the largest with nine hundred men, each of the others with seven hundred; three galliots, and several scampavias, so called from their exceeding swiftness. These immense bodies were all worked by oars, and moved with great regularity. The admiral went first, and the rest in order, according to their dignity. The sea was crowded with boats, and the ramparts and fortifications were filled with the company. The port resounded on all sides with the discharge of heavy artillery, which was answered by the galleys and galliots as they left the harbour. As the echo is here uncommonly great, it produced a very noble effect.

There were about thirty knights in each galley, making signals all the way to their mistresses, who were weeping for their departure upon the bastions; for these gentlemen pay almost as little regard to their vows of chastity as the priests and confessors do. After viewing the show from the ramparts, we took a boat and followed the squadron for some time, and did not return till long after sunset.

We have been admiring the wonderful strength of this place, both by nature and art. It is certainly the happiest situation that can be imagined. The city stands upon a peninsula, betwixt two of the finest ports in the world, which are defended by almost impregnable fortifications. That on the south-east side of the city is the largest. It runs about two miles into the heart of the island, and is so very deep, and surrounded by such high grounds and fortifications, that they assured us the largest ships of war might ride here in the most stormy weather, almost without a cable.

This beautiful basin is divided into five distinct harbours, all equally safe, and each capable of containing an immense number of shipping. The mouth

of the harbour is scarcely a quarter of a mile broad, and is commanded on each side by batteries that would tear the strongest ship to pieces before she could enter. Besides this, it is fronted by a quadruple battery, one above the other, the largest of which is a *fleur d'eau*, or on a level with the water. These are mounted with about eighty of their heaviest artillery; so that this harbour, I think, may really be considered as impregnable, and indeed the Turks have ever found it so, and I believe ever will.

The harbour on the north side of the city, although they only use it for fishing, and as a place of quarantine, would, in any other part of the world, be considered as inestimable. It is likewise defended by very strong works; and in the centre of the basin there is an island on which they have built a castle and a lazaret.

The fortifications of Malta are indeed a most stupendous work. All the boasted catacombs of Rome and Naples are a trifle to the immense excavations that have been made in this little island. The ditches, of a vast size, are all cut out of the solid rock. These extend for a great many miles, and raise our astonishment to think that so small a state has ever been able to make them.

One side of the island is so completely fortified by nature, that there was nothing left for art. The rock is of a great height, and absolutely perpendicular from the sea for several miles. It is very singular, that on this side there are still the vestiges of several ancient roads, with the tracks of carriages worn deep in the rocks: these roads are now terminated by the precipice, with the sea beneath, and show, to a demonstration, that this island has in former ages been of a much larger size than it is at present; but the convulsion that occasioned its diminution is probably much beyond the reach of any history or tradition. It has often been observed, notwithstanding the very great distance of Mount *Ætna*, that this island has generally been more or less affected by its eruptions; and they think it probable that, on some of those occasions, a part of it may have been shaken into the sea.

We have now an opportunity of observing that one-half of Mount *Ætna* is clearly discovered from Malta. They reckon the distance at near two hundred Italian miles. And the people here assure us, that in the great eruptions of that mountain, their whole island is illuminated, and from the reflection in the water there appears a great track of fire in the sea all the way from Malta to Sicily. The thundering of the mountain is likewise distinctly heard. Good night. I am fatigued with this day's expedition, and shall finish my letter to-morrow.

*June 6.*—As the city of Valetta is built upon a hill, none of the streets except the quay are level. They are all paved with white freestone, which not only creates a great dust, but from its colour is likewise so offensive to the eyes, that most of the people here are remarkably weak-sighted. The principal buildings are the palace of the grand master, the infirmary, the arsenal, the inns or hotels of the Seven Tongues, and the great church of St John. The palace is a noble though a plain structure, and the grand master (who studies convenience more than magnificence) is more comfortably and commodiously lodged than any prince in Europe, the King of Sardinia perhaps only excepted. The great stair is the easiest and the best I ever saw.

St John's is a magnificent church. The pavement, in particular, is reckoned the richest in the world. It is entirely composed of sepulchral monuments of the finest marbles, porphyry, lapis lazuli, and a variety of other valuable stones admirably joined together, and at an incredible expense, representing in a kind of mosaic the arms, insignia, &c., of the persons whose names they are intended to commemorate. In the magnificence of these monuments, the heirs of the grand masters and commanders have long vied with each other.

We went this day to see the celebration of their church service. It seems to be more overcharged with parade and ceremony than what I have ever observed even in any other Catholic country. The number of genuflections before the altar, the kissing of the prior's hand, the holding up of his robes by subaltern priests, the ceremony of throwing incense upon all the knights of the great cross, and neglecting the poorer knights, with many other articles, appeared to us highly ridiculous, and most essentially different indeed from that purity and simplicity of worship that constitutes the very essence of true Christianity, and of which the great pattern they pretend to copy set so very noble an example.

This day (the 6th of June) is held as a thanksgiving for their deliverance from a terrible conspiracy that was formed about twenty-one years ago by the Turkish slaves, at one stroke to put an end to the whole order of Malta. All the fountains of the place were to be poisoned, and every slave had taken a solemn oath to put his master to death.

It was discovered by a Jew who kept a coffeehouse. He understood the Turkish language, and overheard some discourse that he thought suspicious. He went immediately and informed the grand master. The suspected persons were instantly seized and put to the torture, and soon confessed the whole plot. The executions were shocking. One hundred and twenty-five were put to death by various torments. Some were burned alive, some were broken on the wheel, and some were torn to pieces by four galleys rowing different ways, and each bringing off its limb. Since that time the slaves have been much more strictly watched, and have less liberty than formerly. Adieu. I shall write to you again before we leave Malta. Yours, &c.

MELITA.—KNIGHTS OF ST JOHN.—DUELLING.

*Malta, June 7.*

THIS day we made an expedition through the island in coaches drawn by one mule each, the only kind of vehicle the place affords. Our conductors could speak nothing but Arabic, which is still the language of the common people of Malta, so that you may believe we did not reap much benefit from their conversation. We went first to the ancient city of Melita, which is near the centre of the island, and commands a view of the whole, and in clear weather, they pretend, of part of Barbary and of Sicily. The city is strongly fortified, and is governed by an officer called the Hahem. He received us very politely, and showed us the old palace, which is not indeed much worth the seeing. The cathedral is a very fine church, and, although of an exceeding large size, is at present entirely hung with crimson damask richly laced with gold.

The catacombs, not far from the city, are a great work. They are said to extend for fifteen miles under ground; however, this you are obliged to take on the credit of your guides, as it would rather be risking too much to put it to the trial. Many people, they assure us, have been lost in advancing too far in them, the prodigious number of branches making it next to impossible to find the way out again.

From this we went to see the Bosquetta, where the grand master has his country palace; by the accounts we had of it at Valetta, we expected to find a forest stored with deer and every kind of game, as they talked much of the great hunts that were made every year in these woods. We were not a little surprised to find only a few scattered trees, and about half a dozen deer; but as this is the only thing like a wood in the island, it is esteemed a very great curiosity. The palace is as little worth seeing as the forest, though the prospect from the top of it is very fine. The furniture is three or four hundred years old, and

in the most Gothic taste that can be imagined; but, indeed, the grand master seldom or never resides here.

The great source of water that supplies the city of Valetta, takes its rise near to this place, and there is an aqueduct composed of some thousand arches, that conveys it from thence to the city. The whole of this immense work was finished at the private expense of one of the grand masters.

Not far from the old city there is a small church dedicated to St Paul; and just by the church a miraculous statue of the saint with a viper on his hand, supposed to be placed on the very spot on which the house stood where he was received after his shipwreck on this island, and where he shook the viper off his hand into the fire without being hurt by it; at which time, the Maltese assure us, the saint cursed all the venomous animals of the island, and banished them for ever, just as St Patrick treated those of his favourite isle. Whether this be the cause of it or not, we shall leave to divines to determine (though if it had, I think St Luke would have mentioned it in the Acts of the Apostles), but the fact is certain, that there are no venomous animals in Malta. They assured us that vipers had been brought from Sicily, and died almost immediately on their arrival.\*

Adjoining to the church, there is the celebrated grotto, in which the saint was imprisoned. It is looked upon with the utmost reverence and veneration; and if the stories they tell of it be true, it is well entitled to it all. It is exceedingly damp, and produces (I believe by a kind of petrification from the water) a whitish kind of stone, which they assure us, when reduced to powder, is a sovereign remedy in many diseases, and saves the lives of thousands every year. There is not a house in the island that is not provided with it; and they tell us there are many boxes of it sent annually, not only to Sicily and Italy, but likewise to the Levant and the East Indies; and (what is considered a daily standing miracle) notwithstanding this perpetual consumption, it has never been exhausted, nor even sensibly diminished, the saint always taking care to supply them with a fresh quantity the day following.

You may be sure we did not fail to stuff our pockets with this wonderful stone: I suspected they would have prevented us, as I did not suppose the saint would have worked for heretics; however, neither he nor the priests had any objection, and we gave them a few *pauls*† more for their civility. I tasted some of it, and believe it is a very harmless thing. It tastes like exceeding bad magnesia, and I believe has pretty much the same effects. They give about a tea-spoonful of it to children in the small-pox and in fevers. It produces a copious sweat about half an hour after, and, they say, never fails to be of service. It is likewise esteemed a certain remedy against the bite of all venomous animals. There is a very fine statue of St Paul in the middle of this grotto, to which they ascribe great powers.

We were delighted, on our way back to the city, with the beauty of the setting sun, much superior, I think, to what I have ever observed it in Italy. The whole of the eastern parts of the heavens, for half an hour after sunset, was of a fine deep purple, and made a beautiful appearance; this the Maltese tell us is generally the case every evening at this season of the year.

I forgot to say any thing of our presentation to the grand master, for which I ask pardon both of you and him. His name is Pinto, and of a Portuguese family. He has now been at the head of this singular little state for upwards of thirty years. He received us with great politeness, and was highly pleased to find that some of us had been in Portugal. He mentioned

\* [The author of a lately published volume, entitled "the Life of St Paul," shows good reasons for concluding that the island on which St Paul landed was not Malta, but a small isle in the Adriatic.]

† A small silver coin.

the intimate commercial connexions that had so long subsisted betwixt our nations, and expressed his desire of being of service to us, and of rendering our stay in his island as agreeable as possible. He is a clear-headed, sensible, little old man, which, at so advanced a period of life, is very uncommon. Although he is considerably upwards of ninety, he retains all the faculties of his mind in perfection. He has no minister, but manages every thing himself, and has immediate information of the most minute occurrences. He walks up and down stairs, and even to church, without assistance, and has the appearance as if he would still live for many years. His household attendance and court are all very princely; and, as grand master of Malta, he is more absolute, and possesses more power than most sovereign princes. His titles are Serene Highness and Eminence; and as he has the disposal of all lucrative offices, he makes of his councils what he pleases; besides, in all the councils that compose the jurisdiction of this little nation, he himself presides, and has two votes. Since he was chosen grand master, he has already given away one hundred and twenty-six commanderies, some of them worth upwards of £2000 a-year, besides priories and other offices of profit. He has the disposal of twenty-one commanderies and one priory every five years, and as there are always a number of expectants, he is very much courted.

He is chosen by a committee of twenty-one, which committee is nominated by the seven nations, three out of each nation. The election must be over within three days after the death of the former grand master, and during these three days, there is scarce a soul that sleeps at Malta—all is cabal and intrigue; and most of the knights are masked, to prevent their particular attachments and connexions from being known; the moment the election is over, every thing returns again to its former channel.

The land force of Malta is equal to the number of men in the island fit to bear arms. They have about five hundred regulars belonging to the ships of war, and one hundred and fifty compose the guard of the prince. The two islands of Malta and Gozo contain about one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. The men are exceedingly robust and hardy. I have seen them row from ten to twelve hours without intermission, and without even appearing to be fatigued.

Their sea force consists of four galleys, three galliots, four ships of sixty guns, and a frigate of thirty-six, besides a number of the quick-sailing little vessels called scampavias, literally, runaways. Their ships, galleys, and fortifications, are not only supplied with excellent artillery, but they have likewise invented a kind of ordnance of their own, unknown to all the world besides; for we found to our no small amazement, that the rocks were not only cut into fortifications, but likewise into artillery, to defend these fortifications, being hollowed out in many places into the form of immense mortars. The charge is said to be about a barrel of gunpowder, over which they place a large piece of wood, made exactly to fit the mouth of the chamber. On this they heap a great quantity of cannon-balls, shells, or other deadly materials; and when an enemy's ship approaches the harbour, they fire the whole into the air, and they pretend it produces a very great effect, making a shower for two or three hundred yards round that would sink any vessel. Notwithstanding the supposed bigotry of the Maltese, the spirit of toleration is so strong, that a mosque has lately been built for their sworn enemies the Turks. Here the poor slaves are allowed to enjoy their religion in peace. It happened lately that some idle boys disturbed them during their service; they were immediately sent to prison, and severely punished. The police, indeed, is much better regulated than in the neighbouring countries, and assassinations and robberies are very uncommon; the last of which crimes the grand master punishes with the utmost severity.

But he is said, perhaps in compliance with the prejudice of his nation, to be much more relax with regard to the first.

Perhaps Malta is the only country in the world where duelling is permitted by law. As their whole establishment is originally founded on the wild and romantic principles of chivalry, they have ever found it too inconsistent with those principles to abolish duelling; but they have laid it under such restrictions as greatly to lessen its danger. These are curious enough. The duellists are obliged to decide their quarrel in one particular street of the city; and if they presume to fight any where else, they are liable to the rigour of the law. But what is not less singular, and much more in their favour, they are obliged under the most severe penalties to put up their sword, when ordered so to do by a woman, a priest, or a knight.

Under these limitations, in the midst of a great city, one would imagine it almost impossible that a duel could ever end in blood; however, this is not the case; a cross is always painted on the wall opposite to the spot where a knight has been killed, in commemoration of his fall. We counted about twenty of these crosses.

About three months ago, two knights had a dispute at a billiard table. One of them, after giving a great deal of abusive language, added a blow; but, to the astonishment of all Malta (in whose annals there is not a similar instance), after so great a provocation, he absolutely refused to fight his antagonist. The challenge was repeated, and he had time to reflect on the consequences, but still he refused to enter the lists. He was condemned to make *amende honourable* in the great church of St John for forty-five days successively; then to be confined in a dungeon without light for five years, after which he is to remain a prisoner in the castle for life. The unfortunate young man who received the blow is likewise in disgrace, as he had not an opportunity of wiping it out in the blood of his adversary.

This has been looked upon as a very singular affair, and is still one of the principal topics of conversation. The first part of the sentence has already been executed, and the poor wretch is now in his dungeon. Nor is it thought that any abatement will be made in what remains.

If the legislature in other countries punished with equal rigour those that do fight, as it does in this those that do not, I believe we should soon have an end of duelling; but I should imagine the punishment for fighting ought never to be a capital one, but something ignominious; and the punishment for not fighting should always be so, or at least some severe corporal punishment;\* for ignominy will have as little effect on the person who will submit to the appellation of coward, as the fear of death on one who makes it his glory to despise it.

The Maltese still talk with horror of a storm that happened here on the 29th of October 1757, which, as it was of a very singular nature, I shall translate you some account of, from a little book they have given me, written on that subject.

About three quarters of an hour after midnight, there appeared to the south-west of the city a great black cloud, which, as it approached, changed its colour, till at last it became like a flame of fire mixed with black smoke. A dreadful noise was heard on its approach, that alarmed the whole city. It passed over part of the port, and came first upon an English ship, which in an instant was torn to pieces, and nothing left but the hulk; part of the masts, sails, and cordage, were carried along with the cloud to a considerable distance. The small boats and fellowes that fell in its way were all broken to pieces, and sunk. The noise increased, and became more frightful. A

\* [In the present age, few moralists would be found to sanction this opinion.]

sentinel, terrified at its approach, ran into his box; both he and it were lifted up, and carried into the sea, where he perished. It then traversed a considerable part of the city, and laid in ruins almost every thing that stood in its way. Several houses were laid level with the ground, and it did not leave one steeple in its passage. The bells of some of them, together with the spires, were carried to a considerable distance. The roofs of the churches were demolished and beat down, which, if it had happened in the day time, must have had dreadful consequences, as every one would immediately have run to the churches.

It went off at the north-east point of the city, and, demolishing the lighthouse, is said to have mounted up in the air with a frightful noise; and passed over the sea to Sicily, where it tore up some trees, and did other damage, but nothing considerable; as its fury had been mostly spent upon Malta. The number of killed and wounded amounted to near two hundred, and the loss of shipping, houses, and churches, was very considerable.

Several treatises have been written to account for this singular hurricane, but I have found nothing at all satisfactory. The sentiments of the people are concise and positive. They declare with one voice that it was a legion of devils let loose to punish them for their sins. There are a thousand people in Malta that will take their oath they saw them within the cloud, all as black as pitch, and breathing out fire and brimstone. They add, that if there had not been a few godly people amongst them, their whole city would certainly have been involved in one universal destruction.

The horse races of Malta are of a very uncommon kind. They are performed without either saddle, bridle, whip, or spur; and yet the horses are said to run full speed, and to afford a great deal of diversion. They are accustomed to the ground for some weeks before; and although it is entirely over rock and pavement, there are very seldom any accidents. They have races of asses and mules, performed in the same manner, four times every year. The rider is only furnished with a machine like a shoemaker's awl, to prick on his courser if he is lazy.

As Malta is an epitome of all Europe, and an assemblage of the younger brothers, who are commonly the best of its first families, it is probably one of the best academies for politeness in this part of the globe; besides, where every one is entitled by law as well as custom, to demand satisfaction for the least breach of it, people are under the necessity of being very exact and circumspect, both with regard to their words and actions.

All the knights and commanders have much the appearance of gentlemen and men of the world. We met with no character in the extreme. The ridicules and prejudices of every particular nation are by degrees softened and worn off by the familiar intercourse and collision with each other. It is curious to observe the effect it produces upon the various people that compose this little medley. The French skip, the German strut, and the Spanish stalk, are all mingled together in such small proportions, that none of them are striking; yet every one of these nations still retain something of their original characteristic; it is only the exuberance of it that is worn off; and it is still easy to distinguish the inhabitants of the south and north side of the Pyrenees, as well as those of the east and west side of the Rhine; for though the Parisian has, in a great measure, lost his assuming air, the Spaniard his taciturnity and solemnity, the German his formality and his pride, yet still you see the German, the Frenchman, and the Spaniard—it is only the caricature, that formerly made them ridiculous, that has disappeared.

This institution, which is a strange compound of the military and ecclesiastic, has now subsisted for nearly seven hundred years, and though I believe one of the first-born, has long survived every other child

of chivalry. It possesses great riches in most of the Catholic countries of Europe, and did so in England too before the time of Henry VIII.; but that capricious tyrant did not choose that any institution, however ancient or respected, should remain in his dominions that had any doubt of his supremacy and infallibility; he therefore seized on all their possessions at the same time that he enriched himself by the plunder of the church. It was in vain for them to plead that they were rather a military than an ecclesiastic order, and by their valour had been of great service to Europe in their wars against the infidels; it was not agreeable to his system ever to hear a reason for any thing, and no person could possibly be right that was capable of supposing that the king could be wrong.

Malta, as well as Sicily, was long under the tyranny of the Saracens, from which they were both delivered about the middle of the eleventh century by the valour of the Normans, after which time the fate of Malta commonly depended on that of Sicily, till the Emperor Charles V., about the year 1530, gave it, together with the island of Gozo, to the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, who at that time had lost the island of Rhodes. In testimony of this concession, the grand master is still obliged every year to send a falcon to the King of Sicily or his viceroy, and on every new succession to swear allegiance and to receive from the hands of the Sicilian monarch the investiture of these two islands.

Ever since our arrival here the weather has been perfectly clear and serene, without a cloud in the sky; and for some time after sunset the heavens exhibit a most beautiful appearance, which I don't recollect to have observed any where else. The eastern part of the hemisphere appears of a rich deep purple, and the western is the true yellow glow of Claude Lorrain, that you used to admire so much. The weather, however, is not intolerably hot; the thermometer stands commonly betwixt 75 and 76 degrees. Adieu. We are now preparing for a long voyage, and it is not easy to say from whence I shall write you next. Ever yours.

#### RETURN TO SICILY.

*Agirgentum, June 11.*

We left the port of Malta in a saronaro which we hired to convey us to this city.

We coasted along the island, and went to take a view of the north port, its fortifications and lazaretto. All these are very great, and more like the works of a mighty and powerful people than of so small a state. The mortars cut out of the rock are a tremendous invention. There are about fifty of them near the different creeks and landing-places round the island. They are directed at the most probable spots where boats would attempt a landing. The mouths of some of these mortars are about six feet wide, and they are said to throw a hundred cantars of cannon-balls or stones. A cantar is, I think, about a hundred pounds' weight; so that if they do take effect, they must make a dreadful havoc amongst a debarkation of boats.

The distance of Malta from Gozo is not above four or five miles, and the small island of Commino lies betwixt them. The coasts of all the three are bare and barren, but covered over with towers, redoubts, and fortifications of various kinds.

As Gozo is supposed to be the celebrated island of Calypso, you may believe we expected something very fine; but we were disappointed. It must either be greatly fallen off since the time she inhabited it, or the Archbishop of Cambray, as well as Homer, must have flattered greatly in their painting. We looked as we went along the coast for the grotto of the goddess, but could see nothing that resembled it. Neither could we observe those verdant banks eternally covered with flowers, nor those lofty trees for ever in blossom, that lost their heads in the clouds, and afforded a

shade to the sacred baths of her and her nymphs. We saw, indeed, some nymphs; but as neither Calypso nor Eucharis seemed to be of the number, we paid little attention to them, and I was in no apprehension about my Telemachus; indeed, it would have required an imagination as strong as Don Quixote's to have brought about the metamorphosis.

Finding our hopes frustrated, we ordered our sailors to pull out to sea, and bade adieu to the island of Calypso, concluding either that our intelligence was false, or that both the island and its inhabitants were greatly changed. We soon found ourselves once more at the mercy of the waves; night came on, and our rowers began their evening song to the Virgin, and beat time with their oars. Their offering was acceptable, for we had the most delightful weather. We wrapt ourselves up in our cloaks, and slept most comfortably, having provided mattresses at Malta. By a little after daybreak we found we had got without sight of all the islands, and saw only part of Mount *Ætna* smoking above the waters. The wind sprung up fair, and by ten o'clock we had sight of the coast of Sicily.

On considering the smallness of our boat, and the great breadth of this passage, we could not help admiring the temerity of these people, who, at all seasons of the year, venture to Sicily in these diminutive vessels; yet it is very seldom that any accident happens, they are so perfectly acquainted with the weather, foretelling, almost to a certainty, every storm many hours before it comes on. The sailors look upon this passage as one of the most stormy and dangerous in the Mediterranean. It is called the canal of Malta, and is much dreaded by the Levant ships; but, indeed, at this season there is no danger.

We arrived at Sicily a little before sunset, and landed opposite to Ragusa, and not far from the ruins of the Little Hybla—the third town of that name in the island, distinguished by the epithets of the Great (near Mount *Ætna*), the Lesser (near Augusta), and the Little (just by Ragusa). Here we found a fine sandy beach, and while the servants were employed in dressing supper, we amused ourselves with bathing and gathering shells, of which there is a considerable variety. We were in expectation of finding the nautilus, for which this island is famous, but in this we did not succeed. However, we picked up some handsome shells, though not equal to those that are brought from the Indies.

After supper we again launched our bark and went to sea. The wind was favourable as we could wish. We had our nightly serenade as usual, and the next day, by twelve o'clock, we reached the celebrated port of Agrigentum.

The captain of the port gave us a polite reception, and insisted on accompanying us to the city, which stands near the top of a mountain, four miles distant from the harbour, and about eleven hundred feet above the level of the sea. The road on each side is bordered by a row of exceeding large American aloes, upwards of one-third of them being at present in full blow, and making the most beautiful appearance that can be imagined. The flower-stems of this noble plant are in general betwixt twenty and thirty feet high (some of them more), and are covered with flowers from top to bottom, which taper regularly, and form a beautiful kind of pyramid, the base or pedestal of which is the fine spreading leaves of the plant. As this is esteemed in northern countries one of the greatest curiosities of the vegetable tribe, we were happy at seeing it in so great perfection—much greater, I think, than I had ever seen it before.

With us, I think, it is vulgarly reckoned (though I believe falsely), that they only flower once in a hundred years. Here I was informed, that, at the latest, they always blow the sixth year, but for the most part the fifth.

As the whole substance of the plant is carried into

the stem and the flowers, the leaves begin to decay as soon as the blow is completed, and a numerous offspring of young plants are produced round the root of the old one: these are slipped off and formed into new plantations, either for hedges or for avenues to their country houses.

The city of Agrigentum, now called Girgenti, is irregular and ugly, though from a few miles distance at sea it makes a noble appearance, little inferior to that of Genoa. As it lies on the slope of the mountain, the houses do not hide one another, but every part of the city is seen.

On our arrival we found a great falling off indeed; the houses are mean, the streets dirty, crooked, and narrow. It still contains near twenty thousand people; a sad reduction from its ancient grandeur, when it was said to consist of no less than eight hundred thousand,\* being the next city to Syracuse for numbers.

The Canonico Spoto, from Mr Hamilton's letter, and from our former acquaintance with him at Naples, gave us a kind and hospitable reception. He insisted on our being his guests; and we are now in his house, comfortably lodged and elegantly entertained, which, after our crowded little apartment in the sponararo, is by no means a disagreeable change. Farewell. I shall write you again soon. Ever yours.

#### REMAINS OF AGRIGENTUM.

*Agrigentum, June 12.*

WE are just now returned from examining the antiquities of Agrigentum, the most considerable, perhaps, of any in Sicily.

The ruins of the ancient city lie about a short mile from the modern one. These, like the ruins of Syracuse, are mostly converted into corn fields, vineyards, and orchards; but the remains of the temples here are much more conspicuous than those of Syracuse. Four of these have stood pretty much in a right line, near the south wall of the city. The first they call the temple of Venus, almost one-half of which still remains. The second is that of Concord: it may be considered as entire, not one column having as yet fallen. It is precisely of the same dimensions and same architecture as that of Venus, which had probably served as the model for it. By the following inscription, found on a large piece of marble, it appears to have been built at the expense of the Lilibitani, probably after having been defeated by the people of Agrigentum:—

CONCORDIÆ AGRIGENTINORUM SACRUM,  
REPUBLICA LILIBITANORUM,  
DEDICANTIBUS M. ATTERIO CANDIDO PROCOS.  
ET L. CORNELIO MARCELLO.  
Q. P. R. P. R. †

These temples are supported by thirteen large fluted Doric columns on each side, and six at each end. All their bases, capitals, entablatures, &c., still remain entire; and as the architecture is perfectly simple, without any thing affected or studied, the whole strikes the eye at once, and pleases very much. The columns are, indeed, shorter than the common Doric proportions, and they certainly are not so elegant as some of the ancient temples near Rome and in other places in Italy.

The third temple is that of Hercules, altogether in ruins, but appears to have been of a much greater size than the former two. We measured some of the broken columns, near seven feet in diameter. It was here that the famous statue of Hercules stood, so much celebrated by Cicero, which the people of Agrigentum

\* [We are at a loss to understand how Mr Brydone should have fallen into this mistake. Diodorus says that the city, in its best days, contained 120,000 persons.]

† [The republic of the Lilibitani consecrate this edifice to the concord of the Agrigentines, the dedicators being M. Atterius Candidus the proconsul, and L. Cornelius Marcellus.]

defended with such bravery against Verres, who attempted to seize it. You will find the whole story in his pleadings against that infamous prætor.

There was likewise in this temple a famous picture by Zeuxis. Hercules was represented in his cradle killing the two serpents; Alcmena and Amphitruon having just entered the apartment, were painted with every mark of terror and astonishment. Pliny says the painter looked upon this piece as invaluable, and therefore could never be prevailed on to put a price upon it, but gave it as a present to Agrigentum, to be placed in the temple of Hercules. These two great masterpieces have been lost. We thought of them with regret whilst we trod on these venerable ruins.

Near to this lie the ruins of the temple of Jupiter Olympus, supposed by the Sicilian authors to have been the largest in the heathen world. It is now called *Il Tempio de Giganti*, or the Giant's Temple, as the people cannot conceive that such masses of rock could ever be put together by the hands of ordinary men. The fragments of columns are indeed enormous, and give us a vast idea of this fabric. It is said to have stood till the year 1100, but is now a perfect ruin. Our Cicerones assured us it was exactly the same dimensions with the church of St Peter at Rome; but in this they are egregiously mistaken, St Peter's being much greater than any thing that ever the heathen world produced.

There are the remains of many more temples, and other great works, but these, I think, are the most conspicuous. They show you that of Vulcan, of Proserpine, of Castor and Pollux, and a very remarkable one of Juno. This, too, was enriched by one of the most famous pictures of antiquity, which is celebrated by many of the ancient writers. Zeuxis was determined to excel every thing that had gone before him, and to form a model of human perfection. To this end he prevailed on all the finest women of Agrigentum, who were even ambitious of the honour, to appear naked before him. Of these he chose five for his models, and moulding all the perfections of these beauties into one, he composed the picture of the goddess. This was ever looked upon as his masterpiece, but was unfortunately burnt when the Carthaginians took Agrigentum. Many of the citizens retired into this temple as to a place of safety, but as soon as they found the gates attacked by the enemy, they agreed to set fire to it, and chose rather to perish in the flames than submit to the power of the conquerors. However, neither the destruction of the temple, nor the loss of their lives, has been so much regretted by posterity as the loss of this picture.

The temple of Æsculapius, the ruins of which are still to be seen, was not less celebrated for a statue of Apollo. It was taken from them by the Carthaginians at the same time that the temple of Juno was burnt. It was carried off by the conquerors, and continued the greatest ornament of Carthage for many years, and was at last restored by Scipio at the final destruction of that city. Some of the Sicilians allege, I believe without any ground, that it was afterwards carried to Rome, and still remains there, the wonder of all ages, known to the whole world under the name of the Apollo of Belvidere, and allowed to be the perfection of human art.

I should be very tedious were I to give you a minute description of every piece of antiquity. Indeed, little or nothing is to be learned from the greater part of them. The ancient walls of the city are mostly cut out of the rock; the catacombs and sepulchres are all very great; one of these is worthy of particular notice, because it is mentioned by Polybius as being opposite to the temple of Hercules, and to have been struck by lightning even in his time. It remains almost entire, and answers the description he gives of it; the inscriptions are so defaced that we could make nothing of them.

This is the monument of Tero, King of Agrigentum,

one of the first of the Sicilian tyrants. The great antiquity of it may be gathered from this, that Tero is not only mentioned by Diodorus, Polybius, and the later of the ancient historians, but likewise by Herodotus and Pindar, who dedicates two of his Olympic Odes to him; so that this monument must be more than two thousand years old. It is a kind of pyramid, probably one of the most durable forms.

All these mighty ruins of Agrigentum, and the whole mountain on which it stands, are composed of a concretion of sea-shells run together, and cemented by a kind of sand or gravel, and now become as hard, and perhaps more durable than even marble itself. This stone is white before it has been exposed to the air, but in the temples and other ruins, it is become of a dark brown. I shall bring home some pieces of it for the inspection of the curious. I found these shells on the very summit of the mountain, at least fourteen or fifteen hundred feet above the level of the sea. They are of the commonest kinds, cockles, mussels, oysters, &c.

The things, we know, are neither rich nor rare;  
But wonder how the devil they got there.

By what means they have been lifted up to this vast height, and so intimately mixed with the substance of the rock, I leave to you and your philosophical friends to determine. This old battered globe of ours has probably suffered many convulsions not recorded in any history. You have heard of the vast stratum of bones lately discovered in Istria and Ossero; part of it runs below rocks of marble, upwards of forty feet in thickness, and they have not yet been able to ascertain its extent; something of the same kind has been found in Dalmatia, in the islands of the Archipelago, and lately, I am told, in the rock of Gibraltar. Now, the Deluge recorded in scripture will hardly account for all the appearances of this sort to be met with, almost in every country in the world. But I am interrupted by visitors, which is a lucky circumstance both for you and me, for I was just going to be very philosophical, and consequently very dull.\* Adieu.

#### ANCIENT GREATNESS OF AGRIGENTUM.

*Agrigentum, June 13.*

THE interruption in my last was a deputation from the bishop, to invite us to a great dinner to-morrow at the port, so that we shall know whether this place still deserves the character of luxury it always held among the ancients: we have great reason to think, from the politeness and attention we have met with, that it has never lost its ancient hospitality, for which it was likewise so much celebrated.

Plato, when he visited Sicily, was so much struck with the luxury of Agrigentum, both in their houses and their tables, that a saying of his is still recorded, that they built as if they were never to die, and ate as if they had not an hour to live. It is preserved by Ælian, and is just now before me.

He tells a story by way of illustration, which shows a much greater conformity of manners than one could have expected, betwixt the young nobility among the ancients and our own at this day. He says, that after a great feast, where there was a number of young people of the first fashion, they got all so much intoxicated, that from their reeling and tumbling upon one another, they imagined they were at sea in a storm, and began to think themselves in

\* [The interruption cannot be considered as any great misfortune, as the state of knowledge on the subject in question in the days of Mr Brydone was not such as to have enabled him to pursue the speculation with any profit to a modern reader. Modern geology has shown that the formation of rocks of the kind described, and their elevation above the level of the sea, were events long antecedent to the Deluge of scripture, and entirely independent of it.]

the most imminent danger; at last they agreed, that the only way to save their lives was to lighten the ship, and with one accord began to throw the rich furniture out of the windows, to the great edification of the mob below, and did not stop till they had entirely cleared the house of it, which, from this exploit, was ever after denominated the *triremes*, or the ship. He says it was one of the principal palaces of the city, and retained this name for ever after. In Dublin, I have been told, there are more than one *triremes*; and that this frolic, which they call throwing the house out of the window, is by no means uncommon.

At the same time that Agrigentum is abused by the ancient authors for its drunkenness, it is as much celebrated for its hospitality; and I believe it will be found, that this virtue and this vice have ever had a sort of sneaking kindness for each other, and have generally gone hand in hand, both in ancient and in modern times. The Swiss, the Scots, and the Irish, who are at present the most drunken people in Europe, are likewise, in all probability, the most hospitable; whereas, in the very sober countries, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, hospitality is a virtue very little known, or indeed any other virtue except sobriety, which has been produced probably a good deal from the tyranny of their governments, and their dread of the inquisition; for where every person is in fear lest his real sentiments should appear, it would be very dangerous to unlock his heart; but in countries where there are neither civil nor ecclesiastical tyrants to lay an embargo on our thoughts, people are under no apprehension lest they should be known.

However, these are not the only reasons. The moral virtues and vices may sometimes depend on natural causes. The very elevated situation of this city, where the air is exceedingly thin and cold, has perhaps been one reason why its inhabitants are fonder of wine than their neighbours in the valleys.

The same may be said of the three nations I have mentioned, the greater part of their countries lying amongst hills and mountains, where the climate renders strong liquors more necessary, or at least less pernicious, than in low places. It is not surprising that this practice, probably begun amongst the mountains, where the air is so keen, has by degrees crept down into the valleys, and has at last become almost epidemical in those countries.

Fazzello, after railing at Agrigentum for its drunkenness, adds, that there was no town in the island so celebrated for its hospitality. He says that many of the nobles had servants placed at the gates of the city, to invite all strangers to their houses. It is in reference to this probably, that Empedocles says, that even the gates of the city proclaimed a welcome to every stranger. From our experience we are well entitled to say, that the people of Agrigentum still retain this antiquated virtue, so little known in polite countries. To-morrow we shall have a better opportunity of judging whether it is still accompanied by its sister vice.

The accounts that the old authors give of the magnificence of Agrigentum are amazing, though, indeed, there are none of them that proclaim it in stronger terms than the monuments that still remain. Diodorus says, that the great vessels for holding water were commonly of silver, and the litters and carriages for the most part were of ivory richly adorned. He mentions a pond made at an immense expense, full of fish and of water-fowl, that in his time was the great resort of the inhabitants on their festivals; but he says, that even then (in the age of Augustus) it was going to ruin, requiring too great an expense to keep it up. There is not now the smallest vestige of it; but there is still to be seen a curious spring of water that throws up a kind of oil on its surface, which is made use of by the poor people in many diseases. This is supposed to mark out the place of the celebrated pond, which is recorded by Pliny and Solinus to have abounded with this oil.

Diodorus, speaking of the riches of Agrigentum, mentions one of its citizens returning victorious from the Olympic games, and entering his city attended by three hundred chariots, each drawn by four white horses richly caparisoned; and gives many other instances of their vast profusion and luxury.

Those horses, according to that author, were esteemed all over Greece for their beauty and swiftness, and their race is celebrated by many of the ancient writers.

Ardus inde Agragas ostentat maxima longo  
Mœnia, magnanimum quondam generator equorum,  
[Then Agragas, with lofty summits crown'd,  
Long for the race of warlike steeds renown'd.]

says Virgil in the third Æneid; and Pliny acquaints us, that those which had been often victorious at the games were not only honoured with burial rites, but had magnificent monuments erected to eternise their memory. This Timæus confirms: he tells us, that he saw at Agrigentum several pyramids built as sepulchral monuments to celebrated horses: he adds, that when those animals became old and unfit for service, they were always taken care of, and spent the remainder of their lives in ease and plenty. I could wish that our countrymen would imitate the gratitude and humanity of the Sicilians in this article, at least the latter part of it. I don't know that our nation can so justly be taxed with cruelty or ingratitude in any other article as in their treatment of horses, the animal that of all others is the most entitled to our care. How piteous a thing it is, on many of your great roads, to see the finest old hunters, that were once the glory of the chase, condemned, in the decline of life, to the tyranny of the most cruel oppressors, in whose hands they suffer the most extreme misery, till they at last sink under the task that is assigned them. I am called away to see some more antiques, but shall finish this letter to-night, as the post goes off for Italy to-morrow morning.

13th, afternoon.—We have seen a great many old walls and vaults that little or nothing can be made of. They give them names, and pretend to tell you what they were, but as they bear no resemblance to those things now, it would be no less idle to trouble you with their nonsense than to believe it. We have indeed seen one thing that has amply repaid us for the trouble we have taken. It is the representation of a boar-hunt, in *alto relievo*, on white marble; and is at least equal, if not superior, to any thing of the kind I have met with in Italy. It consists of four different parts, which form the history of this remarkable chase and its consequences.

The first is the preparation for the hunt. There are twelve hunters, with each his lance, and a short hanger under his left arm of a very singular form. The dogs resemble those we call lurchers. The horses are done with great fire and spirit, and are perhaps a better proof of the excellence of the race, than even the testimony of their authors; for the artist that formed these must certainly have been accustomed to see very fine horses.

The second piece represents the chase; the third the death of the king, by a fall from his horse; and the fourth the despair of the queen and her attendants on receiving the news. She is represented as falling down in a swoon, and supported by her women, who are all in tears.

It is executed in the most masterly style, and is indeed one of the finest remains of antiquity. It is preserved in the great church, which is noted through all Sicily for a remarkable echo—something in the manner of our whispering gallery at St. Paul's, though more difficult to be accounted for. If one person stands at the west gate, and another places himself on the cornice, at the most distant point of the church, exactly behind the great altar, they can hold a conversation in very low whispers.

For many years this singularity was little known; and several of the confessing chairs being placed near the great altar, the wags who were in the secret used to take their station at the door of the cathedral, and by this means heard distinctly every word that passed betwixt the confessor and his penitent; of which, you may believe, they did not fail to make their own use when occasion offered. The most secret intrigues were discovered, and every woman in Agrigentum changed either her gallant or her confessor. Yet still it was the same. At last, however, the cause was found out, the chairs were removed, and other precautions were taken, to prevent the discovery of these sacred mysteries, and a mutual amnesty passed amongst all the offended parties.

Agrigentum, like Syracuse, was long subject to the yoke of tyrants. Fazzello gives some account of their cruelty, but I have no intention of repeating it; one story, however, pleased me; it is a well-known one, but as it is short you shall have it.

Perillo, a goldsmith, by way of paying court to Phalaris the tyrant, made him a present of a brazen bull, of admirable workmanship, hollow within, and so contrived that the voice of a person shut up in it sounded exactly like the bellowing of a real bull. The artist pointed out to the tyrant what an admirable effect this must produce, were he only to shut up a few criminals in it and make a fire under them.

Phalaris, struck with so horrid an idea, and perhaps curious to try the experiment, told the goldsmith that he himself was the only person worthy of animating his bull; that he must have studied the note that made it roar to the greatest advantage, and that it would be unjust to deprive him of any part of the honour of his invention. Upon which he ordered the goldsmith to be shut up, and made a great fire around the bull, which immediately began to roar, to the admiration and delight of all Agrigentum. Cicero says, this bull was carried to Carthage at the taking of Agrigentum, and was restored again by Scipio after the destruction of that city.

Fazzello adds another story, which is still more to the honour of Phalaris. Two friends, Melanippus and Cariton, had conspired his death. Cariton, in hopes of saving his friend from the danger of the enterprise, determined to execute it alone. However, in his attempt to poniard the tyrant, he was seized by the guards, and immediately put to the torture to make him confess his accomplice: this he bore with the utmost fortitude, refusing to make the discovery; till Melanippus, informed of the situation of his friend, ran to the tyrant, assuring him that he alone was the guilty person, that it was entirely by his instigation that Cariton had acted; and begged that he might be put on the rack in the place of his friend. Phalaris, struck with such heroism, pardoned them both.

Notwithstanding this generous action, he was in many respects a barbarous tyrant. Fazzello gives the following account of his death, with which I shall conclude this letter, for I am monstrosly tired, and I dare say so are you. Zeno, the philosopher, came to Agrigentum, and being admitted into the presence of the tyrant, advised him, for his own comfort as well as that of his subjects, to resign his power and to lead a private life. Phalaris did not relish these philosophical sentiments, and, suspecting Zeno to be in a conspiracy with some of his subjects, ordered him to be put to the torture in presence of the citizens of Agrigentum.

Zeno immediately began to reproach them with cowardice and pusillanimity in submitting tamely to the yoke of so worthless a tyrant, and in a short time raised such a flame, that they defeated the guards and stoned Phalaris to death. I dare say you are glad they did it so quickly. Well, I shall not write such long letters for the future: for, I assure you, it is at least as troublesome to the writer as the reader. Adieu. We shall sail to-morrow or next morning for Trapani,

from whence you may expect to hear from me. We are now going out to examine more antique walls, but I shall not trouble you with them. Farewell.

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SICILIAN EPICURES.—JOURNEY TO PALERMO.—  
SPANISH TYRANNY.

June 16.

WHEN I have nothing else to do, I generally take up the pen. We are now on the top of a high mountain, about half way betwixt Agrigentum and Palermo. Our sea expedition by Trapani has failed, and we are determined to put no more confidence in that element, happy beyond measure to find ourselves at a distance from it, though in the most wretched of villages. We have travelled all night on mules, and arrived here about ten o'clock, overcome with sleep and fatigue. We have just had an excellent dish of tea, which never fails to cure me of both, and I am now as fresh as when we set out. It has not had the same effect on my companions; they have thrown themselves down on a vile straw bed in the corner of the hovel, and in spite of a parcel of starved chickens, that are fluttering about and picking the straws all round them, they are already fast asleep.

I shall seize that time to recapitulate what has happened since my last.

The day after I wrote you, we made some little excursions round Agrigentum. The country is delightful, producing corn, wine, and oil, in the greatest abundance; the fields are at the same time covered with a variety of the finest fruits, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, almonds, pistachio-nuts, &c. These afforded us almost as agreeable an entertainment as the consideration of the ruins from whence they spring.

We dined with the bishop, according to agreement, and rose from table convinced that the ancient Agrigentini could not possibly understand the true luxury of eating better than their descendants, to whom they have transmitted a very competent portion both of their social virtues and vices. I beg their pardon for calling them vices, I wish I had a softer name for it; it looks like ingratitude for their hospitality, for which we owe them so much.

We were just thirty at table, but, upon my word, I do not think we had less than a hundred dishes of meat. These were dressed with the richest and most delicate sauces, and convinced us that the old Roman proverb of "*Siculus coquus, et Sicula mensa*" [a Sicilian cook, and a Sicilian table] was not more applicable in their time than it is at present. Nothing was wanting that could be invented to stimulate and to flatter the palate, and to create a false appetite as well as to satisfy it. Some of the very dishes so much relished by the Roman epicures made a part of the feast, particularly the *morene*, which is so often mentioned by their authors. It is a species of eel, found only in this part of the Mediterranean, and sent from hence to several of the courts of Europe. It is not so fat and luscious as other eels, so that you can eat a good deal more of it; its flesh is as white as snow, and is indeed a very great delicacy. But a modern refinement in luxury has, I think, still produced a greater: by a particular kind of management they make the livers of their fowls grow to a large size, and at the same time acquire a high and rich flavour. It is indeed a most incomparable dish; but the means of procuring it is so cruel, that I will not even trust it with you. Perhaps, without any bad intention, you might mention it to some of your friends, they to others, till at last it might come into the hands of those that would be glad to try the experiment, and the whole race of poultry might ever have reason to curse me; let it suffice to say, that it occasions a painful and lingering death to the poor animal: that I



know is enough to make you wish never to taste of it, whatever effect it may have upon others.

The Sicilians ate of every thing, and attempted to make us do the same. The company was remarkably merry, and did by no means belie their ancient character, for most of them were more than half-seas over long before we rose from table; and I was somewhat apprehensive of a second edition of the triceus scene, as they were beginning to reel exceedingly. By the bye, I do not doubt but that phrase of *half-seas over* may have taken its origin from some such story. They begged us to make a bowl of punch, a liquor they had often heard of, but had never seen. The materials were immediately found, and we succeeded so well, that they preferred it to all the wines on the table, of which they had a great variety. We were obliged to replenish the bowl so often, that I really expected to see most of them under the table. They called it *Pontio*, and spoke loudly in its praise, declaring that *Pontio* (alluding to Pontius Pilate) was a much better fellow than they had ever taken him for. However, after dinner, one of them, a reverend canon, grew excessively sick, and while he was throwing up, he turned to me with a rueful countenance, and shaking his head, he groaned out, "*Ah, signor capitano, sapeva sempre che Pontio era un grande traditore*"—[I always knew that Pontius was a great traitor.] Another of them, overhearing him, exclaimed, "*Aspettatevi, signor canonico. Niente al pregiudizio di Signor Pontio, vi prego. Ricordate, che Pontio v'ha fatto un canonico, et Pontio ha fatto sua eccellenza uno vescovo. Non scordatevi mai di vostri amici?*"—[Not so fast, my good canon. Nothing to the prejudice of Signor Pontius, if you please. Remember, Pontius made you a canon, and Pontius also made his excellency a bishop. Never forget your friends.]

Now, what do you think of these reverend fathers of the church?—their merit, you will easily perceive, does not consist in fasting and prayer. Their creed, they say, they have a good deal modernised, and it is much simpler than that of Athanasius. One of them told me, that if we would but stay with them for some little time, we should soon be convinced that they were the happiest fellows on earth. "We have exploded," said he, "from our system every thing that is dismal or melancholy, and are persuaded that, of all the roads in the universe, the road to heaven must be the pleasantest and least gloomy; if it be not so," added he, "God have mercy upon us, for I am afraid we shall never get there." I told him I could not flatter him—"that if laughing was really a sin, as some people taught, they were certainly the greatest of all sinners." "Well," said he, "we shall at least endeavour to be happy here, and that, I am persuaded, is the best of all preparations for happiness hereafter. Abstinence from all innocent and lawful pleasures we reckon one of the greatest sins, and guard against it with the utmost care; and I am pretty sure it is a sin that none of us here will ever be damned for." He concluded by repeating two lines, which he told me was their favourite maxim, the meaning of which was exactly the same as those of Mr Pope—

For God is paid when man receives;  
To enjoy is to obey.

This is not the first time I have met with this libertine spirit amongst the Roman Catholic clergy. There is so much nonsense and mummery in their worship, that they are afraid lest strangers should believe they are serious, and perhaps too often fly to the opposite extreme.

We were, however, much pleased with the bishop; he is greatly and deservedly respected, yet his presence did nowise diminish, but rather increased the jollity of the company. He entered into every joke, joined in the repartee, at which he is a great proficient, and entirely laid aside his episcopal dignity, which, however, I am told, he knows very well how

to assume when it is necessary. He placed us next to himself, and behaved, indeed, in every respect with the greatest ease and politeness. He belongs to one of the first families of the island, and is brother to the Prince of ——. I had his whole pedigree pat, but now I have lost it; no matter, he is an honest, pleasant little fellow; and that is of much more consequence. He is not yet forty; and so high a promotion, in so early a period of life, is reckoned very extraordinary, this being the richest bishopric in the kingdom. He is a good scholar, and very deeply read, both in ancient and modern learning, and his genius is in no degree inferior to his erudition. The similarity of character and circumstances struck me so strongly, that I could scarce help thinking I had got beside our worthy and respectable friend the Bishop of D——y,\* which, I assure you, still added greatly to the pleasure I had in his company. I told the bishop of this, adding, that he was brother to Lord B——I; he seemed much pleased, and said, he had often heard of the family, both when Lord B——I was ambassador in Spain, and his other brother commander in the Mediterranean.†

We found in this company a number of freemasons, who were delighted beyond measure when they discovered that we were their brethren. They pressed us to spend a few more days amongst them, and offered us letters to Palermo, and every other town we should think of visiting; but the heats are increasing so violently, that we were afraid of prolonging our expedition, lest we should be caught by the sirocco winds, supposed to blow from the burning deserts of Africa, and sometimes attended with dangerous consequences to those that travel over Sicily.

But I find I have omitted several circumstances of our dinner. I should have told you, that it was an annual feast given by the nobility of Agrigentum to the bishop. It was served in an immense granary, half full of wheat, on the sea-shore, chosen on purpose to avoid the heat. The whole was on plate; and what appeared singular to us, but I believe is a much better method than ours, great part of the fruit was served up with the second course, the first dish of which that went round was strawberries. The Sicilians were a good deal surprised to see us eat them with cream and sugar, yet upon trial they did not at all dislike the composition.

The dessert consisted of a great variety of fruits, and a still greater of ices; these were so disguised in the shape of peaches, figs, oranges, nuts, &c., that a person unaccustomed to ices might very easily have been taken in, as an honest sea-officer was lately at the house of a certain minister of your acquaintance, not less distinguished for the elegance of his table than the exact formality and subordination to be observed at it. After the second course was removed, and the ices, in the shape of various fruits and sweetmeats, advanced by way of rearguard, one of the servants carried the figure of a fine large peach to the captain, who, unacquainted with deceit of any kind, never doubted that it was a real one, and cutting it through the middle, in a moment had one large half of it in his mouth. At first he only looked grave, and blew up his cheeks to give it more room; but the violence of the cold soon getting the better of his patience, he began to tumble it about from side to side in his mouth, his eyes rushing out of water, till

\* [Lord Frederick Hervey, Bishop of Derry from 1768 to 1803. He succeeded his brother as Earl of Bristol in 1779.]

† [George William, second Earl of Bristol, was ambassador at the Spanish court when the famous family compact was entered into between the French and Spanish monarchs, on which event he left Madrid without taking leave, and war was proclaimed against Spain a month afterwards. Dying in 1775, he was succeeded by his next brother, Augustus John, the naval officer alluded to in the text; on whose death in 1779, the Bishop of Derry inherited the title. All these three noblemen were sons of the gay and witty Lord Hervey, celebrated in the verse of Pope and the prose of Walpole.]

at last, able to hold no longer, he spit it out upon his plate, exclaiming with a horrid oath, "As I live, a painted snowball!" and wiping away his tears with his napkin, he turned in a rage to the Italian servant that had helped him, with a "Confound you, you macaroni rascal, what did you mean by that?" The fellow, who did not understand a word, could not forbear smiling, which still farther convinced the captain that it was a trick; and he was just going to throw the rest of the snowball in his face, but was prevented by one of the company; when recovering from his passion, and thinking the object unworthy of it, he only added in a softer tone, "Very well, neighbour, I only wish I had you on board ship for half an hour—you should have a dozen before you could say Jack Robinson, for all your painted cheeks."

I ask pardon for this digression, but as it is a good laughable story, I know you will excuse it. About six o'clock, we took a cordial leave of our jolly friends at Agrigentum, and embarked on board our sponararo at the new port. I should have told you, that this harbour has lately been made at a very great expense, this city having always been one of the principal ports of the island for the exportation of grain. The bishop and his company went into a large barge, and sailed round the harbour; we saluted them as we went out, they returned the compliment, and we took a second leave. The evening was fine, and we coasted along for a good many miles; we passed several points and little promontories, that were exceedingly beautiful and picturesque; many of them were covered with noble large aloes in full blow. In one place, I counted upwards of two hundred of those fine majestic plants all in flower—a sight which I imagined was hardly to be met with in the world. After sunset—alas! fain would I conceal what happened after sunset—but life, you know, is chequered with good and evil, and it would have been great presumption to receive so much of the one, without expecting a little dash of the other too. Besides, a sea expedition is nothing without a storm. Our journal would never have been readable had it not been for this. Well, I assure you, we had it. It was not indeed so violent as the great one off Louisburg, or perhaps even that described by Virgil, the reading of which is said to have made people sea-sick, but it was rather too much for our little bark. I was going to tell you, that after sunset the sky began to overcast, and in a short time the whole atmosphere appeared fiery and threatening. We attempted to get into some creek, but could find none. The wind grew loud, and we found it was in vain to proceed; but as the night was dark and hazy, we were dubious about the possibility of reaching the port of Agrigentum. However, this was all we had for it, as there were none other within many miles. Accordingly, we tacked about, and plying both oars and sail, with great care not to come amongst the rocks and breakers, in about two hours we spied the lighthouse, by which we directed our course, and got safely into port betwixt one and two in the morning: we lay down on our mattress, and slept sound till ten, when finding the falsity of our hypothesis, that there could be no bad weather in the Mediterranean at this season, we unanimously agreed to have nothing more to do with sponararos, and sent immediately to engage mules to carry us over the mountains to Palermo. The storm continued with violence the whole day, and made us often thank Heaven we had got safely back. It was not till five in the afternoon that we had mules, guides, and guards provided us, when we set off pretty much in the same order, and with the same equipage, as we had done about three weeks ago from Messina. Our guards attempted to fill us with the most dreadful apprehensions of this road, showing us every mile where such a one was robbed, such another was murdered, and entertained us with such melancholy ditties the greater part of the way. Indeed, if one-half of their stories be true, it is certainly the most dangerous

road in the world; but I looked upon most of them as fictions, invented only to increase their own consequence and to procure a little more money. There is, indeed, some foundation for these stories, as there are numbers of gibbets erected on the road *in terrorem*; and every little baron has the power of life and death in his own domain. Our bishop's brother, whose name I have forgot, seized lately four-and-twenty of those desperate banditti, after a stout resistance, where several were killed on both sides; and notwithstanding that some of them were under the protection of the nobility, and in their service, they were all hanged. However, this has by no means rooted them out. Our guards, in the suspicious places, went with their pieces cocked, and kept a close lookout to either side of them; but we saw nothing to alarm us, except the most dreadful roads in the world, in many places worse than any thing I ever met with amongst the Alps.

After travelling about twenty miles, we arrived by two in the morning at the most wretched—I don't know what to call it—there was not any one thing to be had but a little straw for the mules. However, after a good deal of difficulty, we at last got fire enough to boil our tea-kettle, and having brought bread from Agrigentum, we made an excellent meal. Our tea-table was a round stone in the field, and as the moon shone bright, we had no occasion for any other luminary. You may believe our stay here was as short as possible; the house was too dreadfully nasty to enter it, and the stable was full of poor wretches sleeping on the bare ground. In short, I never saw in any country so miserable an inn, for so it is styled. We mounted our cavalry with all expedition, and in a very short time got into the woods, where we were serenaded by the nightingale as we went along, who made us a full apology and atonement for the bad cheer we had met with. In a short time it was day, and then we had entertainment enough from the varied scenes of the most beautiful, wild, and romantic country in the world. The fertility of many of the plains is truly astonishing, without enclosures, without manure, and almost without culture. It is with reason that this island was styled, "*Romani imperii horreum*"—(the granary of the Roman empire). Were it cultivated, it would still be the great granary of Europe. Pliny says it yielded a hundred after one; and Diodorus, who was a native of the island and wrote on the spot, assures us that it produced wheat and other grain spontaneously; and Homer advances the same fact in the *Odyssey*:

The soil untill'd, a ready harvest yields,  
With wheat and barley wave the golden fields;  
Spontaneous wines from weighty clusters pour,  
And Jove descends in each prolific shower.

Many of the mountains seemed to be formed by subterraneous fire; several of them retain their conical figure and their craters, but not so exact as those on Mount *Ætna*, as they are probably much older. I likewise observed many pieces of lava on the road and in the beds of the torrents, and a good deal of the stone called *tufa*, which is certainly the production of a volcano;\* so that I have no doubt that a great part of this island, as well as the neighbouring ones of Lipari, &c., has been originally formed by subterraneous fire: we likewise passed some quarries of a kind of talc, and also of a coarse alabaster; of this they make a sort of stucco or plaster, resembling that of Paris; but, what I much regretted, we missed seeing the famous salt of Agrigentum, found in the earth about four or five miles from that city. It has this remarkable property, different from all other salt, that in the fire it presently melts; but in the water it cracks

\* [Mr Brydone perhaps means *tuff*, a kind of rock formed of scorie, sand, and ashes, washed down into a hollow, and there agglutinated. *Tufa* is a rock formed by the deposition of lime from water.]

and splits, but never dissolves. It is celebrated by Pliny, Aristotle, and others of the ancient as well as modern naturalists. Fazzello, whom I have brought along with me to read by the road, says he has often experienced this: he adds, from the authority of these ancient authors, that they formerly had mines of this salt so pure and solid, that the statuaries and sculptors preferred it to marble, and made various works of it.

The poor people of the village have found us out, and with looks full of misery have surrounded our door. Accursed tyranny, what despicable objects we become in thy hands! Is it not inconceivable how any government should be able to render poor and wretched a country which produces almost spontaneously every thing that even luxury can desire? But, alas! poverty and wretchedness have ever attended the Spanish yoke, both on this and on the other side of the globe. They make it their boast that the sun never sets on their dominions, but forget that since they became such, they have left him nothing to see in his course but deserted fields, barren wildernesses, oppressed peasants, and lazy, lying, lecherous monks. Such are the fruits of their boasted conquests. They ought rather to be ashamed that ever the sun should see them at all. The sight of these poor people has filled me with indignation. This village is surrounded by the finest country in the world, yet there was neither bread nor wine to be found in it, and the poor inhabitants appear more than half starved.

'Mongst Ceres' richest gifts with want oppress'd,  
And 'midst the flowing vineyard, die of thirst.

I shall now think of concluding, as I do not recollect that I have much more to say to you: besides, I find myself exceedingly sleepy. I sincerely wish it may not be the same case with you before you have read thus far. We have ordered our mules to be ready by five o'clock, and shall again travel all night—the heats are too great to allow of it by day. Adieu. These two fellows are still sound asleep. In a few minutes, I shall be so too, for the pen is almost dropping out of my hand. Farewell.

#### PALERMO.—A FRENCH LANDLADY.

*Palermo, June 19.*

We are now arrived at the great capital of Sicily, which, in our opinion, in beauty and elegance is greatly superior to Naples. It is not, indeed, so large; but the regularity, the uniformity, and neatness of its streets and buildings, render it much more pleasing; it is full of people, who have mostly an air of affluence and gaiety. And, indeed, we seem to have got into a new world. But stop—not so fast. I had forgot that you have still fifty miles to travel on a cursed stubborn mule, over rocks and precipices; for I can see no reason why we should bring you at once into all the sweets of Palermo, without bearing at least some little part in the fatigues of the journey. Come, we shall make them as short as possible.

We left you, I think, in a little village on the top of a high mountain. We should indeed use you very ill were we to leave you there any longer, for I own it is the very worst country quarters that ever fell to my lot. However, we got a good comfortable sleep in it, the only one thing it afforded us; and the fleas, the bugs, and chickens, did all that lay in their power even to deprive us of that, but we defied them. Our two leaders came to awake us before five, apostrophising their entry with a detail of the horrid robberies and murders that had been committed in the neighbourhood, all of them, you may be sure, on the very road that we were to go.

Our whole squadron was drawn out, and we were ranged in order of battle by five o'clock, when we began our march, attended by the whole village, man,

woman, and child. We soon got down amongst the woods, and endeavoured to forget the objects of misery we had left behind us. The beauty and richness of the country increased in proportion as we advanced. The mountains, although of a great height (that we have left is near four thousand feet, the mercury standing at 26 inches 2 lines), are covered to the very summit with the richest pasture. The grass in the valleys is already burnt up, so that the flocks are all upon the mountains. The gradual separation of heat and cold is very visible in taking a view of them. The valleys are brown and scorched, and so are the mountains to a considerable height; they then begin to take a shade of green, which grows deeper and deeper, and covers the whole upper region: however, on the summit, the grass and corn are by no means so luxuriant as about the middle. We were amazed at the richness of the crops, far superior to any thing I had ever seen either in England or Flanders, where the happy soil is assisted by all the arts of cultivation, whilst here the wretched husbandman can hardly afford to give it a furrow, and gathers in with a heavy heart the most luxuriant harvest. To what purpose is it given him? Only to lie a dead weight upon his hand, sometimes till it is entirely lost—exportation being prohibited to all such as cannot pay exorbitantly for it to the sovereign. What a contrast is there betwixt this and the little uncouth country of Switzerland! To be sure, the dreadful consequences of oppression can never be set in a more striking opposition to the blessings and charms of liberty. Switzerland, the very excrescence of Europe, where nature seems to have thrown out all her cold and stagnating humours—full of lakes, marshes, and woods, and surrounded by immense rocks and everlasting mountains of ice, the barren but sacred ramparts of liberty—Switzerland, enjoying every blessing, where every blessing seems to have been denied, whilst Sicily, covered by the most luxuriant productions of nature, where Heaven seems to have showered down its richest blessings with the utmost prodigality, groans under the most abject poverty, and, with a pale and wan visage, starves in the midst of plenty. It is Liberty alone that works this standing miracle. Under her plastic hands the mountains sink, the lakes are drained; and these rocks, these marshes, these woods, become so many sources of wealth and of pleasure. But what has temperance to do with wealth?

Here reigns Content  
And Nature's child, Simplicity; long since  
Exiled from polish'd realms.  
'Tis Industry supplies  
The little Temperance wants; and rosy Health  
Sits smiling at the board.

You will begin to think I am in danger of turning poetical in these classic fields: I am sure I neither suspected any of the mountains we have passed to be Parnassus, nor did I believe any one of the Nine foolish enough to inhabit them, except Melpomene perhaps, as she is so fond of tragical faces. However, I shall now get you out of them as soon as possible, and bring you once more into the gay world. I assure you I have often wished that you could have lent me your muse on this expedition; my letters would then have been more worth the reading: but you must take the will for the deed.

After travelling till about midnight, we arrived at another miserable village, where we slept for some hours on straw, and continued our journey again by daybreak. We had the pleasure of seeing the rising sun from the top of a pretty high mountain, and were delighted with the prospect of Strombolo, and the other Lipari islands, at a great distance from us. On our descent from this mountain, we found ourselves on the banks of the sea, and took that road, preferable to an inland one, although several miles nearer. We soon alighted from our mules, and plunged into the water, which has ever made one of our greatest pleasures in this expedition; nobody that has not tried it

can conceive the delight of this, after the fatigue of such a journey, and passing three days without undressing. Your friend Fullarton, though only seventeen, but whose mind and body now equally despise every fatigue, found himself strong as a lion, and fit to begin such another march. We boiled our tea-kettle under a fig-tree, and ate a breakfast that might have served a company of strolling players.

The approach to Palermo is fine. The alleys are planted with fruit-trees, and large American aloes in full blow. Near the city we passed a place of execution, where the quarters of a number of robbers were hung up upon hooks, like so many hams; some of them appeared newly executed, and made a very unsightly figure. On our arrival, we learned that a priest and three others had been taken a few days ago, after an obstinate defence, in which several were killed on both sides: the priest, rather than submit to his conquerors, plunged his hanger into his breast, and died on the spot; the rest submitted, and were executed.

As there is but one inn in Palermo, we were obliged to agree to their own terms (five ducats a-day). We are but indifferently lodged; however, it is the only inn we have yet seen in Sicily, and, indeed, may be said to be the only one in the island. It is kept by a noisy, troublesome Frenchwoman, who, I find, will plague us: there is no keeping her out of our rooms, and she never comes in without telling us of such a prince and such a duke, that were so superlatively happy at being lodged in her house; we can easily learn that they were all desperately in love with her; and, indeed, she seems to take it very much amiss that we are not inclined to be of the same sentiments. I have already been obliged to tell her that we are very retired sort of people, and do not like company; I find she does not esteem us the better for it; and this morning (as I passed through the kitchen without speaking to her) I overheard her exclaim, "*Ah, mon Dieu! comme ces Anglois sont sauvages*"—[Good Heaven! what savages these Englishmen are]. I believe we must take more notice of her, otherwise we shall certainly have our rent raised; but she is as fat as a pig and as ugly as the devil, and lays on a quantity of paint on each of her swelled cheeks, that looks like a great plaster of red morocco. Her picture is hanging in the room where I am now writing, as well as that of her husband, who, by the bye, is a ninny; they are no less vile curiosities than the originals. He is drawn with his snuff-box open in one hand, and a dish of coffee in the other; and at the same time does the amiable to the lady. I took notice of this triple occupation, which seemed to imply something particular. She told me that the thought was hers; that her husband was exceedingly fond of snuff and of coffee, and wanted by this to show that he was still more occupied with her than with either of them. I could not help applauding the ingenuity of the conceit. Madame is painted with an immense bouquet in her breast, and an orange in her right hand, emblematic of her sweetness and purity; and has the prettiest little smirk on her face you can imagine. She told me that she insisted on the painter drawing her "*avec le souris sur le visage*"—[with a smile upon the countenance]; but as he had not *esprit* [genius] enough to make her smile naturally, she was obliged to force one, "*qui n'étoit pas tout-à-fait si jolie que le naturel, mais qui vaudroit toujours mieux que de paraître sombre*"—[which was not quite so fine as the natural; but was nevertheless better than appearing gloomy]. I agreed with her perfectly, and assured her it became her very much; "*parceque les dames grasses sont toujours de bonne humeur*"—[because fat ladies are always good-humoured]. I found, however, that she would willingly have excused me the latter part of the compliment, which more than lost all that I had gained by the former. "*Il est vrai*" said she, a good deal piqued, "*j'ai un peu de l'embonpoint, mais pas tant grasse pourtant*"—[It is true that I am a little stout, but not

fat by any means]. I pretended to excuse myself, from not understanding all the fineness of the language; and assured her that *de l'embonpoint* was the very phrase I meant to make use of. She accepted the apology, and we are again reconciled; for, to give the devil his due, they are good-humoured. She made me a courtesy, and repeated, "*Oui, monsieur, pour parler comme il faut, il faut dire de l'embonpoint. On ne dit pas grasse*"—[Yes, sir, to speak properly, you ought to say *stout*. Nobody uses the word fat]. I assured her, bowing to the ground, that the word should for ever be erased from my vocabulary. She left me with a gracious smile, and a courtesy much lower than the first, adding, "*Je sçavois bien que monsieur étoit un homme comme il faut*"—[I knew that monsieur was quite a gentleman after all]; at the same time tripping off on her tiptoes, as light as a feather, to show me how much I had been mistaken. This woman made me recollect (what I have always observed) how little the manners of the French are to be changed by their connexion with other nations; allowing none to be in any degree worthy of imitation but their own. Although she has now been here these twenty years, she is still as perfectly French as if she had never been without the gates of Paris; and looks upon every woman in Palermo with the utmost contentment, because they have never seen that capital, nor heard the sublime music of its opera. She is likewise (allowing for the difference of rank) an admirable epitome of all Frenchwomen, whose universal passion has ever been the desire of admiration and of appearing young, and ever would be, I believe, were they to live to the age of a thousand. Any person that will take a look of the withered death's heads in their public places, covered over with a thick mask of paint, will be convinced of this. Now, our old ladies, when they get to the wrong side of sixty, generally take a jump up to the borders of fourscore, and appear no less vain of their years than ever they were of their youth. I know some of them, that I am sure are not less happy nor less contented, nor (I might almost add) less admired with their wrinkles than ever they were with their dimples. I do not know whether a cheerful old woman, who is willing to appear so, is more respectable or more estimable; or a withered witch, who fills up every wrinkle with varnish, and at fourscore attempts to give herself the bloom of four-and-twenty, is ridiculous and contemptible: but as dinner is on the table, I shall leave it to you to determine. Adieu.

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#### THE MARINO.—CONVERSAZIONES.

Palermo, June 23.

I SHALL have a great deal to write you about this city; we are every day more delighted with it, and shall leave it with much regret. We have now delivered our letters, in consequence of which we are loaded with civilities, and have got into a very agreeable set of acquaintance. But I shall first attempt to give you some little idea of the town, and then speak of its inhabitants. It is by much the most regular I have seen, and is built upon that plan which I think all large cities ought to follow. The two great streets intersect each other in the centre of the city, where they form a handsome square, called the Ottangolo, adorned with elegant uniform buildings. From the centre of this square you see the whole of these noble streets and the four great gates of the city which terminate them, the symmetry and beauty of which produce a fine effect. The whole of these are to be magnificently illuminated some time next month, and must certainly be the finest sight in the world. The four gates are each at the distance of about half a mile (the diameter of the city being no more than a mile); these are elegant pieces of architecture richly adorned,

particularly the Porta Nova and Porta Felice, terminating the great street called the Corso, that runs south-west and north-east. The lesser streets in general run parallel to these great ones, so that from every part of the city, in a few minutes' walking, you are sure to arrive at one of the capital streets. The Porta Felice (by much the handsomest of these gates) opens to the Marino, a delightful walk, which constitutes one of the great pleasures of the nobility of Palermo. It is bounded on one side by the wall of the city, and on the other by the sea, from whence, even at this scorching season, there is always an agreeable breeze. In the centre of the Marino they have lately erected an elegant kind of temple, which during the summer months is made use of as an orchestra for music; and as in this season they are obliged to convert the night into day, the concert does not begin till the clock strikes midnight, which is the signal for the symphony to strike up; at that time the walk is crowded with carriages and people on foot; and the better to favour pleasure and intrigue, there is an order that no person, of whatever quality, shall presume to carry a light with him. The flambeaux are extinguished at the Porta Felice, where the servants wait for the return of the carriages; and the company generally continue an hour or two together in utter darkness, except when the intruding moon, with her horns and her chastity, comes to disturb them. The concert finishes about two in the morning, when, for the most part, every husband goes home to his own wife. This is an admirable institution, and never produces any scandal; no husband is such a brute as to deny his wife the Marino; and the ladies are so cautious and circumspect on their side, that the better to avoid giving offence, they very often put on masks.

Their other amusements consist chiefly in their *conversazioni*, of which they have a variety every night. There is one general one, supported by the subscription of the nobility, which is open every evening at sunset, and continues till midnight, when the Marino begins. It better deserves the name of a conversation than any I have seen in Italy; for here the people really come to converse, whereas in Italy they only go to play at cards and eat ices. I have observed that seldom or never one-half of the company is engaged in play, nor do they either play long or deep. There are a number of apartments belonging to this conversation illuminated with wax-lights, and kept exceedingly cool and agreeable; and it is indeed altogether one of the most sensible and comfortable institutions I have seen. Besides this, there are generally a number of particular conversations every night; and what will a good deal surprise you, these are always held in the apartments of the lying-in ladies, for in this happy climate child-bearing is divested of all its terrors, and is only considered as a party of pleasure. This circumstance we were ignorant of till the other morning. The Duke of Verdura, who does us the honours of the place with great attention and politeness, came to tell us we had a visit to make that was indispensable. "The Princess Paterno," said he, "was brought to bed last night, and it is absolutely incumbent on you to pay your respects to her this evening." At first I thought he was in joke, but he assured me he was serious, and that it would be looked upon as a great unpoliteness to neglect it. Accordingly we went about sunset, and found the princess sitting up in her bed, in an elegant undress, with a number of her friends around her. She talked as usual, and seemed to be perfectly well. This conversation is repeated every night during her convalescence, which generally lasts for about eleven or twelve days. This custom is universal; and as the ladies here are pretty frequently confined, there are for the most part three or four of these assemblies going on in the city at the same time.

The Sicilian ladies marry at thirteen or fourteen, and are sometimes grandmothers before they are thirty. The Count Stetela presented us a few days

ago to his cousin, the Princess Partana, who he told us had a great number of children, the eldest of whom was a very fine girl of fifteen. We talked to the princess for half an hour, not in the least doubting all the time that she was the daughter, till at last the young lady came in, and even then it was not easy to say which appeared the handsomest or the youngest. This lady has had twelve children, and is still in her bloom; she assured me that she never enjoyed more perfect health than when she was in childbed; that during the time of her pregnancy she was often indisposed, but that immediately on delivery she was cured of all her complaints, and was capable of enjoying the company of her friends even more than at any other time. I expressed my surprise at this very singular happiness of their climate or constitutions; but she appeared still more surprised when I told her that we lost many of our finest women in childbed, and that even the most fortunate and easy deliveries were attended with violent pain and anguish. She lamented the fate of our ladies, and thanked Heaven that she was born a Sicilian.

What this singularity is owing to, let the learned determine; but it is surely one of the capital blessings of these climates, where the curse that was laid upon Mother Eve seems to be entirely taken off. I don't know how the ladies here have deserved this exemption, as they have at least as much both of Eve and the serpent as ours have, and still retain their appetite as strong as ever for forbidden fruit. It seems hard, that in our own country, and in Switzerland, where the women in general are the chastest in Europe, that this curse should fall the heaviest: it is probably owing to the climate. In cold, but more particularly in mountainous countries, births are difficult and dangerous; in warm and low places they are more easy: the air of the first hardens and contracts the fibres, that of the second softens and relaxes them. In some places in Switzerland, and amongst the Alps, they lose almost one-half of their women in childbed; and those that can afford it often go down to the low countries some weeks before they lie in, and find their deliveries much easier. One may easily conceive what a change it must make upon the whole frame, to add the pressure of a column of air of two or three thousand feet more than it is accustomed to; and if muscular motion is performed by the pressure of the atmosphere, as some have alleged, how much must this add to the action of every muscle! However, if this hypothesis were true, our strength should have been diminished one-third on the top of *Ætna*—which did not appear to be the case—as we had passed through one-third of the quantity of air of the whole atmosphere. I have often thought that physicians pay too little attention to these considerations, and that in skilful hands they might be turned to great account in the cure of many diseases: they only send their patients to such a degree of latitude, but never think of the degree of altitude in the atmosphere. Thus, people with the same complaints are sent to Aix and to Marseilles, although the air in these two places must be essentially different. Marseilles is on the level of the sea, and Aix (as I myself measured it) is near six hundred feet above it. Now, I am persuaded that in such a country as Switzerland, or on such a mountain as *Ætna*, where it is easy at all times to take off a pressure from the human body of many thousand pounds weight, that an ingenious physician might make great discoveries; nor indeed would these discoveries be confined to the changing of the quantity of air that presses on the body, but would likewise be extended to the changing of the quality of the air we breathe, which on the side of *Ætna*, or any very high mountain, is more varied than in travelling through fifty degrees of latitude. I beg pardon for this digression; the only amends I can make is to put it out of my power to trouble you with any more, and thus abruptly assure you how much, &c.

## MANNERS OF THE SICILIANS.

Palermo, June 26.

Our fondness for Palermo increases every day, and we are beginning to look forward with regret to the time of our leaving it, which is now fast approaching. We have made acquaintance with many sensible and agreeable people. The Sicilians appear frank and sincere, and their politeness does not consist in show and grimace, like some of the polite nations of the continent. The viceroy sets the pattern of hospitality, and he is followed by the rest of the nobles. He is an amiable, agreeable man, and I believe is as much beloved and esteemed as a viceroy to an absolute monarch can be. He was in England in his youth, and is still fond of many of our authors, with whom he seems to be intimately acquainted; he speaks the language tolerably well, and encourages the learning of it amongst his people. He may be considered with regard to Naples as what the lord-lieutenant of Ireland is with regard to England, with this trifling difference, that, like his master, he is invested with absolute authority, and keeps his parliament (for he has one, too) in the most perfect subjection. The patriots here, although a very numerous body, have never been able to gain one point—no, nor a place, nor even a pension for a needy friend. Had Lord Townshend the power of the Marquis Fogliano, I suppose your Hibernian squabbles (of which we hear so much, even at this distant corner) would soon have an end. Notwithstanding this great authority, he is affable and familiar, and makes his house agreeable to every body. We go very often to his assemblies, and have dined with him several times: his table is served with elegance and magnificence, much superior, indeed, to that of his Sicilian majesty, who eats off a service of plate at least three hundred years old, very black and rusty indeed: I heard a gentleman ask one day, whilst we were standing round the table, if it had not been dug out of Herculaneum. That of the viceroy is very elegant, and indeed the whole of his entertainments correspond with it; though we have as yet seen nothing here to be compared to the luxury of our feast in the granary at Agrigentum.

The Sicilian cookery is a mixture of the French and Spanish, and the olio still preserves its rank and dignity in the centre of the table, surrounded by a numerous train of fricassées, fricandeans, ragouts, and pet de loup, like a grave Spanish don amidst a number of little smart marquisses. The other nobility, whom we have had occasion to see, are likewise very magnificent in their entertainments, but most particularly in their desserts and ices, of which there is a greater variety than I have seen in any other country. They are very temperate with regard to wine, though, since we have taught them our method of toasting ladies, they are fond of it, and of hob and nobbing with their friends, ringing the two glasses together; this social practice has animated them so much, that they have been sometimes led to drink a greater quantity than they are accustomed to, and they often reproach us with having made them drunkards. In their ordinary living they are very frugal and temperate; and from the sobriety we have seen here, we are now more persuaded that the elevated situation of Agrigentum must be one great cause of its drunkenness.

The Sicilians have always had the character of being very amorous, and surely not without reason. The whole nation are poets, even the peasants; and a man stands a poor chance for a mistress that is not capable of celebrating her praises. I believe it is generally allowed that the pastoral poetry had its origin in this island, and Theocritus, after whom they still copy, will ever be looked upon as the prince of pastoral poets. And indeed in music, too, as well as poetry, the soft, amorous pieces are generally styled *Siciliani*; these they used to play all night under their mistresses'

windows, to express the delicacy of their passion; but serenading is not now so much in fashion as it was during the time of their more intimate connexion with Spain, when it was said by one of their authors that no one could pass for a man of gallantry that had not got a cold, and was sure never to succeed in making love unless he made it in a hoarse voice. The ladies are not now so rigid, and will sometimes condescend to hear a man, even although he should speak in a clear tone. Neither do they any longer require the prodigious martial feats that were then necessary to win them. The attacking of a mad bull, or a wild boar, was reckoned the handsomest compliment a lover could pay to his mistress; and the putting these animals to death softened her heart much more than all the sighing love-sick tales that could be invented. This has been humorously ridiculed by one of their poets. He says that Cupid's little golden dart was now changed into a massy spear, which answered a double purpose, for at the same time that it pierced the tough bull's hide it likewise pierced the tender lady's heart. But these Gothic customs are now confined to Spain, and the gentle Sicilians have reassumed their softness. To tell you the truth, gallantry is pretty much upon the same footing here as in Italy; the establishment of Cicisbees is pretty general, though not quite so universal as on the continent. A breach of the marriage vow is no longer looked upon as one of the deadly sins, and the confessors fall upon easy and pleasant enough methods of making them atone for it. However, female licentiousness has by no means come to such a height as in Italy. We have seen a great deal of domestic happiness—husbands and wives that truly love one another, and whose mutual care and pleasure is the education of their children. I could name a number—the Duke of Verdura, the Prince Partana, the Count Buscemi, and many others who live in the most sacred union. Such sights are very rare on the continent. But indeed the style that young people are brought up in here seems to lay a much more solid foundation for matrimonial happiness than either in France or Italy. The young ladies are not shut up in convents till the day of their marriage, but for the most part live in the house with their parents, where they receive their education, and are every day in company with their friends and relations. From what I can observe, I think they are allowed almost as much liberty as with us. In their great assemblies we often see a club of young people (of both sexes) get together in a corner, and amuse themselves for hours, at cross purposes, or such like games, without the mothers being under the least anxiety; indeed, we sometimes join in these little parties, and find them extremely entertaining. In general, they are quick and lively, and have a number of those *jeux d'esprit*, which I think must ever be proof, in all countries, of the familiar intercourse betwixt the young people of the two sexes; for all these games are insipid, if they are not seasoned by something of that invisible and subtle agency, which renders every thing more interesting in these mixed societies than in the lifeless ones composed of only one part of the species. Thus in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, I have never seen any of these games, in France seldom; but in Switzerland (where the greatest liberty and familiarity are enjoyed amongst the young people), they are numberless.—But the conversation hour is arrived, and our carriage is waiting. Adieu.

## SCULPTURE EXTRAORDINARY.

Palermo, June 28.

THERE are two small countries, one to the east, the other to the west of this city, where the principal nobility have their country palaces. Both these we have visited; there are many noble houses in each of them.

That to the east is called La Bagaria, that to the west Il Colle. We are this instant returned from La Bagaria, and I hasten to give you an account of the ridiculous things we have seen, though perhaps you will not thank me for it.

The palace of the Prince of Valguanera is, I think, by much the finest and most beautiful of all the houses of the Bagaria, but it is far from being the most extraordinary; were I to describe it, I should only tell you of things you have often seen and heard of in other countries; so I shall only speak of one, which, for its singularity, certainly is not to be paralleled on the face of the earth. It belongs to the Prince of P——, a man of immense fortune, who has devoted his whole life to the study of monsters and chimeras, greater and more ridiculous than ever entered into the imagination of the wildest writers of romance or knight-errantry.

The amazing crowd of statues that surround his house, appear at a distance like a little army drawn up for its defence; but when you get amongst them, and every one assumes his true likeness, you imagine you have got into the regions of delusion and enchantment; for of all that immense group, there is not one made to represent any object in nature, nor is the absurdity of the wretched imagination that created them less astonishing than its wonderful fertility. It would require a volume to describe the whole, and a sad volume indeed it would make. He has put the heads of men to the bodies of every sort of animal, and the heads of every other animal to the bodies of men. Sometimes he makes a compound of five or six animals that have no sort of resemblance in nature. He puts the head of a lion to the neck of a goose, the body of a lizard, the legs of a goat, the tail of a fox. On the back of this monster he puts another, if possible still more hideous, with five or six heads, and a bush of horns, that beats the beast in the Revelations all to nothing. There is no kind of horn in the world that he has not collected, and his pleasure is to see them all flourishing upon the same head. This is a strange species of madness, and it is truly unaccountable that he has not been shut up many years ago; but he is perfectly innocent, and troubles nobody by the indulgence of his frenzy; on the contrary, he gives bread to a number of statues and other workmen, whom he rewards in proportion as they can bring their imaginations to coincide with his own, or, in other words, according to the hideousness of the monsters they produce. It would be idle and tiresome to be particular in an account of these absurdities. The statues that adorn or rather deform the great avenue, and surround the court of the palace, amount already to six hundred; notwithstanding which, it may be truly said, that he has not broke the second commandment, for of all that number, there is not the likeness of any thing in heaven above, in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth. The old ornaments which were put up by his father, who was a sensible man, appear to have been in a good taste. They have all been knocked to pieces, and laid together in a heap, to make room for this new creation.

The inside of this enchanted castle corresponds exactly with the out; it is in every respect as whimsical and fantastical, and you cannot turn yourself to any side where you are not stared in the face by some hideous figure or other. Some of the apartments are spacious and magnificent, with high arched roofs, which, instead of plaster or stucco, are composed of large mirrors, nicely joined together. The effect that these produce (as each of them make a small angle with the other) is exactly that of a multiplying glass, so that when three or four people are walking below, there is always the appearance of three or four hundred walking above. The whole of the doors are likewise covered over with small pieces of mirror, cut into the most ridiculous shapes, and intermixed with a great variety of crystal and glass of different colours.

All the chimney-pieces, windows, and sideboards are crowded with pyramids and pillars of teapots, cauldrons, bowls, cups, saucers, &c., strongly cemented together; some of these columns are not without their beauty; one of them has a large china chamber-pot for its base, and a circle of pretty little flower-pots for its capital, the shaft of the column, upwards of four feet long, is composed entirely of teapots of different sizes, diminished gradually from the base to the capital. The profusion of china that has been employed in forming these columns is incredible: I daresay there is not less than forty pillars and pyramids formed in this strange fantastic manner.

Most of the rooms are paved with fine marble tables of different colours, that look like so many tombstones. Some of these are richly wrought with lapis lazuli, porphyry, and other valuable stones; their fine polish is now gone, and they only appear like common marble; the place of these beautiful tables he has supplied by a new set of his own invention, some of which are not without their merit. These are made of the finest tortoise-shell mixed with mother-of-pearl, ivory, and a variety of metals, and are mounted on fine stands of solid brass.

The windows of this enchanted castle are composed of a variety of glass of every different colour, mixed without any sort of order or regularity—blue, red, green, yellow, purple, violet; so that at each window you may have the heavens and earth of whatever colour you choose, only by looking through the pane that pleases you.

The house-clock is cased in the body of a statue; the eyes of the figure move with the pendulum, turning up their white and black alternately, and make a hideous appearance.

His bedchamber and dressing-room are like two apartments in Noah's ark; there is scarce a beast, however vile, that he has not placed there—toads, frogs, serpents, lizards, scorpions, all cut out in marble of their respective colours. There are a good many busts, too, that are not less singularly imagined. Some of these make a very handsome profile on one side; turn to the other, and you have a skeleton; here you see a nurse with a child in her arms—its back is exactly that of an infant, its face is that of a wrinkled old woman of ninety.

For some minutes one can laugh at these follies, but indignation and contempt soon get the better of your mirth, and the laugh is turned into a sneer. I own I was soon tired of them; though some things are so strangely fancied, that it may well excuse a little mirth, even from the most rigid cynic.

The family statues are charming; they have been done from some old pictures, and make a most venerable appearance; he has dressed them out from head to foot in new and elegant suits of marble; and indeed the effect it produces is more ridiculous than any thing you can conceive. Their shoes are all of black marble, their stockings generally of red; their clothes are of different colours, blue, green, and variegated, with a rich lace of *giall' antique*. The periwigs of the men and head-dresses of the ladies are of fine white; so are their shirts, with long flowing ruffles of alabaster. The walls of the house are covered with some fine *basso relievo*s of white marble, in a good taste; these he could not well take out or alter, so he has only added immense frames to them. Each frame is composed of four large marble tables.

The author and owner of this singular collection is a poor miserable lean figure, shivering at a breeze, and seems to be afraid of every body he speaks to; but (what surprised me) I have heard him talk speciously enough on several occasions. He is one of the richest subjects in the island, and it is thought he has not laid out less than twenty thousand pounds in the creation of this world of monsters and chimeras. He certainly might have fallen upon some way to prove himself a fool at a cheaper rate. However, it gives bread to a

number of poor people, to whom he is an excellent master. His house at Palermo is a good deal in the same style; his carriages are covered with plates of brass, so that I really believe some of them are musket-proof.

The government have had serious thoughts of demolishing the regiment of monsters he has placed round his house, but as he is humane and inoffensive, and as this would certainly break his heart, they have as yet forbore. The ladies complain that they dare no longer take an airing in the Bagaria; that some hideous form always haunts their imagination for some time after: their husbands too, it is said, are as little satisfied. Adieu. I shall write you again by next post, as matter multiplies fast upon me in this metropolis. Ever yours.

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#### SINGULAR CEMETERY IN PALERMO.—VALUE OF A CARRIAGE.

Palermo, June 30.

THE account the people here give of the sirocco, or south-east wind, is truly wonderful; to-day, at the viceroy's, we were complaining of the violence of the heat, the thermometer being at 79 degrees. They assured us that if we stayed till the end of next month we should probably look on this as pleasant cool weather; adding, that if we had once experienced the sirocco, all other weather would appear temperate. I asked to what degree the thermometer commonly rose during this wind, but found, to my surprise, that there was no such instrument in use amongst them: however, the violence of it, they assure us, is incredible; and that those who had remained many years in Spain and Malta had never felt any heat in those countries to compare to it. How it happens to be more violent in Palermo than in any other part of Sicily, is a mystery that still remains to be unfolded. Several treatises have been written on this subject, but none that give any tolerable degree of satisfaction. As we shall stay for some time longer, it is possible we may have an opportunity of giving you some account of it.

They have begun some weeks ago to make preparations for the great feast of St Rosalia; and our friends here say they are determined that we shall not leave them till after it is over; but this I am afraid will not be in our power. The warm season advances, and the time we appointed for our return to Naples is already elapsed; but, indeed, return when we will, we shall make but a bad exchange; and were it not for those of our own country whom we have left behind us, we certainly should have determined on a much longer stay. But although the society here is superior to that of Naples, yet—call it prejudice, or call it what you will—there is a *je ne sçai quoi*—a certain confidence in the character, the worth, and friendship of our own people, that I have seldom felt any where on the continent, except in Switzerland. This sensation, which constitutes the charm of society, and can alone render it supportable for any time, is only inspired by something analogous and sympathetic in our feelings and sentiments, like two instruments that are in unison, and vibrate to each other's touch; for society is a concert, and if the instruments are not in tune there never can be harmony; and (to carry on the metaphor) this harmony, too, must sometimes be heightened and supported by the introduction of a discord; but where discords predominate, which is often the case between an English and an Italian mind, the music must be wretched indeed. Had we but a little mixture of our own society, how gladly should we spend the winter in Sicily; but we often think with regret on Mr Hamilton's and Mr Walter's families, and wish again to be on the continent. Indeed, even the pleasures we enjoy here, we owe principally to Mr Hamilton: his recommendations we have ever found to be the best passport

and introduction; and the zeal and cordiality with which these are always received, proceed evidently not from motives of deference and respect to the minister, but of love and affection to the man.

This morning we went to see a celebrated convent of Capuchins, about a mile without the city; it contains nothing very remarkable but the burial-place, which indeed is a great curiosity. This is a vast subterraneous apartment, divided into large commodious galleries, the walls on each side of which are hollowed into a variety of niches, as if intended for a great collection of statues; these niches, instead of statues, are all filled with dead bodies, set upright upon their legs, and fixed by the back to the inside of the niche: their number is about three hundred: they are all dressed in the clothes they usually wore, and form a most respectable and venerable assembly. The skin and muscles, by a certain preparation, become as dry and hard as a piece of stock-fish; and although many of them have been here upwards of two hundred and fifty years, yet none are reduced to skeletons; the muscles, indeed, in some appear to be a good deal more shrunk than in others, probably because these persons had been more attenuated at the time of their death.

Here the people of Palermo pay daily visits to their deceased friends, and recall with pleasure and regret the scenes of their past life: here they familiarise themselves with their future state, and choose the company they would wish to keep in the other world. It is a common thing to make choice of their niche, and to try if their body fits it, that no alterations may be necessary after they are dead; and sometimes, by way of a voluntary penance, they accustom themselves to stand for hours in these niches.

The bodies of the princes and first nobility are lodged in handsome chests or trunks, some of them richly adorned; these are not in the shape of coffins, but all of one width, and about a foot and a half or two feet deep. The keys are kept by the nearest relations of the family, who sometimes come and drop a tear over their departed friends.

I am not sure if this is not a better method of disposing of the dead than ours. These visits must prove admirable lessons of humility, and I assure you, they are not such objects of horror as you would imagine: they are said, even for ages after death, to retain a strong likeness to what they were when alive, so that, as soon as you have conquered the first feeling excited by these venerable figures, you only consider this as a vast gallery of original portraits, drawn after the life, by the justest and most unprejudiced hand. It must be owned that the colours are rather faded, and the pencil does not appear to have been the most flattering in the world; but no matter, it is the pencil of truth, and not of a mercenary, who only wants to please. We were alleging, too, that it might be made of very considerable utility to society, and that these dumb orators could give the most pathetic lectures upon pride and vanity. Whenever a fellow began to strut, like Mr B., or to affect the haughty supercilious air, he should be sent to converse with his friends in the gallery, and if their arguments did not bring him to a proper way of thinking, I would give him up as incorrigible.

At Bologna they showed us the skeleton of a celebrated beauty, who died at a period of life when she was still the object of universal admiration. By way of making atonement for her own vanity, she bequeathed herself as a monument, to curb the vanity of others. Recollecting on her deathbed the great adulation that had been paid to her charms, and the fatal change they were soon to undergo, she ordered that her body should be dissected, and her bones hung up for the inspection of all young maidens who are inclined to be vain of their beauty. However, if she had been preserved in this moral gallery, the lesson would have been stronger, for those very features that



had raised her vanity would still have remained, only disarmed of all their power, and divested of every charm.\*

Some of the capuchins sleep in these galleries every night, and pretend to have many wonderful visions and revelations; but the truth is, that very few people believe them.

No woman is ever admitted into this convent either dead or alive; and this interdiction is written in large characters over the gate. The poor indolent capuchins, the frailest of all flesh, have great need of such precautions; they have no occupation from without, and they have no resources within themselves, so that they must be an easy prey to every temptation: Boccaccio, and all the books of that kind, are filled with stories of their frailty.

We had no sooner left the capuchin convent, than our carriage broke down, long before we reached the city; and as walking (at Palermo as well as Naples) is of all things the most disgraceful, we risked by this unfortunate accident to have our characters blasted for ever. However, Philip, our Sicilian servant, took care to make such a noise about it, that our dignity did not much suffer. He kept a little distance before us, pesting and blasting all the way at their cursed crazy carriages, and swearing that there never was any thing in the world so infamous, that in a city like Palermo, the capital of all Sicily, signori of our rank and dignity should be obliged to walk on foot; that it must be an eternal reflection against the place; and bawled out to every person he met, if there was no coaches to be had, no carriages of any kind, either for love or money. In short, we had not got half through the street, before we had several offers from gentlemen of our acquaintance, who lamented exceedingly the indignity we had suffered, and wondered much that we did not rather send forward a servant for another coach, and wait (in the heat of the sun) till it arrived.

This is not the only time that Philip's wits have

\* ["Before I conclude with Palermo, I wish to give an account of a most strange sight which is to be witnessed there; I mean the sepulchral vaults of a convent of Capuchins, situated about a mile from the city. They have been dug in a soil which possesses the remarkable property of drying, and preserving from decay, the corpses which are placed there. I am not aware whether this preservation merely arises from the drying qualities of the soil, or whether the bodies undergo a previous process; for here they make a mystery of every thing, and it is hardly possible to consider this subject in any other than a picturesque point of view. Be this as it may, this property does not belong exclusively to this vault, for the bone-house of the Cordeliers of Toulouse, and that of the Jacobins of the same city, were formerly celebrated for producing similar effects. It was there that they preserved among other corpses that of the beautiful Paula, and the curious anxiously seek among these disfigured remains for some traces of that wonderful beauty, the extraordinary accounts of which it is difficult to believe. These catacombs, according to the statement of travellers, are more curious than those of Sicily, for it is said that the enclosure of one part of the walls possessed the property of preserving bodies, whilst the opposite part did not possess that faculty.

The subterranean parts of the Capuchin Convent at Palermo are divided into a great number of galleries, in the walls of which many niches have been cut, as if it had at first been intended to place statues there; but now there are ranges of monuments, which are much more expressive than statues. These are dead bodies. Monks and nobles, priests and laymen, are there to be seen standing in the costume of their rank or profession. Each of these corpses occupies a small cell, to which it is attached by the back. It must not be imagined by this description that they resemble a collection of mummies. They seem to have preserved their vitality, and to move and gesticulate, and some *Cicerones* even pretend that they have sometimes spoken to the astonished tourist. As, with the exception of their clothing, these corpses are not at all confined, and their members are not in the least restrained, they are subject to no other influences than the curious phenomena which result from the greater or lesser degree of contractibility of their tissues. Some of them are as still and upright as a sentinel in his box; others, on the contrary, seem to

been of service to us on such occasions. A few nights ago, we had a dispute with our coachman, turned him off, and had not provided another. We were unfortunately engaged to go to the great conversation. What was to be done? No such thing as walking. Should we be caught in the fact, we are disgraced for ever. No alternative, however. There was not a coach to be had, and our old coachman would not serve us for one night only. Philip made sad wry faces, and swore the coachman ought to be crucified; but when he saw us bent on walking, he was still more distressed, and I really believe, if we had been discovered, that he would not have served us any longer. He therefore set his wits to work, how he should preserve both his masters' honour and his own place. He at first hesitated before he would take up the flambeau; but he would by no means be prevailed on to light it. "What!" said Philip, "do you think I have no more regard for you than to expose you to the eyes of the whole world? No, no, gentlemen; if you will bring yourselves to disgrace, you shall not at least make me the agent of showing it: but remember, if you are observed walking, no mortal will believe you keep a coach; and do you expect after that to be received into company?" "Well, well, Philip, do as you please, but we must go to the conversation." Philip shrugged up his shoulders, led the way, and we followed.

Philip had studied the geography of the town; he conducted us through lanes only known to himself, and carefully avoided the great street: till at last we arrived at a little entry, which leads to the conversation rooms; here the carriages usually stop. We slipped up the entry in the dark; when Philip, darting into a shop, lighted his flambeau in an instant, and came rushing before us, bawling out, "*Piazza per gli signori forestieri*"—["Make room for the foreign gentlemen"]; when all the world immediately made way for us. After we had got into the rooms, he called so loud after us, asking at what time he should order the coach to return, that, overcome partly by

being in different positions; others, again, are thrown backward, and their members are distorted as if they were suffering horrible torments. One appears in a state of demoniac fury; you see another like a victim tied to the stake; and, farther on, one whose grotesque postures and manners remind you of the buffoonery of a clown. There is, indeed, no violent passion or exaggerated expression which does not find a representation here.

Though some of these corpses have been here for nearly three hundred years, yet it would be in vain to look for a single skeleton, as all their muscles and skin are preserved entire. An old monk with a long white beard has, by his own choice, taken up his residence in this melancholy abode, and he never leaves it. His only companion is a large cat, which continually follows him. The inhabitants of Palermo visit this dismal abode daily, and it is with many of them an object of ambition to obtain a place there. It is not, as I am assured, curiosity alone, nor a desire to render the last sad duties to their friends, which frequently directs their steps thither. They often come in order to examine the place, and to choose beforehand the spot which they would desire one day to occupy. They coolly calculate the advantages of such and such a position, and discuss the merits of those who will be their neighbours. On these occasions, they jocularly remark, that when one undertakes so long a journey, it is impossible to be too difficult in the choice of companions. When they have made up their minds, they have the niches formed, and come from time to time to see if they are of the proper size, frequently suggesting alterations and improvements.

This abode of melancholy, however, has its *fete day*—the *jour des morts*. Upon that solemn occasion the darkness is dissipated by the lustre of the illuminations, and the accustomed stillness is replaced by the clamour of crowds of spectators. The dead bodies are previously decked out in stylish array; the old clothing of the last year is substituted by new, which is to serve for the next; and in order that nothing shall be wanting to set them off, nosegays are placed in their hands, and their foreheads are sprinkled with odoriferous scents; but, as is the case in the cemeteries in France, this pious and melancholy duty is never fulfilled by wives and mothers; for, by a strange law, no living woman is allowed to visit this tomb, and no dead one to inhabit it."—*Journal of M. P. E. Botta.*]

risibility, and partly by a consciousness of the deceit, not one of us had power to answer him. Philip, however, followed us, and repeated the question so often, that we were obliged to tell him, at midnight. At midnight, accordingly, he came to tell us that the coach was ready. We were curious to see how he would behave on this occasion; for it was not half so difficult to get in unobserved, as to get out: however, Philip's genius was equal to both. As soon as we got into the entry, he ran to the door, bawling out Antonio as hard as he could roar. No Antonio answered; and, unfortunately, there was a number of gentlemen and ladies going away at the same time. They begged of us as strangers to step first into our carriage, and absolutely refused to go out before us. Philip was sadly puzzled. He first ran up the street, then he ran down, and came back all out of breath, cursing Antonio. "That rascal," said he, "is never in the way, and you must turn him off. He pretends that he could not get up his coach to the door, for the great crowd of carriages; and is waiting about fifty yards below. *Vostri eccellenzi* had better step down," said Philip, "otherwise you will be obliged to wait here at least half an hour." We took leave of the company, and set off. Philip ran like a lamplighter, till he had almost passed the carriages, when, dashing his flambeau on the ground, as if by accident, he extinguished it, and getting into a narrow lane, he waited till we came up; when he whispered us to follow him—and conducted us back by the same labyrinth we had come; and thus saved us from eternal infamy. However, he assures us he will not venture it again for his place.

Now, what do you think of a nation where such prejudices as these prevail? It is pretty much the case all over Italy. An Italian nobleman is ashamed of nothing so much as making use of his legs. They think their dignity augmented by the repose of their members, and that no man can be truly respectable that does not lol away one-half of his time on a sofa or in a carriage. In short, a man is obliged to be indolent and effeminate not to be despised and ridiculous. What can we expect of such a people? Can they be capable of any thing great or manly, who seem almost ashamed to appear men? I own it surpasses my comprehension, and I bless my stars every time that I think of honest John Bull, even with all his faults. Will you believe me that, of all that I have known in Italy, there are scarce half a dozen that have had fortitude enough to subdue this most contemptible of all human prejudices? The Prince of Campo Franco, too, in this place, is above it. He is a noble fellow, and, both in his person and character, greatly resembles our late worthy friend, General Craufurd. He is a major-general, too, and always dresses in his uniform, which further increases the resemblance. Every time I see him, he says or does something that recalls strongly to my mind the idea of our noble general. He laughs at the follies of his country, and holds these wretched prejudices in that contempt they deserve. "What would the old hardy Romans think," said he, talking on this subject, "were they permitted to take a view of the occupations of their progeny? I should like to see a Brutus or a Cassius amongst us for a little; how the clumsy vulgar fellows would be hooted. I dare say they would soon be glad to return to the shades again."

Adieu. For some nights past we have been observing the course of a comet; and as we were the first people here that took notice of it, I assure you we are looked upon as very profound astronomers. I shall say more of it in my next. We have now got out of our abominable inn, and have taken a final leave of our French landlady. The Count Bushemi, a very amiable young man, has been kind enough to provide us a lodging on the sea-shore, one of the coolest and most agreeable in Palermo. Ever yours, &c.

#### A COMET.—ASTRONOMICAL SPECULATIONS.

*Palermo, July 2.*

OUR comet is now gone; we first observed it on the 24th. It had no tail, but was surrounded with a faintish ill-defined light, that made it look like a bright star shining through a thin cloud. This, in all probability, is owing to an atmosphere around the body of the comet that causes a refraction of the rays, and prevents them from reaching us with that distinctness we observe in bodies that have no atmosphere. We were still the more persuaded of this two nights ago, when we had the good fortune to catch the comet just passing close by a small fixed star, whose light was not only considerably dimmed, but we thought we observed a sensible change of place in the star, as soon as its rays fell into the atmosphere of the comet, owing no doubt to the refraction in passing through that atmosphere. We attempted to trace the line of the comet's course, but as we could find no globe, it was not possible to do it with any degree of precision. Its direction was almost due north, and its velocity altogether amazing. We did not observe it so minutely the two or three first nights of its appearance, but on the 30th it was at our zenith here (latitude 38 degrees 10 minutes, longitude from London 13 degrees), about five minutes after midnight; and last night, the first of July, it passed four degrees to the east of the polar star, nearly at forty minutes after eight; so that, in less than twenty-four hours, it has described a great arch in the heavens, upwards of fifty degrees, which gives an idea of the most amazing velocity. Supposing it at the distance of the sun, at this rate of travelling, it would go round the earth's orbit in less than a week, which makes, I think, considerably more than sixty millions of miles in a day, a motion that vastly surpasses all human comprehension. And as this motion continues to be greatly accelerated, what must it be when the comet approaches still nearer to the body of the sun! Last night a change of place was observable in the space of a few minutes, particularly when it passed near any of the fixed stars. We attempted to find if it had any observable parallax, but the vast rapidity of its motion always prevented us, for whatever fixed stars it was near in the horizon, it had got so far to the north of them, long before it reached the meridian, that the parallax, if there was any, entirely escaped us.

I shall long much to see the observations that have been made with you, and in other distant countries, on this comet, as from these we shall probably be enabled to form some judgment of its distance from the earth, which, although we could observe no parallax, I am apt to believe was not very great, as its motion was so very perceptible. We could procure no instruments to measure its apparent distance from any of the fixed stars, so that the only two observations any thing can be made of are the time of its passing the polar star last night, its distance from it, and the time of its arrival at our zenith on the 30th; this we found by applying the eye to a straight rod, hung perpendicularly from a small thread. The comet was not in the exact point of the zenith, but, to the best of our observation, about six or seven minutes to the north of it. Last night it was visible almost immediately after sunset, long before any of the fixed stars appeared. It is now immersed in the rays of the sun, and has certainly got very near his body. If it returns again to the regions of space, it will probably be visible in a few days; but I own I should much doubt of any such return, if it is really by the attractive force of the sun that it is at present carried with such amazing celerity towards him. This is the third comet of this kind whose return I have had an opportunity of watching, but never was fortunate enough to find any of them after they had passed the sun, though those that do

really return appear at that time much more luminous than before they approached him.\*

The astronomy of comets, from what I can remember of it, appears to be clogged with very great difficulties, and even some seeming absurdities. It is difficult to conceive that these immense bodies, after being drawn to the sun with the velocity of a million of miles in an hour, when they have at last come almost to touch him, should then fly off from his body with the same velocity they approach it, and that too by the power of this very motion that his attraction has occasioned. The demonstration of this, I remember, is very curious and ingenious, but I wish it may be entirely free from sophistry. No doubt, in bodies moving in curves round a fixed centre, as the centripetal motion increases, the centrifugal one increases likewise; but how this motion, which is only generated by the former, should at last get the better of the power that produces it, and that too at the very time this power has acquired its utmost force and energy, seems somewhat difficult to conceive. It is the only instance I know wherein the effect increasing regularly with the cause, at last, whilst the cause is still acting with full vigour, the effect entirely gets the better of the cause, and leaves it in the lurch. For the body attracted is at last carried away with infinite velocity from the attracting body. By what power is it carried away? Why, say our philosophers, by the very power of this attraction, which has now produced a new power superior to itself, to wit, the centrifugal force. However, perhaps all this may be reconcilable to reason: far be it from me to presume attacking so glorious a system as that of attraction. The law that the heavenly bodies are said to observe, in describing equal areas in equal times, is supposed to be demonstrated, and by this it would appear that the centripetal and centrifugal forces alternately get the mastery of one another.

However, I cannot help thinking it somewhat hard to conceive that gravity should always get the better of the centrifugal force at the very time that its action is the smallest, when the comet is at its greatest distance from the sun; and that the centrifugal force should get the better of gravity at the very time that its action is the greatest, when the comet is at its nearest point to the sun.

To a common observer it would rather appear that the sun, like an electric body, after it had once charged the objects that it attracted with its own effluvia or atmosphere, by degrees loses its attraction, and at last even repels them; and that the attracting power, like what we likewise observe in electricity, does not return again till the effluvia imbibed from the attracting body is dispelled or dissipated, when it is again attracted, and so on alternately. For it appears (at least to an unphilosophical observer) somewhat repugnant to reason, to say that a body flying off from

another body some thousands of miles in a minute, should all the time be violently attracted by that body, and that it is even by virtue of this very attraction that it is flying off from it. He would probably ask, what more could it do, pray, were it really to be repelled?

Had the system of electricity, and of repulsion as well as attraction, been known and established in the last age, I have little doubt that the profound genius of Newton would have called it to his aid, and perhaps accounted in a more satisfactory manner for many of the great phenomena of the heavens. To the best of my remembrance, we know of no body that possesses, in any considerable degree, the power of attraction, that in certain circumstances does not likewise possess the power of repulsion—the magnet, the tourmalin, amber, glass, and every electrical substance. Now, from analogy, as we find the sun so powerfully endowed with attraction, why may we not likewise suppose him to be possessed of repulsion? Indeed, this very power seems to be confessed by the Newtonians to reside in the sun in a most wonderful degree, for they assure us he repels the rays of light with such amazing force, that they fly upwards of eighty millions of miles in seven minutes. Now, why should we confine this repulsion to the rays of light only? As they are material, may not other matter brought near his body be affected in the same manner? Indeed, one would imagine that their motion alone would create the most violent repulsion, and that the force with which they are perpetually flowing from the sun would most effectually prevent every other body from approaching him; for this we find is the constant effect of a rapid stream of any other matter. But let us examine a little more his effects on comets. The tails of these bodies are probably their atmospheres, rendered highly electrical, either from the violence of their motion or from their proximity to the sun. Of all the bodies we know, there is none in so constant and so violent an electrical state as the higher regions of our own atmosphere. Of this I have long been convinced; for send up a kite with a small wire about its string only to the height of twelve or thirteen hundred feet, and at all times it will produce fire, as I have found by frequent experience—sometimes when the air was perfectly clear, without a cloud in the hemisphere, at other times when it was thick and hazy, and totally unfit for electrical operations below. Now, as this is the case at so small a height, and as we find the effect still grows stronger in proportion as the kite advances (for I have sometimes observed that a little blast of wind suddenly raising the kite about an hundred feet has more than doubled the effect), what must it be in very great elevations? Indeed we may often judge of it from the violence with which the clouds are agitated, from the meteors formed above the region of the clouds, and particularly from the aurora borealis, which has been observed to have much the same colour and appearance as the matter that forms the tails of comets.

Now, what must be the effect of so vast a body as our atmosphere, made strongly electrical, when it happens to approach any other body? It must always be either violently attracted or repelled, according to the positive or negative quality (in the language of electricians) of the body that it approaches.

It has ever been observed that the tails of comets (just as we should expect from a very light fluid body attached to a solid heavy one) are drawn after the comets as long as they are at a distance from the sun; but as soon as the comet gets near his body, the tail veers about to that side of the comet that is in the opposite direction from the sun, and no longer follows the comet, but continues its motion sideways, opposing its whole length to the medium through which it passes, rather than allow it in any degree to approach the sun. Indeed its tendency to follow the

\* [Mr Brydone's speculations on this comet and on comets in general are rather too much protracted, and, though ingenious, considering the state of science in his day, are now superseded by more correct observations. The return of comets from the sun is now undoubted, and the periods of many have been ascertained. The idea of their falling into the sun, on which Mr Brydone bestows so much attention, is not now, to our knowledge, entertained by any astronomer of reputation. The reader, in perusing the ensuing pages, is apt to be surprised that, so lately as 1770, any doubt should have remained respecting the Newtonian laws of motion. These bodies, in reality, although approaching so near to the sun, are as duly subject as the least eccentric bodies in our system, to the law with regard to bodies describing equal areas in equal times: the nearness is exactly compensated by the rapidity. It is also curious to find Newton's theory of light drawn in to give countenance to the supposition that comets fall into the sun. This theory is at present under doubt, and that which represents light as an imponderable agent is more generally received. Perhaps this very notion of Brydone as to the necessity of a supply of new matter to the sun to make up for that which he is supposed to be constantly losing in the shape of light, is one of the strongest arguments which could be adduced against the doctrine that light is substantial.]

body of the comet is still observable, were it not prevented by some force superior to that tendency, for the tail is always observed to bend a little to that side from whence the comet is flying. This perhaps is some proof, too, that it does not move in an absolute vacuum.

When the comet reaches its perihelion, the tail is generally very much lengthened, perhaps by the rarefaction from the heat, perhaps by the increase of the sun's repulsion, or that of his atmosphere. It still continues projected exactly in the opposite direction from the sun; and when the comet moves off again to the regions of space, the tail, instead of following it as it did on its approach, is projected a vast way before it, and still keeps the body of the comet exactly opposed betwixt it and the sun; till by degrees, as the distance increases, the length of the tail is diminished, the repulsion probably becoming weaker and weaker.

It has likewise been observed that the length of these tails is commonly in proportion to the proximity of the comet to the sun. That of 1680 threw out a train that would almost have reached from the sun to the earth. If this had been attracted by the sun, would it not have fallen upon his body, when the comet at that time was not one-fourth of his diameter distant from him?—but instead of this, it was darted away to the opposite side of the heavens, even with a greater velocity than that of the comet itself. Now what can this be owing to, if not to a repulsive power in the sun or his atmosphere?

And, indeed, it would at first appear but little less absurd to say, that the tail of the comet is all this time violently attracted by the sun, although it be driven away in an opposite direction from him, as to say the same of the comet itself. It is true, this repulsion seems to begin much sooner to affect the tail than the body of the comet, which is supposed always to pass the sun before it begins to fly away from him, which is by no means the case with the tail. The repulsive force, therefore (if there is any such), is in a much less proportion than the attractive one, and probably just only enough to counterbalance the latter, when these bodies are in their perihelions, and to turn them so much inside as to prevent their falling into the body of the sun. The projectile force they have acquired will then carry them out to the heavens, and repulsion probably diminishing as they recede from the sun's atmosphere, his attraction will again take place, and retard their motion regularly, till they arrive at their aphelia, when they once more begin to return to him.

I don't know you will like all this. Our comet has led me a dance I very little thought of; and I believe I should have done better to send it at once into the sun, and had done with it: and that, indeed, I am apt to believe, will be its fate. For as this comet has no tail, there is, of consequence, no apparent repulsion. If it was repelled, its atmosphere, like the others, would be driven away in the opposite direction from the sun; I therefore do not see any possible method it has of escaping.

These comets are certainly bodies of a very different nature from those with tails, to which, indeed, they appear even to bear a much less resemblance than they do to planets; and it is no small proof of the little progress we have made in the knowledge of the universe, that they have not as yet been distinguished by a different name.

This is the third kind of body that has been discovered in our system, that all appear essentially different from each other, that are probably regulated by different laws, and intended for very different purposes. How much will posterity be astonished at our ignorance, and wonder that this system should have existed for so many thousand years, before we were in the least acquainted with one-half of it, or had even invented names to distinguish its different members!

I have no doubt that in future ages the number of the comets, the form of their orbits, and time of their revolutions, will be as clearly demonstrated as that of the planets. It is our countryman, Dr Halley, who has begun this great work, which may be considered just now as in its earliest infancy. These bodies, too, with thick atmospheres, but without tails, will likewise have their proper places ascertained, and will no longer be confounded with bodies to which they bear no resemblance or connexion.

Comets with tails have seldom been visible but on their recess from the sun. It is he that kindles them up, and gives them that alarming appearance in the heavens. On the contrary, those without tails have seldom, perhaps never, been observed, but on their approach to him. I don't recollect any whose return has been tolerably well ascertained. I remember, indeed, a few years ago, a small one, that was said to have been discovered by a telescope, after it had passed the sun, but never more became visible to the naked eye. This assertion is easily made, and nobody can contradict it; but it does not at all appear probable that it should have become so much less luminous after it had passed the sun than before it approached him; and I will own to you, when I have heard that the return of these comets had escaped the eyes of the most acute astronomers, I have been tempted to think that they did not return at all, but were absorbed in the body of the sun, which their violent motion towards him seemed to indicate. Indeed, I have often wished that this discovery might be made, as it would in some measure account for what has as yet been looked upon as unaccountable—that the sun, notwithstanding his daily waste from enlightening the universe, never appears diminished either in size or light. Surely this waste must be immense; and were there not in nature some hidden provision for supplying it, in the space of six thousand years, supposing the world to be no older, the planets must have got to a much greater distance from his body, by the vast diminution of his attraction; they must likewise have moved much slower, and consequently the length of our year must have been greatly increased. Nothing of all this seems to be the case: the diameter of the sun is the same as ever it was; he neither appears diminished, nor our distance from him increased; his light, heat, and attraction, seem to be the same as ever, and the motion of the planets round him is performed in the same time: of consequence, his quantity of matter still continues the same. How, then, is this vast waste supplied? May there not be millions of bodies attracted by him, from the boundless regions of space, that are never perceived by us? Comets, on their road to him, have several times been accidentally discovered by telescopes that were never seen by the naked eye. Indeed, the number of black spots on the sun seem to indicate that there is always a quantity of matter there, only in a preparation to give light, but not yet refined and pure enough to throw off rays like the rest of his body. For I think we can hardly conceive, that any matter can remain long on the body of the sun without becoming luminous; and so we find these spots often disappear, that is to say, the matter of which they are composed is then perfectly melted, and has acquired the same degree of heat and light as the rest of his body. Even in our glass-houses, and other very hot furnaces, most sorts of matter very soon acquire the same colour and appearance as the matter in fusion, and emit rays of light like it. But how much more must this be the case at the surface of the sun, when Newton computes, that even at many thousand miles' distance from it, a body would acquire a degree of heat two thousand times greater than that of red-hot iron? It has generally been understood, that he said the great comet really did acquire this degree of heat; but this is certainly a mistake: Sir Isaac's expression, to the best of my remembrance, is, that it might have acquired it.

And if we consider the very great size of that body, and the short time of its perihelion, the thing will appear impossible: nor, indeed, do I think we can conceive that a body only as large as our earth (and the spots on the sun are often much larger) could be reduced to fusion, even on his surface, but after a very considerable space of time.

Now, as it seems to be universally supposed that the rays of light are really particles of matter proceeding from the body of the sun, I think it is absolutely necessary that we should fall upon some such method of sending him back a supply of those rays, otherwise, let his stock be ever so great, it must at last be exhausted.

I wish astronomers would observe whether the spots on the sun are not increased after the appearing of these comets, and whether these spots do not disappear again by degrees, like a body that is gradually melted down in a furnace. But there is another consideration, too, which naturally occurs: pray, what becomes of all this vast quantity of matter after it is reduced to light? Is it ever collected again into solid bodies, or is it for ever lost and dissipated after it has made its journey from the sun to the object it illuminates? It is somewhat strange, that of all that immense quantity of matter poured down on us during the day, that pervades and fills the whole universe, the moment we are deprived of the luminous body, the whole of it, in an instant, seems to be annihilated; in short, there are a number of difficulties attending the commonly received doctrine of light; nor do I think there is any point in natural philosophy the solution of which is less satisfactory. If we suppose every ray to be a stream of particles of matter, darting from the luminous body, how can we conceive that these streams may be intersected and pierced by other streams of the same matter, ten thousand different ways, without causing the least confusion either to the one or the other?—for in a clear night we see distinctly any particular star that we look at, although the rays coming from that star to our eye are pierced for millions of miles before they reach us, by millions of streams of the same rays, from every other sun and star in the universe. Now suppose, in any other matter that we know of—and one would imagine there ought at least to be some sort of analogy—suppose, I say, we should only attempt to make two streams pass one another—water, for instance, or air, one of the purest and the most fluid substances we are acquainted with—we find it totally impossible. The two streams will mutually interrupt and incommode one another, and the strongest will ever carry off the weakest into its own direction; but if a stream of light is hit by ten thousand other streams, moving at the rate of ten millions of miles in a minute, it is not even bent by the impression, nor in the smallest degree diverted from its course; but reaches us with the same precision and regularity as if nothing had interfered with it. Besides, on the supposition that light is real particles of matter moving from the sun to the earth in the space of seven minutes, how comes it to pass, that with all this wonderful velocity, there seems to be no momentum? for it communicates motion to no body that obstructs its passage, and no body whatever is removed by the percussion. Supposing we had never heard of this discovery, and were at once to be told of a current of matter flying at the rate of ten millions of miles in a minute, and so large as to cover one-half of our globe, would we not imagine that the earth must instantly be torn to pieces by it, or carried off with the most incredible velocity? It will be objected, that the extreme minuteness of the particles of light prevents it from having any such effect; but as these particles are in such quantity, and so close to each other, as to cover the surface of every body that is opposed to them, and entirely to fill up that vast space betwixt the earth and the sun, this objection, I should think, in a great measure falls to the ground. The

particles of air and of water are likewise extremely minute, and a small quantity of these will produce little or no effect; but increase their number, and only give them the millionth part of the velocity that is ascribed to a ray of light, and no force whatever could be able to withstand them.

Adieu. I have unwarily run myself into the very deeps of philosophy, and find it rather difficult to struggle out again. I ask your pardon, and promise, if possible, for the future, to steer quite clear of them. I am sure, whatever this comet may be to the universe, it has been an *ignis fatuus* to me; for it has led me strangely out of my road, and bewildered me amongst rocks and quicksands where I was like to stick fifty times.

I have forgot whether or not you are a rigid Newtonian; if you are, I believe I had better recant in time for fear of accidents. I know this is a very tender point; and have seen many of those gentlemen, who are good Christians too, that can bear with much more temper to hear the divinity of our Saviour called in question than that of Sir Isaac, and look on a Cartesian or a Ptolemean as a worse species of infidel than an atheist.

I remember, when I was at college, to have seen a heretic to their doctrine of gravity very suddenly converted by being tossed in a blanket; and another, who denied the law of centripetal and centrifugal forces, soon brought to assent, from having the demonstration made upon his shoulders, by a stone whirled at the end of a string.

These are powerful arguments, and it is difficult to withstand them. I cry you mercy. I am without reach of you at present, and you are heartily welcome to wreak your vengeance on my letter.



#### CHURCHES OF PALERMO.—PREPARATIONS FOR A FESTIVAL.

*Palermo, July 6.*

MANY of the churches here are extremely rich and magnificent. The cathedral (or, as they call it, *Madre Chiesa*) is a venerable Gothic building, and of a large size; it is supported within by eighty columns of oriental granite, and divided into a great number of chapels, some of which are extremely rich, particularly that of St Rosolia, the patroness of Palermo, who is held in greater veneration here than all the persons of the Trinity, and, which is still more, than even the Virgin Mary herself. The relics of the saint are preserved in a large box of silver, curiously wrought, and enriched with precious stones. They perform many miracles, and are looked upon as the greatest treasure of the city. They are esteemed the most effectual remedy against the plague, and have often preserved them from that fatal distemper. The saint gained so much credit, in saving them from the last plague of Messina, although it was at two hundred miles' distance, that they have, out of gratitude, erected a noble monument to her. St Agatha did as much for Catania, but that city has not been so generous to her. The other riches of this church consist principally in some bones of St Peter, and a whole arm of St John the Baptist. There is likewise a jaw-bone of prodigious efficacy; and some other bones of lesser note. It contains some things of smaller consequence, which, however, are not altogether without their merit. The monuments of their Norman kings, several of whom lie buried here, are of the finest porphyry, some of them near seven hundred years old, and yet of very tolerable workmanship. Opposite to these there is a tabernacle of lapis lazuli. It is about fifteen feet high, and finely ornamented. Some of the presents made to St Rosolia are by no means contemptible. A cross of very large brilliants, from the King of Spain, is, I think, the most considerable.

The Sacristie, too, is very rich; there are some robes embroidered with oriental pearl, that are near four hundred years old, and yet look as fresh as if done yesterday.

The Jesuits' church is equal in magnificence to any thing I have seen in Italy. The genius of those fathers appears strong in all their works; one is never at a loss to find them out. They have been grossly calumniated, for they certainly had less hypocrisy than any other order of monks.

The Chiesa del Pallazzo is entirely incrusted over with ancient mosaic, and the vaulted roof, too, is all of the same. But it is endless to talk of churches. Here are upwards of three hundred. That of Monreale, about five miles distant from this city, is the next in dignity in the island after the cathedral of Palermo. It is nearly of the same size, and the whole is incrusted with mosaic, at an incredible expense. Here are likewise several porphyry and marble monuments of the first kings of Sicily. This cathedral was built by King William the Good, whose memory is still held in great veneration amongst the Sicilians.

The Archbishop of Monreale is already looked upon as a saint, and indeed he deserves beatification better, I believe, than most of those in the calendar. His income is very great, of which he reserves to himself just as much as procures him clothes and the simplest kind of food; all the rest he devotes to charitable, pious, and public uses. He even seems to carry this too far, and denies himself the most common gratifications of life—such as sleeping on a bed, a piece of luxury he is said never to indulge himself in, but lies every night on straw. He is, as you may believe, adored by the people, who crowd in his way as he passes to receive his benediction, which they allege is even of more sovereign efficacy than that of the pope. And, indeed, so it is; for he never sees an object in distress but he is sure to relieve him, not trusting alone to the spiritual efficacy of the blessing, but always accompanying it with something solid and temporal; and, perhaps, this accompaniment is not esteemed the worst part of it. The town and country round Monreale are greatly indebted to his liberality, and in every corner exhibit marks of his munificence. He has just now made a present to the cathedral of a magnificent altar, only about one-half of which is finished. It is of massive silver, exquisitely wrought, representing, in high relief, some of the principal stories in the Bible, and, I think, will be one of the finest in the world. But, what is of much greater utility, he has at his own expense made a noble walk the whole way from this city to Monreale, which was formerly of very difficult access, as it stands near the top of a pretty high mountain. The walk is cut with a great deal of judgment on the side of this mountain, and winds by easy zigzags to the top of it. It is adorned with several elegant fountains of water, and is bordered on each side with a variety of flowering shrubs. The valley at the foot of the mountain is rich and beautiful. It appears one continued orange garden for many miles, and exhibits an elegant piece of scenery; perfuming the air, at the same time, with the most delicious odours. We were so pleased with this little expedition, that notwithstanding the heat of the season, we could not keep in our carriage, but walked almost the whole road.

The city of Palermo, for these ten days past, has been wholly occupied in preparing for the great feast of St Rosalia; and if the show is in any degree adequate to the expense and trouble it costs them, it must indeed be a very noble one. They are erecting an incredible number of arches and pyramids for the illuminations. They are of wood, painted, and adorned with artificial flowers. These, they tell us, are to be entirely covered over with small lamps, so that when seen at a little distance, they appear like so many pyramids and arches of flame. The whole Marino, and the two great streets that divide the city, are to

be illuminated in this magnificent manner. The number of pyramids and arches prepared for these illuminations, we are told, exceed two thousand. They are erected on each side of the street, betwixt the footpath and the pavement, and run in two right lines exactly parallel from end to end. Each of these lines is a mile in length, which makes four miles for the whole. The four gates are the vistas to these four streets, and are to be highly decorated and illuminated. From the square in the centre of the city, the whole of this vast illumination can be seen at once; and they assure us the grandeur of it exceeds all belief. The whole of the Marino is to be dressed out in the same manner: and for these three weeks past, they have been employed in erecting two great theatres for fireworks. One of these fronts the viceroys' palace, and is almost equal to it in size; the other is laid on piles driven in the sea, exactly opposite to the great orchestra in the centre of the Marino. Besides these, they are building an enormous engine, which they call St Rosalia's triumphal car. From the size of it one would imagine it were for ever to remain on the spot where it is erected, but they assure us it is to be drawn in triumph through the city. It is indeed mounted upon wheels, but it does not appear that any force whatever can be able to turn them.

My own curiosity increases every day to see this singular exhibition. The car is already higher than most houses in Palermo, and they are still adding to its height. But the part of the show they value themselves the most on is the illumination of the great church; this they affirm is superior to any thing in the world, the illumination of St Peter's itself not excepted. The preparations for it are indeed amazing. These were begun about a month ago, and will not be finished till towards the last days of the feast. The whole of the cathedral, both roof and walls, is entirely covered over with mirrors, intermixed with gold and silver paper, and an infinite variety of artificial flowers. All these are arranged and disposed, in my opinion, with great taste and elegance; none of them predominate, but they are intermingled every where in a just proportion.

Every altar, chapel, and column, are finished in the same manner, which takes off from the littleness of the particular ornaments, and gives an air of grandeur and uniformity to the whole. The roof is hung with innumerable lustres filled with wax candles, and I am persuaded, when the whole is lighted up, it must be equal to any palace either in the *Fairy Tales* or the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*. Indeed, it seems pretty much in the same style too, for all is gold, silver, and precious stones. The saints are dressed out in all their glory, and the fairy queen herself was never finer than is St Rosalia. The people are lying yonder in crowds before her, praying with all their might. I dare say, for one petition offered to God Almighty she has at least a hundred. We were just now remarking with how little respect they pass the chapels dedicated to God; they hardly deign to give a little inclination of the head; but when they come near those of their favourite saints, they bow down to the very ground. Ignorance and superstition have ever been inseparable: I believe in their hearts they think he has already reigned long enough, and would be glad to have a change in the government; and every one of them (like the poor Welshman who thought he would be succeeded by Sir Watkin Williams) is fully persuaded that his own favourite saint is the true heir-apparent. Indeed, they already give them the precedence on most occasions—not in processions and affairs of etiquette—there they think it would not be decent; but in their more private affairs they generally pay the compliment to the saint; yet, in their inscriptions on churches and chapels (which one would think are public enough), when they are dedicated to God and any particular saint, they have often ventured to put the name of the saint first—“*Sancto*

*Januario, et Deo Opt. Max.*”—taking every opportunity of raising their dignity, though at the expense of that of God himself.

ST ROSOLIA.—SUPERSTITION AND INFIDELITY.

Palermo, July 7.

I HAVE been inquiring who this same St Rosolia may be, who has become so very capital a personage in this part of the world; but notwithstanding their adoring her with such fervency, I have found none that can give any tolerable account of her saintship. They refer you to the most fabulous legends, that even differ widely in their accounts of her. And, after all the offerings they have made, the churches they have built, and monuments they have raised to her memory, I think it is far from being improbable that there really never did exist such a person. I went through all the booksellers' shops, but could find nothing relative to her, except an epic poem, of which she is the heroine. It is in the Sicilian language, and is indeed one of the greatest curiosities I have met with. The poet sets her at once above all other saints except the Virgin, and it seems to be with the greatest reluctance that he can prevail upon himself to yield the pass even to her. I find from this curious composition, and the notes upon it, that St Rosolia was niece to King William the Good; that she began very early to display symptoms of her sanctity; that at fifteen she deserted the world and disclaimed all human society. She retired to the mountains on the west of the city, and was never more heard of for about five hundred years. She disappeared in the year 1159. The people thought she had been taken up to heaven, till, in the year 1624, during the time of a dreadful plague, a holy man had a vision that the saint's bones were lying in a cave near the top of the Monte Pellegrino; and that if they were taken up with due reverence, and carried in procession thrice round the walls of the city, they should immediately be delivered from the plague. At first little attention was paid to the holy man, and he was looked upon as little better than a dreamer; however, he persisted in his story, grew noisy, and got adherents. The magistrates, to pacify them, sent to the Monte Pellegrino, when, lo! the mighty discovery was made—the sacred bones were found—the city was freed from the plague, and St Rosolia became the greatest saint in the calendar. Churches were reared, altars were dedicated, and ministers appointed to this new divinity, whose dignity and consequence have ever since been supported at an incredible expense. Now, I think it is more than probable that these bones, that are now so much revered, and about which this great city is at present in such a bustle, belong to some poor wretch, that perhaps was murdered, or died for want in the mountains. The holy man probably could have given a very good account of them.

It is really astonishing to think what animals superstition makes of mankind. I dare say the bones of St Rosolia are just as little entitled to the honours they receive as those of poor St Viar, which were found somewhere in Spain under a broken tombstone, where these were the only legible letters. The story, I think, is told by Dr Middleton. The priests found that the bones had an excellent knack at working miracles, and were of opinion that this, together with the *S. Viar* on the stone, was proof sufficient of his sanctity. He continued long in high estimation, and they drew no inconsiderable revenue from his abilities, till unfortunately they petitioned the pope to grant him some immunities. The pope (Leo X., I think), not entirely satisfied with regard to his saintship, desired to be informed of his pretensions. A list of his miracles was sent over, accompanied by the stone with *S. Viar* upon it. The first part of the proof was sustained, but the antiquaries found the fragment to

be part of the tombstone of a (Roman) *praefectus viarum*, or overseer of the high road, to whose bones they had been so much indebted, and poor St Viar, though probably an honest man than most of them, was ordered to be struck out of the calendar.

The people of fashion here hold the superstition of the vulgar in great contempt; and perhaps that very superstition is one principal cause of their infidelity. Indeed, I have ever found that deism is most prevalent in those countries where the people are the wildest and most bigoted. A refined and cultivated understanding, shocked at their folly, thinks it cannot possibly recede too far from it, and is often tempted to fly to the very opposite extreme. When reason is much offended by any particular dogma of faith or act of worship, she is but too apt, in the midst of her disgust, to reject the whole. The great misfortune is, that in these countries, the most violent champions for religion are commonly the most weak and ignorant; and certainly one weak advocate in any cause, but more particularly in a mysterious one, that requires to be handled with delicacy and address, is capable of hurting it more than fifty of its warmest opponents. Silly books, that have been written by weak well-meaning men, in defence of religion, I am confident have made more infidels than all the works of Bolingbroke, Shaftesbury, or even Voltaire himself: they only want to make people believe that there are some ludicrous things to be said against it; but these grave plodding blockheads do all they can to persuade us that there is little or nothing to be said for it. The universal error of these gentry is, that they ever attempt to explain, and reconcile to sense and reason, those very mysteries that the first principles of our religion teach us are incomprehensible, and of consequence neither objects of sense nor reason. I once heard an ignorant priest declare that he did not find the least difficulty in conceiving the mystery of the Trinity, or that of Incarnation, and that he would undertake to make them plain to the meanest capacities. A gentleman present told him he had no doubt he could—to all such capacities as his own. The priest took it as a compliment, and made him a bow. Now, don't you think that a few such teachers as this must hurt religion more by their zeal than all its opponents can by their wit? Had these heroes still kept behind the bulwarks of faith and of mystery, their adversaries never could have touched them; but they have been foolish enough to abandon these strongholds, and dared them forth to combat on the plain fields of reason and of sense. A sad piece of generalship indeed: such defenders must ever ruin the best cause.

But although the people of education here despise the wild superstition of the vulgar, yet they go regularly to mass, and attend the ordinances with great respect and decency; and they are much pleased with us for our conformity to their customs, and for not appearing openly to despise their rites and ceremonies. I own this attention of theirs not to offend weak minds tends much to give us a favourable opinion both of their hearts and understandings. They don't make any boast of their infidelity, neither do they pester you with it as in France, where it is perpetually buzzed in your ears, and where, although they pretend to believe less, they do in fact believe more than any nation on the continent.

I know of nothing that gives one a worse opinion of a man than to see him make a show and parade of his contempt for things held sacred—it is an open insult to the judgment of the public. A countryman of ours, about two years ago, offended egregiously in this article, and the people still speak of him both with contempt and detestation. It happened one day in the great church, during the elevation of the host, when every body else were on their knees, that he still kept standing, without any appearance of respect for the ceremony. A young nobleman that was near him expressed his surprise at this. "It is strange,

sir," said he, "that you, who have had the education of a gentleman, and ought to have the sentiments of one, should choose thus to give so very public offence."

"Why, sir," said the Englishman, "I don't believe in transubstantiation." "Neither do I, sir," replied the other, "and yet you see I kneel."

Adieu. I am called away to see the preparations for the feast. In my next I shall probably give you some account of it.

P. S.—I have been watching with great care the return of our comet, but as yet I have discovered nothing of it. I observe, too, with a very indifferent glass, several large round spots on the sun's disk, and am far from being certain that it is not one of them; but I shall not alarm you any more with this subject.

#### THE SIROCCO.—FEMALE LIBERTY.

*Palermo, July 10.*

ON Sunday the 8th we had the long-expected sirocco wind, which, although our expectations had been raised pretty high, yet I own greatly exceeded them. Ever since we came to our new lodging, the thermometer has stood betwixt 72 and 74 degrees; at our old one it was often at 79 and 80; so great is the difference betwixt the heart of the city and the seashore. At present our windows not only front to the north, but the sea is immediately under them, from whence we are constantly refreshed by a delightful cooling breeze. Friday and Saturday were uncommonly cool, the mercury never being higher than 72½; and although the sirocco is said to have set in early on Sunday morning, the air in our apartments, which are very large, with high ceilings, was not in the least affected by it at eight o'clock, when I rose. I opened the door without having any suspicion of such a change, and indeed I never was more astonished in my life. The first blast of it on my face felt like the burning steam from the mouth of an oven. I drew back my head and shut the door, calling out to Fullarton that the whole atmosphere was in a flame. However, we ventured to open another door that leads to a cool platform, where we usually walk; this was not exposed to the wind; and here I found the heat much more supportable than I could have expected from the first specimen I had of it at the other door. It felt somewhat like the subterraneous sweating-stoves at Naples, but still much hotter. In a few minutes we found every fibre greatly relaxed, and the pores opened to such a degree, that we expected soon to be thrown into a profuse sweat. I went to examine the thermometer, and found the air in the room as yet so little affected that it stood only at 73. The preceding night it was at 72½. I took it out to the open air, when it immediately rose to 110, and soon after to 112; and I am confident, that in our old lodgings, or any where within the city, it must have risen several degrees higher. The air was thick and heavy, but the barometer was little affected—it had fallen only about a line. The sun did not once appear the whole day, otherwise I am persuaded the heat must have been insupportable; on that side of our platform which is exposed to the wind, it was with difficulty we could bear it for a few minutes. Here I exposed a little pomatum, which was melted down as if I had laid it before the fire. I attempted to take a walk in the street, to see if any creature was stirring, but I found it too much for me, and was glad to get up stairs again.

This extraordinary heat continued till three o'clock in the afternoon, when the wind changed at once, almost to the opposite point of the compass, and all the rest of the day it blew strong from the sea. It is impossible to conceive the different feeling of the air. Indeed, the sudden change from heat to cold is almost

as inconceivable as that from cold to heat. The current of this hot air had been flying for many hours from south to north, and I had no doubt that the atmosphere for many miles round was entirely composed of it; however, the wind no sooner changed to the north, than it felt extremely cold, and we were soon obliged to put on our clothes, for till then we had been almost naked. In a short time the thermometer sunk to 82 degrees, a degree of heat that in England would be thought almost insupportable, and yet all that night we were obliged, merely from the cold, to keep up the glasses of our coach; so much were the pores opened and the fibres relaxed by these few hours of the sirocco. Indeed, I had exposed myself a good deal to the open air, as I was determined to feel what effect it would produce on the human body. At first I thought it must have been impossible to bear it; but I soon discovered my mistake, and found, that where I was sheltered from the wind, I could walk about without any great inconvenience; neither did it produce that copious sweat I expected; it occasioned, indeed, a violent perspiration, which was only attended with slight moisture on the skin; but I suppose, if I had put on my clothes, or taken the least exercise, it soon would have brought it on.

I own to you my curiosity with regard to the sirocco is now thoroughly satisfied, nor do I at all wish for another visit of it during our stay in Sicily. Many of our acquaintance, who had been promising us this *regalo*, as they call it, came crowding about us as soon as it was over, to know what we thought of it. They own it has been pretty violent for the time it lasted, but assure us they have felt it more so, and likewise of a much longer duration; however, it seldom lasts more than thirty-six or forty hours, so that the walls of the houses have not time to be heated throughout, otherwise they think there could be no such thing as living; however, from what I have felt of it, I believe they are mistaken. Indeed, had I been satisfied with the first blast (which is generally the case with them), and never more ventured out in it, I certainly should have been of their opinion. They laughed at us for exposing ourselves so long to it, and were surprised that our curiosity should lead us to make experiments at the expense of our persons. They assure us that during the time it lasts, there is not a mortal to be seen without doors, but those whom necessity obliges. All their doors and windows are shut close, to prevent the external air from entering, and where there are no window-shutters, they hang up wet blankets on the inside of the window. The servants are constantly employed in sprinkling water through their apartments, to preserve the air in as temperate a state as possible; and this is no difficult matter here, as I am told there is not a house in the city that has not a fountain within it. By these means, the people of fashion suffer very little from the sirocco, except the strict confinement to which it restricts them.

It is somewhat singular, that notwithstanding the scorching heat of this wind, it has never been known to produce any epidemical distempers, nor, indeed, bad consequences of any kind to the health of the people. It is true, they feel extremely weak and relaxed during the time it blows, but a few hours of the tramontane, or north wind, which generally succeeds it, soon braces them up and sets them to rights again. Now, in Naples and in many other places in Italy, where its violence is not to be compared to this, it is often attended with putrid disorders, and seldom fails to produce an almost general dejection of spirits. It is true, indeed, that there the sirocco lasts for many days, nay, even for weeks; so that, as its effects are different, it probably proceeds, likewise, from a different cause.

I have not been able to procure any good account of this very singular object in the climate of Palermo. The causes they assign for it are various, though none of them, I think, are altogether satisfactory.





Some of the families here put me in mind of my own domestic system. The Prince of Resuttana, his wife and daughter, are always together, but it is because they choose to be so, and there appears the strongest affection, without the least diffidence on the one side or restraint on the other. The young princess Donda Rosolia is one of the most amiable young ladies I have seen; she was of our little party last night, and indeed made one of its greatest ornaments. It would appear vain and partial after this to say, that in countenance, sentiment, and behaviour, she seems altogether English, but it is true; and this perhaps may have contributed to advance her still higher in our esteem; for in spite of all our philosophy, these unphilosophical prejudices will still exist, and no man, I believe, has entirely divested himself of them. We had lately a noble entertainment at her father's country-house, and had reason to be much pleased with the unaffected hospitality and easy politeness of the whole family. This palace is reckoned the most magnificent in the neighbourhood of Palermo. It lies about six or seven miles to the west of the city, in the country called Il Colle, in the opposite direction from the Bagaria, which I have already mentioned. The viceroy and his family, with the greater part of the nobility, were of this party, which lasted till about two in the morning. At midnight a curious set of fireworks was played off from the leads of the palace, which had a fine effect from the garden below.

Farewell. I had no time to write yesterday, and though we did not break up till near three this morning, I have got up at eight, I was so eager to give you some account of the sirocco wind.

We are now going to be very busy; the feast of St Rosolia begins to-morrow, and all the world are on the very tiptoe of expectation; perhaps they may be disappointed. I often wish that you were with us, particularly when we are happy, though you know it is by no means feasts and shows that make us so. However, as this is perhaps the most remarkable one in Europe, that you may enjoy as much of it as possible, I shall sit down every night and give you a short account of the transactions of the day. We are now going to breakfast, after which we are engaged to play at ballon, an exercise I suppose you are well acquainted with; but as the day promises to be extremely hot, I believe I shall desert the party and go a-swimming. But I see F. and G. have already attacked the figs and peaches, so I must appear for my interest. Farewell.

#### FESTIVAL OF ST ROSOLIA.

*Palermo, July 12.*

ABOUT five in the afternoon, the festival began by the triumph of St Rosolia, who was drawn with great pomp through the centre of the city, from the Marino to the Porto Nuovo. The triumphal car was preceded by a troop of horse, with trumpets and kettle-drums, and all the city officers in their gala uniforms. It is indeed a most enormous machine; it measures seventy feet long, thirty wide, and upwards of eighty high, and, as it passed along, overtopped the loftiest houses of Palermo. The form of its under part is like that of the Roman galleys, but it swells as it advances in height, and the front assumes an oval shape like an amphitheatre, with seats placed in the theatrical manner. This is the great orchestra, which was filled with a numerous band of musicians placed in rows, one above the other: over this orchestra, and a little behind it, there is a large dome supported by six Corinthian columns, and adorned with a number of figures of saints and angels; and on the summit of the dome there is a gigantic silver statue of St Rosolia. The whole machine is dressed out with orange-trees, flower-pots, and trees of artificial coral. The car stopped every fifty

or sixty yards, when the orchestra performed a piece of music, with songs in honour of the saint. It appeared a moving castle, and completely filled the great street from side to side. This indeed was its greatest disadvantage, for the space it had to move in was in no wise proportioned to its size, and the houses seemed to dwindle away to nothing as it passed along. This vast fabric was drawn by fifty-six huge mules, in two rows, curiously caparisoned, and mounted by twenty-eight postilions, dressed in gold and silver stuffs, with great plumes of ostrich feathers in their hats. Every window and balcony, on both sides of the street, were full of well-dressed people, and the car was followed by many thousands of the lower sort. The triumph was finished in about three hours, and was succeeded by the beautiful illumination of the Marino.

I believe I have already mentioned that there is a range of arches and pyramids extending from end to end of this noble walk; these are painted, and adorned with artificial flowers, and are entirely covered with lamps, placed so very thick that, at a little distance, the whole appears so many pyramids and arches of flame. The whole chain of this illumination was about a mile in length, and indeed you can hardly conceive any thing more splendid. There was no break or imperfection any where, the night being so still that not a single lamp was extinguished.

Opposite to the centre of this great line of light, there was a magnificent pavilion erected for the viceroy and his company, which consisted of the whole nobility of Palermo; and on the front of this, at some little distance in the sea, stood the great fire-works, representing the front of a palace, adorned with columns, arches, trophies, and every ornament of architecture. All the chebecks, galleys, galliots, and other shipping, were ranged around this palace, and formed a kind of amphitheatre in the sea, enclosing it in the centre. These began the show by a discharge of the whole of their artillery, the sound of which, re-echoed from the mountains, produced a very noble effect; they then played off a variety of water-rockets, and bombs of a curious construction, that often burst below water. This continued for half an hour, when, in an instant, the whole of the palace was beautifully illuminated. This was the signal for the shipping to cease, and appeared indeed like a piece of enchantment, as it was done altogether instantaneously, and without the appearance of any agent. At the same time the fountains that were represented in the court before the palace began to spout up fire, and made a representation of some of the great jets d'eau of Versailles and Marly. As soon as these were extinguished, the court assumed the form of a great parterre, adorned with a variety of palm-trees of fire, interspersed with orange-trees, flower-pots, vases, and other ornaments. On the extinguishing of these, the illumination of the palace was likewise extinguished, and the front of it broke out into the appearance of a variety of suns, stars, and wheels of fire, which in a short time reduced it to a perfect ruin. And when all appeared finished, there burst from the centre of the pile a vast explosion of two thousand rockets, bombs, serpents, squibs, and devils, which seemed to fill the whole atmosphere: the fall of these made terrible havoc amongst the clothes of the poor people who were not under cover, but afforded admirable entertainment to the nobility who were. During this exhibition we had a handsome entertainment of coffee, ices, and sweetmeats, with a variety of excellent wines, in the great pavilion in the centre of the Marino; this was at the expense of the Duke of Castellano, the prætor (or mayor) of the city. The principal nobility give these entertainments by turns every night during the festival, and vie with each other in their magnificence.

As soon as the fire-works were finished, the viceroy went out to sea in a galley richly illuminated. We chose to stay on shore, to see the appearance it made at a distance. It was rowed by seventy-two oars, and

indeed made one of the most beautiful objects you can imagine—flying with vast velocity over the waters, as smooth and as clear as glass, which shone round it like a flame, and reflected its splendour on all sides. The oars beat time to the French horns, clarionets, and trumpets, of which there was a numerous band on the prow.

The day's entertainment was concluded by the Corso, which began exactly at midnight, and lasted till two in the morning.

The great street was illuminated in the same magnificent manner as the Marino. The arches and pyramids were erected at little distances from each other, on both sides of the street, betwixt the footpath and the space for carriages, and when seen from either of the gates, appeared to be two continued lines of the brightest flame. Indeed these illuminations are so very different, and so much superior, to any I have ever seen, that I find it difficult to give any tolerable idea of them. Two lines of coaches occupied the space betwixt these two lines of illumination. They were in the greatest gala; and as they open from the middle, and let down on each side, the beauty of the ladies, the richness of their dress, and the brilliancy of their jewels, were displayed in the most advantageous manner.

This beautiful train moved slowly round and round for the space of two hours; and every member of it seemed animated with a desire to please. The company appeared all joy and exultation: scarce two coaches passed without some mutual acknowledgment of affection or respect; and the pleasure that sparkled from every eye seemed to be reflected and communicated by a kind of sympathy through the whole.

In such an assembly, it was impossible for the heart not to dilate and expand itself: I own mine was often so full that I could hardly find utterance; and I have seen a tragedy with less emotion than I did this scene of joy. I always thought these affections had been strangers to pomp and parade; but here the universal joy seemed really to spring from the heart—it brightened up every countenance, and spoke affection and friendship from every face. No stately air—no supercilious look; all appeared friends and equals. And sure I am that the beauty of the ladies was not half so much heightened, either by their dress or their jewels, as by that air of complacency and good humour with which it was animated.

We were distributed in different coaches amongst the nobility, which gave us a better opportunity of making these observations. I will own to you that I have never beheld a more delightful sight; and if superstition often produces such effects, I sincerely wish we had a little more of it amongst us. I could have thrown myself down before St Rosalia, and blessed her for making so many people happy.

We retired about two o'clock; but the variety of glittering scenes and gaudy objects still vibrated before my eyes, and prevented me from sleeping: however, I am almost as much refreshed as if I had; but I really believe four more such days will be too much for any of us. Indeed, I am sure that it is impossible to keep it up, and it must necessarily flag. I think, from what I can observe, they have already exhausted almost one-half of their preparations; how they are to support the other four days, I own I do not comprehend: however, we shall see.

I thought to have given you an account of every thing at night after it was over, but I find it impossible: the spirits are too much dissipated and exhausted, and the imagination is too full of objects, to be able to separate them with any degree of regularity. I shall write you, therefore, regularly the morning following, when this fever of the fancy has had time to cool, and when things appear as they really are. Adieu, then, till to-morrow. Here is a fine shower, which will cool the air, and save the trouble of watering the Marino and the great street, which is done

regularly every morning when there is no rain. The thermometer is at 73 degrees.

13th.—I thought there would be a falling-off. Yesterday's entertainments were not so splendid as those of the day before. They began by the horse races. There were three races, and six horses started each race. These were mounted by boys of about twelve years old, without either saddle or bridle, but only a small piece of cord, by way of bit, in the horse's mouth, which, it seems, is sufficient to stop them. The great street was the course; and to this end it was covered with earth to the depth of five or six inches. The firing of a cannon at the Porto Felice was the signal for starting; and the horses seemed to understand this, for they all set off at once, full speed, and continued at their utmost stretch to the Porto Nuovo, which was the winning-post. It is exactly a mile, and they performed it in a minute and thirty-five seconds, which, considering the size of the horses (scarce fourteen hands), we thought was very great. These are generally barbs, or a mixed breed betwixt the Sicilian and barb. The boys were gaudily dressed, and made a pretty appearance. We were surprised to see how well they stuck on; however, I observed they had generally laid fast hold of the mane.

The moment before starting the street appeared full of people; nor did we conceive how the race could possibly be performed. Our surprise was increased when we saw the horses run full speed at the very thickest of this crowd, which did not begin to open till they were almost close upon it. The people then opened, and fell back on each side, by a regular uniform motion, from one end of the street to the other. This singular manœuvre seemed to be performed without any bustle or confusion, and the moment the horses were past they closed again behind them. However, it destroys great part of the pleasure of the race; for you cannot help being under apprehensions for such a number of people, whom you every moment see in imminent danger of being trodden to death; for this must inevitably be their fate, were they only a second or two later in retiring. These accidents, they allow, have often happened: however, yesterday every body escaped.

The victor was conducted along the street in triumph, with his prize displayed before him. This was a piece of white silk, embroidered and worked with gold.

These races, I think, are much superior to the common style of races in Italy, which are performed by horses alone without riders; but they are by no means to be compared to those in England.

The great street was illuminated in the same manner as on the preceding night, and the grand conversation of the nobles was held at the archbishop's palace, which was richly fitted up for the occasion.

The gardens were finely illuminated, and put me in mind of our Vauxhall. There were two orchestras (one at each end), and two very good bands of music. The entertainment was splendid, and the archbishop showed attention and politeness to every person of the company.

About ten o'clock the great triumphal car marched back again in procession to the Marino. It was richly illuminated with large wax tapers, and made a most formidable figure. Don Quixote would have been very excusable in taking it for an enchanted castle, moving through the air. We did not leave the archbishop's till midnight, when the Corso began, which was precisely the same in every respect as the night before, and afforded us a delightful scene.

14th.—Last night the two great streets, and the four gates of the city that terminate them, were illuminated in the most splendid manner. These streets cross each other in the centre of the city, where they form a beautiful square, called *La Piazza Ottangolare*, from the eight angles they form. This square was richly ornamented with tapestry, statues, and artificial

flowers; and as the buildings which form its four sides are uniform and of a beautiful architecture, and at the same time highly illuminated, it made a fine appearance. There are four orchestras erected in it: and the four bands of music are greater than I had any conception this city could have produced.

From the centre of this square you have a view of the whole city of Palermo thus dressed out in its glory, and, indeed, the effect it produces surpasses belief. The four gates that form the vistas to this splendid scene are highly decorated, and lighted up in an elegant taste—the illuminations representing a variety of trophies, the arms of Spain, those of Naples, Sicily, and the city of Palermo, with their guardian geniuses, &c.

The conversation of the nobles was held in the viceroy's palace, and the entertainment was still more magnificent than any of the former. The great fireworks opposite to the front of the palace began at ten o'clock and ended at midnight, after which we went to the Corso, which lasted, as usual, till two in the morning. This part of the entertainment still pleases us the most; it is indeed the only part of it that reaches the heart; and where this is not the case, a puppet-show is just as good as a coronation. We have now got acquainted almost with every countenance; and from that air of goodness and benignity that animates them, and which seems to be mutually reflected from one to the other, we are inclined to form the most favourable opinion of the people.

Our fire-works last night were greater than those of the Marino, but their effect did not please me so much; the want of the sea and the shipping were two capital defects. They likewise represented the front of a palace, but of a greater extent. It was illuminated, too, as the former, and the whole conducted pretty much in the same manner. We saw it to the greatest advantage from the balconies of the state apartments in the viceroy's palace, where we had an elegant concert, but, to the no small disappointment of the company, Gabrieli, the finest singer, but the most capricious mortal upon earth, did not choose to perform.

15th.—Three races, six horses each as formerly. They called it very good sport. I cannot say that I admired it. A poor creature was rode down, and I believe killed, and one of the boys had likewise a fall.

The great assembly of the nobility was held at the Judice Monarchia's, an officer of high trust and dignity. Here we had an entertainment in the same style as the others, and a good concert. At eleven o'clock the viceroy, attended by the whole company, went on foot to visit the square and the great church. We made a prodigious train; for though the city was all a lamp of light, the servants of the viceroy and nobility attended with wax flambeaux to show us the way. As soon as the viceroy entered the square, the four orchestras struck up a symphony, and continued playing till he left it.

The crowd around the church was very great, and without the presence of the viceroy it would have been impossible for us to get in; but his attendants soon cleared the passages, and at once entering the great gate, we beheld the most splendid scene in the world. The whole church appeared a flame of light, which, reflected from ten thousand bright and shining surfaces, of different colours, and at different angles, produced an effect, which, I think, exceeds all the descriptions of enchantment I ever read. Indeed, I did not think that human art could have devised any thing so splendid. I believe I have already mentioned that the whole church—walls, roof, pillars, and pilasters—were entirely covered over with mirrors, interspersed with gold and silver paper, artificial flowers, &c., done up with great taste and elegance, so that not one inch either of stone or plaster was to be seen. Now, form an idea, if you can, of one of our great cathedrals

dressed out in this manner, and illuminated with twenty thousand wax tapers, and you will have some faint notion of this splendid scene. I own it did greatly exceed my expectations, although, from the descriptions we had of it, they were raised very high. When we recovered from our first surprise, which had produced, unknown to ourselves, many exclamations of astonishment, I observed that all the eyes of the nobility were fixed upon us, and that they enjoyed exceedingly the amazement into which we were thrown. Indeed, this scene, in my opinion, greatly exceeds all the rest of the show.

I have often heard the illumination of St Peter's spoken of as a wonderfully fine thing: so indeed it is; but it is certainly no more to be compared to this, than the planet Venus is to the sun. The effects, indeed, are of a different kind, and cannot well be compared together.

This scene was too glaring to bear any considerable time, and the heat occasioned by the immense number of lights soon became intolerable. I attempted to reckon the number of lustres, and counted upwards of five hundred; but my head became giddy, and I was obliged to give it up. They assure us that the number of wax tapers is not less than twenty thousand. There are eight and twenty altars, fourteen on each side; these are dressed out with the utmost magnificence, and the great altar is by far the most splendid of all.

When you think of the gaudy materials that compose the lining of this church, it will be difficult to annex an idea of grandeur and majesty to it—at least so it struck me when I was first told of it—yet, I assure you, the elegant simplicity and unity of the design prevents this effect, and gives an air of dignity to the whole.

It is on this part of the show the people of Palermo value themselves the most; they talk of all the rest as trifling in comparison of this; and, indeed, I think it is probable that there is nothing of the kind in the world that is equal to it. It is strange they should choose to be at so great an expense and trouble for a show of a few hours only; for they have already begun this morning to strip the church of its gaudy dress, and I am told it will not be finished for many weeks.

From the church we went immediately to the Corso, which concluded, as usual, the entertainments of the day.

16th.—Last night we had the full illumination of all the streets. The assembly was held at the prætor's, where there was an elegant entertainment and a concert. Pacherotti, the first man of the opera, distinguished himself very much. I think he is one of the most agreeable singers I ever heard, and am persuaded that in a few years he will be very celebrated. Campanucci, the second soprano, is, I think, preferable to most that I have heard in Italy; and you will the more easily believe this, when I inform you that he is engaged for next winter to be the first singer in the great opera at Rome. Is it not strange that the capital of all Italy, and, for the fine arts (as it formerly was for arms), the capital of the world, should condescend to choose its first opera performer from amongst the subalterns of a remote Sicilian stage?

You will believe, that with two such sopranos as these, and Gabrieli for the first woman, the opera here will not be a despicable one. It is to begin in a few days, notwithstanding the extreme heat of the season, so fond are the people here of these entertainments.

Their opera-dancers are those you had last year at London; they are just arrived, and the people are by no means pleased with them. We saw them this morning at the rehearsal, and, to their great surprise, addressed them in English. You cannot imagine how happy they were to see us. Poor souls! I was de-

lighted to hear with what warmth of gratitude and affection they spoke of England. There is a mother and two daughters; the youngest pretty, but the eldest, the first dancer, appears a sensible, modest well-behaved girl—more so than is common with these sort of people. Speaking of England, she said, with a degree of warmth that her good treatment in general could hardly inspire, that in her life she never left any country with so sore a heart; and had she only enjoyed her health, all the world should never have torn her away from it. She seemed affected when she said this. I acknowledged the honour she did the English nation, but alleged that these sentiments, and the manner in which they were uttered, could scarcely proceed from a *general love* of the country. She answered me with a smile, but at the same time I could observe the tear in her eye. At that instant we were interrupted; however, I shall endeavour, if possible, to learn her story, for I am persuaded there is one; perhaps you may know it, as I dare say it is no secret in London.

But I have got quite away from my subject, and had forgot that I sat down to give you an account of the feast. Indeed, I will own, it is a kind of subject I by no means like to write upon; I almost repent that I had undertaken it, and am heartily glad it is now over. It does very well to see shows; but their description is, of all things on earth, the most insipid—for words and writing convey ideas only by a slow and regular kind of progress—and while we gain one, we generally lose another, so that the fancy seldom embraces the whole; but when a thousand objects strike you at once, the imagination is filled and satisfied.

The great procession, that closes the festival, began at ten o'clock. It only differed from other processions in this, that besides all the priests, friars, and religious orders of the city, there were placed, at equal distances from each other, ten lofty machines made of wood and pasteboard, ornamented in an elegant manner, representing temples, tabernacles, and a variety of beautiful pieces of architecture. These are furnished by the different convents and religious fraternities, who vie with each other in the richness and elegance of the work. Some of them are not less than sixty feet high. They are filled with figures of saints and angels, made of wax, so natural, and so admirably well painted, that many of them seemed really to be alive. All these figures are prepared by the nuns, and by them dressed out in rich robes of gold and silver tissue.

We were a good deal amused this morning to see them returning home in coaches to their respective nurseries. At first we took them for ladies in their gala dress, going out to visit the churches, which we were told was the custom, and began to pull off our hats as they went past. Indeed, we were led into this blunder by some of our friends, who carried us out on purpose; and as they saw the coaches approach, told us this is the princess of such a thing—there is the duchess of such another thing; and, in short, we had made half-a-dozen of our best bows (to the no small entertainment of these wags) before we discovered the trick. They now insist upon it that we are good Catholics, for all this morning we had been bowing to saints and angels.

A great silver box, containing the bones of St Rosalia, closed the procession. It was carried by thirty-six of the most respectable burgesses of the city, who look upon this as the greatest honour. The archbishop walked behind it, giving his benedictions to the people as he passed.

No sooner had the procession finished the tour of the great square before the prator's palace, than the fountain in the centre, one of the largest and finest in Europe, was converted into a fountain of fire; throwing it up on all sides, and making a beautiful appearance. It only lasted for a few minutes, and was extinguished by a vast explosion, which concluded the

whole. As this was altogether unexpected, it produced a fine effect, and surprised the spectators more than any of the great fire-works had done.

A mutual and friendly congratulation ran through the whole assembly, which soon after parted, and this morning every thing has once more reassumed its natural form and order; and I assure you, we were not more happy at the opening of the festival, than we are now at its conclusion. Every body was fatigued and exhausted by the perpetual feasting, watching, and dissipation of these five days. However, upon the whole, we have been much delighted with it, and may with truth pronounce, that the entertainments of the feast of St Rosalia are much beyond those of the holy week at Rome, of the Ascension at Venice, or indeed any other festival we have ever witnessed.

I believe I did not tell you, that about ten or twelve days ago, as the time we had appointed for our return to Naples was elapsed, we had hired a small vessel and provided every thing for our departure; we had even taken leave of the viceroys, and received our passports. Our baggage and sea-store was already on board, when we were set upon by our friends, and solicited with so much earnestness and cordiality to give them another fortnight, that we found it impossible to refuse it; and in consequence discharged our vessel, and sent for our trunks. I should not have mentioned this, were it not to show you how much more attention is paid to strangers here than in most places on the continent.

We reckon ourselves much indebted to them for having obliged us to prolong our stay, as, independent of the amusements of the festival, we have met with so much hospitality and urbanity, that it is now with the most sincere regret we find ourselves obliged to leave them. Indeed, had we brought our clothes and books from Naples, it is hard to say how long we might have stayed.

We have sent to engage a vessel, but probably shall not sail for five or six days. Adieu.

#### ANTIQUITIES OF SICILY.

*Palermo, July 19.*

WE have now had time to inquire a little into some of the antiquities of this island, and have found several people, particularly the Prince of Torremuzzo, who have made this the chief object of their study. However, I find we must wade through oceans of fiction before we can arrive at any thing certain or satisfactory.

Most of the Sicilian authors agree in deriving their origin from Ham, or, as they call him, Cham, the son of Noah, who, they pretend, is the same as Saturn. They tell you that he built a great city, which from him was named Camesena. There have been violent disputes about the situation of this city: Berosus supposes it to have stood where Camarina was afterwards founded, and that this was only a corruption of its primitive name. But Guarneri, Carrera, and others, combat this opinion, and affirm that Camesna stood near the foot of *Ætna*, between *Acì* and *Catania*, almost opposite to those three rocks that still bear the name of the Cyclops. Indeed, Carrera mentions an inscription that he had seen in a ruin near *Acì*, supposed to have been the sepulchre of *Acis*, which he thinks puts this matter out of doubt. These are his words: "Hæc est inscriptio vetustæ ejusdam tabellæ repertæ in pyramide sepulchri *Acis*," ex frag-

\* [Translated thus:—This is the inscription upon a certain ancient tablet found in the pyramid of the tomb of *Acis*, amongst the ruins of the very ancient city of *Camesena*, now *Acì*, which was founded by *Cham*, King of the Giants, also called *Saturn Chamesenus*, on the *Xiphonian* promontory, where to this day are to be seen, levelled with the ground, ancient monuments, and the ruins of the said city and of a castle upon an isle near the rocks of the Cyclops, retaining the shortened name of *La Gazzena*.]

mentis vetustissimæ Chamesenæ, urbis hodie Acis, conditæ a Cham, gigantum principe, etiam nuncupato Saturno Chameseno, in promontorio Xiphonio, ubi adhuc hodie visuntur solo æquata antiqua vestigia, et ruinæ dictæ urbis et arcis in insula prope Scopulos Cycloppum, et retinet adhuc sinecopatum nomen La Gazzena."

This same Cham, they tell you, was a very great scoundrel, and that *esemus*, which signified infamous, was added to his name, only to denote his character. Fazzello says he married his own sister, who was called Rhea; that Ceres was the fruit of this marriage; that she did not inherit the vices of her father, but reigned over Sicily with great wisdom and moderation; that she taught her subjects the method of making bread and wine, the materials for which their island produced spontaneously in great abundance: that her daughter Proserpine was of equal beauty and virtue with herself; that Orius, King of Epirus, had demanded her in marriage, and, on a refusal, had carried her off by force; which gave occasion to the wild imagination of Greece to invent the fable of the rape of Proserpine by Pluto, king of hell, this Orius being of a morose and gloomy disposition.

Ceres has ever been the favourite deity of the Sicilians. She chose her seat of empire in the centre of the island, on the top of a high hill, called Enna, where she founded the city of that name. It is still a considerable place, and is now called Castragiovanni, but little or nothing remains of the ruins of Enna.

Cicero gives a particular account of this place. He says, in his situation in the centre of the island, it was called *Umbilicus Sicilie*, and describes it as one of the most beautiful and fertile spots in the world. The temple of Ceres at Enna was renowned all over the heathen world, and pilgrimages were made to it, as they are at present to Loretto. Fazzello says it was held in such veneration, that when the city was surprised and pillaged by the slaves and barbarians, they did not presume to touch this sacred temple, although it contained more riches than all the city besides.

There have been violent disputes amongst the Sicilian authors, whether Proserpine was carried off near the city of Enna, or that of *Ætna*, which stood at the foot of that mountain; but it is of mighty little consequence, and more respect, I think, is to be paid to the sentiments of Cicero, who gives it in favour of Enna, than the whole of them. Diodorus, too, is of the same opinion, and his description of this place is almost in the same words as that of Cicero. They both paint it as a perfect paradise, abounding in beautiful groves, clear springs and rivulets, and, like *Ætna*, covered with a variety of flowers at all seasons of the year. To these authorities, if you please, you may add that of Milton, who compares it to paradise itself:—

Nor that fair field  
Of Enna, where Proserpine gathering flowers,  
Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis  
Was gathered.

If you want to have a fuller account of this place, you will find it in Cicero's pleadings against Verres, and in the fifth book of Diodorus. I have conversed with several gentlemen who have been there: they assure me that it still answers in a great measure to the description of these authors. Medals, I am told, are still found, with an elegant figure of Ceres, and an ear of wheat for the reverse; but I have not been able to procure any of them.

There was another temple in Sicily not less celebrated than this one of Ceres. It was dedicated to Venus *Erečina*, and like the other, too, was built on the summit of a high mountain. The ancient name of this mountain was Eryx, or, as the Sicilians call it, Erice, but it is now called St Juliano. Both mountain and temple are often mentioned by the Greek and Latin historians, and happily the Sicilian ones have

no dispute about its situation or origin, which they make out to be almost as ancient as that of Ceres. Diodorus says that Dedalus, after his flight from Crete, was hospitably received here, and by his wonderful skill in architecture added greatly to the beauty of this temple. He enriched it with many fine pieces of sculpture, but particularly with the figure of a ram of such exquisite workmanship that it appeared to be alive. This, I think, is likewise mentioned by Cicero.

*Æneas*, too, in his voyage from Troy to Italy, landed in this part of the island, and, according to Diodorus and Thucydides, made rich presents to this temple; but Virgil is not satisfied with this—he must raise the piety of his hero still higher, and, in opposition to all the historians, makes *Æneas* the founder of the temple.\* Its fame and glory continued to increase for many ages; and it was held in still greater veneration by the Romans than it had been by the Greeks. Fazzello says, and quotes the authority of Strabo, that seventeen cities of Sicily were laid under tribute to raise a sufficient revenue to support the dignity and enormous expenses of this temple. Two hundred soldiers were appointed for its guard, and the number of its priests, priestesses, and ministers, male and female, was incredible.

Venus succeeded in her possession of Eryx by St Juliano, who now gives his name both to the city and mountain; and indeed he has a very good title, for when the place was closely besieged, the Sicilians tell you he appeared on the walls armed cap-a-pie, and frightened the enemy to such a degree that they instantly took to their heels, and left him ever since in quiet possession of it.

Many medals are found in the neighbourhood, but there is not the least vestige of this celebrated temple. Some marbles with inscriptions and engravings, that have been found deep below ground, are almost the only remaining monuments of its existence. Suetonius says, that it had even fallen to ruins before the time of Tiberius, but as Venus was the favourite divinity of that emperor, he had ordered it to be magnificently repaired. However, it is somewhat difficult to reconcile this with Strabo's account, who tells us that even before his time it had been totally abandoned; and indeed this seems most probable, as every vestige of it has now disappeared, which is not commonly the case with the great works of the age of Tiberius.

*Æneas* landed at the port of Drepanum, at the foot of this mountain. Here he lost his father Anchises, in honour of whom, on his return from Carthage about a year after, he celebrated the games that make so great a figure in the *Æneid*, which Virgil introduces with a good deal of address as a compliment to the piety of Augustus, who had instituted games of the same kind in honour of Julius Cæsar, his father by adoption.

It is singular that Virgil's account of this part of Sicily should be so very different from that of Homer, when there was so short a space, only a few months, between the times that their two heroes visited it. Indeed, Virgil seems to have followed the historians in his conduct of this part of his poem, more than the sentiments of Homer, who makes this very country where *Æneas* was so hospitably received the habitation of Polyphemus and the Cyclops, where Ulysses lost so many of his companions, and himself made so very narrow an escape. The island of Licosia, where he moored his fleet, lay very near the port of Drepanum, and Homer describes the adventure of Polyphemus to have happened on the shore of Sicily opposite

\* Tum vicina astris Erycino in vertice sede.  
Fundatur Veneri Idaliæ tumuloque sacerdos,  
Et lucus late sacæ additur Anchisæo.  
[Then on the top of Eryx, they begin  
A rising temple to the Paphian queen.  
Anchises last is honour'd as a god:  
A priest is added, annual gifts bestow'd,  
And groves are planted round his blest abode.]

to that island. Virgil has taken the liberty to change the scene of action, as he was better acquainted both with the geography and history of the country than Homer, and, perhaps with a good deal of propriety, places it at the foot of Mount Ætna. I am afraid there is not so much propriety in his changing the action itself, and contradicting the account that Homer gives of it. For Ulysses says that Polyphemus devoured four of his companions, but that he, by his address, saved all the rest, and was himself the last that escaped out of the cave. Now, Virgil makes Ulysses to have told a lie, for he affirms that he left Achemenides behind him; and Achemenides, too, gives a different account of this affair from Ulysses: he assures Æneas that Polyphemus devoured only two of his companions, after which they put out his eye with a sharp weapon (*acuto telo*), which rather gives the idea of a spear or javelin than that of a great beam of wood made red hot in the fire, as Homer describes it. But there are many such passages. Don't you think they seem either to indicate a negligence in Virgil, or a want of deference for his master?—neither of which, I believe, he has ever been accused of.

The Sicilian authors are by no means pleased with Virgil for making Æneas the founder of this temple of Venus Erecina. They will only allow that the colony which he was obliged to leave there, after the burning of his ships, did, in honour of his mother Venus, build the city of Eryx around her temple; but they all insist upon it that the temple was built by Eryx, or, as they call him, Erice, another son of Venus, but much older than Æneas—the same that was found to be so equal a match for Hercules, but was at last killed by him, at a boxing-match near the foot of this mountain. The spot where this is supposed to have happened still retains the name of (*Il campo di Hercole*) the field of Hercules. Through the whole fifth book of the Æneid, this Eryx is styled the brother of Æneas; and, in his account of the games, Virgil introduces those very gauntlets with which he fought with Hercules (*in hoc ipso littore*) in this very field; the sight of which, from their enormous size, astonishes the whole host, and frightens the champion Dares so much that he refuses to fight.

Adieu. The opera begins in two days; after which, I think, we shall soon take leave of Sicily. Ever yours.



#### ST ROSOLIA'S CAVE.—ANTIQUITIES CONTINUED.

Palermo, July 21.

YESTERDAY we walked up to the Monte Pellegrino to pay our respects to St Rosolia, and thank her for the variety of entertainment she has afforded us. It is one of the most fatiguing expeditions I ever made in my life. The mountain is extremely high, and so uncommonly steep, that the road up to it is very properly termed *la Scala*, or the Stair. Before the discovery of St Rosolia, it was looked upon as almost inaccessible; but they have now, at a vast expense, cut out a road over precipices that were almost perpendicular. We found the saint lying in her grotto, in the very same attitude in which she is said to have been discovered: her head reclining gently upon her hand, and a crucifix before her. This is a statue of the finest white marble, and of most exquisite workmanship. It is placed in the inner part of the cavern, on the very same spot where St Rosolia expired. It is the figure of a lovely young girl of about fifteen, in an act of devotion. The artist has found means to throw something that is extremely touching into the countenance and air of this beautiful statue. I never in my life saw one that affected me so much, and am not surprised that it should have captivated the hearts of the people. It is covered with a robe of beaten gold, and is adorned with some valuable jewels. The

cave is of a considerable extent, and extremely damp, so that the poor little saint must have had very cold uncomfortable quarters. They have built a church around it, and appointed priests to watch over these precious relics, and receive the offerings of pilgrims that visit them.

An inscription, graven by the hand of St Rosolia herself, was found in a cave in Monte Quesquina, at a considerable distance from this mountain. It is said that she was disturbed in her retreat there, and had wandered from thence to Monte Pellegrino, as a more retired and inaccessible place. I shall copy it exactly as it is preserved in the poor little saint's own Latin.

EGO ROSOLIA  
SINIBALDI QUISQUINE  
ET ROSARUM DOMINI FILIA,  
AMORE DEI MEI JESU CHRISTI,  
IN HOC ANTRO HABITARI  
DECREVI.\*

After St Rosolia was scared from the cave where this inscription was found, she was never more heard of, till her bones were found about five hundred years after, in this spot.

The prospect from the top of Monte Pellegrino is beautiful and extensive. Most of the Lipari islands are discovered in a very clear day, and likewise a large portion of Mount Ætna, although at the distance of almost the whole length of Sicily. The Bagaria, too, and the Colle, covered over with a number of fine country houses and gardens, make a beautiful appearance. The city of Palermo stands within less than two miles of the foot of the mountain, and is seen to great advantage. Many people went to this mountain during the time of the great illumination, from whence they pretend it has a fine effect; but this unfortunately we neglected.

Near the middle of the mountain, and not far from its summit, there still appear some remains of a celebrated castle, the origin of which the Sicilian authors carry back to the most remote antiquity. Massa says, it is supposed to have been built in the reign of Saturn, immediately after the Flood: for in the time of the earliest Carthaginian wars, it was always much respected on account of its venerable antiquity. It was then a place of strength, and is often mentioned by the Greek historians. Diodorus says, in his twenty-third book, that Hamilcar kept possession of it for three years against all the power of the Romans, who, with an army of forty thousand men, attempted in vain to dislodge him.

The situation of Palermo is seen, I think, to more advantage from the Monte Pellegrino than from any where else. This beautiful city stands near the extremity of a kind of natural amphitheatre, formed by high and rocky mountains; but the country that lies betwixt the city and these mountains is one of the richest and most beautiful spots in the world. The whole appears a magnificent garden, filled with fruit trees of every species, and watered by clear fountains and rivulets that form a variety of windings through this delightful plain. From the singularity of this situation, as well as from the richness of the soil, Palermo has had many flattering epithets bestowed upon it, particularly by the poets, who have denominated it *Conca d'Oro*, the Golden Shell, which is at once expressive both of its situation and richness. It has likewise been styled *Aurea Valle*, *Hortus Sicilia*, &c.; and to include all these together, the lasting term of *Feliz* has been added to its name, by which you will find it distinguished even in the maps.

Many of the etymologists allege that it is from the richness of this valley that it had its original name of *Panormus*, which, in the old Greek language, they pretend, signified *All a garden*; but others say there

\* [This inscription bears, in very peculiar Latin, that "I, Rosolia," daughter of such-and-such parents, "out of love for my Lord Jesus Christ, have resolved to dwell in this cave."]

is no occasion for straining significations, and assert, with more appearance of plausibility, that it was called *Pan-ormus*, from the size and convenience of its harbours, one of which is recorded anciently to have extended into the very centre of the city. And this is the account Diodorus gives of it: it was called *Panormus*, says he, because its harbour even penetrated to the very innermost parts of the city—*Pan-ormus*, in the Greek language, signifying *All a port*. And Procopius, in his History of the Wars of the Goths, assures us, that in the time of Belisarius, the port was deep enough for that general to run his ships up to the very walls of the city, and give the assault from them. It is not now so well entitled to this name as it was formerly. These harbours have been almost entirely destroyed and filled up, most probably, I think, by the violent torrents from the mountains that surround it, which are recorded sometimes to have laid waste great part of the city. Fazzello speaks of an inundation of which he was an eyewitness, that came down from the mountains with such fury that they thought the city would have been entirely swept away. He says it burst down the wall near to the royal palace, and bore away every thing that opposed its passage—churches, convents, houses, to the number of two thousand, and drowned upwards of three thousand people. Now, the fragments and ruins carried to the sea by such a torrent alone, would be sufficient to fill up a little harbour; so that we are not to be surprised that these capacious ports, for which it had been so much celebrated, no longer exist.

Next to Chameseno, Palermo is generally supposed to be the most ancient city in the island. Indeed, there still remain some monuments that carry back its origin to the times of the most remote antiquity. A bishop of Lucera has written on this subject. He is clearly of opinion that Palermo was founded in the days of the first patriarchs. You will laugh at this—so did I—but the bishop does not go to work upon conjecture only; he supports his opinion with such proofs, as, I own to you, staggered me a good deal. A Chaldean inscription was discovered about six hundred years ago, on a block of white marble; it was in the reign of William II., who ordered it to be translated into Latin and Italian. The bishop says there are many fragments in Palermo with broken inscriptions in this language, and seems to think it beyond a doubt that the city was founded by the Chaldeans in the very early ages of the world. This is the literal translation—"During the time that Isaac, the son of Abraham, reigned in the valley of Danasens, and Esau, the son of Isaac, in Idumea, a great multitude of Hebrews, accompanied by many of the people of Danasens, and many Phœnicians, coming into this triangular island, took up their habitation in this most beautiful place, to which they gave the name of *Panormus*."

The bishop translates another Chaldean inscription, which is indeed a great curiosity. It is still preserved, though not with that care that so valuable a monument of antiquity deserves. It is placed over one of the old gates of the city, and when that gate falls to ruin, it will probably be for ever lost. The translation is in Latin, but I shall give it you in English—"There is no other God but one God. There is no other power but this same God. There is no other conqueror but this God whom we adore. The commander of this tower is Saphu, the son of Eliphar, son of Esau, brother of Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham. The name of the tower is Baych, and the name of the neighbouring tower is Pharat."

These two inscriptions seem to reflect a mutual light upon each other. Fazzello has preserved them both, and remarks upon this last, that it appears evidently from it that the tower of Baych was built antecedent to the time of Saphu (or, as we translate it, Zephu), who is only mentioned as commander of the tower, but not as its founder.

Part of the ruins of this tower still remain, and many more Chaldean inscriptions have been found amongst them, but so broken and mangled that little could be made of them. Fazzello is in great indignation at some masons he found demolishing these precious relics, and complains bitterly of it to the senate, whom he with justice upbraids for their negligence and indifference.

Conversing on this subject the other night with a gentleman who is well versed in the antiquities of this place, I took the liberty of objecting to the Greek etymology, *Pan-ormus*, it appearing extremely absurd to give a Greek name to the city long before the existence of the Greek nation: I added, that I was a good deal surprised Fazzello had not attempted to account for this seeming absurdity. He allowed the apparent validity of the objection, and blamed Fazzello for his negligence; but assured me that *Pan-ormus*, or something very nearly of the same sound, signified in the Chaldean language, and likewise in the Hebrew, a paradise or delicious garden; and that the Greeks, probably finding it so applicable, never thought of changing its name. This I was in no capacity to contradict. He added, too, that *Pan-ormus* was likewise an Arabic word, and signified *This water*; which probably was the reason that the Saracens did not change its name, as they have done that of almost every thing else, as this is as applicable and as expressive of the situation of Palermo as any of the other etymologies, it being surrounded on all sides with beautiful fountains of the purest water, the natural consequence of the vicinity of the mountains.\*

Pray show this letter to our friend Mr Crofts, and desire his sentiments on these etymologies and antiquities. Tell him I have not forgot his commission, and shall procure him all the oldest and most unintelligible books in Palermo; but I must beg, for the repose and tranquillity of mankind, that he will not republish them. On these conditions, I send him a most valuable fragment: it is part of a Chaldean inscription that has been exactly copied from a block of white marble found in the ruins of the tower Baych. I own I should like much to see it translated; the people here have as yet made nothing of it, and we were in no capacity to assist them.

Adieu. The weather has become exceedingly hot. The thermometer is at 80 degrees. Ever yours.

#### SICILIAN FISHERIES.—GOVERNMENT.

Palermo, July 24.

In the course of our acquaintance with some gentlemen of sense and observation in this place, we have learned many things concerning the island, that perhaps may be worthy of your attention; and as this day is so hot that I cannot go out, I shall endeavour to recollect some of them, both for your amusement and my own. The thermometer is up to 81½ degrees; so you may judge of the situation of our northern constitutions.

There is one thing, however, that I have always observed in these southern climates, that although the degree of heat is much greater than with us, yet it is not commonly attended with that weight and oppression of spirits that generally accompany our sultry days in summer. I am sure that in such a day as this, in England, we should be panting for breath, and no mortal would think either of reading or writing. That is not the case here; I never was in better spirits

\* [Palermo continues to be the capital of Sicily; its court and nobility, its beautiful public and private buildings, are still liable to the description given by Mr Brydone; but the population has sunk considerably, and is now estimated at 130,000. Ferdinand, King of the Two Sicilies, when he retired from Naples in 1798, on the approach of the French republican army, took up his abode at Palermo, where he resided for some years. About five hundred foreign vessels enter the port of Palermo annually.]



in my life: indeed, I believe the quantities of ice we eat may contribute a good deal towards it; for I find that in a very violent heat there is no such cordial to the spirits as ice, or a draught of ice water; it is not only from the cold it communicates, but, like the cold bath, from the suddenness of that communication, it braces the stomach, and gives a new tone to the fibres. It is strange that this piece of luxury (in my opinion the greatest of all, and perhaps the only healthy one) should still be so much neglected with us.

I knew an English lady at Nice, who in a short time was cured of a threatening consumption only by a free indulgence in the use of ices; and I am persuaded that in skilful hands few remedies would be more effectual in many of our stomach and inflammatory complaints, as hardly any thing has a stronger or more immediate effect upon the whole frame; and surely our administering of warm drinks and potions in these complaints tend often to nourish the disease. It is the common practice here, in inflammatory fevers, to give quantities of ice-water to drink; nay, so far have they carried it, that Dr Sanghes, a celebrated Sicilian physician, covered over the breast and belly of his patients with snow or ice, and they assure us, in many cases with great success. But, indeed, I ought in justice to add, that this physician's practice has not been generally adopted.

Perhaps it is from the present benefit I find from ice that I have said so much in favour of it; for I am fully persuaded, that if I had not a quantity of it standing here below the table, I should very soon be obliged to give up writing and go to bed; but whenever I begin to flag, another glass is sure to set me to rights again.

I was going to give you some account of the fisheries of this island.

The catching the tunny-fish constitutes one of the principal Sicilian amusements during the summer months; and the curing and sending them to foreign markets makes one of the greatest branches of their commerce. We were invited yesterday by the Prince Sperlinga to a party of tunny-fishing, but the violence of the heat prevented it.

These fish do not make their appearance in the Sicilian seas till towards the latter end of May, at which time the *tonnaros*, as they call them, are prepared for their reception. This is a kind of aquatic castle, formed, at a great expense, of strong nets, fastened to the bottom of the sea, by anchors and heavy leaden weights.

These *tonnaros* are erected in the passages amongst the rocks and islands that are most frequented by the tunny-fish. They take care to shut up with nets the entry into these passages, all but one little opening, which is called the outward gate of the *tonnaro*. This leads into the first apartment, or, as they call it, the hall. As soon as the fish have got into the hall, the fishermen, who stand sentry in their boats during the season, shut the outer door, which is no more than letting down a small piece of net, which effectually prevents the tunny from returning by the way they came. They then open the inner door of the hall, which leads to the second apartment, which they call the antechamber, and, by making a noise on the surface of the water, they soon drive the tunny-fish into it. As soon as the whole have got into the antechamber, the inner door of the hall is again shut, and the outer door is opened for the reception of more company.

Some *tonnaros* have a great number of apartments, with different names to them all—the saloon, the parlour, the dining-room, &c., but the last apartment is always styled *la camera della morte*, the chamber of death; this is composed of stronger nets and heavier anchors than the others.

As soon as they have collected a sufficient number of tunny-fish, they are driven from all the other apartments into the chamber of death, when the slaughter

begins. The fishermen, and often the gentlemen too, armed with a kind of spear or harpoon, attack the poor defenceless animals on all sides, which, now giving themselves up to despair, dash about with great force and agility, throwing the water over all the boats, and tearing the nets to pieces; they often knock out their brains against the rocks or anchors, and sometimes even against the boats of their enemies.

You see there is nothing very generous or manly in this sport. The taking of the *pesce spada*, or sword-fish, is a much more noble diversion; no art is made use of to ensnare him; but with a small harpoon, fixed to a long line, they attack him in the open seas, and will often strike him at a very considerable distance. It is exactly the whale-fishing in miniature. The Sicilian fishermen (who are abundantly superstitious) have a Greek sentence which they make use of as a charm to bring him near their boats. This is the only bait they use, and they pretend that it is of wonderful efficacy, and absolutely obliges him to follow them; but if unfortunately he should overhear them speak a word of Italian, he plunges under water immediately, and will appear no more.

As these fish are commonly of a great size and strength, they will sometimes run for hours after they are struck, and afford excellent sport. I have seen them with a sword four or five feet long, which gives them a formidable appearance in the water, particularly after they are wounded. The flesh of these animals is excellent; it is more like beef than fish, and the common way of dressing it is in steaks.

The fishing of the *pesce spada* is most considerable in the sea of Messina, where they have likewise great quantities of eels, particularly the *morena*, so much esteemed amongst the Romans, which I think is indeed the finest fish I ever ate.

But it is not only their large fish that they strike with harpoons, they have the same method of taking mullet, dories, a kind of mackerel, and many other species; but this is always performed in the night. As soon as it is dark, two men get into a small boat; one of them holds a lighted torch over the surface of the water, the other stands with his harpoon ready poised in his hand. The light of the torch soon brings the fish to the surface, when the harpooner immediately strikes them. I have seen great quantities killed in this manner, both here and at Naples. A large fleet of boats employed in this kind of fishing makes a beautiful appearance on the water in a fine summer night.

The coral fishery is chiefly practised at Trapani; they have invented a machine there, which answers the purpose much beyond their expectations. This is only a great cross of wood, to the centre of which is fixed a heavy hard stone, capable of carrying the cross to the bottom. Pieces of small net are tied to each limb of the cross, which is poised horizontally by a rope, and let down into the water. As soon as they feel it touch the bottom, the rope is made fast to the boat. They then row about all over the coral beds; the consequence of which is, the great stone breaks off the coral from the rocks, and it is immediately entangled in the nets. Since this invention, the coral fishery has turned out to considerable account.

The people of Trapani are esteemed the most ingenious of the island; they are the authors of many useful and ornamental inventions. An artist there has lately discovered a method of making cameos, which are a perfect imitation of the ancient ones engraved on the onyx. They are done on a kind of hard shell from pastes of the best antiques, and so admirably executed, that it is often difficult to distinguish the ancient from the modern. These, set in gold, are generally worn as bracelets, and are at present in high estimation amongst the ladies of quality here. Mrs Hamilton\* procured a pair of them last year, and

\* Now Lady Hamilton. [First wife of Sir William Hamilton, British ambassador at Naples.]

carried them to Naples, where they have been much admired. Commissions were immediately sent over, and the man has now more business than he can manage; however, we have been fortunate enough to procure a few pairs of them for our friends. I have seen cameos that have cost 200 guineas, that could scarce be distinguished from one of these.

The difficulties under which the poor Sicilians labour, from the extreme oppression of their government, obliges them sometimes to invent branches of commerce that nature seems to have denied them, as they are not allowed to enjoy those she has bestowed. The sugar-cane was very much cultivated in this island, but the duties imposed were so enormous, that it has been almost abandoned. But their crops of wheat alone, were they under a free government, would soon be sufficient to render this little nation one of the richest and most flourishing in the world; for even in the wretched state of cultivation it is in at present, one good crop, I am told, is sufficient to maintain the island for seven years. You will be a good deal surprised, after this, to hear that the exportation of this commodity has been prohibited for these several years past, at least to all such as are not able to pay most exorbitantly for that privilege. The consequence is, that corn has become a drug. The common price of the *salma*, which is two loads, was about thirty-one shillings; at present it is reduced to five shillings and sixpence, and there is a probability that it will still fall lower.

This crop, which has been very abundant, I am told, in many places, they have hardly been at the pains to gather in, as there is little probability of this cruel prohibition being removed. The farmers are already ruined, and the ruin of their masters must inevitably follow. This is the method the ministry of Naples, or rather that of Spain, has taken to humble the pride of the Sicilian barons, whose power they pretend is still very extensive, and their jurisdiction absolute, most of them possessing a right of life and death in their own domains. However, there is a probability that they will soon be obliged to relinquish their privileges. The complaint is universal, and if the ministry persevere in these rigorous measures, there must either be a revolt, or they must soon be reduced to a state of poverty as well as of servitude. I believe, indeed, most of them would readily embrace any plausible scheme to shake off their yoke, as in general they appear to be people of great sensibility, with high notions of honour and liberty.

Talking of the natural riches of their island: Yes, say they, if these were displayed, you would have reason indeed to speak of them. Take a look of these mountains—they contain rich veins of every metal, and many of the Roman mines still remain; but to what end should we explore them? It is not we that should reap the profit. Nay, a discovery of any thing very rich might possibly prove the ruin of its possessor. No: in our present situation the hidden treasures of the island must ever remain a profound secret. Were we happy enough to enjoy the blessings of your constitution, you might call us rich indeed. Many hidden doors of opulence would then be opened, which now are not even thought of, and we should soon re-assume our ancient name and consequence; but at present we are nothing.

This is the language that some of the first people amongst them hold with us. However, they still boast that they retain more of the feudal government than any nation in Europe. The shadow indeed remains, but the substance is gone long ago. It has long been the object of the Bourbon ministry to reduce the power of the barons in every kingdom. Richelieu began the system in France, and it has ever since been prosecuted by his successors; its influence has now spread over the whole of their possessions in Europe, of which, as this is the most remote, it has likewise been the longest in reaching it.

The foundation of the feudal system was first laid here by the Count Rugiero, about the middle of the eleventh century, immediately after he had driven the Saracens out of the island. He divided Sicily into three parts; the first, by consent of his army, was given to the church, the second he bestowed upon his officers, and the third he reserved for himself.

Of these three branches, or, as they call them, *Braccios* (arms), he composed his parliament, the form of which remains the same to this day. The *Braccio Militare* is composed of all the barons of the kingdom, to the number of two hundred and fifty-one, who are still obliged to military service; their chief is the Prince Butero, who is hereditary president of the parliament, for, in conformity to the genius of the feudal government, some of the great offices are still hereditary. The three archbishops, all the bishops, abbés, priors, and dignified clergy, amounting to near seventy, form the *Braccio Ecclesiastico*; the Archbishop of Palermo is their chief. The *Braccio Demaniale* is formed by election, like our House of Commons: there are forty-three royal cities, styled *Demaniale*, that have a right to elect members. Every householder had a vote in this election. Their chief is the member for Palermo, who is likewise prætor (or mayor) of the city. He is an officer of the highest rank, and his power is very extensive, inferior only to that of the viceroy, in whose absence the greater part of the authority devolves upon him. He has a company of grenadiers for his body-guard, and receives the title of excellency.

The prætor, together with six senators, who are styled patricians, have the management of the civil government of the city. He is appointed every year by the king, or by the viceroy, which is the same thing; for I don't find that the people any longer exercise even the form of giving their votes, so that the very shadow of liberty has now disappeared as well as the substance. You may judge of the situation of liberty in a kingdom, where all courts civil and criminal are appointed by regal authority, and where all offices are conferred only by the will of the sovereign, and depend entirely upon his caprice.

I own I feel most sincerely for the Sicilians, who, I think, are possessed of many admirable qualities. But the spirit of every nation must infallibly sink under an oppressive and tyrannical government. Their spirit, however, has in a great measure kept them free from one branch of tyranny, the most dreadful of all, that of the inquisition. The kings of Spain wanted to establish it in its full force; but the barons, accustomed to exercise despotic government themselves, could not bear the thoughts of becoming slaves to a set of ignorant Spanish priests; and, I believe, they took the only way that was left to avoid it. Every inquisitor that pretended to more zeal than they thought became him, was immediately assassinated, particularly if he presumed to interfere with the conduct or sentiments of the nobility. This soon took off the edge of their zeal, and reduced the holy office to a becoming moderation. However, they are extremely circumspect in their conversation about religious matters, and generally advise strangers to be on their guard, as the power of the inquisition, although considerably reduced, is by no means annihilated.

The laws of Sicily are scattered in a great number of volumes; these the King of Sardinia intended to abridge and collect into one code, but unfortunately he was not long enough in possession of the island to accomplish this useful work. But where there is an authority above all laws, laws can be but of little service.

The power of the viceroy is very absolute: he has not only the command of all the military force in the kingdom, but likewise presides with unbounded authority in all civil tribunals; and as he is also invested with the legantine power, his sway is equally great in religious matters.

He has the right of nominating to all the great

offices in the kingdom, and confirming of all dignities, both civil and ecclesiastical.

In visiting the prisons, a ceremony which he performs with great pomp twice a-year, he has the power of liberating whatever prisoners he pleases, of reducing or altering their sentences, their crimes and accusations having first been read over to him. Indeed, that there may be some appearance of a regard to law and justice, his counsellor always attends him on these occasions, to mark out the limits of the law. This is an officer of very high rank, appointed to assist the viceroy in his decisions, where the case may appear intricate or dubious, and always is, or ought to be, one of the ablest lawyers in the island. For the most part, this office has been given to strangers, who are supposed to have no kindred or particular connexions here, that in giving their judgment they may be free from all prejudice and partiality. He has free admittance into all courts and tribunals, that he may be the better enabled to give the viceroy an account of their proceedings.

The whole military force of Sicily amounts at present, from what I can learn, to 9500 men, about 1200 of whom are cavalry. Many of their cities and fortresses would require a very numerous garrison to defend them, particularly Messina, Syracuse, and Palermo; but indeed the state of their fortifications, as well as that of their artillery, is such, that even if they were inclined they could make but a small defence.

If this island were in the hands of a naval power, I think it is evident that it must command the whole Levant trade. There are several little ports at each end of it, besides the great ones of Trapani, Syracuse, and Messina, which lie pretty near the three angles of the triangle. Whatever ships had passed either of these, the others could be apprised of it in the space of half an hour, by means of signal towers, which the Sicilians have erected all round their island, to warn them against sudden invasions from the Barbary side. These towers are built on every little promontory, within sight of each other. Fires are always kept ready for lighting, and a person is appointed to watch at each of them, so that the whole island can be alarmed, they assure us, in the space of an hour.

By the bye, we have been witness here of a practice that appears to be a very iniquitous one, and in the end, I should think, must prove the destruction of our Mediterranean trade. Several ships have put in at this port with English colours, but, to our surprise, without one Englishman on board. These, I find, they call *bandiere men*; perhaps it is a known practice, although, I own, I was an utter stranger to it. They are very numerous in these seas, and carry on a considerable trade through the whole of the Mediterranean, to the great detriment of our own ships. Most of them belong to Genoa and Sicily, though they pass under the name of Minorquins. They purchase Mediterranean passports, I am told, from some of the governors of our garrisons, which entitle them, during the term specified in these passports, to trade under English colours. I am assured that the number of these *bandiere men* amounts to some hundreds. They have often one or two English sailors on board, or at least some person that speaks the language, to answer when they are challenged. Pray, can you tell me if this practice is known in England?

Adieu. The heat has become intolerable, and I am able to write no more. However, I should not have given it up yet, but my ice is all melted, and I have not the conscience to send out a servant for more. I dare say you are very glad of it, and wish it had been melted long ago. If this continues, I believe we ourselves shall be melted. The thermometer is above 82 degrees, and the heat still seems to increase. The sea has even become too hot for bathing, and it does not at all refresh us now as it did formerly. Farewell.

## EQUIPAGES OF THE NOBILITY.

Palermo, July 26.

We have now got every thing ready for our departure, and, if the wind continues favourable, this is probably the last letter I shall write you from Sicily. However, I had still a great deal more to say, both of the Sicilians and their island, and shall leave them, I assure you, with a good deal of regret.

The Sicilians still retain some of the Spanish customs, though nothing of their gravity or taciturnity. The younger sons of the nobility are styled *don* by their christened names, and the daughters *donna*, like our appellation of lord and lady to the sons and daughters of dukes. The eldest son has commonly the title of count or marquis, but they are not all counts as in France and Germany, where I have seen six counts in one house, and very near twice the number of barons in another.

One of the most common titles here, as well as at Naples, is that of prince; and although these were only created by Philip II. of Spain, they take rank of all the other nobility, some of whom, particularly the counts, carry their origin as far back as the time of the Normans, and look with great contempt on these upstart princes. The dukes and marquises are not so old: the first were created by Charles V., and the second, though an inferior title, by King Alphonso, in the fifteenth century. So that the dignity of the Sicilian titles may be said to be in the inverse ratio of their antiquity.

The luxury of the people here, like that of the Neapolitans, consists chiefly in their equipages and horses; but by a wise law of the King of Sardinia, which I am surprised should still remain in force, the viceroy alone is allowed to drive in the city with six horses; the prætor, the archbishop, and president of the parliament, with four; all the rest of the nobility are restricted to two. But this is only within the gates of Palermo; and when they go to the country, there is none of them that drive with less than four—besides, every family of distinction has at least two or three carriages in daily use, for no man of fashion is so unpolite as to refuse his wife a chariot of her own, of which she has the entire command (without this the Marino could never subsist), and the upper servants of the first families would be just as much ashamed to be seen on foot as their masters. We took the liberty to ridicule the folly of this practice; they allow of its absurdity, and wish to break through it; but who is to lead the way? We even prevailed with some of the young nobility, which I assure you was no small condescension, to walk the streets with us during the illuminations; but even this condescension showed the folly of the prejudice in a stronger light than if they had refused us, for they would not be prevailed on to stir out till they had sent their servants about ten yards before them, with large wax flambeaux, although the whole city was in a flame of light. You may believe we did not spare them upon this occasion; but it was all to no purpose. However, it is possible that we may overlook many customs of our own that are not less ridiculous; for ridicule for the most part is relative, and depends only on time and place. Perhaps you may remember the Prince of Anamaboo: I should like to hear the account he would give of the English nation in his own country for some of our customs struck him in a still more ridiculous light. Walking out in St James's Park in the afternoon, he observed one of his acquaintance driving in a phaeton with four horses. The prince burst into a violent fit of laughing, when they asked him what was the matter. "Vat the devil," said the prince, in his bad English, "has that fellow ate so much dinner that now it takes four horses to carry him? I rode out with him this morning, and he was then so light, that van little horse run away with him,

He must either be a great fool or a great glutton." Another time they insisted on the prince going to the play. He went; but he soon tired of it, and returned to his companions. "Well, prince," said they, "what did you see?" "What did I see!" replied he, with the utmost contempt; "I did see some men playing de fiddle, and some men playing de fool."

I only infer from this that it is with some degree of caution we should ridicule the customs of other nations: a Sicilian, perhaps, would laugh with as much justice at many of our customs—that, for instance, of obliging people to drink when they have no inclination to it—that in the north, of eating Solan geese before dinner to give them an appetite—that of physicians and lawyers wearing enormous wigs—and many others that will naturally occur to you, none of which appear in the least ridiculous to the people that practise them, who would no doubt defend them as strenuously as the Sicilians do the necessity of carrying flambeaux before them during the great illumination. Indeed, they have just now given us an admirable specimen of some of our ridicules, in one of their opera-dances, with which we have been a good deal entertained.

I believe I told you that the dancers are lately come from England; they have brought upon the stage many of the capital London characters—the bucks, the macaronies, the prigs, the cits, and some others still more respectable: these are well supported, and afford a good deal of laughing. But I am interrupted, otherwise I should have given you a more particular account of them. Adieu. The heat is intolerable, and there is no possibility of walking out. We complain without reason of our own climate; and King Charles's observation, I am persuaded, was just—"That there is hardly any climate where, throughout the year, we can have so much exercise in the open air." Ever yours.

#### ANCIENT SUPERSTITIONS.—FEMALE BEAUTY.

Palermo, July 27.

THE Sicilians are animated in conversation, and their action for the most part is so just and so expressive of their sentiments, that without hearing what is said, one may comprehend the subject of their discourse. We used to think the French and Neapolitans great adepts in this art, but they are much outdone by the Sicilians, both in the variety and justness of their gesticulation.

The origin of this custom they carry so far back as the time of the earliest tyrants of Syracuse, who, to prevent conspiracies, had forbid their subjects, under the most severe penalties, to be seen in parties talking together. This obliged them to invent a method of communicating their sentiments by dumb show, which they pretend has been transmitted from generation to generation ever since.

I think it is not at all improbable that this custom, too, may have given the first idea of comedy; as we find that, some short time after, Epicarmus, a native of that city, was the author of this invention.

The Sicilians till lately retained a great many foolish and superstitious customs, but particularly in their marriage and funeral ceremonies: it would be tedious to give you an account of all these; some of them are still practised in the wild and mountainous parts of the island. As soon as the marriage ceremony is performed, two of the attendants are ready to cram a spoonful of honey into the mouths of the bride and bridegroom, pronouncing it emblematical of their love and union, which they hope will ever continue as sweet to their souls as the honey is to their palates. They then begin to throw handfuls of wheat upon them, which is continued all the way to the house of the bridegroom. This is probably the remains of some

ancient rite to Ceres, their favourite divinity, and they think it cannot fail of procuring them a numerous progeny.

The young couple are not allowed to taste of the marriage-feast; this they pretend is to teach them patience and temperance; but when dinner is finished, a great bone is presented to the bridegroom by the bride's father, or one of her nearest relations, who pronounces these words—"Rodi tu quest'osso, &c.—Pick you this bone, for you have now taken in hand to pick one which you will find much harder and of more difficult digestion." Perhaps this may have given rise to the common saying, when one has undertaken any thing arduous or difficult, that "He has got a bone to pick."

The Sicilians, like most other nations in Europe, carefully avoid marrying in the month of May, and look upon such marriages as extremely inauspicious. This piece of superstition is as old as the time of the Romans, perhaps older, by whose authors it is frequently mentioned, and by whom it has been transmitted to almost every nation in Europe. It is somewhat unaccountable that so ridiculous an idea, which can have no foundation in nature, should have stood its ground for so many ages. There are indeed other customs, still more trivial, that are not less universal. That of making April fools on the first day of that month, the ceremony of the cake on Twelfth-night, and some others that will occur to you, of which, any more than of this, I have never been able to learn the origin.

The marriages of the Sicilian nobility are celebrated with great magnificence, and the number of elegant carriages produced on these occasions is astonishing. I wanted to discover when this great luxury in carriages had taken its rise, and have found an account of the marriage of the daughter of one of their viceroys to the Duke of Bivona, in the year 1551. It is described by one Elenco, who was a spectator of the ceremony. He says, the ladies as well as gentlemen were all mounted on fine horses, sumptuously caparisoned, and preceded by pages; that there were only three carriages in the city, which were used by invalids who were not able to ride on horseback. These he calls *carrette*, which word now signifies a little cart.

The Sicilian ladies marry very young, and frequently live to see the fifth or sixth generation. You will expect, no doubt, that I should say something of their beauty. In general, they are sprightly and agreeable; and in most parts of Italy they would be esteemed handsome. A Neapolitan or a Roman would surely pronounce them so, but a Piedmontese would declare them very ordinary—so, indeed, would most Englishmen. Nothing is so vague as our ideas of female beauty; they change in every climate, and the criterion is nowhere to be found.

Ask where's the north?—at York 'tis on the Tweed,  
In Scotland at the Orcaes, and there  
At Nova Zembla, or no one knows where.

No two nations, perhaps no two men, have affixed precisely the same characteristics; and every one exalts his idea of it according to the beauty of the woman he is accustomed to see, so that even the same person may sometimes appear beautiful, sometimes ugly, just in proportion as we have seen others that are more or less so. I remember, after making the tour of Savoy and the Lower Valais, every woman we met in Switzerland appeared an angel. The same thing happens in travelling through some parts of Germany; and you will easily recollect the surprising difference betwixt a beauty at Milan and one at Turin, although these places lie adjacent to each other. It is a pity that the Juno of Zeuxis has been lost, if it were no more than to have shown us the notion the ancients had of a perfect beauty. Indeed, the Venus of Medici has been considered as a model of perfection, but it is surely absurd; for who ever heard of a

perfect beauty of five feet high! the very idea is ridiculous; and whatever figure her goddessship might make amongst the ancient divinities in the Pantheon at Rome, I am afraid she would cut but a sorry one amongst the modern ones in that of London. In short, I believe we may safely conclude, that beauty is a relative quality; and the *to kalon* is no longer the same, no more in a physical than in a moral sense, in any two places on the globe.

The ladies here have remarkably fine hair, and they understand how to dress and adorn it to the greatest advantage. It is now only used as an embellishment; but in former times, we are told, that, like that of Sampson, it was found to be the strength and protection of their country. There is a paradox for you, that all the wise men in the east could hardly solve. Their historians relate (in whose reign, I believe, is rather dubious), that this city had suffered a long siege from the Saracens, and was greatly reduced by famine; but, what distressed them still more, there were no materials to be found for making bowstrings, and they were on the point of surrendering. In this dilemma, a patriotic dame stepped forth, and proposed to the women that the whole of them should cut off their hair and twist it into bowstrings: this was immediately complied with. The heroism of the women, you know, must ever excite that of the men. The besieged, animated by this gallant sacrifice of the fair, renewed their defence with such vigour, that the assailants were beat off; and a reinforcement soon after arriving, the city was saved. The ladies still value themselves on this story, which you may believe has not been forgotten by their bards. "The hair of our ladies," says one of their quaint poets, "is still employed in the same office; but now it discharges no other shafts but those of Cupid, and the only cords it forms are the cords of love."

The Sicilians are much fonder of study than their neighbours on the continent; and their education is much more attended to. We were a good deal surprised to find, that instead of that frivolity and nothingness which so often constitute the conversation of the Italian nobility, here their delight was to talk on subjects of literature, of history, of politics, but chiefly of poetry; for the other branches of knowledge and science are only general, this is the only one that may be said to be universal. Every person, in some period of his life, is sure to be inspired; and a lover is never believed so long as he can speak of his passion in prose; and, contrary to our way of reasoning, is only reckoned true in proportion as he is poetical. Thus, inspiration, you see, has here become the test of truth.

We were astonished, on our first arrival at Palermo, to hear ourselves addressed in English by some of the young nobility, but still more so to find them intimately acquainted with many of our celebrated poets and philosophers—Milton, Shakspeare, Dryden, Pope, Bacon. Bolingbroke we found in several libraries, not in the translation, but generally in the best editions of the original.

Our language, indeed, has become so much in vogue, that it is now looked upon as no immaterial part of a polite education: the viceroy, the Marquis Fogliano, a man of great merit and humanity, has made some of our authors his favourite study, and greatly encourages the progress it is making in his kingdom. Many of the nobility speak it a little, and some of them even with ease and fluency, although they have never been out of their island—the Marquis Natali, the Counts Statela and Buschemi, the Duke of St Micheli, &c., in whose company we have enjoyed a great deal of pleasure, and whose knowledge and erudition is the least part of their praise. Adieu. Yours, &c.

## THE OPERA AT PALERMO.

Palermo, July 28.

I HAD almost forgot to say any thing of the opera. It would have been very ungrateful, for we have been much delighted with it. The first and second man are both admirable singers, and I make no doubt you will have them in London in a few years. Neither of them are as yet known, and I daresay at present they might be engaged for a very moderate price; but in Italy they will soon be taught to estimate their value. The name of the first is Pachierotti; he is very young, and an entire stranger in the musical world; yet I am persuaded, that after he has been heard on the different theatres in Italy, he will be esteemed one of their capital performers. His excellence is the pathetic, at present too much neglected in most theatres; and indeed, I think, he gives more expression to his *cantabile* airs, and makes his hearers feel more, because he feels more himself, than any that I have seen in Italy. He indeed addresses himself to the heart, while most of the modern performers sing only to the fancy.

The first woman is Gabrieli, who is certainly the greatest singer in the world; and those that sing in the same theatre with her, must be capital, otherwise they never can be attended to. This, indeed, has been the fate of all the other performers except Pachierotti; and he, too, gave himself up for lost on hearing her first performance. It happened to be an air of execution, exactly adapted to her voice, which she exerted in so astonishing a manner, that before it was half done, poor Pachierotti burst out a-crying, and ran in behind the scenes, lamenting that he had dared to appear on the same stage with so wonderful a singer, where his small talents must not only be lost, but where he must ever be accused of a presumption which he hoped was foreign to his character.

It was with some difficulty they could prevail on him to appear again; but from an applause well merited both from his talents and his modesty, he soon began to pluck up a little courage, and in the singing of a tender air, addressed to Gabrieli in the character of a lover, even she herself, as well as the audience, is said to have been moved.

Indeed, in these very pathetic pieces, I am surprised that the power of the music does not sometimes altogether overcome the delusion of character; for when you are master of the language, and allow the united power of the poetry, the action, and the music to have its full force on the mind, the effect is wonderfully great. However, I have never heard that this happened completely but once; and it was no less a singer than Farinelli that produced it. He appeared in the character of a young captive hero, and in a tender air was soliciting mercy for his mistress and himself, of a stern and cruel tyrant, who had made them his prisoners. The person that acted the tyrant was so perfectly overcome by the melting strains of Farinelli, that instead of refusing his request as he ought to have done, he entirely forgot his character, burst into tears, and caught him in his arms.

The performance of Gabrieli is so generally known and admired, that it is needless to say any thing to you on that subject. Her wonderful execution and volubility of voice have long been the admiration of Italy, and has even obliged them to invent a new term to express it; and would she exert herself as much to please as to astonish, she might almost perform the wonders that have been ascribed to Orpheus and Timotheus. But it happens, luckily perhaps for the repose of mankind, that her caprice is, if possible, even greater than her talents, and has made her still more contemptible than these have made her celebrated. By this means, her character has often proved a sufficient antidote, both to the charms of her voice and those of her person, which are indeed almost equally powerful; but if these had been united to the

qualities of a modest and an amiable mind, she must have made dreadful havoc in the world. However, with all her faults, she is certainly the most dangerous syren of modern times, and has made more conquests, I suppose, than any one woman breathing.

It is but justice to add, that contrary to the generality of her profession, she is by no means selfish or mercenary, but, on the contrary, has given many singular proofs of generosity and disinterestedness. She is very rich, from the bounty, as is supposed, of the last emperor, who was fond of having her at Vienna; but she was at last banished that city, as she has likewise been most of those in Italy, from the broils and squabbles that her intriguing spirit, perhaps still more than her beauty, had excited. There are a great many anecdotes concerning her, that would not make an unentertaining volume; and, I am told, either are or will soon be published.

Although she is considerably upwards of thirty, on the stage she scarcely appears to be eighteen; and this art of appearing young is none of the most contemptible that she possesses. When she is in good humour, and really chooses to exert herself, there is nothing in music that I have ever heard to be compared to her performance; for she sings to the heart as well as the fancy when she pleases, and then she commands every passion with unbounded sway. But she is seldom capable of exercising these wonderful powers; and her caprice and her talents, exerting themselves by turns, have given her all her life the singular fate of becoming alternately an object of admiration and of contempt.

Her powers in acting and reciting are scarcely inferior to those of her singing; sometimes, a few words in the recitative, with a simple accompaniment only, produces an effect that I have never been sensible of from any other performer; and inclines me to believe what Rousseau advances on this branch of music, which with us is so much despised. She owes much of her merit to the instructions she received from Metastasio, particularly in acting and reciting; and he allows that she does more justice to his operas than any other actress that ever attempted them.

Her caprice is so fixed and so stubborn, that neither interest, nor flattery, nor threats, nor punishments, have the least power over it; and it appears, that treating her with respect or contempt have an equal tendency to increase it.

It is seldom that she condescends to exert these wonderful talents, least of all if she imagines that such an exertion is expected. And instead of singing her airs as other actresses do, for the most part she only hums them over, *a mezza voce*; and no art whatever is capable of making her sing, when she does not choose it.

The most successful expedient has ever been found to prevail on her favourite lover—for she always has one—to place himself in the centre of the pit, or the front box; and if they are in good terms, which is seldom the case, she will address her tender airs to him, and exert herself to the utmost. Her present innamorato promised to give us this specimen of his power over her: he took his place accordingly; but Gabrieli, probably suspecting the connivance, would take no notice of him, so that even this expedient does not always succeed.

The viceroy, who is fond of music, has tried every method with her to no purpose. Some time ago, he gave a great dinner to the principal nobility of Palermo, and sent an invitation to Gabrieli to be of the party. Every other person arrived at the hour of invitation. The viceroy ordered dinner to be kept back, and sent to let her know that the company waited her. The messenger found her reading in bed: she said she was sorry for having made the company wait, and begged he would make her apology, but that really she had entirely forgot her engagement.

The viceroy would have forgiven this piece of insolence, but, when the company came to the opera, Ga-

brieli repeated her part with the most perfect negligence and indifference, and sung all her airs in what they call *sotto voce*, that is, so low that they can scarcely be heard. The viceroy was offended; but as he is a good-tempered man, he was loath to make use of authority; but at last, by a perseverance in this insolent stubbornness, she obliged him to threaten her with punishment in case she any longer refused to sing.

On this she grew more obstinate than ever, declared that force and authority should never succeed with her; that he might make her cry, but that he never could make her sing. The viceroy then sent her to prison, where she remained twelve days, during which time she gave magnificent entertainments every day, paid the debts of all the poor prisoners, and distributed large sums in charity. The viceroy was obliged to give up struggling with her, and she was at last set at liberty amidst the acclamations of the poor. Luckily for us, she is at present in good humour, and sometimes exerts herself to the utmost of her power.

She says she has several times been on terms with the managers of our opera, but thinks she shall never be able to pluck up resolution enough to go to England. What do you think is her reason? It is by no means a bad one. She says she cannot command her caprice, but that for the most part it commands her; and that there she could have no opportunity of indulging it: for, says she, were I to take it into my head not to sing, I am told the people there would certainly mob me, and perhaps break my bones; now, I like to sleep in a sound skin, although it should even be in a prison. She alleges, too, that it is not always caprice that prevents her from singing, but that it often depends upon physical causes; and this, indeed, I can readily believe, for that wonderful flexibility of voice that runs with such rapidity and neatness through the most minute divisions, and produces almost instantaneously so great a variety of modulation, must surely depend on the very nicest tone of the fibres. And if these are in the smallest degree relaxed, or their elasticity diminished, how is it possible that their contractions and expansions can so readily obey the will as to produce these effects? The opening of the glottis, which forms the voice, is extremely small, and in every variety of tone its diameter must suffer a sensible change; for the same diameter must ever produce the same tone. So wonderfully minute are its contractions and dilatations, that Dr Keill, I think, computes that in some voices its opening—not more than the tenth of an inch—is divided into upwards of twelve hundred parts, the different sound of every one of which is perceptible to an exact ear. Now, what a nice tension of fibres must this require! I should imagine even the most minute change in the air must cause a sensible difference, and that in our foggy climate the fibres would be in danger of losing this wonderful sensibility, or at least that they would very often be put out of tune. It is not the same case with an ordinary voice, where the variety of divisions run through, and the volubility with which they are executed, bear no proportion to those of a Gabrieli.

One of the ballets of our opera is a representation of Vauxhall gardens, and this is the third time I have seen Vauxhall brought upon the Italian theatre—at Turin, at Naples, and here. The gardens are well represented, and the idea must have been given by some person that had been on the spot. A variety of good English figures are brought in; some with large frizzled wigs, sticking half a yard out behind their necks; some with little cut scratches, that look extremely ridiculous. Some come in cracking their whips, with buckskin breeches and jockey caps. Some are armed with great oaken sticks, their hair tied up in enormous clubs, and stocks that swell their necks to double the natural size. But what affords the principal part of the entertainment, is three Quakers, who are duped by three ladies of the town in concert with three jack tars, their lovers. These characters, as

you may believe, are much exaggerated, though, upon the whole, they are supported with humour, and have afforded us a good deal of laughing. However, we were hurt to see the respectable character of Quakers turned into such ridicule; and as the people here were altogether unacquainted with it, we have been at some pains to explain to them the simplicity and purity of their manners, and the incorruptible integrity of their principles.

Although the Sicilians in general are a good sort of people, and seem to be endowed with a large share of philanthropy and urbanity, yet it must be owned they have no great affection for their neighbours on the continent; and, indeed, the dislike is altogether reciprocal. It is somewhat singular—I am afraid not much for the honour of human nature—that through all Europe the two neighbouring nations have a perpetual jarring with each other. I could heartily wish that we had been an exception from this rule, but I am sorry to see, from our newspapers, which are sent to the nobility of this city, that at present we are rather the most distinguished for it; at least our animosities, if there really are any, make by much the greatest noise of all. We have often been asked by foreigners what was the ground of the mighty quarrel, that such torrents of the most illiberal abuse have been poured out by a people so celebrated for liberality of sentiment; and it is with difficulty we can persuade them, that although from the papers this sometimes appears to be the voice of the nation, yet in fact it is only confined to a set of the most worthless and despicable incendiaries—like him who set the house in a flame, on purpose to pilfer during the conflagration. But the abuse that is levelled at the king surprises them more than all the rest; and you cannot conceive their amazement and indignation, when we assured them that, notwithstanding all this, he was the most virtuous and benevolent prince on earth. "Then," exclaimed a Sicilian nobleman, "you must certainly be the most detestable people on the globe." I was a good deal struck with the suddenness of the charge, and it was not without many explanations of the liberty of our constitution, and particularly that of the press, that I could prevail with him to retract his sentiments and think more favourably of us. Still he insisted, that so egregious an abuse of this liberty was only a farther proof of his position; and that there must be something essentially wrong in a nation that could allow of such abuse levelled at the most sacred of all characters—the highest virtue united to the highest station. We assured him that what he heard was only the voice of the most abandoned and profligate wretches in the nation, who, taking advantage of the great freedom of the press, had often made these newspapers the vehicles of the most detestable sedition; that both the king and queen were beloved by all their subjects, at least by all those of worth; that they never were spoken of but as the most perfect models of conjugal union and happiness, as well as of every social endowment; and that they could have no enemies but the enemies of virtue.

However, after all, we could but patch up a peace with him. He could not comprehend, he said, how the voice of a few incendiaries should be louder than the general voice of the nation. We told him, that people who were pleased commonly held their tongue, and that sedition and libel ever made a greater noise than panegyric—just as the fire-bell is rung louder and is more listened to than the bell for rejoicing.

Adieu. Our pilot says the wind is not fair, so that possibly we may still stay a day or two longer. Ever yours.

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#### NATURAL PRODUCTIONS OF SICILY.

Palermo, July 29.

WERE I to enter upon the natural history of this island, it would lead me into a vast field of speculation,

for which I have neither time nor abilities: however, a variety of objects struck us as we travelled along, that it may not be amiss to give you some little account of. There are a variety of mineral waters, almost through the whole of Sicily. Many of these are boiling hot; others, still more singular, are of a degree of cold superior to that of ice, and yet never freeze.

In several places they have fountains that throw up a kind of oil on their surface, which is of great use to the peasants, who burn it in their lamps, and use it for many other purposes; but there is still a more remarkable one near Nicosia, which is called *Il Fonte Canalotto*. It is covered with a thick scum of a kind of pitch, which, amongst the country people, is esteemed a sovereign remedy in rheumatic and many other complaints.

The water of a small lake near Naso is celebrated for dyeing black every thing that is put into it; and this it is said to perform without the mixture of any other ingredient, although the water itself is remarkably pure and transparent.

They have a variety of sulphurous baths, like those near Naples, where the patient is thrown into a profuse sweat only from the heat of the vapour. The most celebrated are those of Sciacca, and on the mountain of St Cologero; not in the neighbourhood of *Ætna*, as I expected, but at a great distance from that mountain. But, indeed, I am much inclined to believe, that not only Mount *Ætna*, but the greatest part of Sicily, and almost the whole of the circumjacent islands, have been originally formed by subterraneous fire; but I shall have an opportunity of speaking more largely on this subject when I give you an account of the country round Naples.

I have observed lava, pumice, and tufa,\* in many parts of Sicily, at a great distance from *Ætna*; and there are a variety both of mountains and valleys that still emit a hot vapour, and produce springs of boiling water.

About a mile and a half to the west of this city, at a small beach where we often go a-swimming, there are many springs of warm water, that rise even within the sea at the depth of five or six feet. We were at first a good deal surprised to find ourselves almost instantaneously both in the hot and cold bath; for at one stroke we commonly passed through the hot water, which only extends for a few feet around the spring. It gave us a momentary glow, and produced a very odd, uncouth sensation, by no means an agreeable one. I mentioned this singularity to several gentlemen here, who tell me they have observed the same thing.

Not a great way from this is a celebrated fountain, called *Il Mar Dolce*, where there are some remains of an ancient naumachia; and in the mountain above it they show you a cavern where a gigantic skeleton is said to have been found: however, it fell to dust when they attempted to remove it: Fazzello says, its teeth were the only part that resisted the impression of the air; that he procured two of them, and that they weighed near two ounces. There are many such stories to be met with in the Sicilian legends, as it seems to be a universal belief that this island was once inhabited by giants; but although we have made diligent inquiry, we have never yet been able to procure a sight of any of these gigantic bones, which are said to be still preserved in many parts of the island. Had there been any foundation for this, I think it is probable they must have found their way into some of the museums; but this is not the case; nor, indeed, have we met with any person of sense and credibility that could say they had seen any of them. We had been assured at Naples that an entire skeleton, upwards of ten feet high, was preserved in the museum of Palermo; but there is no such thing there, nor, I believe, any where else in the island. This museum is

\* [See note on page 84.]

well furnished both with antiques and articles of natural history, but is not superior to what we have seen in many other places.

The number of souls in Palermo is computed at about 150,000. Those of the whole island, by the last numeration, amounted to 1,123,163; of which number there are about 50,000 that belong to the different monasteries and religious orders. The number of houses is computed at 268,120, which gives betwixt five and six to a house.

The great standing commodity of Sicily, which has ever constituted the riches of the island, was their crops of wheat; but they cultivate many other branches of commerce, though none that could bear any proportion to this, were it under a free government, and exportation allowed. Their method of preserving their grain will appear somewhat singular to our farmers: instead of exposing it, as we do, to the open air, they are at the greatest pains to exclude it entirely from it. In many places, where the soil is dry, particularly near Agrigentum, they have dug large pits or caverns in the rock. These open by a small hole at top, and swell to a great width below; here they pour down their grain, after it has been made exceedingly dry; and, ramming it hard, they cover up the hole to protect it from rain; and they assure us it will preserve in this manner for many years.

The *soda* is a plant that is much cultivated, and turns out to considerable account. This is the vegetable that, by the action of fire, is afterwards converted into mirrors and crystals. Great quantities of it are sent every year to supply the glass-houses at Venice. They have likewise a considerable trade in liquorice, rice, figs, raisins, and currants, the best of which grow amongst the extinguished volcanoes of the Lipari Islands. Their honey is, I think, the highest flavoured I have ever seen; in some parts of the island even superior to that of Minorca: this is owing, no doubt, to the quantity of aromatic plants with which this beautiful country is every where overspread. This honey is gathered three months in the year—July, August, and October. It is found by the peasants in the hollows of trees and rocks, and is esteemed of a superior quality to that produced under the tyranny of man. The country of the Lesser Hybla is still, as formerly, the part of the island that is most celebrated for honey. The Count Statela made us a present of some of it, gathered on his brother the Prince Spaccaforno's estate, which lies near the ruins of that city.

Sugar is now no article of the Sicilian commerce, though a small quantity of it is still manufactured for home consumption; but the plantations of the sugarcane, I am told, thrive well in several parts of the island.

The juice of liquorice is prepared both here and in Calabria, and is sent to the northern countries of Europe, where it is used for colds. The juice is squeezed out of the roots, after which it is boiled to a consistency, and formed into cakes, which are packed up with bay leaves in the same order that we receive them.

In some of the northern parts of the island, I am told, they find the shell-fish that produces a kind of flax, of which gloves and stockings are made; but these, too, are found in greater quantities in Calabria.

Their plantations of oranges, lemons, bergamots, almonds, &c., produce no inconsiderable branch of commerce. The pistachio-nut, too, is much cultivated in many parts of the island, and with great success. These trees, like many others, are male and female: the male is called *scornobecco*, and is always barren; but unless a quantity of these are mixed in every plantation, the pistachio-tree never bears a nut. But of all the variety that is cultivated in Sicily, the manna-tree is esteemed the most profitable; it resembles the ash, and is, I believe, of that species. About the beginning of August, during the season of the greatest heat, they make an incision in the bark, near to the root of the tree; a thick whitish liquor is

immediately discharged from the wound, which soon hardens in the sun, when it is carefully taken off and gathered into boxes. They renew these incisions every day during the season, observing, however, only to wound one side of the tree; the other side they reserve for the summer following.

The cantharides-fly is a Sicilian commodity; it is found on several trees of Ætna, whose juice is supposed to have a corrosive or abstersive quality, particularly the pine and the fig-tree; and I am told the cantharides of Mount Ætna are reckoned preferable to those of Spain.

The marbles of Sicily would afford a great source of opulence, were there any encouragement to work the quarries: of these they have an infinite variety, and of the finest sorts. I have seen some of them little inferior to the giall' and verd antique, that is now so precious. The beautiful yellow columns you must have observed in the royal chapel of Casserto are of the first kind. They have likewise some that very much resemble lapis lazuli and porphyry.

At Centorbi they find a kind of soft stone that dissolves in water, and is used in washing instead of soap, from which property it is called *pietra saponaro*. They likewise find here, as well as in Calabria, the celebrated stone, which, upon being watered and exposed to a pretty violent degree of heat, produces a plentiful crop of mushrooms. But it would be endless to give you an account of all the various commodities and curious productions of this island; Ætna alone affords a greater number than many of the most extensive kingdoms, and is no less an epitome of the whole earth in its soil and climate, than in the variety of its productions. Besides the corn, the wine, the oil, the silk, the spice, and delicious fruits of its lower region—the beautiful forests, the flocks, the game, the tar, the cork, the honey, of its second—the snow and ice of its third—it affords from its caverns a variety of mineral and other productions—cinnabar, mercury, sulphur, alum, nitre, and vitriol; so that this wonderful mountain at the same time produces every necessary and every luxury of life.

Its first region covers their tables with all the delicacies that the earth produces; its second supplies them with game, cheese, butter, honey, and not only furnishes wood of every kind for building their ships and houses, but likewise an inexhaustible store of excellent fuel; and as the third region, with its ice and snow, keeps them fresh and cool during the heat of summer, so this contributes equally to keep them warm and comfortable during the cold of winter.

Thus you see the variety of climates is not confined to Ætna itself; but, in obedience to the voice of man, descends from that mountain, and, mingling the violence of their extremes, diffuses the most benign influences all over the island, tempering each other to moderation, and softening the rigours of every season.

We are not then to be surprised at the obstinate attachment of the people to this mountain, and that all his terrors have not been able to drive them away from him: for, although he sometimes chastises, yet, like an indulgent parent, he mixes such blessings along with his chastisements that their affections can never be estranged; for at the same time that he threatens with a rod of iron, he pours down upon them all the blessings of the age of gold.

Adieu. We are now going to pay our respects to the viceroy, and make our farewell visits. This ceremony never fails to throw a damp on my spirits; but I have seldom found it so strong as at present, there being little or no probability that we shall ever see again a number of worthy people we are just now going to take leave of, or that we shall ever have it in our power to make any return for the many civilities we have received from them.

Farewell. The wind, we are told, is fair, and I shall probably be the bearer of this to the continent, from whence you may soon expect to hear from me.



## RETURN TO NAPLES.—CONCLUSION.

*Naples, August 1.*

AFTER two days' delightful sailing, we have again arrived in this city, where, to our infinite joy, we have found all the worthy friends we had left behind us. This indeed was necessary to wipe out the impressions which the leaving of Sicily had occasioned. We shall still remain here at least for three months, till the season of the *malaria* is entirely over. You know the danger of travelling through the Campania during that season; and although this is looked upon by many of our learned doctors as a vulgar error, we certainly shall not submit ourselves to the experiment.

We propose to pass the winter at Rome, where we shall probably find occupation enough for four or five months. From thence by Lorretto, Bologna, &c., to Venice, the old beaten tract. We shall then leave the parched fields of Italy for the delightful cool mountains of Switzerland, where liberty and simplicity, long since banished from polished nations, still flourish in their original purity—where the temperature and moderation of the climate and that of the inhabitants are mutually emblematical of each other. For whilst other nations are scorched by the heat of the sun, and the still more scorching heats of tyranny and superstitution, here the genial breezes for ever fan the air, and heighten that alacrity and joy which liberty and innocence alone can inspire; here the genial flow of the soul has never yet been checked by the idle and useless refinements of art, but opens and expands

itself to all the calls of affection and benevolence. But I must stop. You know my old attachment to that primitive country. It never fails to run away with me. We propose, then, to make this the scene of our summer pleasures; and by that time, I can foresee, we shall be heartily tired of art, and shall begin again to languish after nature. It is she alone that can give any real or lasting pleasure, and in all our pursuits of happiness, if she is not our guide, we never can attain our end.

Adieu, my dear friend. You have been our faithful companion during this tour, and have not contributed a little to its pleasure. If it has afforded equal entertainment to you, we shall beg of you still to accompany us through the rest of our travels. A man must have a miserable imagination indeed, that can be in solitude whilst he has such friends to converse with; the consideration of it soon removes the mountains and seas that separate us, and produces those sympathetic feelings, which are the only equivalent for the real absence of a friend: for I never sit down to write but I see you placed on the opposite side of the table, and suppose that we are just talking over the transactions of the day. And without your presence to animate me, how is it possible that I could have had patience to write these enormous epistles? Adieu. We are soon going to make some excursions through the kingdom of Naples, and if they produce any thing worthy of your observation, we must beg that you will still submit to be one of the party. I ever am, most sincerely and affectionately yours,

PAT. BRYDONE.

## APPENDIX.

## MOUNT ÆTNA.

ONE of the latest accounts which have been given of an ascent of Mount Ætna, is that of Sidney L. Johnson, a gentleman filling the situation of teacher on board one of the vessels of the United States' squadron in the Mediterranean. The year in which the visit was made, we should suppose to have been 1834 or 1835. The following is Mr Johnson's account, slightly abridged, and it may be compared with that given by Brydone:—

"A wish to ascend Mount Ætna was at first the chief motive of our visit to Catania; but before departure, our hopes of reaching the summit were somewhat diminished. Since the snow fell, several parties had attempted it, but all without success. We often gazed upon it from our ships in the harbour of Syracuse, where it presented the singular appearance of a perfect cone of snow of astounding size, to whose dazzling whiteness, the vertex, tipped with black and tufted with a graceful plume of smoke, afforded the only relief. From the more commanding heights of Epipolæ, we could trace the sides lower down; the skirts of the snow were dappled with the naked patches of dark rock, then disappeared, and the broad green base presented a cheerful contrast to the cold and glittering summit.

Our arrangements were made for riding up as far as Nicolosi, on the 22d of February. Abbate, our landlord, had provided every necessary refreshment; and with a due supply of extra clothing, we mounted, and were in motion by four P. M. Our party consisted of four, and was guided to the resting-place for the night by our humorous and obliging host. A few steps brought us from the hotel in the Corso to the Strada Ætnæa. These are the two finest streets of Catania, the former stretching from the sea to the west, quite through the city; the latter cutting it at right angles, and running towards the mountain from which it is named. As we turned the corner into this street, it

seemed to extend nearly the whole of the route which we were to take, that is, to a distance of thirty miles, and with a continuous ascent, to the elevation of ten thousand feet.

Sallying from the city, by a cottage delightfully situated at the extremity of the street, we followed, for the first six miles, the new and excellent carriage-road leading to Messina. We passed through a toll-gate, and it struck me as the first I had seen out of my own country. Two or three villages skirted the first part of the way with houses, and these, with the fields and vineyards, evinced a more thriving and happy population than we had noticed elsewhere in Sicily. Shortly after leaving the city, Abbate told us we were passing over the port of Ulysses. It had been completely filled up by lava at an unknown period; that of Catania, on the other hand, owes its formation to the eruption of 1669. We dismounted, and went a short distance from the road, to see an extinct crater. It must be a very ancient one; it presented the appearance of an irregular bowl, not more than two rods in diameter at the brim, and with a small jagged orifice at the bottom; stones were dropped into this, and the sounds indicated frequent collision with the sides of the cavity, and but a trifling perpendicular descent.

About six o'clock we reached the village of Nicolosi, after an up-hill ride of twelve miles; and in an inn at this place we stayed during the night. Between two and three o'clock in the morning, the faithful Abbate aroused us with the news that every thing was favourable, that the night was clear and calm, and that a bright moon would aid us in riding over the broken lava. In midwinter it is all important to regard the state of the weather in ascending Ætna. A high wind and drifting clouds of snow render the attempt always futile, and often dangerous. Having partaken of an excellent cup of hot coffee, and bundled ourselves well with coats and cloaks, caps and moccasins, we mounted, and by half-past three our mules were mov-

ing slowly to the hearty thwacks upon their hides from the muleteers' cudgels. Two guides accompanied us, to enable any of the party to return, if necessary, without frustrating the rest. By the light of the moon we could see that our road was over dark scoriæ, or fragments of lava. On entering the Bosco, or wooded region, small patches of snow began to appear, which rapidly increased in number and extent until they formed one continuous sheet. Our mules were soon floundering in it, and at six o'clock we were forced to dismount. The thermometer stood at 28 degrees. Half an hour's walk on the crust of the snow brought us to the solitary hut called the 'casa della neve.' The smoke was issuing in volumes through the door and numerous apertures in the roof. A peasant from Nicolosi had kindled a fire before our arrival.

We stopped but a few moments outside the 'casa della neve,' for the smoke precluded our entering it, and we did not wish to breakfast; so, throwing off our cloaks, with a roll of bread in our pockets, and more substantial fare in the knapsacks of our guides, we advanced, and sallying from the Bosco, saw the sun, then apparently about half an hour high. The thermometer at the 'casa della neve' was at 27 degrees, but it rose, from the effect of the sun as we ascended, to above 32 degrees.

Between nine and ten o'clock, Dr H. was obliged to return with one of our guides: with the other we proceeded until we reached a stone pile of a pyramidal form, distant one hour and a quarter from a place called the English house, which the guide now described before us. The ascent was here peculiarly laborious. A hard and slippery crust on the snow, together with the acclivity of the mountain, obliged us to turn our feet outward, and stamp firmly with the inner edge of the sole of our boots, in order to make some footing; this was excessively painful, particularly to the ankle joints: in some places, on the other hand, the snow was soft, and lifting the foot from its deep bed to take another step was the most trying part of the labour; it was a pain caused by this which had exhausted the doctor. We halted to rest our limbs and to enjoy the prospect, which was increasing in grandeur with every step. Several times we threw ourselves at full length on the snow, and felt in all its luxury that exquisite sensation of pleasure which attends the rapid recovery of the body from the fatigue of intense exertion. We rose above the level of Mount Agnola, which we left to the right, and at ten minutes before noon we reached the English house, which was so buried in snow that we could not enter it, although we had obtained the keys for that purpose.

We here saw ourselves far above points, which, when we issued from the Bosco, appeared but little below the summit. The side of the mountain is covered with conical protuberances, whose hollow tops prove them to be the craters or vents of some previous eruptions. The snow was broken, in some few places, by black jutting rocks of lava. Our guides pointed out several wolf tracks, and one of a hare. At a quarter past twelve, we started to ascend the cone, between which and the English house was a space nearly level; on the other side of it, the snow which we had seen sprinkled with ashes some time before, now became dirty, soon black; and after ascending the cone a little way, was succeeded by loose stones and cinders. From these, a hot, sulphurous, suffocating vapour, was steaming; our feet soon felt the change, and from being very cold became very warm. The ascent was steep, and peculiarly difficult, from the loose stones and cinders yielding under the feet; the vapour, moreover, was so dense that we could see but a short distance. The wind was from the north-east, and by moving a little in that direction, we were partially relieved from the fumes. We were infinitely relieved, soon after, by seeing the desired point but a short distance above us. Another struggle, and we

were on the summit of Mount *Ætna*, at half-past one o'clock on the 23d of February. My fatigue vanished. I felt a glow of satisfaction from the simple attainment of my object, before I had time to look around for any other reward.

The crater first attracted my attention; we stood on a point to the north and east of it, in the best situation to view it, as the wind was northerly, and carried away from us the clouds of vapour. Its form is very much altered within a few years by the ejection of scoriæ and other matter; and the highest point of the mountain, where we then stood, occupies the centre of the old crater. Volumes of steam, smoke, and ashes, were constantly pouring forth from the chasm; the eye sought in vain to fathom its depth, and the last sound of the fragments of lava thrown down indicated that they were still in motion towards their former bed of fire. There was no flame visible, but the vapour and the ground on which we stood were very hot, although the air was so cold that the thermometer held in it, breast high, sunk to a little below 22 degrees Fahrenheit. The vapour was strongly impregnated with sulphur, and fine crystals of the same coated the fragments of lava and other volcanic substances where we stood. The whole surface of the cone consisted of these loose and crumbling materials, and gases seemed to issue from every part, as if the whole were porous. We picked up several specimens for our guide to bring down.

But our eyes were wandering from these more immediate observations to the magnificent panorama which the isolated situation of the peak renders peculiarly grand and entire. On every side, except in the direction of Italy, the view was bounded by sea and sky. The base of *Ætna* floated in the lower hemisphere; but its apex soared far into the regions of the upper, and on it one might almost fancy the heavens nearer than the earth, and wish to start from such vantage ground on his flight to another world. Sicily was reduced to a map which we could study far beneath us. Almost under our feet lay Catania, and the villages which sprinkled the mountain's base. Farther off to the south, Augusta and Magnesia jutted out into the sea, and beyond were distinctly seen Ortygia and Plemmyrium, and the black specks in the beautiful round basin of Syracuse we knew to be the ships of our squadron. The eye wandered on to Cape Passaro, and following the course of *Æneas's* fleet by the Geloan fields and Agrigentum, rested on the blue sea beyond Lilybeum and Mount Eryx.

Unfortunately we had left behind our ship telescope, and the small one which was politely lent us by Signor Gemmellaro, would hardly compensate for longer stay in the freezing air and burning cinders of the 'Sommo Cratere.'

A few minutes before two, we began our descent. The philosopher's tower was pointed out on the left of the English house; tradition says that it was built by Empedocles, and thence received its present name. At a quarter past two P.M. we were at the English house. An immense, rich-looking cloud, of a whitish colour, lay far below us, floating like a canopy over Catania and its plain: it seemed to have gathered while we were busy in our observations on the crater or more distant objects, or rather to have become developed in the atmosphere almost instantaneously. Stopping a few minutes to enjoy this novel and magnificent sight, we refreshed ourselves with a modicum of wine, and descended to the 'casa della neve' in less than an hour, over what had cost us six of the most painful exertion in the ascent.

A motion so rapid, and yet so easy, I never achieved on my own legs before, for so great a distance; we rather bounded than ran down. The snow had become so softened by the sun that we sunk at every step, but only enough in most cases to enable us to check and regulate the speed which gravity created. If our feet were plunged too deeply, head and shoulders

were equally so, with a jerk which threatened to snap the knee-joints, and we stuck like a raspberry vine planted at both ends. A slip was less dangerous, as it did not stop our momentum all at once, nor until we had first ploughed a handsome furrow in the snow. Notwithstanding these mishaps, nothing could be more exhilarating than the leaps by which we descended to the common level of mankind.

We found the doctor philosophically consoling himself for the unseen wonders of the crater, over a bright fire in the snow house, which was kept blazing and crackling by the trees of the Bosco. Our horses being found farther on, we lost no time in regaining our inn at Nicolosi. Here, although fatigue and hunger counselled us to stop, yet we chose rather to bear them two or three hours longer, than to try again the miserable pallets of the night before. We therefore, with as little delay as possible, resumed our route to Catania, and arrived there at nine o'clock. Though we had eaten nothing during the day but a spare breakfast, yet repose was demanded more imperiously than food; a generous supper awaited our return, but swallowing only some warm broth, we left every thing to throw ourselves into that sweet oblivion which could alone restore us."

### MALTA.

THE following account of Malta, by a traveller who visited it in 1840, originally published in *Chambers's Journal*, may here be appended:—

"Since the establishment of the route by Egypt to India, the island of Malta has a prospect of again becoming a place of great importance, to merchants at least, and travellers. It lies half way between the plague and pestilences of the East and the salubrity of the more fortunate West, and is used as a testing or purifying station, to secure the latter regions from the influx of the diseases peculiar to the former. No steamers from Smyrna, Athens, Constantinople, or any other port east of Malta, can pass the island without touching at it, and undergoing quarantine and purification in one of its harbours devoted to this purpose. Such an arrangement is obviously highly necessary, if not indispensable.

The steamers from England usually sail on the first of the month. They reach Gibraltar in ten days; the steamers from Gibraltar arrive at Malta in a little less than the same time; and the voyage between Malta and Alexandria occupies also between seven and ten days; so that a person from England may reach Alexandria in from twenty-seven to thirty days. Of course, the voyage backwards cannot be so quickly performed, as a quarantine of from ten to twenty days must be then undergone. There are, even at the present time, numerous steamers and other vessels to be usually found at Malta, both government and company property, English and French, Austrian, Tuscan, and Turkish; for even the pennant of the Ottomans is now to be seen flying from the mast of a '*tchek-jeemie*,' as they call that noble product of man's ingenuity, the steam-boat.

Malta lies in the centre of the Mediterranean, holding much the same relation to Europe, Asia, and Africa, that the Isle of Man does to the three countries bordering St George's Channel. There was long a dispute whether it was in Europe or Africa, but the British parliament at last ended the matter by declaring it to be in Europe. Near to Malta is another small island called Gozo, which is generally included when speaking of Malta, as if it were a suburb of a large city. The extreme length of Malta is about sixteen miles, and the extreme breadth eleven; it has, however, a great many jutting points or capes, and is computed to contain 170 square miles, upon which it is said there are 123,000 inhabitants, 5000 beasts of burden, 6000 horned cattle, 8000 sheep, and 12,000

goats; consequently it is one of the most densely populated places in the world. About one-half of the land is cultivated, and produces cotton and grain, with a plentiful supply of vegetables and fruit, and especially oranges, which are said to be the finest in the world. The annual value of the cotton raised is about one hundred thousand pounds, but the grain is not sufficient for even one-third of the inhabitants; consequently, there is a great trade carried on in grain from the Black Sea, which is admitted at a variable duty, averaging about a third of its wholesale cost in the island.

There is little or no other produce in Malta equal in any way to its capabilities, whether as regards the climate or population. It is true that there is a trade to a very limited extent in the manufacture and sale of cotton sailcloth, napkins, table-cloths, shirts, cotton yarn spun by hand, gold and silver trinkets, iron-posted bedsteads, rush-bottomed chairs, and cigars; but labour is so cheap, and the amount of work done in any of these departments so small, that the people are not half employed.

The wages of workmen are small, but rent and living are remarkably cheap. Malta is undoubtedly the cheapest place in Europe; for there a working man can easily support himself and family on from 6d. to 8d. per day, and considers himself fortunate if he can make that sum regularly.

Besides villages, Malta has four towns, namely, Valetta, which is the capital, Floriana, Victoroso, and Civitta Vecchia. Nothing strikes a stranger more on entering the capital, than the shelving nature of the streets, which ascend and descend in many parts by stairs. He will also be struck with the immense number of idle people hovering around him, and chattering in all the languages of Europe. The greater part of these are beggars, and the others candidates for the honour of being his guides, an office into which several will instal themselves, and then quarrel which of them has been employed. It is of no use that the first class are told that they will get nothing, and the second, that their services are not wanted; they will, with the most cool and pertinacious impudence, *tröt along* (for in such cases they rarely walk) before, behind, and on every side of their victim; neither is it of any use to get angry at them, as, if they are scolded, they will throw up their hands and eyes with the air of ill-used people, and commence talking loud and long, proving to each other's satisfaction, and the torment of their victim, that they are deprived of their just rights. The only method of getting rid of them is to walk on, taking no notice of any one until the tail gets too large to be at all manageable, and then take refuge in a café, round the door of which they will probably hover for a few minutes, but soon depart to look after another stranger. If this course of silent non-recognition be followed, the cortège will daily diminish in number; and if the stranger has given none of them any money, then in about four days he will be left entirely without any escort, and in future be only troubled by the beggars. If, however, he has been so ill advised as to give away even a penny on his first coming to the island, his term of annoyance will be much increased, and his followers as plentiful as the serfs of a Celtic chief in the olden time.

The island is strongly fortified, and garrisoned by about 4000 men, nearly one-fourth of that number being native troops, under native officers. The capital is built upon a tongue of land which stretches out between the clean and quarantine harbours. The streets all run at right angles, whether on the plain or the hill. The city may be about half a mile long, and a sixth part broad: the shops are not numerous, and the greater portion of them are used as cafés, wine shops, and provision stores, in front of which, and in many cases stretching out to the centre of the street, the goods are piled in great quantities, as also fruit, vegetables, and all sorts of food, which are sold at very

low prices. In summer, business is not transacted between eleven o'clock forenoon and four o'clock afternoon, on account of the great heat of the sun; during which cessation of labour, all the better part of the inhabitants are in their houses, and the mass of the common classes lying asleep on the shady side of the street, or wherever they can escape from the sun.

There are many public buildings in Malta deserving of notice, especially the palace of the ancient grand masters, and the chapel of the knightly order of St John. There is also a most splendid library, which belonged to the knights, in existence at the present day, beautifully arranged, and well catalogued by the native librarian, who appears to understand his business as well as if he had been brought up in Paternoster Row. There is likewise a large library of modern books called 'the Garrison Library,' in the same building. This library receives from England all new works of interest, the greater part of the leading periodicals, and several newspapers. The regulations are exceedingly liberal, as a stranger coming to Malta with a letter of introduction to any respectable person, would find no difficulty in having the free use of all contained in both libraries.

About half a mile from Valetta stands Floriana, which contains a few streets of rather a miserable order. In an opposite direction is situated Victoroso, where the admiralty offices and stores are all placed, and where the different officers connected with this department have elegant houses bordering upon the sea. The town is very dirty, and consists for the most part of streets of steep stairs ascending to the battlements, where, if the sun is shining, thousands of lizards may be seen sporting themselves in its rays, emerging from the crevices, and concealing themselves again with the speed almost of lightning. Civitta Vecchia is distant from Valetta about five miles. It is the ancient capital of the island, and the oldest city in it, but, on account of the better situation of Valetta for defence and commerce, has lost its rank and importance.

The boatmen of Malta are a most troublesome set of fellows, as, if the traveller walks along any part of the town which leads to the shore, he is certain to be assailed by a number of them, all insisting on the employment of one boat in preference to another; and even although they are told that a boat is not wanted at all, still they will follow until they conduct the stranger along the shore beyond the boat station. The number of these men exceeds three thousand, and they possess about eleven hundred boats. The usual fare from any one place in the island to another, or to any vessel in the harbour, is 2d., but these rascals insist sometimes upon strangers giving them a *dollar*; even a bargain is never held sacred, as, when the work is finished, they are sure to insist on double or three times the stipulated sum. The only way to manage them is to throw the money down on the street, and walk away; it is true they will follow their *fare* half way over the town; but the thing is so common, that nobody takes any notice of a stranger followed by one or two Maltese boatmen, calling out for money alleged to be due for service performed.

The language of the Maltese is of a very strange character, being a mixture of the Arabic and Italian, but containing most of the former. Nearly all the people, however, can speak a little bad Italian, but very few of the lower or middle classes understand any English, saving a few words of every-day occurrence. The habits and manners of the people are also

a mixture of the rude Moorish and smooth Italian. Altogether, they may be said to be one of the most disagreeable and roguish races of people on earth. Of honesty or fair dealing they have no idea, and nothing is too small for them to seize upon and carry off. Even their smallest coin, which is the twelfth part of a penny, will not be disregarded if there is a means of obtaining it, without an adequate return being given. Throughout the Levant they have a notoriously bad name, and at Alexandria and Constantinople are proverbial for their robberies, and even murders, thereby causing the British consuls at these places ten times more trouble than all the other subjects of the British empire.

The females of Malta are celebrated for their large black eyes, but in other respects they have not the beauty of either the Spanish or Italian dames. The dress of the lowest class is slovenly and dirty; that of the middle class is neat, and generally white within doors in summer; but on the street the white gown is covered with a black silk skirt, while a black silk scarf, called *faldetta*, is thrown over the head and shoulders, and disposed in such a manner as to show the countenance of the wearer in the most favourable semi-nudity, and is nothing more than a western garment worn in an eastern fashion. The upper class of females in Malta are rarely to be seen on the street; they, however, dress like the English and French, after the latest European fashions.

From the number of priests and friars who crowd the streets, one might easily tell, even if the conduct of the inhabitants did not proclaim it, that Malta is a place where the church is all-powerful. But however much the diffusion of knowledge may have extended to other places, certainly the schoolmaster has not been here, for old and young are living in the most complete ignorance. Education is entirely in the hands of the priests, who have the exclusive management of the College, or School of Instruction, and it is practically of little use to the people.

The press, as may well be supposed, is in a very poor state indeed, where the people are so sunk in ignorance; but it will hardly be credited that it is so low as it really is. Until within eighteen months, there was no printing-press permitted in the island but that of the government, from which issued a small newspaper, once a-week, under the name of the 'Malta Gazette.' It appeared in parallel columns, English and Italian, but contained no original political articles—being made up of extracts from the London, Paris, and other newspapers of an old date; and yet, though this was the only channel in Malta of receiving news of what was passing in the world, previous to the granting the liberty of the press, it never had a circulation of more than three hundred.

Since the press has become free, there have been started two Italian newspapers in Valetta, one of them entitled 'Portofoglio Maltese,' and the other 'Il Spettatore Imparziale,' but there is nothing in their columns worthy of special notice. A third newspaper, in English and Italian, has also been started, under the name of 'Il Gazzetto del Mediterraneo.' It is decidedly the most clever that has ever appeared in Malta, but, it is to be feared, will sink for want of support. The Maltese care for almost nothing beyond the day or hour in which they live; a newspaper is of no interest or use to them; and until they are better educated, or some great change takes place among them, the liberty of the press will not be either valued or supported."

## END OF TOUR THROUGH SICILY AND MALTA.

INCIDENTS OF TRAVEL

IN

EGYPT, ARABIA PETRÆA,

AND

THE HOLY LAND.

BY J. L. STEPHENS,

AUTHOR OF INCIDENTS OF TRAVEL IN GREECE, TURKEY, RUSSIA, AND POLAND.

EDINBURGH:

PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM AND ROBERT CHAMBERS;  
AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1839.

2

EDINBURGH:  
PRINTED BY W. AND R. CHAMBERS,  
10, WATERLOO PLACE.

## PREFATORY NOTICE.

THE present work, which appeared originally in the United States of America, where it soon passed through six editions, has been already made favourably known in Britain, and now occupies a place among the most respectable publications of the day. To the sixth American edition, of which this is a faithful reprint, the following preface is prefixed by the author:—

“The preface of a book is seldom read, or the author would express his acknowledgments to the public for having so soon demanded a sixth edition of his work. If the sale of a book be any evidence of its merit, he has reason to believe that his subject matter has been interesting, and his manner of treating it not unacceptable. He has, too, a deeper source of satisfaction; for he cannot help flattering himself that he has been, in some degree, instrumental in turning the attention of his countrymen to subjects comparatively little known; and, in addition, he can only say, as before, that in the present state of the world it is almost presumptuous to put forth a book of travels. Universal peace and extended commercial relations, the introduction of steam-boats, and increased facilities of travelling generally, have brought comparatively close together the most distant parts of the world; and except within the walls of China, there are few countries which have not been visited and written upon by European travellers. The author’s route, however, is comparatively new to the most of his countrymen; part of it—through the land of Edom—is, even at this day, entirely new. The author has compiled these pages from brief notes and recollections, and has probably fallen into errors in facts and impressions, which his occupations since his return have prevented his inquiring into and correcting. He has presented things as they struck his mind, without perplexing himself with any deep speculations upon the rise and fall of empires; nor has he gone much into detail in regard to ruins. His object has been, principally, as the title of the book imports, to give a narrative of the every-day incidents that occur to a traveller in the East, and to present to his countrymen, in the midst of the hurry, and bustle, and life, and energy, and daily-developing strength and resources of the New, a picture of the widely different scenes that are now passing in the faded and worn-out kingdoms of the Old World.”

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# INCIDENTS OF TRAVEL

IN

## EGYPT, ARABIA PETRÆA, &c.

### CHAPTER I.

Alexandria.—Pompey's Pillar.—The Catacombs.—The Warwick Vase.—The Pacha's Canal.—Boats of the Nile.

On the afternoon of the — December, 1835, after a passage of five days from Malta, I was perched up in the rigging of an English schooner, spyglass in hand, and earnestly looking for the "land of Egypt." The captain had never been there before; but we had been running several hours along the low coast of Barbary, and the chart and compass told us that we could not be far from the fallen city of Alexander. Night came on, however, without our seeing it. The ancient Pharos, the Lantern of Ptolemy, the eighth wonder of the world, no longer throws its light far over the bosom of the sea to guide the weary mariner. Morning came, and we found ourselves directly opposite the city, the shipping in the outward harbour, and the fleet of the pacha riding at anchor under the walls of the seraglio, carrying me back in imagination to the days of the Macedonian conqueror, of Cleopatra and the Ptolemies. Slowly we worked our way up the difficult and dangerous channel, unaided by a pilot, for none appeared to take us in charge. It is a fact worthy of note, that one of the monuments of Egypt's proudest days, the celebrated Pompey's Pillar, is even now, after a lapse of more than 2000 years, one of the landmarks which guide the sailor to her fallen capital. Just as we had passed the last reef, pilots came out to meet us, their swarthy faces, their turbans, their large dresses streaming in the wind, and their little boat with its huge latteen sail, giving a strange wildness to their appearance, the effect of which was not a little heightened by their noise and confusion in attempting to come alongside. Failing in their first endeavour, our captain gave them no assistance; and when they came upon us again, he refused to admit them on board. The last arrival at Malta had brought unfavourable accounts of the plague, and he was unwilling to run any risk until he should have an opportunity of advising with his consignee. My servant was the only person on board who could speak Arabic; and telling the wild, fly-away looking Arabs to fasten on a stern, we towed our pilots in, and at about eight o'clock came to anchor in the harbour. In half an hour I was ashore; and the moment I touched it, just as I had found at Constantinople, all the illusion of the distant view was gone.

Indeed, it would be difficult for any man who lives at all among the things of this world to dream of the departed glory of Egypt when first entering the fallen city of Alexander; the present, and the things of the present, are uppermost; and between ambling donkeys, loaded camels, dirty, half-naked, sore-eyed Arabs, swarms of flies, yelping dogs, and apprehensions of the plague, one thinks more of his own movements than of the pyramids. I groped my way through a long range of bazaars to the Frank quarter, and here, totally forgetting what I had come for, and that there were such

things as obelisks, pyramids, and ruined temples, the genius of my native land broke out, and with an eye that had had some experience in such matters at home, I contemplated the "improvements?" a whole street of shops, kept by Europeans and filled with European goods, ranges of fine buildings, fine country houses, and gardens growing upon barren sands, showed that strangers from a once barbarous land were repaying the debt which the world owes to the mother of arts, and raising her from the ruin into which she had been plunged by years of misrule and anarchy.

My first visit was to Mr Gliddon, the American consul, whose reception of me was such, that I felt already as one not alone in a strange land. While with him, an English gentleman came in—a merchant in Alexandria—who was going that night to Cairo. Mr Gliddon introduced us; and telling him that I, too, was bound for Cairo, Mr T. immediately proposed that I should accompany him, saying he had a boat and every thing ready, and that I might save myself the trouble of making any preparations, and would have nothing to do but come on board with my luggage at sundown. Though rather a short notice, I did not hesitate to accept his offer. Besides the relief from trouble in fitting out, the plague was in every one's mouth, and I was not sorry to have so early an opportunity of escaping from a city, where, above all others, "pestilence walketh in darkness, and destruction wasteth at noonday."

Having but a short time before me, I immediately mounted a donkey—an Egyptian donkey—being an animal entirely unknown to us, or even in Europe, and, accompanied by my servant, with a sore-eyed Arab boy to drive us, I started off upon a full gallop to make a hasty survey of the ruins of Alexandria. The Frank quarter is the extreme part of the city, and a very short ride brought us into another world. It was not until now, riding in the suburbs upon burning sands, and under a burning sun, that I felt myself really in the land of Egypt. It was not, in fact, till standing at the base of Pompey's Pillar, that I felt myself among the ruins of one of the greatest cities of the world. Reaching it through long rows of Arab huts, where poverty, and misery, and famine, and nakedness, stared me in the face, one glance at its majestic height told me that this was indeed the work of other men and other times. Standing on a gentle elevation, it rises a single shaft of ninety feet, and ten feet in diameter, surmounted by a Corinthian capital, ten feet high, and, independent of its own monumental beauty, it is an interesting object as marking the centre of the ancient city. It stands far outside the present walls, and from its base you may look over a barren waste of sand, running from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Lake Mareotis, the boundaries of Alexandria as it was of old.

All this intermediate space of sandy hills, alternating with hollows, was once covered with houses, palaces, and perhaps with monuments equal in beauty to that at whose base I stood. Riding over that

waste, the stranger sees broken columns, crumbling walls, and fragments of granite and marble, thrusting themselves above their sandy graves, as if struggling for resurrection; on one side he beholds a yawning chasm, in which forty or fifty naked Arabs are toiling to disinter a column long buried in the sand; on another an excavated house, with all its walls and apartments almost as entire as when the ancient Egyptian left it. He is riding over a mighty sepulchre, the sepulchre of a ruined city, and at every step some tell-tale monument is staring at him from the grave.

Riding slowly among the ruins, I passed the celebrated wells built in the time of Alexander, at the very foundation of the city, at which generation after generation have continued to slake their thirst, and ended my ride at Cleopatra's Needle, a beautiful obelisk sixty feet high, full of mysterious hieroglyphics that mock the learning of the wise of our day. Time has dealt lightly with it; on one side the characters stand bold and clear as when it came from the hands of the sculptor, although, on the other, the dread sirocco, blowing upon it from the desert more than 2000 years, has effaced the sculptor's marks, and worn away the almost impenetrable granite. By its side, half buried in the sand, lies a fallen brother, of the same size, and about the same age, said to have been taken down by the English many years ago, for the purpose of being carried to England; but the pacha prevented it, and since that time it has lain in fallen majesty, stretching across a deep chasm formed by excavations around it.

At six o'clock I was riding with my new friend, spurring my donkey to its utmost to get out of the city before the gate should close; and my reader will acquit me of all intention of writing a book, when I tell him that a little after dark of the same day on which I arrived at Alexandria, I was on my way to Cairo. Accident, however, very unexpectedly brought me again to Alexandria; and on my second visit, while waiting for an opportunity to return to Europe, I several times went over the same ground more at my leisure, and visited the other objects of interest which my haste had before prevented me from seeing.

Among these were the Catacombs, situated about two miles from the city, on the edge of the Libyan Desert, and near the shore of the sea. These great repositories of the dead are so little known that we had some difficulty in finding them, although we inquired of every body whom we met. Seeing an Arab brushing some horses near an opening in the side of the rock, we went to him to inquire, and found we were at the door of the Catacombs. The real entrance is now unknown, but was probably from above. The present is a rude forced breach, and the first chamber into which we entered, a chamber built with pious regard to the repose of the dead, we found occupied as a stable for the horses of one of the pacha's regiments. My donkey-boy had taken the precaution to bring with him candles, and a line to tie at the entrance, after the manner of Fair Rosamond's elue, to save us from being lost in the labyrinth of passages; but the latter was unnecessary, as the Arabs employed about the horses had explored them so thoroughly for purposes of plunder, that they were sufficiently sure guides. Taking two of them into pay, we followed with our lighted torches through two chambers, which, to me, who had then seen the tombs in Thebes, Petra, and Jerusalem, contained nothing remarkable, and came to what has been called the state chamber, a circular room about thirty feet in diameter, with three recesses, one at each side of the door and one opposite, a vaulted roof, and altogether admirably fine in its proportions. In each of the recesses were niches for the bodies of the dead, and in one of them skulls and mouldering bones were still lying on the ground. Following my guides, I passed through several chambers half filled with sand; but having by this time lost much of my ardour for wandering among tombs, and finding the pursuit unprofitable and unsatisfactory, I returned to the state chamber and left the Catacombs.

They are supposed to extend many miles under the surface, but how far will probably never be known. The excavations that have as yet been made are very trifling; and unless the enlightened pacha should need the state chamber for his horses, the sands of the desert may again creep upon them, and shut them for ever from our eyes.

Near the door of the entrance, directly on the edge of the shore, are chambers cut in the rocks, which open to the sea, called by the imposing name of Cleopatra's Baths. It is rather an exposed situation, and, besides the view from the sea, there are several places where "peeping Tom" might have hidden himself. It is a rude place, too; and when I was there, the luxurious queen could hardly have got to her chambers without at least wetting her royal feet; in fact, not to be imposed upon by names, a lady of the present day can have a more desirable bath for a quarter of a dollar than ever the Queen of the East had in her life.

The present city of Alexandria, even after the dreadful ravages made by the plague in 1837, is still supposed to contain more than 50,000 inhabitants, and is decidedly growing. It stands outside the delta in the Libyan Desert, and as Volney remarks, "It is only by the canal which conducts the waters of the Nile into the reservoirs in the time of inundation that Alexandria can be considered as connected with Egypt." Founded by Alexander, to secure his conquests in the East, being the only safe harbour along the coasts of Syria or Africa, and possessing peculiar commercial advantages, it soon grew into a giant city. Fifteen miles in circumference, containing a population of 300,000 citizens and as many slaves, one magnificent street 2000 feet broad ran the whole length of the city, from the Gate of the Sea to the Canopic Gate, commanding a view, at each end, of the shipping, either in the Mediterranean or in the Mareotic Lake, and another of equal length intersected it at right angles; a spacious circus without the Canopic Gate for chariot-races, and on the east a splendid gymnasium, more than 600 feet in length, with theatres, baths, and all that could make it a desirable residence for a luxurious people. When it fell into the hands of the Saracens, according to the report of the Saracen general to the Calif Omar, "it was impossible to enumerate the variety of its riches and beauty; and it is said to "have contained 4000 palaces, 4000 baths, 400 theatres or public edifices, 12,000 shops, and 40,000 tributary Jews." From that time, like every thing else which falls into the hands of the Mussulman, it has been going to ruin, and the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope gave the death-blow to its commercial greatness. At present it stands a phenomenon in the history of a Turkish dominion. It appears once more to be raising its head from the dust. It remains to be seen whether this rise is the legitimate and permanent effect of a wise and politic government, combined with natural advantages, or whether the pacha is not forcing it to an unnatural elevation, at the expense, if not upon the ruins, of the rest of Egypt. It is almost presumptuous, on the threshold of my entrance into Egypt, to speculate upon the future condition of this interesting country; but it is clear that the pacha is determined to build up the city of Alexandria if he can: his fleet is here, his army, his arsenal, and his forts are here, and he has forced and centered here a commerce that was before divided between several places. Rosetta has lost more than two-thirds of its population, Damietta has become a mere nothing, and even Cairo the Grand has become tributary to what is called the regenerated city.

Alexandria has also been the scene of interesting events in modern days. Here the long-cherished animosity of France and England sought a new battlefield, as if conscious that the soil of Europe had too often been moistened with human blood. Twice I visited the spot where the gallant Abercrombie fell, about two miles outside the Rosetta Gate; the country was covered with a beautiful verdure, and the Arab

was turning up the ground with his plough; herds of buffalo were quietly grazing near, and a caravan of camels was slowly winding its way along the borders of a nameless lake, which empties into the Lake Mareotis. Farther on and near the sea is a large square enclosure, by some called the ruins of the palace of Cleopatra, by others the camp of Cæsar. This was the French position, and around it the battle was fought. All is quiet there now, though still the curious traveller may pick up from time to time balls, fragments of shells, or other instruments of death, which tell him that war, murderous and destructive war, has been there.

My last ride was to Pompey's Pillar. Chateaubriand requested a friend to write his name upon the great pyramid, not being able to go to it himself, and considering this one of the duties of a pious pilgrim; but I imagine that sentimental traveller did not mean it in the sense in which "Hero" and "Beatrice," and the less romantic name of "Susannah Wilson," are printed in great black letters, six inches long, about half way up the shaft.

There can be no doubt that immense treasures are still buried under the ruins of Alexandria; but whether they will ever be discovered will depend upon the pacha's necessities, as he may need the ruins of ancient temples for building forts or bridges. New discoveries are constantly made; and between my first and second visit a beautiful vase had been discovered, pronounced to be the original of the celebrated Warwick vase found at Adrian's villa, near Tivoli. It was then in the hands of the French consul, who told me he would not take its weight in gold for it. I have since seen the vase at Warwick Castle; and if the one found at Alexandria is not the original, it is certainly remarkable that two sculptors, one in Egypt and the other in Italy, conceived and fashioned two separate works of art so exactly resembling each other.

But to return to the moment of my first leaving Alexandria. At dark I was on board a boat at the mouth of the Mahmoudie, the canal which connects Alexandria with the Nile; my companion had made all necessary provision for the voyage, and I had nothing to do but select a place and spread my mattress and coverlet. In a few minutes we had commenced our journey on the canal, our boat towed by our Arab boatmen, each with a rope across his breast. I have heard this canal spoken of as one of the greatest works of modern days, and I have seen it referred to as such in the books of modern travellers; and some even, as if determined to keep themselves under a delusion in regard to every thing in Egypt, speak of it as they do of the pyramids, and obelisks, and mighty temples of the Upper Nile. The truth is, it is sixty miles in length, ninety feet in breadth, and eighteen in depth, through a perfectly level country, not requiring a single lock. In regard to the time in which it was made, it certainly is an extraordinary work; and it could only have been done in that time, in such a country as Egypt, where the government is an absolute despotism, and the will of one man is the supreme law. Every village was ordered to furnish a certain quota; 150,000 workmen were employed at once, and in a year from its commencement the whole excavation was made. As a great step in the march of public improvement, it certainly does honour to the pacha, though, in passing along its banks, our admiration of a barbarian struggling into civilisation is checked by remembering his wanton disregard of human life, and the melancholy fact that it proved the grave of more than 30,000 of his subjects.

We started in company with a Mr Waghorn, formerly in the East India Company's service, now engaged in forwarding the mails from England to India by the Red Sea. He was one of the first projectors of that route, is a man of indefatigable activity and energy, and was the first courier sent from England with dispatches over land. He travelled post to Trieste, took a Spanish vessel to Alexandria, and thence by dromedary to Cairo and Suez, where, not finding the

vessel which had been ordered to meet him, and having with him a compass, his constant travelling companion, he hired an open Arab boat, and, to the astonishment of his Arab crew, struck out into the middle of the Red Sea. At night they wanted, as usual, to anchor near the shore; but he sat with the helm in one hand and a cocked pistol in the other, threatening to shoot the first man that disobeyed his orders. On entering the harbour of Mocha, he found an English government vessel on its way to meet him, and in the then uncommonly short time of fifty-five days, delivered his dispatches in Bombay.

At about eight o'clock next morning we were standing on the banks of the Nile, the eternal river, the river of Egypt, recalling the days of Pharaoh and Moses—from the earliest periods of recorded time watering and fertilising a narrow strip of land in the middle of a sandy desert, rolling its solitary way more than a thousand miles without receiving a single tributary stream; the river which the Egyptians worshipped and the Arabs loved, and which, as the Mussulmans say, if Mohammed had tasted, "he would have prayed Heaven for terrestrial immortality, that he might continue to enjoy it for ever."

I cannot, however, join in the enthusiasm of the Mussulmans, for I have before me at this moment a vivid picture of myself and servant at Cairo, perched upon opposite divans covered with tawdry finery, in a huge barn of a room, with a ceiling thirty feet high, like two knights of the rueful countenance, comparing notes and bodily symptoms, and condoling with each other upon the corporeal miseries brought upon us by partaking too freely of the water of the Nile.

The appearance of the river at the mouth of the canal is worthy of its historic fame. I found it more than a mile wide, the current at that season full and strong; the banks on each side clothed with a beautiful verdure and groves of palm-trees (the most striking feature in African scenery), and the village of Fouah, the stopping-place for boats coming up from Rosetta and Damietta, with its mosques, and minarets, and whitened domes, and groves of palms, forming a picturesque object in the view.

Upon entering the Nile, we changed our boat, the new one being one of the largest and best on the river, of the class called *cantiah*, about seventy feet long, with two enormous latteen sails; these are triangular in form, and attached to two very tall spars more than a hundred feet long, heavy at the end, and tapering to a point; the spars or yards rest upon two short masts, playing upon them as on pivots. The spar rests at an angle of about thirty degrees, and, carrying the sail to its tapering point, gives the boat when under way a peculiarly light and graceful appearance. In the stern, a small place is housed over, which makes a very tolerable cabin, except that the ceiling is too low to admit of standing upright, being made to suit the cross-legged habits of the eastern people. She was manned by ten Arabs, good stout fellows, and a *rais* or captain.

## CHAPTER II.

From Alexandria to Cairo.—Experience versus Travellers' Tales.—An unintended Bath.—Iron Rule of the Pacha.—Entrance into Cairo.—A Chat with a Pacha.

We commenced our voyage with that north wind which, books and travellers tell us, for nine months in the year continues to blow the same way, making it an easy matter to ascend from the Mediterranean to the Cataracts, even against the strong current of the river; and I soon busied myself with meditating upon this extraordinary operation of nature, thus presenting itself to my observation at the very moment of my entrance into this wonderful country. It was a beautiful ordinance of Providence in regard to the feebleness and wants of man, that while the noble river

rolled on eternally in one unbroken current, another agent of Almighty power should almost as constantly fill the flowing canvass, and enable navigators to stem the downward flow. I was particularly pleased with this train of reflection, inasmuch as at the moment we had the best of it. We were ascending against the current at the rate of six or seven miles an hour, with a noise and dash through the water that made it seem like nine or ten, while the descending boats, with their spars taken out and sails tied close, were crawling down almost imperceptibly, stern first, broadside first, not as the current carried them, but as the wind would let them. Our men had nothing to do; all day they lay strewn about on deck; towards evening they gathered around a large pilau of rice; and as the sun was setting, one after the other, turning his face towards the tomb of the Prophet, kneeled down upon the deck and prayed. And thus passed my first night upon the Nile.

In the morning I found things not quite so well ordered; the wind seemed to be giving "premonitory symptoms" of an intention to chop about, and towards noon, it came dead ahead. After my self-complacent observations of yesterday, I would hardly credit it; but when it became so strong that we were obliged to haul alongside the bank and lie-to, in order to avoid being driven down the stream, I was perfectly satisfied and convinced. We saw no more of our friend Mr Waghorn; he had a small boat rigged with oars, and while we were vainly struggling against wind and tide, he kindly left us to our fate. My companion was a sportsman, and happened to have on board a couple of guns; we went on shore with them, and the principal incident of the day that I remember is, that instead of fowler's, I had fisherman's luck. Rambling carelessly along, we found ourselves on the bank of a stream which it was necessary to cross; on the other side we saw a strapping Arab, and called to him to come and carry us over. Like most of his tribe, he was not troubled with any superfluous clothing, and slipping over his head the fragments of his frock, he was in a moment by our side, in all the majesty of nature. I started first, mounted upon his slippery shoulders, and went along very well until we had got more than half way over, when I began to observe an irregular tottering movement, and heard behind me the smothered laugh of my companion. I felt my Arab slowly and deliberately lowering his head; my feet touched the water; but with one hand I held my gun above my head, and with the other gripped him by the throat. I found myself going, going deeper and deeper, let down with the most studied deliberation, till all at once he gave his neck a sudden toss, jerked his head from under me, and left me standing up to my middle in the stream. I turned round upon him, hardly knowing whether to laugh or to strike him with the butt end of my gun; but one glance at the poor fellow was enough; the sweat stood in large drops on his face and ran down his naked breast; his knees shook, and he was just ready to drop himself. He had supported me as long as he could; but finding himself failing, and fearing we should both come down together with a splash, at full length, he had lowered me as gently as possible.

The banks of the Nile from here to Cairo furnish nothing interesting. On one side is the Delta, an extensive tract of low rich land, well cultivated and watered, and on the other a narrow strip of fertile land, and then the Libyan Desert. The ruined cities which attract the traveller into Egypt, their temples and tombs, the enduring monuments of its former greatness, do not yet present themselves. The modern villages are all built of mud or of unburnt bricks, and sometimes, at a distance, being surrounded by palm-trees, making a pleasing appearance; but this vanishes the moment you approach them. The houses, or rather huts, are so low that a man can seldom stand up in them, with a hole in front like the door of an oven, into which the miserable Arab crawls, more like a beast than a being made to walk in God's image. The same

spectacle of misery and wretchedness, of poverty, famine, and nakedness, which I had seen in the suburbs of Alexandria, continued to meet me at every village on the Nile, and soon suggested the interesting consideration whether all this came from country and climate, from the character of the people, or from the government of the great reformer. At one place, I saw on the banks of the river forty or fifty men chained together with iron bands around their wrists, and iron collars around their necks. Yesterday they were peaceful Fellahs, cultivators of the soil, earning their scanty bread by hard and toilsome labour, but eating it at home in peace. Another day, and the stillness of their life is for ever broken; chased, run down, and caught, torn from their homes, from the sacred threshold of the mosque, the sword and musket succeed the implements of their quiet profession; they are carried away to fight battles in a cause which does not concern them, and in which, if they conquer, they can never gain.

Returning to our boat on the brink of the river, a slight noise caught my ear; I turned, and saw a ragged mother kissing her naked child, while another of two years old, dirty and disgusting, was struggling to share its mother's embraces; their father I had just seen with an iron collar round his neck; and she loved these miserable children, and they loved their miserable mother, as if they were all clothed "in purple and fine raiment every day." But a few minutes after, a woman, knowing that we were "Franks," brought on board our boat a child, with a face and head so bloated with disease that it was disgusting to look at. The rais took the child in his arms and brought it up to us, the whole crew following with a friendly interest. My companion gave them a bottle of brandy, with which the rais carefully bathed the face and head of the child, all the crew leaning over to help; and when they had finished to their satisfaction, these kind-hearted but clumsy nurses kissed the miserable bawling infant, and passed it, with as much care as if it had been a basket of crockery, into the hands of the grateful mother.

This scene was finely contrasted with one that immediately followed. The boat was aground, and in an instant, stripping their long gowns over their heads, a dozen large swarthy figures were standing naked on the deck; in a moment more they were splashing in the river, and with their brawny shoulders under the bottom of the vessel, heaved her off the sand-bank. Near this we passed a long line of excavation, where several hundred men were then digging, being part of the gigantic work of irrigating the Delta lately undertaken by the pacha.

Towards the evening of the fourth day we came in sight of the "world's great wonder," the eternal pyramids, standing at the head of a long reach in the river directly in front of us, and almost darkening the horizon; solitary, grand, and gloomy, the only objects to be seen in the great desert before us. The sun was about setting in that cloudless sky known only in Egypt; for a few moments their lofty summits were lighted by a gleam of lurid red, and as the glorious orb settled behind the mountains of the Libyan Desert, the atmosphere became dark and more indistinct, and their clear outline continued to be seen after the whole earth was shrouded in gloom.

The next morning at seven o'clock we were alongside the Island of Rhoda, as the Arab boatmen called it, where the daughter of Pharaoh came down to bathe, and found the little Moses. We crossed over in a small boat to Boulac, the harbour of Cairo, breakfasted with Mr T—, the brother-in-law of my friend, an engineer in the pacha's service, whose interesting wife is the only English lady there; and mounting a donkey, in half an hour I was within the walls of Grand Cairo. The traveller who goes there with the reminiscences of Arabian tales hanging about him, will nowhere see the Cairo of the califs; but before arriving there he will have seen a curious and striking spectacle. He will have seen, streaming from the gate among loaded camels and dromedaries, the dashing Turk, with his

glittering sabre, the wily Greek, the grave Armenian, and the despised Jew, with their long silk robes, their turbans, solemn beards, and various and striking costumes; he will have seen the harem of more than one rich Turk, eight or ten women on horseback, completely enveloped in large black silk wrappers, perfectly hiding face and person, and preceded by that abomination of the East, a black eunuch; the miserable sauton, the Arab saint, with a few scanty rags on his breast and shoulders, the rest of his body perfectly naked; the swarthy Bedouin of the desert, the haughty janizary, with a cocked gun in his hand, dashing furiously through the crowd, and perhaps bearing some bloody mandate of his royal master; and perhaps he will have seen and blushed for his own image in the person of some beggarly Italian refugee. Entering the gate, guarded by Arab soldiers in a bastard European uniform, he will cross a large square filled with officers and soldiers, surrounded by what are called palaces, but seeing nothing that can interest him save the house in which the gallant Kleber, the hero of many a bloody field, died ingloriously by the hands of an assassin. Crossing this square, he will plunge into the narrow streets of Cairo. Winding his doubtful and perilous way among tottering and ruined houses, jostled by camels, dromedaries, horses, and donkeys, perhaps he will draw up against a wall, and, thinking of plague, hold his breath, and screw himself into nothing, while he allows a corpse to pass, followed by a long train of howling women, dressed in black, with masks over their faces; and entering the large wooden gate which shuts in the Frank quarter for protection against any sudden burst of popular fury, and seating himself in a miserable Italian locanda, he will ask himself, Where is the "Cairo of the califs, the superb town, the holy city, the delight of the imagination, greatest among the great, whose splendour and opulence made the prophet smile?"

Almost immediately upon my arrival, I called upon Mr Gliddon, our vice-consul, and upon Nubar Bey, an Armenian dragoman to the pacha, to whom I had a letter from a gentleman in Alexandria. The purport of my visit to the latter was to procure a presentation to the pacha. He told me that several English officers from India had been waiting several days for that purpose; that he thought the pacha would receive them the next day, and, if so, he would ask permission to present me. Having arranged this, and not being particularly pleased with the interior, and liking exceedingly the donkeys, on which it is the custom there to mount on all occasions, for long and for short distances, I selected one that was particularly gay and sprightly, and followed by an Arab boy who had picked up a few Italian words, I told him to take me any where outside the city. He happened to take me out at the same gate by which I had entered, and I rode to Old Cairo.

Old Cairo is situated on the river, about four miles from Boulac. The road is pretty, and some of the points of view, particularly in returning, decidedly beautiful. The aqueduct which conveys water into the citadel at Cairo is a fine substantial piece of workmanship, and an item in the picture. The church and grotto in which, as tradition says, the Virgin Mary took refuge with the infant Saviour, when obliged to fly from the tetrarch of Judea, are among the few objects worthy of note in Old Cairo. The grotto, which is guarded with pious care by the Coptic priest, is a small excavation, the natural surface covered with smooth tiles; it is hardly large enough to allow one person to crawl in and sit upright. It is very doubtful whether this place was ever the refuge of the Virgin, but the craft or simplicity of the priests sustains the tradition; and a half dozen Coptic women, with their faces covered, and their long blue dresses, followed me down into the vault, and knecled before the door of the grotto, with a devotion which showed that they at least believed the tale.

At my locanda this morning I made acquaintance with two English parties, a gentleman, his lady, and nephew, who had been travelling in their own yacht

on the Mediterranean, and the party of English officers to whom I before referred, as returning from India by way of the Red Sea. They told me that they were expecting permission from the pacha to wait on him that day, and asked me to accompany them. This suited me better than to go alone, as I was not ambitious for a tête-à-tête with his highness, and merely wished to see him as one of the lions of the country. Soon after I received a note from the consul, telling me that his highness would receive me at half-past three. This, too, was the hour appointed for the reception of the others, and I saw that his highness was disposed to make a lumping business of it, and get rid of us all at once. I accordingly suggested to Mr Gliddon that we should all go together; but this did not suit him; he was determined that I should have the benefit of a special audience. I submitted myself to his directions, and in this, as in other things, while at Cairo, found the benefit of his attentions and advice.

It is the custom of the pacha upon such occasions to send horses from his own stable, and servants from his own household, to wait upon the stranger. At half past three I left my hotel, mounted on a noble horse, finely caparisoned, with a dashing red cloth saddle, a bridle ornamented with shells, and all the decorations and equipments of a well-mounted Turkish horseman, and, preceded by the janizary and escorted by the consul, with no small degree of pomp and circumstance I arrived at the gate of the citadel. Passing through a large yard, in which are several buildings connected with the different offices of government, we stopped at the door of the palace, and, dismounting, ascended a broad flight of marble steps to a large or central hall, from which doors opened into the different apartments. There were three recesses fitted up with divans, where officers were lounging, smoking, and taking coffee. The door of the divan, or hall of audience, was open, at which a guard was stationed; and in going up to demand permission to enter, we saw the pacha at the farther end of the room, with four or five Turks standing before him.

Not being allowed to enter yet, we walked up and down the great hall, among lounging soldiers and officers of all ranks and grades, Turks, Arabs, and beggars, and went out upon the balcony. The view from this embraces the most interesting objects in the vicinity of Cairo, and there are few prospects in the world which include so many; the land of Goshen, the Nile, the obelisk at Heliopolis, the tombs of the califs, the pyramids, and the deserts of eternal sands.

While standing upon the balcony, a janizary came to tell us that the pacha would receive us, or, in other words, that we must come to the pacha. The audience chamber was a very large room, with a high ceiling—perhaps eighty feet long and thirty high—with arabesque paintings on the wall, and a divan all around. The pacha was sitting near one corner at the extreme end, and had a long and full view of every one who approached him. I, too, had the same advantage, and in walking up I remarked him as a man about sixty-five, with a long and very white beard, strong features, of a somewhat vulgar cast, a short nose, red face, and rough skin, with an uncommonly fine dark eye, expressing a world of determination and energy. He wore a large turban and a long silk robe, and was smoking a long pipe with an amber mouthpiece. Altogether, he looked the Turk much better than his nominal master the sultan.

His dragoman, Nubar Bey, was there, and presented me. The pacha took his pipe from his mouth, motioned me to take a seat at his right hand on the divan, and with a courteous manner said I was welcome to Egypt. I told him he would soon have to welcome half the world there; he asked me why; and, without meaning to flatter the old Turk, I answered that every body had a great curiosity to visit that interesting country; that heretofore it had been very difficult to get there, and dangerous to travel in when there;

but now the facilities of access were greatly increased, and travelling in Egypt had become so safe under his government, that strangers would soon come with as much confidence as they feel while travelling in Europe; and I had no doubt there would be many Americans among them. He took his pipe from his mouth, and bowed. I sipped my coffee with great complacency, perfectly satisfied with the manner in which, for the first time, I had played the courtier to royalty. Knowing his passion for new things, I went on, and told him that he ought to continue his good works, and introduce on the Nile a steam-boat from Alexandria to Cairo. He took the pipe from his mouth again, and in the tone of "Let there be light, and there was light," said he had ordered a couple. I knew he was fibbing, and I afterwards heard from those through whom he transacted all his business in Europe, that he had never given any such order. Considering that a steam-boat was an appropriate weapon in the hands of an American, I followed up my blow by telling him that I had just seen mentioned, in a European paper, a project to run steam-boats from New York to Liverpool in twelve or fourteen days. He asked me the distance; I told him, and he said nothing and smoked on. He knew America, and particularly from a circumstance which I afterwards found had done wonders in giving her a name and character in the East, the visit of Commodore Patterson in the ship Delaware. So far I had taken decidedly the lead in the conversation; but the constant repetition of "son attesse" by the dragoman, began to remind me that I was in the presence of royalty, and that it was my duty to speak only when I was spoken to. I waited to give him a chance, and the first question he asked was as to the rate of speed of the steam-boats on our rivers. Remembering an old, crazy, five or six mile an hour boat that I had seen in Alexandria, I was afraid to tell him the whole truth, lest he should not believe me, and did not venture to go higher than fifteen miles an hour; and even then he looked as Ilderim may be supposed to have looked when the Knight of the Leopard told him of having crossed over a lake like the Dead Sea without wetting his horse's hoofs. I have no doubt, if he ever thought of me afterwards, that it was as the lying American; and just at this moment, the party of English coming in, I rose and took my leave. Gibbon says, "When Persia was governed by the descendants of Sefs, a race of princes whose wanton cruelty often stained their divan, their table, and their bed, with the blood of their favourites, there is a saying recorded of a young nobleman that he never departed from the sultan's presence without satisfying himself whether his head was still on his shoulders." It was in somewhat of the same spirit that, in passing, one of the Englishmen whispered to me, "Are you sure of your legs?"

During my interview with the pacha, although my conversation and attention were directed towards him, I could not help remarking particularly his dragoman, Nubar Bey. He was an Armenian, perhaps a year or two over thirty, with an olive complexion, and a countenance like marble. He stood up before us, about half way between the pacha and me, his calm eye finely contrasted with the roving and unsettled glances of the pacha, a perfect picture of indifference, standing like a mere machine to translate words, without seeming to comprehend or take the least interest in their import; and though I had been particularly recommended to him, he did not give me a single glance to intimate that he had ever seen me before, or cared ever to see me again. He was an ambitious man, and was evidently acting, and acted well, a part suited to an eastern court; the part necessary in his responsible and dangerous position, as the depositary of important secrets of government. He was in high favour with the pacha, and, when I left, was in a fair way of attaining any honour at which his ambitious spirit might aim. On my return to Alexandria, four months after, he was dead.

The life and character of Mohammed Ali are a study and a problem. Like Bernadotte of Sweden, he has

risen from the rank of a common soldier, and now sits firmly and securely on a throne of his own making. He has risen by the usual road to greatness among the Turks; war, bloodshed, and treachery. In early life his bold and daring spirit attracted the attention of beys, pachas, and the sultan himself; and having attained a prominent position in the bloody wars that distracted Egypt under the Mamelukes, boldness, cruelty, intrigue, and treachery, placed him on the throne of the califs; and neither then nor since have these usual engines of Turkish government, these usual accompaniments of Turkish greatness, for a moment deserted him. The extermination of the Mamelukes, the former lords of Egypt, as regards the number killed, is perhaps nothing in comparison with the thousands whose blood cries out from the earth against him; but the manner in which it was effected brands the pacha as the prince of traitors and murderers. Invited to the citadel on a friendly visit, while they were smoking the pipe of peace he was preparing to murder them; and no sooner had they left his presence than they were pent up, fired upon, cut down and killed, bravely but hopelessly defending themselves to the last. This cruel deed must not be likened to the slaughter of the janizaries by the sultan, to which it is often compared, for the janizaries were a powerful body, insulting and defying the throne. The sultan staked his head upon the issue, and it was not till he had been driven to the desperate expedient of unfurling the sacred standard of the prophet, and calling upon all good Mussulmans to rally round it—in a word, it was not till the dead bodies of 30,000 janizaries were floating down the Bosphorus, that he became master in his own dominions. Not so with the pacha; the Mamelukes were reduced to a feeble band of 400 or 500 men, and could effect nothing of importance against the pacha. His cruelty and treachery can neither be forgotten nor forgiven; and when, in passing out of the citadel, the stranger is shown the place where the unhappy Mamelukes were penned up and slaughtered like beasts, one only leaping his gallant horse over the walls of the citadel, he feels that he has left the presence of a wholesale murderer. Since that time he has had Egypt quietly to himself; has attacked and destroyed the Wahabees on the Red Sea, and subdued the countries above the Cataracts of the Nile, to Senaar and Dongola. He has been constantly aiming at introducing European improvements; has raised and disciplined an army according to European tactics; increased the revenues, particularly by introducing the culture of cotton, and has made Egypt, from the Mediterranean to the Cataracts, as safe for the traveller as the streets of New York. It remains to be seen, whether, after all, he has not done more harm than good, and whether the miserable and oppressed condition of his subjects does not more than counterbalance all the good that he has done for Egypt. One of the strongest evidences he gave of his civilising inclinations is the tendency he once manifested to fall under petticoat government. He was passionately fond of his first wife, the sharer of his poverty and meridian greatness, and the mother of his two favourite children, Yousouff and Ibrahim Pacha; and whenever a request was preferred in her name, the enamoured despot would swear his favourite oath, "By my two eyes, if she wishes it, it shall be done." Fond of war, and having an eye to the islands of Candia and Cyprus, he sent a large fleet and army, commanded by his son Ibrahim Pacha, to aid the sultan in his war against Greece, and with his wild Egyptians turned the tide against that unhappy country, receiving as his reward the islands which he coveted. More recently, availing himself of a trifling dispute with the governor of Acre, he turned his arms against the sultan, invaded Syria, and after a long siege, took and made himself master of Acre; his victorious armies under his son Ibrahim swept all Syria; Jerusalem, Damascus, and Aleppo, fell into his hands; and beating the sultan's forces whenever he met them, in mid winter he led his Egyptians over Mount Taurus, defeated the grand vizier with more than 100,000 men,

almost under the walls of Constantinople, and would have driven the sultan from the throne of his ancestors, if the Russians, the old enemies of the Porte, had not come in to his relief. According to the policy of the Porte, that which is wrested from her and she cannot get back, she confirms in the possession of the rebel; and Palestine and Syria are now in the hands of Mohammed Ali, as the fruits of drawing his sword against his master. He still continues to pay tribute to the sultan, constrained doubtless to make the last payment by the crippled state in which he was left by the terrible plague of 1834; and without any enemy to fear, is at this moment draining the resources of his country to sustain a large army and navy. No one can fathom his intentions; and probably he does not know them himself, but will be governed, as the Turks always are, by caprice and circumstances.

On leaving the pacha, Mr Gliddon proposed that we should call upon the governor of Cairo. We stopped at what would be called in France the "Palais de Justice," and, mounting a dozen steps, entered a large hall, at one end of which stood the governor. He was a short stout man, of about fifty-five, with a long beard, handsomely dressed, and stood gently rubbing his hands, and constantly working his jaws, like an ox chewing the cud. A crowd was gathered around him, and just as we were approaching, the crowd fell back, and we saw an Arab lying on his face on the floor, with two men standing over him, one on each side, with whips like cow-skins, carrying into effect the judgment of the munching governor. The blows fell thickly and heavily, the poor fellow screamed piteously, and when the full number had been given he could not move; he was picked up by his friends, and carried out of doors. It was precisely such a scene as realised the reference in the Scriptures to the manners of the East in the time of our Saviour, when a complaint was made to the judge, and the judge handed the offender over to justice; or the graphic accounts in the Arabian Nights, of summary justice administered by the *cadi* or other expounder of the law, without the intervention of lawyers or jury. The poor Arab was hardly removed before another complaint was entered; but not feeling particularly amiable towards the governor, and having seen enough of the great Turks for that day, I left the citadel and rode to my hotel.

### CHAPTER III.

The Slave-market at Cairo.—Tomb of the Pacha.—The Pyramid of Cheops.—Oppressive Attention of the Arabs.—The Sphinx.

NEARLY all the time I was at Cairo, Paul and myself were ill, and for a few days we were in a rather pitiable condition. Fortunately, a young English army surgeon was there, on his way to India, and hearing there was a sick traveller in the house, he with great kindness called upon me and prescribed for our ailments. If this book should ever meet the eye of Dr Forbes, he will excuse my putting his name in print, as it is the only means I have of acknowledging his kindness in saving me from what would otherwise have been a severe and most inconvenient illness. At that time there was no English physician in Cairo, and I believe none at all, except some vile, half-bred Italian or French apothecaries, who held themselves fully qualified to practise, and were certainly very successful in relieving the sick from all their sufferings. On my return I found Dr Walne; and though for his own sake I could wish him a better lot, I hope for the benefit of sick travellers that he is there still.

One of my first rambles in Cairo was to the slave-market. It is situated nearly in the centre of the city, as it appeared to me, although after turning half a dozen corners in the narrow streets of a Turkish city, I will defy a man to tell where he is exactly. It is a large old building, enclosing a hollow square, with chambers all around, both above and below. There were probably 500 or 600 slaves, sitting on mats in groups of ten, twenty, or thirty, each belonging to a

different proprietor. Most of them were entirely naked, though some, whose shivering forms evinced that even there they felt the want of their native burning sun, were covered with blankets. They were mostly from Dongola and Sennaar; but some were Abyssinians, with yellow complexions, fine eyes and teeth, and decidedly handsome. The Nubians were very dark, but with oval, regularly formed and handsome faces, mild and amiable expressions, and no mark of the African except the colour of their skin. The worst spectacle in the bazaar was that of several lots of sick, who were separated from the rest, and arranged on mats by themselves; their bodies thin and shrunken, their chins resting upon their knees, their long lank arms hanging helplessly by their sides, their faces haggard, their eyes fixed with a painful vacancy, and altogether presenting the image of man in his most abject condition. Meeting them on their native sands, their crouching attitudes, shrunken jaws, and rolling eyes, might have led one to mistake them for those hideous animals the orang-outang and ape. Prices vary from twenty to a hundred dollars; but the sick, as carrying within them the seeds of probable death, are coolly offered for almost nothing, as so much damaged merchandise which the seller is anxious to dispose of before it becomes utterly worthless on his hands. There was one, an Abyssinian, who had mind as well as beauty in her face; she was dressed in silk, and wore ornaments of gold and shells, and called me as I passed, and peeped from behind a curtain, smiling and coquetting, and wept and pouted when I went away; and she thrust out her tongue to show me that she was not like those I had just been looking at, but that her young blood ran pure and healthy in her veins.

Cairo is surrounded by a wall; the sands of the desert approach it on every side, and every gate, except that of Boulac, opens to a sandy waste. Passing out by the Victory Gate, the contrast between light and darkness is not greater than between the crowded streets and the stillness of the desert, separated from them only by a wall. Immediately without commences the great burial-place of the city. Among thousands and tens of thousands of Mussulmans' headstones, I searched in vain for the tomb of the lamented Burckhardt; there is no mark to distinguish the grave of the enterprising traveller from that of an Arabian camel-driver. At a short distance from the gate are the tombs of the califs, large and beautiful buildings, monuments of the taste and skill of the Saracens.

From hence, passing around outside the walls, I entered by the gate of the Citadel, where I saw what goes by the name of Joseph's Well, perhaps better known as the Well of Saladin. It is 45 feet wide at the mouth, and cut 270 feet deep through the solid rock, to a spring of saltish water, on a level with the Nile, whence the water is raised in buckets on a wheel, turned by a buffalo.

On the 25th, with a voice that belied my feelings, I wished Paul a merry Christmas; and after breakfast, wishing to celebrate the day, mounted a donkey and rode to the site of the ancient Heliopolis, near the village of Matarea, about four miles from Cairo, on the borders of the rich land of Goshen. The geographer Strabo visited these ruins thirty years A.C., and describes them almost exactly as we see them now. A great temple of the sun once stood here. Herodotus and Plato studied philosophy in the schools of Heliopolis; "a barbarous Persian overturned her temples; a fanatic Arabian burnt her books;" and a single obelisk, sixty-seven feet high, in a field ploughed and cultivated to its very base, stands a melancholy monument of former greatness and eternal ruin.

Passing out by another gate is another vast cemetery, ranges of tombs extending miles out into the desert. In Turkey I had admired the beauty of the graveyards, and often thought how calmly slept the dead under the thick shade of the mourning cypress. In Egypt I admired still more the solemn stillness and grandeur of a last resting-place among the eternal sands of the desert. In this great city of the dead stand the

tombs of the Mamelukes, originally slaves from the foot of the Caucasus, then the lords and tyrants of Egypt, and now an exterminated race: the tombs are large handsome buildings, with domes and minarets, the interior of the domes beautifully wrought, and windows of stained glass, all going to ruins. Here, too, is the tomb of the pacha. Fallen, changed, completely revolutionised as Egypt is, even to this day peculiar regard is paid to the structure of tombs and the burial-places of the dead. The tomb of the pacha is called the greatest structure of modern Egypt. It is a large stone building, with several domes, strongly but coarsely made. The interior, still, solemn, and imposing, is divided into two chambers; in the first, in a conspicuous situation, is the body of his favourite wife, and around are those of other members of his family; in the other chamber are several tombs covered with large and valuable Cashmere shawls; several places yet unoccupied, and in one corner a large vacant place, reserved for the pacha himself. Both apartments are carpeted, and illuminated with lamps, with divans in the recesses, and little wicker chairs for the different members of the family who come to mourn and pray. Two ladies were there, sitting near one of the tombs, their faces completely covered; and, that I might not disturb their pious devotions, my guide led me in a different direction.

During the time that I had passed in lounging about Cairo, I had repeatedly been down to Boulac in search of a boat for my intended voyage up the Nile; and going one Sunday to dine on the Island of Rhoda with Mr Trail, a young Englishman who had charge of the palace and garden of Ibrahim Pacha, I again rode along the bank of the river for the same purpose. In coming up from Alexandria, I had found the inconveniences of a large boat, and was looking for one of the smallest dimensions that could be at all comfortable. We were crossing over one more than half sunk in the water, which I remarked to Paul was about the right size; and while we stopped a moment, without the least idea that it could be made fit for use, an Arab came up and whispered to Paul that he could pump out the water in two hours, and had only sunk the boat to save it from the officers of the pacha, who would otherwise take it for the use of government. Upon this information I struck a bargain for the boat, eight men, a rais, and a pilot. The officers of the pacha were on the bank looking out for boats, and notwithstanding my Arab's ingenious contrivance, just when I had closed my agreement, they came on board and claimed possession. I refused to give up my right, and sent to the agent of the consul for an American flag. He could not give me an American, but sent me an English flag, and I did not hesitate to put myself under its protection. I hoisted it with my own hands; but the rascally Turks paid no regard to its broad folds. The majesty of England did not suffer, however, in my hands, and Paul and I spent more than an hour in running from one officer to another, before we could procure the necessary order for the release of the boat. Leaving this with the rais, and the flag still flying, I went on to Rhoda, and spent the day there in decidedly the prettiest spot about Cairo. At the head of this island is the celebrated Nilometer, which, for no one knows how long, has marked the annual rise and fall of the Nile.

I had been ten days in Cairo without going to the pyramids. I had seen them almost every day, but my doctor, who was to accompany me, had delayed my visit. He was obliged to leave Cairo, however, before I was ready to go; and as soon as he was off, like a schoolboy when the master is out of sight, I took advantage of his absence. My old friend from Alexandria had promised to go with me, and joining me at Old Cairo, we crossed over to Ghizeh. Almost from the gates of Cairo the pyramids are constantly in sight, and, after crossing the ferry, we at first rode directly towards them; but the waters were yet so high that we were obliged to diverge from the straight road. In about an hour we separated, my guide taking one route

and my friends another. With my eyes constantly fixed on the pyramids, I was not aware of our separation until I had gone too far to return, and my guide proved to be right. Standing alone on an elevated mountainous range on the edge of the desert, without any object with which to compare them, the immense size of the pyramids did not strike me with full force. Arrived at the banks of a stream, twenty Arabs, more than half naked, and most of them blind of an eye, came running towards me, dashed through the stream, and pulling, hauling, and scuffling at each other, all laid hold of me to carry me over. All seemed bent upon having something to do with me, even if they carried me over piecemeal; but I selected two of the strongest, with little more than one eye between them, and keeping the rest off as well as I could, was borne over dryshod. Approaching, the three great pyramids and one small one are in view, towering higher and higher above the plain. I thought I was just upon them, and that I could almost touch them; yet I was more than a mile distant. The nearer I approached, the more their gigantic dimensions grew upon me, until, when I actually reached them, rode up to the first layer of stones, and saw how very small I was, and looked up their sloping sides to the lofty summits, they seemed to have grown to the size of mountains.

The base of the great pyramid is about 300 feet square, covering a surface of about eleven acres, according to the best measurement, and four hundred and sixty-one feet high; or, to give a clearer idea, starting from a base as large as Washington Parade Ground, it rises to a tapering point nearly three times as high as Trinity church steeple. Even as I walked around it and looked up at it from the base, I did not feel its immensity until I commenced ascending; then, having climbed some distance up, when I stopped to breathe and look down upon my friend below, who was dwindled into insect size, and up at the great distance between me and the summit, then I realised in all their force the huge dimensions of this giant work. It took me twenty minutes to mount to the summit; about the same time that it had required to mount the cones of *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*. The ascent is not particularly difficult, at least with the assistance of the Arabs. There are 206 tiers of stone, from one to four feet in height, each two or three feet smaller than the one below, making what are called the steps. Very often the steps were so high that I could not reach them with my feet. Indeed, for the most part, I was obliged to climb with my knees, deriving great assistance from the step which one Arab made for me with his knee, and the helping hand of another above.

It is not what it once was to go to the pyramids. They have become regular lions for the multitudes of travellers; but still, common as the journey has become, no man can stand on the top of the great pyramid of Cheops, and look out upon the dark mountains of Mokattam bordering the Arabian desert; upon the ancient city of the Pharaohs, its domes, its mosques and minarets, glittering in the light of a vertical sun; upon the rich valley of the Nile, and the "river of Egypt" rolling at his feet; the long range of pyramids and tombs extending along the edge of the desert to the ruined city of Memphis, and the boundless and eternal sands of Africa, without considering that moment an epoch not to be forgotten. Thousands of years roll through his mind, and thought recalls the men who built them, their mysterious uses, the poets, historians, philosophers, and warriors, who have gazed upon them with wonder like his own.

For one who but yesterday was bustling in the streets of a busy city, it was a thing of strange and indescribable interest to be standing on the top of the great pyramid, surrounded by a dozen half-naked Arabs, forgetting, as completely as if they had never been, the stirring scenes of his distant home. But even here petty vexations followed me, and half the interest of the time and scene was destroyed by the clamour of my guides. The descent I found extremely easy; many



persons complain of the dizziness caused by looking down from such a height, but I did not find myself so affected; and though the denkeys at the base looked like flies, I could almost have danced down the mighty sides.\*

The great pyramid is supposed to contain 6,000,000 of cubic feet of stone, and 100,000 men are said to have been employed twenty years in building it. The four angles stand exactly in the four points of the compass, inducing the belief that it was intended for other purposes than those of a sepulchre. The entrance is on the north side. The sands of the desert have encroached upon it, and, with the fallen stones and rubbish, have buried it to the sixteenth step. Climbing over this rubbish, the entrance is reached, a narrow passage three and a half feet square, lined with broad blocks of polished granite, descending in the interior at an angle of twenty-seven degrees for about ninety-two feet; then the passage turns to the right, and winds upward to a steep ascent of eight or nine feet, and then falls into the natural passage, which is five feet high and one hundred feet long, forming a continued ascent to a sort of landing-place; in a small recess of this is the orifice or shaft called the well. Moving onward through a long passage, the explorer comes to what is called the Queen's Chambers, seventeen feet long, fourteen wide, and twelve high. I entered a hole opening from this crypt, and crawling on my hands and knees, came to a larger opening, not a regular chamber, and now cumbered with fallen stones. Immediately above this, ascending by an inclined plane lined with highly polished granite, and about 120 feet in length, and mounting a short space by means of holes cut in the sides, I entered the King's Chamber, about thirty-seven feet long, seventeen feet wide, and twenty feet high. The walls of the chamber are of red granite, highly polished, each stone reaching from the floor to the ceiling; and the ceiling is formed of nine large slabs of polished granite, extending from wall to wall. It is not the least interesting part of a visit to the interior of the pyramids, as you are groping your way after your Arab guide, to feel your hand running along the sides of an enormous shaft, smooth and polished as the finest marble, and to see by the light of the flaring torch chambers of red granite from the Cataracts of the Nile, the immense blocks standing around and above you, smooth and beautifully polished in places, where, if our notions of the pyramids be true, they were intended but for few mortal eyes. At one end of the chamber stands a sarcophagus, also of red granite; its length is seven feet six inches, depth three and a half, breadth three feet three inches. Here is supposed to have slept one of the great rulers of the earth, the king of the then greatest kingdom of the world, the proud mortal for whom this mighty structure was raised. Where is he now? Even his dry bones are gone, torn away by rude hands, and scattered by the winds of heaven.

There is something curious about this sarcophagus too. It is exactly the size of the orifice which forms the entrance of the pyramid, and could not have been conveyed to its place by any of the now known passages; consequently, must have been deposited during the building, or before the passage was finished in its pre-

\* A few years ago an unfortunate accident happened at this pyramid. An English officer, Mr M., who had come up the Red Sea from India with his friend, had mounted to the top, and, while his friend was looking another way, Mr M. was walking around the upper layer of stones, and fell; he rolled down eight or ten steps, and caught; for a moment he turned up his face with an expression that his friend spoke of as horrible beyond all description, when his head sank, his grasp relaxed, and he pitched headlong, rolling over and over to the bottom of the pyramid. Every bone in his body was broken; his mangled corpse was sewed up in a sack, carried to Old Cairo, and buried, and his friend returned the same day to Cairo. There were at the time imputations that Mr M. had premeditated this act, as he had left behind him his watch, money, and papers, and had been heard to say what a glorious death it would be to die by jumping from the top of a pyramid.

sent state. The interior of the pyramid is excessively hot, particularly when surrounded by a number of Arabs and flaring torches. Leaving the King's Chamber, I descended the inclined plane, and prepared to descend the well referred to by Pliny. The shaft is small; merely large enough to permit one to descend with the legs astride, the feet resting in little niches, and hands clinging to the same. Having no janizary with me to keep them off, I was very much annoyed by the Arabs following me. I had at first selected two as my guides, and told the others to go away; but it was of no use. They had nothing else to do; a few paras would satisfy them for their day's labour; and the chance of getting these, either from charity or by importunity, made them all follow. At the mouth of the well, I again selected my two guides, and again told the others not to follow; and, sending the two before me, followed down the well, being myself quickly followed by two others. I shouted to them to go back, but they paid no regard to me; so, coming out again, I could not help giving the fellow next me a blow with a club, which sent him bounding among his companions. I then flourished my stick among them, and after a deal of expostulation and threatening gesticulation, I attempted the descent once more. A second time they followed me, and I came out perfectly furious. My friend was outside shooting, the pyramids being nothing new to him, and unfortunately I had been obliged to leave Paul at Cairo, and had no one with me but a little Nubian boy. Him I could not prevail upon to descend the well; he was frightened, and begged me not to go down; and when he saw them follow the second time, and me come out and lay about me with a club, he began to cry, and, before I could lay hold of him, ran away. I could do nothing without him, and was obliged to follow. There was no use in battling with the poor fellows, for they made no resistance; and I believe I might have brained the whole of them without one offering to strike a blow. Moreover, it was very hot and smothering; and as there was nothing particular to see, nor any discovery to make, I concluded to give it up; and calling my guides to return, in a few moments escaped from the hot and confined air of the pyramid.

At the base I found my friend sitting quietly with his gun in his hand, and brought upon him the hornet's nest which had so worried me within. The Arabs, considering their work done, gathered around me, clamorous for bucksheesh, and none were more importunate than the fellows who had followed me so pertinaciously. I gave them liberally, but this only whetted their appetites. There was no getting rid of them; a sweep of my club would send them away for a moment, but instantly they would reorganise and come on again, putting the women and children in the front rank. The sheik came ostensibly to our relief; but I had doubts whether he did not rather urge them on. He, however, protected us to a certain extent, while we went into one of the many tombs to eat our luncheon. For a great distance around there are large tombs which would of themselves attract the attention of the traveller, were they not lost in the overwhelming interest of the pyramids. That in which we lunched had a deep shaft in the centre, leading to the pit where the mummies had been piled one upon another. The Arabs had opened and rifled the graves, and bones and fragments were still lying scattered around. Our persecutors were sitting at the door of the tomb looking in upon us, and devouring with their eyes every morsel that we put into our mouths. We did not linger long over our meal; and, giving them the fragments, set off for a walk round the pyramid of Cephrens, the second in grandeur.

This pyramid was opened at great labour and expense by the indefatigable Belzoni, and a chamber discovered containing a sarcophagus, as in that of Cheops. The passage, however, has now become choked up and hardly accessible. Though not so high, it is much more difficult to mount than the other, the outside being covered with a coat of hard and polished

cement, at the top almost perfectly smooth and unbroken. Two English officers had mounted it a few days before, who told me that they had found the ascent both difficult and dangerous. One of the Arabs who accompanied them, after he had reached the top, became frightened, and, not daring to descend, remained hanging on there more than an hour, till his old father climbed up and inspired him with confidence to come down.

A new attempt is now making to explore the interior of this pyramid. Colonel Vyse, an English gentleman of fortune, has devoted the last six months to this most interesting work. He has for an associate in his labours the veteran Caviglia, who returns to the pyramids rich with the experience of twenty years in exploring the temples and tombs of Upper Egypt. By a detailed report and drawing received by Mr Gliddon from Caviglia himself, and by private letters of later date, it appears that they have already discovered a new passage and another chamber, containing on one of the walls a single hieroglyphic. This hieroglyphic was then under the consideration of the savans and pupils of the Champolion school in Egypt; and whether they succeed in reading it or not, we cannot help promising ourselves the most interesting results from the enterprise and labours of Colonel Vyse and Caviglia.

The pyramids, like all the other works of the ancient Egyptians, are built with great regard to accuracy of proportion. The sepulchral chamber is not in the centre, but in an irregular and out-of-the-way position in the vast pile; and some idea may be formed of the great ignorance which must exist in regard to the whole structure and its uses, from the fact that by computation, allowing an equal solid bulk for partition walls, there is sufficient space in the great pyramid for 3700 chambers as large as that containing the sarcophagus.

Next to the pyramids, probably as old, and hardly inferior in interest, is the celebrated Sphinx. Notwithstanding the great labours of Caviglia, it is now so covered with sand that it is difficult to realise the bulk of this gigantic monument. Its head, neck, shoulders, and breasts, are still uncovered; its face, though worn and broken, is mild, amiable, and intelligent, seeming, among the tombs around it, like a divinity guarding the dead.

#### CHAPTER IV.

Journey up the Nile.—An Arab Burial.—Pilgrims to Mecca.—Trials of Patience.—A Hurricane on the Nile.—A Turkish Bath.

On the 1st of January I commenced my journey up the Nile. My boat was small, for greater convenience in rowing and towing. She was, however, about forty feet long, with two fine latteen sails, and manned by eight men, a rais or captain, and a governor or pilot. This was to be my home from Cairo to the Cataracts, or as long as I remained on the river. There was not a place where a traveller could sleep, and I could not expect to eat a meal or pass a night except on board; consequently, I was obliged to provide myself at Cairo with all things necessary for the whole voyage. My outfit was not very extravagant. It consisted, as near as I can recollect, of two tin cups, two pairs of knives and forks, four plates, coffee, tea, sugar, rice, macaroni, and a few dozen of claret. My bedroom furniture consisted of a mattress and coverlet, which in the daytime were tucked up so as to make a divan. Over the head of my bed were my gun and pistols, and at the foot was a little swinging shelf containing my LIBRARY, which consisted of the Modern Traveller in Egypt, Volney's Travels, and an Italian grammar and dictionary. My only companion was my servant; and as he is about to be somewhat intimate with me, I take the liberty of introducing him to the reader. Pnollo Nuzzo, or, more familiarly Paul, was a Maltese. I had met him at Constantinople travelling with two of my countrymen; and though they did not seem

to like him much, I was very well pleased with him, and thought myself quite fortunate, on my arrival at Malta, to find him disengaged. He was a man about thirty-five years old; stout, square built, intelligent; a passionate admirer of ruins, particularly the ruins of the Nile; honest and faithful as the sun, and one of the greatest cowards that luminary ever shone upon. He called himself my dragoman, and, I remember, wrote himself such in the convent of Mount Sinai and the temple at Petra, though he promised to make himself generally useful, and was my only servant during my whole tour. He spoke French, Italian, Maltese, Greek, Turkish, and Arabic, but could not read any one of these languages. He had lived several years in Cairo, and had travelled on the Nile before, and understood all the little arrangements necessary for the voyage.

At about twelve o'clock, then the hour when at home my friends were commencing their New-year visits, accompanied to the boat by my friend from Alexandria, my first, last, and best friend in Egypt, I embarked; and with a fair wind, and the "star-spangled banner" (made by an Arab tailor) floating above me, I commenced my journey on the Nile. It is necessary here for every stranger to place himself under the flag of his country, else his boat and men are liable to be taken at any moment by the officers of the pacha. It was the first time I had myself ever raised the banner of my country, and I felt a peculiar pride in the consciousness that it could protect me so far from home.

We started, as when I first embarked upon the Nile, with a fair wind, at sunset, and again to the gentle tap of the Arab drum we passed the great pyramids of Ghizeh and the giant monuments of Sachara and Dashoor. Long after sunset their dark outline was distinctly visible over the desert; I sat on the deck of my boat till their vast masses became lost in the darkness. My situation was novel and exciting, and my spirits were elated with curious expectation; but with the morrow came a very essential change. A feeling of gloom came over me when I found the wind against my progress. The current was still running obstinately the same way as before, and to be so soon deserted by the element that I needed, gave rather a dreary aspect to the long journey before me. That day, however, we contrived to do something; my boat being small, my men were almost continually ashore, with ropes around their breasts, towing; and, occasionally, rowing across from side to side would give us the advantage of a bend in the river, when we would carry sail and make some progress.

The scenery of the Nile, about fifty miles from Cairo, differed somewhat from the rich valley of the Delta, the dark mountains of Mokattam, in the neighbourhood of Cairo, bounding the valley on the Arabian side, while on the African the desert approached to the very banks of the river. Though travelling in a country in which, by poetic licence, and by way of winding off a period, every foot of ground is said to possess an exciting interest, during my first day's journey on the Nile I was thrown very much upon my own resources.

My gun was the first thing that presented itself. I had bought it in Cairo, double-barrelled and new, for fifteen dollars. I did not expect to make much use of it, and it was so very cheap that I was rather doubtful of its safety, and intended to make trial of it with a double charge and a slow match. But Paul had anticipated me; he had already put in two enormous charges, and sent one of the boatmen ashore to try it. I remonstrated with him upon the risk to which he had exposed the man; but he answered in the tone in which he (like all European servants) always spoke of the degraded inhabitants of Egypt—"Poh! he is only an Arab;" and I was soon relieved from apprehension by the Arab returning, full of praises of the gun, having killed with both shots. One thing disheartened me even more than the head wind. Ever since I left home

I had been in earnest search of a warm climate, and thought I had secured it in Egypt; but wherever I went, I seemed to carry with me an influence that chilled the atmosphere. In the morning, before I rose, Paul brought in to me a piece of ice as thick as a pane of glass, made during the night; a most extraordinary, and to me unexpected circumstance. The poor Arabs, accustomed to their hot and burning sun, shrank in the cold almost to nothing, and early in the morning and in the evening were utterly unfit for labour. I suffered very much also myself. Obligated to sit with the door of my cabin closed, my coat and greatcoat on, and with a prospect of a long cold voyage, by the evening of the second day I had lost some portion of the enthusiasm with which, under a well-filled sail, I had started the day before from Cairo.

The third day was again exceedingly cold, the wind still ahead, and stronger than yesterday. I was still in bed, looking through the many openings of my cabin, and the men were on shore towing, when I was roused by a loud voice of lamentation, in which the weeping and wailing of women predominated. I stepped out, and saw on the bank of the river the dead body of an Arab, surrounded by men, women, and children, weeping and howling over it previous to burial. The body was covered with a wrapper of coarse linen cloth, drawn tight over the head and tied under the neck, and fastened between two parallel bars, intended as a barrow to carry it to its grave. It lay a little apart before the group of mourners, who sat on the bank above, with their eyes turned towards it, weeping, and apparently talking to it. The women were the most conspicuous among the mourners. The dead man had been more happy in his connexions than I imagine the Arabs generally are, if all the women sitting there were really mourning his death. Whether they were real mourners, or whether they were merely going through the formal part of an Egyptian funeral ceremony, I cannot say; but the big tears rolled down their cheeks, and their cries sounded like the overflowings of distressed hearts. A death and burial scene is at any time solemn, and I do not know that it loses any of its solemnity even when the scene is on the banks of the Nile, and the subject a poor and oppressed Arab. Human affection probably glows as warmly here as under a gilded roof, and I am disposed to be charitable to the exhibition that I then beheld; but I could not help noticing that the cries became louder as I approached, and I had hardly seated myself at a little distance from the corpse before the women seemed to be completely carried away by their grief, and with loud cries, tearing their hair and beating their breasts, threw out their arms towards the corpse, and prayed, and wept, and then turned away, with shrieks piteous enough to touch the heart of the dead.

The general territorial division of Egypt, from time immemorial, has been into upper and lower; the latter beginning at the shores of the Mediterranean and extending very nearly to the ancient Memphis, and the former commencing at Memphis and extending to the Cataracts. Passing by, for the present, the ruins of Memphis, on the fourth day, the wind dead ahead, and the men towing at a very slow rate, I went ashore with my gun, and about eleven o'clock in the morning walked into the town of Beni Souef. This town stands on the Libyan side of the river, on the borders of a rich valley, the Nile running close under the foot of the Arabian mountains; and contains as its most prominent objects, a mosque and minaret, and what is here called a palace or seraglio; that is, a large coarse building covered with white cement, and having grated windows for the harem.

Here travellers sometimes leave their boats to make an excursion to Medineh el Fayoun, the ancient Crocodopolis, or Arsinoë, near the great Lake Mœris. This lake was in ancient days one of the wonders of Egypt. It was sixty miles long (about the size of the Lake of Geneva), and Herodotus says that it was an artificial lake, and that in his time the towering summits of two

pyramids were visible above its surface. The great labyrinth, too, was supposed to be somewhere near this; but no pyramids nor any ruins of the labyrinth are now to be seen. The lake is comparatively dry, and very little is left to reward the traveller.

At sundown we hauled up to the bank, alongside a boat loaded with pilgrims; and building a fire on shore, the two crews, with their motley passengers, spent the night quietly around it. It was the first time since we left Cairo that we had come in contact with pilgrims, although we had been seeing them from my first entering Egypt. This was the season for the pilgrimage to Mecca. The great caravan was already gathering at Cairo, while numbers not wishing to wait, were seen on all parts of the Nile on their way to Kenneh, from thence to cross the desert to Cossier, and down the Red Sea to the Holy City. They were coming from all parts of the Mussulman dominions, poor and rich, old and young, women and children, almost piled upon each other by scores, for several months exposing themselves to all manner of hardships, in obedience to one of the principal injunctions of the Koran, once in their lives to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca.

On the 5th the wind was still dead ahead; the men continued to tow, but without making much progress; and the day dragged heavily. On the 6th, I saw another burial. Early in the morning Paul called me to look out. We were lying in company with another boat, fast to a little island of sand nearly in the middle of the river. I got up exceedingly cold, and saw a dead man lying on the sand, his limbs drawn up and stiff. He was a boatman on board the other boat, and had died during the night. A group of Arabs were sitting near making coffee, while two were preparing to wash the body previous to burial. They brought it down to the margin of the river, and laid it carefully upon the sand, then washed it, pressed down the drawn-up legs, and wrapped it in fragments of tattered garments, contributed by his fellow-boatmen, who could ill spare even these scanty rags; and laying it with great decency a little way from the river, joined the other group, and sat down with great gravity to pipes and coffee. In a few moments two of them rose, and going a little apart, with their bare hands scratched a shallow grave; and the poor Arab was left on a little sandbank in the Nile, to be covered in another season by the mighty river. He was an entire stranger, having come on board the evening before his boat set out from Cairo. In all probability, he was one of an immense mass which swarms in the crowded streets of Cairo, without friends, occupation, or settled means of living.

On the 7th the wind was still ahead and blowing strong, and the air was very cold. Having no books, no society, and no occupation except talking with Paul and my boatmen, and the stragglers on shore, I became dispirited, and sat, hour after hour, wrapped in my greatcoat, deliberating whether I should not turn back. One of the most vexatious things was the satisfaction apparently enjoyed by all around me. If we hauled up alongside another boat, we were sure to find the crew sprawling about in a most perfect state of contentment, and seemingly grateful to the adverse wind that prevented their moving. My own men were very obedient, but they could not control the wind. I had a written contract with my rais, drawn up by a Copt in Cairo, in pretty Arabic characters, and signed by both of us, although neither knew a word of its contents. The captain's manner of signing, I remember, was very primitive; he dipped the end of his finger in the ink, and pressed it on the paper, and in so doing seemed to consider that he had sold himself to me almost body and soul. "I know I am obliged to go if Howega says so," was his invariable answer; but though perfectly ready to go whenever there was a chance, it was easy enough to see that they were all quite as contented when there was none. Several times I was on the point of turning back, the wind drew down the river so invitingly; but if I returned, it was too early to go into Syria; and Thebes, "Thebes with her hundred gates," beckoned me on.

On the 8th I had not made much more than fifty miles, and the wind was still ahead, and blowing stronger than ever; indeed, it seemed as if this morning, for the first time, it had really commenced in earnest. I became desperate and went ashore, resolved to wear it out. We were lying along the bank, on the Libyan side, in company with fifteen or twenty boats, wind-bound like ourselves. It was near a little mud village, of which I forget the name, and several Bedouin tents were on the bank, in one of which I was sitting smoking a pipe. The wind was blowing down with a fury I have never seen surpassed in a gale at sea, bringing with it the light sands of the desert, and at times covering the river with a thick cloud which prevented my seeing across it. A clearing up for a moment showed a boat of the largest class, heavily laden, and coming down with astonishing velocity; it was like the flight of an enormous bird. She was under bare poles, but small portions of the sail had got loose, and the Arabs were out on the very ends of the long spars getting them in. One of the boatmen, with a rope under his arm, had plunged into the river, and with strong swimming reached the bank, where a hundred men ran to his assistance. Their united strength turned her bows around, up stream, but nothing could stop her; stern foremost she dragged the whole posse of Arabs to the bank, and broke away from them perfectly ungovernable; whirling around, her bows pitched into our fleet with a loud crash, tore away several of the boats, and carrying one off, fast locked as in a death-grasp, she resumed her headlong course down the river. They had gone but a few rods, when the stranger pitched her bows under and went down in a moment, bearing her helpless companion also to the bottom. It was the most exciting incident I had seen upon the river. The violence of the wind, the swift movement of the boat, the crash, the wild figures of the Arabs on shore and on board, one in a red dress almost on the top of the long spar, his turban loose and streaming in the wind, all formed a strange and most animating scene. I need scarcely say that no lives were lost, for an Arab on the bosom of his beloved river is as safe as in his mud cabin.

On the 9th the wind was as contrary as ever; but between rowing and towing we had managed to crawl up as far as Minyeh. It was the season of the Ramadan, when for thirty days, from the rising to the setting of the sun, the followers of the Prophet are forbidden to eat, drink, or even smoke, or take the bath. My first inquiry was for a bath. It would not be heated or lighted up till eight o'clock; at eight o'clock I went, and was surprised to find it so large and comfortable. I was not long surprised, however, for I found that no sooner was the sacred prohibition removed, than the Turks and Arabs began to pour in in throngs; they came without any respect of persons, the haughty Turk with his pipe-bearing slave and the poor Arab boatman; in short, every one who could raise a few paras.

It was certainly not a very select company, nor over clean, and probably very few Europeans would have stood the thing as I did. My boatmen were all there. They were my servants, said the rais, and were bound to follow me every where. As I was a Frank, and as such expected to pay ten times as much as any one else, I had the best place in the bath, at the head of the great reservoir of hot water. My white skin made me a marked object among the swarthy figures lying around me; and half a dozen of the operatives, lank, bony fellows, and perfectly naked, came up and claimed me. They settled it among themselves, however, and gave the preference to a dried-up old man more than sixty, a perfect living skeleton, who had been more than forty years a scrubber in the bath. He took me through the first process of rubbing with the glove and brush; and having thrown over me a copious ablution of warm water, left me to recover at leisure. I lay on the marble that formed the border of the reservoir, only two or three inches above the surface of the water, into which I put my hand and found it excessively hot; but the

old man, satisfied with his exertion in rubbing me, sat on the edge of the reservoir, with his feet and legs hanging in the water, with every appearance of satisfaction. Presently he slid off into the water, and, sinking up to his chin, remained so a moment, drew a long breath, and seemed to look around him with a feeling of comfort. I had hardly raised myself on my elbow to look at this phenomenon, before a fine brawny fellow, who had been lying for some time torpid by my side, rose slowly, slid off like a turtle, and continued sinking, until he, too, had immersed himself up to his chin. I expressed to him my astonishment at his ability to endure such heat; but he told me that he was a boatman, had been ten days coming up from Cairo, and was almost frozen, and his only regret was that the water was not much hotter. He had hardly answered me before another and another followed, till all the dark naked figures around me had vanished. By the fitful glimmering of the little lamps, all that I could see was a parcel of shaved heads on the surface of the water, at rest or turning slowly and quietly as on pivots. Most of them seemed to be enjoying it with an air of quiet dreamy satisfaction; but the man with whom I had spoken first, seemed to be carried beyond the bounds of Mussulman gravity. It operated upon him like a good dinner; it made him loquacious, and he urged me to come in, nay he even became frolicsome; and, making a heavy surge, threw a large body of the water over the marble on which I was lying. I almost screamed, and started up as if melted lead had been poured upon me; even while standing up, it seemed to blister the soles of my feet, and I was obliged to keep up a dancing movement, changing as fast as I could, to the astonishment of the dozing bathers, and the utter consternation of my would-be friend. Roused too much to relapse into the quiet luxury of perspiration, I went into another apartment, of a cooler temperature, where, after remaining in a bath of moderately warm water, I was wrapped up in hot cloths and towels, and conducted into the great chamber. Here I selected a couch, and, throwing myself upon it, gave myself to the operators, who now took charge of me, and well did they sustain the high reputation of a Turkish bath; my arms were gently laid upon my breast, where the knee of a powerful man pressed upon them; my joints were cracked and pulled; back, arms, the palms of the hands, the soles of the feet, all visited in succession. I had been shampooed at Smyrna, Constantinople, and Cairo; but who would have thought of being carried to the seventh heaven at the little town of Minyeh? The men who had me in hand were perfect amateurs, enthusiasts, worthy of rubbing the hide of the sultan himself; and the pipe and coffee that followed were worthy, too, of that same mighty seigneur. The large room was dimly lighted, and, turn which way I would, there was a naked body, apparently without a soul, lying torpid, and tumbled at will by a couple of workmen. I had had some fears of the plague; and Paul, though he felt his fears gradually dispelled by the soothing process which he underwent also, to the last continued to keep particularly clear of touching any of them. But I left the bath a different man; all my moral as well as physical strength was roused; I no longer drooped or looked back; and though the wind was still blowing a hurricane in my teeth, I was bent upon Thebes and the Cataracts.

## CHAPTER V.

Sporting on the Nile.—A Recluse.—An Egyptian Hebe.—Siout.—A Wolf-race among the Tombs.—Adventure with a Governor.

January 13.—In the morning, the first thing I did was to shoot at a flock of ducks, the next to shoot at a crocodile. He was the first I had seen, and was lying on a sandbank on an island in the middle of the river. I might as well have thrown a stone at him, for he was out of range twice over, and his hard skin would have laughed at my bird-shot, even if I had hit him; but I did what every traveller on the Nile must do, I shot at a crocodile. I met several travellers, all abundantly

provided with materials, and believe we were about equally successful. I never killed any, nor did they. During the day the wind abated considerably, and towards evening it was almost calm. My boat rowed as easily as a barge, and we were approaching Manfaloot. For some time before reaching it, there is a change in the appearance of the river.

The general character of the scenery of the Nile is that of a rich valley, from six to eight or ten miles wide, divided by the river, and protected on either side from the Libyan and Arabian Deserts by two continuous and parallel ranges of mountains. These are the strongly marked and distinguishing features; and from Cairo to the Cataracts, almost the only variety is that occasioned by the greater or less distance of these two ranges. Before approaching Manfaloot they changed their direction, and on the Arabian side the dark mountains of Mokattam advanced to the very border of the river.

Here we began to approach the eternal monuments of Egyptian industry. For a long distance the high range of rocky mountain was lined with tombs, their open doors inviting us to stop and examine them; but most provokingly, now, for the first time since the day we started, the wind was fair. It had been my peculiarly bad luck to have a continuance of headwinds on a part of the river where there was nothing to see; and almost the very moment I came to an object of interest, the wind became favourable, and was sweeping us along beautifully. One of the few pieces of advice given me at Cairo, of which my own observation taught me the wisdom, was, with a fair wind never to stop going up; and though every tomb seemed to reproach me for my neglect, we went resolutely on.

In one of the tombs lives an old man, who has been there more than fifty years; and an old wife, his companion for more than half a century, is there with him. His children live in Upper Egypt, and once a-year they come to visit their parents. The old man is still hale and strong; at night a light is always burning in his tomb, a basket is constantly let down to receive the offerings of the charitable, and few travellers, even among the poor Arabs, ever pass without leaving their mites for the recluse of the sepulchres.

It was dark when we arrived at Manfaloot, but, being the season of the Ramadan, the Mussulman day had just begun; the bazaars were open, and the cook and coffee shops thronged with Turks and Arabs indemnifying themselves for their long abstinence. My boatmen wanted to stop for the night; but as I would not stop for my own pleasure at the tombs below, I of course would not stop here for theirs; and after an hour or two spent in lounging through the bazaars and making a few necessary purchases, we were again under way.

At about eight o'clock, with a beautiful wind, I sailed into the harbour of Siout. This is the largest town on the Nile, and the capital of Upper Egypt. Brighter prospects now opened upon me. The wind that had brought us into Siout, and was ready to carry us on farther, was not the cold and cheerless one that for more than two weeks had blown in my teeth, but mild, balmy, and refreshing, raising the drooping head of the invalid, and making the man in health feel like walking, running, climbing, or clearing fences on horseback. Among the bourriquières who surrounded me the moment I jumped on the bank, was a beautiful bright-eyed little Arab girl, about eight years old, leading a donkey, and flourishing a long stick with a grace that would have shamed the best pupil of a fashionable dancing-master. By some accident, moreover, her face and hands were clean, and she seemed to be a general favourite among her ragged companions, who fell back with a gallantry and politeness that would have done honour to the ballroom of the dancing-master aforesaid. Leaving her without a competitor, they deprived me of the pleasure of showing my preference; and putting myself under her guidance, I followed her nimble little feet on the road to Siout. I make special mention of this little girl, because it is a rare thing to see an Egyp-

tian child in whom one can take any interest. It was the only time such a thing ever occurred to me; and really she exhibited so much beauty and grace, such a mild, open, and engaging expression, and such propriety of behaviour, as she walked by my side, urging on the donkey, and looking up in my face when I asked her a question, that I felt ashamed of myself for riding while she walked. But, tender and delicate as she looked, she would have walked by the side of her donkey, and tired down the strongest man. She was, of course, the child of poor parents, of whom the donkey was the chief support. The father had been in the habit of going out with it himself, and frequently taking the little girl with him as a companion. As she grew up, she went out occasionally alone, and even among the Turks her interesting little figure made her a favourite; and when all the other donkeys were idle, hers was sure to be engaged. This, and many other things, I learned from her own pretty little lips on my way to Siout.

Siout stands about a mile and a half from the river, in one of the richest valleys of the Nile. At the season of inundation, when the river rolls down in all its majesty, the whole intermediate country is overflowed; and boats of the largest size, steering their course over the waste of waters by the projecting tops of the palm-trees, come to anchor under the walls of the city. A high causeway from the river to the city crosses the plain, a comparatively unknown and unnoticed, but stupendous work, which for more than 3000 years has resisted the headlong current of the Nile at its highest, and now stands, like the pyramids, not so striking, but an equally enduring, and perhaps more really wonderful, monument of Egyptian labour. A short distance before reaching the city, on the right, are the handsome palace and garden of Ibrahim Pacha. A stream winds through the valley, crossed by a stone bridge, and over this is the entrance-gate of the city. The governor's palace, the most imposing and best structure I had seen since the citadel at Cairo, standing first within the walls, seemed like a warder at the door.

The large courtyard before the door of the palace contained a group of idlers, mostly officers of the household, all well armed, and carrying themselves with the usual air of Turkish conceit and insolence. Sitting on one side, with large turbans and long robes, unarmed, and with the large brass inkhorn by their sides, the badge of their peaceful and inferior, if not degrading profession, was a row of Copts, calling themselves, and believed to be, the descendants of the ancient Egyptians, having, as they say, preserved their blood intact during all the changes of their country. Boasting the blood of the ancient Egyptians, with the ruins of the mighty temples in which they worshipped, and the mighty tombs in which they were buried, staring them in the face, they were sitting on the bare earth at the door of a petty delegate of a foreign master, a race of degraded beggars, lifeless and soulless, content to receive, as a grace from the hands of a tyrant, the wretched privilege of living as slaves in the land where their fathers reigned as masters.

I do not believe that the contents of all the bazaars in Siout, one of the largest towns in Egypt, were worth as much as the stock of an ordinary dealer in dry goods in Broadway. But these are not the things for which the traveller stops at Siout. On the lofty mountains overlooking this richest valley of the Nile, and protecting it from the Libyan Desert, is a long range of tombs, the burial-place of the ancient Egyptians; and looking for a moment at the little Mahomedan burying-ground, the traveller turns with wonder from the little city he has left, and asks, Where is the great city which had its graves in the sides of yonder mountains? Where are the people who despised the earth as a burial-place, and made for themselves tombs in the eternal granite?

The mountain is about as far from the city as the river, and the approach to it is by another strong causeway over the same beautiful plain. Leaving our donkeys at its foot, and following the nimble footsteps of my little

Arab girl, we climbed by a steep ascent to the first range of tombs. They were the first I had seen, and are but little visited by travellers; and though I afterwards saw all that were in Egypt, I still consider these well worth a visit. Of the first we entered, the entrance chamber was perhaps forty feet square, and adjoining it, in the same range, were five or six others, of which the entrance-chambers had about the same dimensions. The ceilings were covered with paintings, finished with exquisite taste and delicacy, and in some places fresh as if just executed; and on the walls were hieroglyphics enough to fill volumes. Behind the principal chamber were five or six others nearly as large, with smaller ones on each side, and running back perhaps 150 feet. The back chambers were so dark, and their atmosphere was so unwholesome, that it was unpleasant, and perhaps unsafe, to explore them; if we went in far, there was always a loud rushing noise, and, as Paul suggested, their innermost recesses might now be the abode of wild beasts. Wishing to see what caused the noise, and at the same time to keep out of harm's way, we stationed ourselves near the back-door of the entrance chamber, and I fired my gun within; a stream of fire lighted up the darkness of the sepulchral chamber, and the report went grumbling and roaring into the innermost recesses, rousing their occupants to phrensy. There was a noise like the rushing of a strong wind; the light was dashed from Paul's hand; a soft skinny substance struck against my face; and thousands of bats, wild with fright, came whizzing forth from every part of the tomb to the only avenue of escape. We threw ourselves down, and allowed the ugly frightened birds to pass over us, and then hurried out ourselves. For a moment I felt guilty, the beastly birds, driven to the light of day, were dazzled by the glorious sun, and, flying and whirling blindly about, were dashing themselves against the rocky side of the mountain, and falling dead at its base. Cured of all wish to explore very deeply, but at the same time relieved from all fears, we continued going from tomb to tomb, looking at the pictures on the walls, endeavouring to make out the details, admiring the beauty and freshness of the colours, and speculating upon the mysterious hieroglyphics which mocked our feeble knowledge. We were in one of the last when we were startled by a noise different from any we had yet heard, and from the door leading to the dark recesses within, foaming, roaring, and gnashing his teeth, out ran an enormous wolf: close upon his heels, in hot pursuit, came another, and almost at the door of the tomb they grappled, fought, growled fearfully, rolled over, and again the first broke loose and fled; another chase along the side of the mountain, another grapple, a fierce and desperate struggle, and they rolled over the side, and we lost sight of them. The whole affair had been so sudden, the scene so stirring, and the interest so keen, that Paul and I had stood like statues, our whole souls thrown into our eyes, and following the movements of the furious beasts. Paul was the first to recover himself; and as soon as the wolves were fairly out of sight, with a characteristic movement, suddenly took the gun out of my hand, and started in pursuit. It is needless to say that he did not go far.

But the interest of the day was not yet over. While walking along the edge of the mountain, in spite of bats and beasts, still taking another and another look, my ears were suddenly struck with a loud voice of lamentation coming up from the valley below; and looking in the direction of the city, I saw approaching over the elevated causeway a long funeral procession, and the voice came from the mourners following the corpse. They were evidently coming to the Mahomedan burying-ground at the foot of the mountain; and I immediately left the tombs of the ancient Egyptians to see the burial of one who but yesterday was a dweller in the laud.

Being far beyond the regular path for descending, and wishing to intercept the procession before its arrival at the burying-ground, I had something like the

wolf-race I had just beheld to get down in time; unluckily, I had sent Paul back to the place where we had left our cloaks and donkeys, and the little girl, with directions to ride round the foot of the hill and meet me at the burying-ground. How I got down I do not know; but I was quietly sitting under a large palm-tree near the cemetery when the procession came up. It approached with funeral banners and devices which I could not make out, but probably containing some precept of the Koran, having reference to death, and the grave, and a paradise of hours; and the loud wailing which had reached me on the top of the mountain, here was almost deafening. First in the strange procession came the beggars, or santons, men who are supposed to lead peculiarly pure and holy lives, denying themselves all luxuries and pleasures, labouring not, and taking no heed for themselves what they shall eat or what they shall drink, and living upon the willing, though necessarily stinted charity, of their miserable countrymen. I could read all this at the first glance; I could see that poverty had been their portion through life; that they had drunk the bitter cup to its very dregs. Their beards were long, white, and grizzled; over their shoulders and breasts they wore a scanty covering of rags, fastened together with strings, and all with some regard to propriety. This ragged patchwork covered their breasts and shoulders only, the rest of their bodies being entirely naked, and they led the funeral procession among a throng of spectators, with heads erect and proud step, under what, any where else, would be called an indecent and shameless exposure of person, unbecoming their character as saints or holy beggars. Over their shoulders were slung by ropes large jars of water, which for charity's sweet sake, and for the love of the soul of the deceased, they carried to distribute gratis at his grave. After them came a parcel of boys, then the sheiks and two officers of the town, then the corpse, tightly wrapped from head to foot in a red sash, on a bier carried by four men; then a procession of men, and more than a hundred women in long cotton dresses, covering their heads and drawn over their faces, so as to hide all except their eyes.

These were the last, but by no means the least important part of the procession, as, by general consent, the whole business of mourning devolved upon them; and the poor Arab who was then being trundled to his grave, had no reason to complain of their neglect. Smiles and tears are a woman's weapons; and she is the most to be admired, and has profited most by the advantage of education, who knows how to make the best use of them. Education and refinement can no doubt do wonders; but the most skillful lady in civilised life might have taken lessons from these untutored Egyptians. A group of them were standing near me, chattering and laughing until the procession came up, when all at once big tears started from their eyes, and their cries and lamentations rent the air as if their hearts were breaking. I was curious to see the form of a modern burial in Egypt, but I hesitated in following. Some of the Arabs had looked rudely at me in passing, and I did not know whether the bigoted Mussulmans would tolerate the intrusion of a stranger and a Christian. I followed on, however, looking out for Paul, and fortunately met him at the gate of the burying-ground. The sheik was standing outside, ordering and arranging; and I went up to him with Paul, and asked if there were any objection to my entering; he not only permitted it, but, telling me to follow him, with a good deal of noise and an unceremonious use of the scabbard of his sword, he cleared a way through the crowd; and even roughly breaking through the ranks of the women, so as materially to disturb their business of mourning, and putting back friends and relations, gave me a place at the head of the tomb. It was square, with a round top, built of Nile mud, and whitewashed; two men were engaged in opening it, which was done simply by pulling away a few stones, and scooping out the sand with their hands. In front, but a few feet from the door, sat the old mother, so old

as to be hardly conscious of what was passing around her, and probably, long before this, buried in the same grave; near her was the widow of the deceased, dressed in silk, and sitting on the bare earth with an air of total abandonment; her hands, her breast, the top of her head and her face, plastered with thick coats of mud, and her eyes fixed upon the door of the tomb. A few stones remained to be rolled away, and the door, or rather the hole, was opened; the two men crawled in, remained a minute or two, came out, and went for the corpse. The poor widow followed them with her eyes, and when they returned with the body, carefully and slowly dragging it within the tomb, and the feet and the body had disappeared, and the beloved head was about to be shut for ever from her eyes, she sprang up, and passionately throwing her arms towards the tomb, broke forth in a perfect phrensy of grief. "Twenty years we have lived together; we have always lived happily; you loved me, you were kind to me, you gave me bread; what shall I do now? I will never marry again. Every day I will come and weep at your tomb, my love, my life, my soul, my heart, my eyes. Remember me to my father, remember me to my brother," &c. &c. I do not remember half she said; but as Paul translated it to me, it seemed the very soul of pathos; and all this time she was walking distractedly before the door of the tomb, wringing her hands, and again and again plastering her face and breast with mud. The mourning women occasionally joined in chorus, the santons ostentatiously crying out, "Water, for the love of God and the Prophet, and the soul of the deceased;" and a little girl about seven or eight years old was standing on the top of the tomb, naked as she was born, eating a piece of sugar cane. Paul looked rather suspiciously upon the whole affair, particularly upon that part where she avowed her determination never to marry again. "The old Beelzebub," said he; "she will marry to-morrow, if any one asks her."

Leaving the burying ground, we returned to Siout. On my way I made acquaintance with the governor, not only of that place, but also of all Upper Egypt, a pacha with two or three tails; a great man by virtue of his office, and much greater in his own conceit. I saw coming towards me a large, fine-looking man, splendidly dressed, mounted on a fine horse, with two runners before him, and several officers and slaves at his side. I was rather struck with his appearance, and looked at him attentively as I passed, without, however, saluting him, which I would have done had I known his rank. I thought he returned my gaze with interest; and, in passing, each continued to keep his eyes fixed upon the other, to such a degree that we must either have twisted our necks off or turned our bodies. The latter was the easier for both; and we kept turning, he on horseback and I on foot, until we found ourselves directly facing each other, and then both stopped. His guards and attendants turned with him, and, silent as statues, stood looking at me. I had nothing to say, and so I stood and said nothing. His mightiness opened his lips, and his myrmidons, with their hands on their sword-hilts, looked as if they expected an order to deal with me for my unparalleled assurance. His mightiness spoke, and I have no doubt but the Turks around him thought it was the *ne plus ultra* of dignity, and wondered such words had not confounded me. But it was not very easy to confound me with words I could not understand, although I could perceive that there was nothing very gracious in his manner. Paul answered, and, after the governor had turned his back, told me that his first address was, "Do I owe you any thing?" which he followed up by slapping his horse on the neck, and saying, in the same tone, "Is this your horse?" Paul says that he answered in a tone of equal dignity, "A cat may look at a king;" though, from his pale cheeks and quivering lips, I am inclined to doubt whether he gave so doughty a reply.

I was exceedingly amused at the particulars of the interview, and immediately resolved to cultivate the acquaintance. During the long days and nights of my

voyage up the Nile, in poring over my books and maps, I had frequently found my attention fixed upon the great Oasis in the Libyan Desert. A caravan road runs through it from Siout, and I resolved, since I had had the pleasure of one interview with his excellency, to learn from him the particulars of time, danger, &c. I therefore hurried down to the boat for my firman, and, strong in this as if I had the pacha at my right hand, I proceeded forthwith to the palace; but my friend observed as much state in giving audience as the pacha himself. Being the season of the Ramadan, he received nobody on business until after the evening meal, and so my purpose was defeated. Several were already assembled at the gate, waiting the appointed hour; but it did not suit my humour to sit down with them and exercise my patience, and perhaps feel the littleness of Turkish tyranny in being kept to the last, so I marched back to my boat.

It was still an hour before sunset; my men had laid in their stock of bread, the wind was fair, a boat of the largest size, belonging to a Turkish officer, with a long red satin flag, was just opening her large sails to go up the river, and bidding good-bye to my little Arab girl, we cast off our fastening to the bank at Siout. It was the first day I had spent on shore in the legitimate business of a tourist, and by far the most pleasant since I left Cairo.

## CHAPTER VI.

Small Favours thankfully received.—Slavery in Egypt.—How to catch a Crocodile.—An elaborate Joke.—Imaginary Perils.—Arabs not so bad as they might be.

The next day, at about four o'clock, we arrived at Djiddeh, formerly the capital of Upper Egypt, and the largest town on the Nile. My humour for going to the Oasis had been growing upon me, and, finding that there was a track from this place also, I landed, and working my way through the streets and bazaars, went to the governor's palace. As I before remarked, the place where the governor lives is always, by extraordinary courtesy, called a palace.

The governor was not at home; he had gone to Siout, on a visit to my handsome friend the governor there, but he had left his deputy, who gave us such an account of the journey and its perils as almost put an end to it for ever, at least so far as Paul was concerned. He said that the road was dangerous, and could not be travelled except under the protection of a caravan or guard of soldiers; that the Arabs among the mountains were a fierce and desperate people, and would certainly cut the throats of any unprotected travellers. He added, however, that a caravan was about forming, which would probably be ready in four or five days, and that, perhaps, before that time, the governor would return and give me a guard of soldiers. It did not suit my views to wait the uncertain movements of a caravan, nor did it suit my pocket to incur the expense of a guard. So, thanking the gentleman for his civility (he had given us pipes and coffee, as usual), I bade him good-bye, and started for my boat; but I had not gone far before I found him trotting at my heels. In the palace he had sat with his legs crossed, with as much dignity as the governor himself could have displayed; but as soon as he slid down from the divan, he seemed to have left dignity for his betters, and pounced upon Paul for "bucksheesh." I gave him five piasters (about equal to a quarter of a dollar), for which the deputy of the governor of Djiddeh, formerly the capital of Upper Egypt, laid his hand upon his heart, and invoked upon my head the blessing of Allah and the prophet.

At Djiddeh, for the first time, I saw carried on one of the great branches of trade on the Nile, a trade which once stained the annals of our own country, and the fatal effects of which we still continue to experience. There were two large boat-loads—perhaps 500 or 600 slaves—collected at Dongola and Senaar, probably bought from their parents for a shawl, a string of beads, or some trifling article of necessity. Born under the

burning sun of the tropics, several of them had died of cold even before reaching the latitude of Lower Egypt; many were sick, and others dying. They were arranged on board the boats and on the banks in separate groups, according to their state of health. Among them was every variety of face and complexion, and it was at once startling and painful to note the gradations of man descending to the brute. I could almost see the very line of separation. Though made in God's image, there seemed no ray of the divinity within them. They did not move upon all-fours, it is true, but they sat, as I had seen them in the slave-market at Cairo, perfectly naked, with their long arms wound round their legs, and their chins resting upon their knees, precisely as we see monkeys, baboons, and apes; and as, while looking at these miserable caricatures of our race, I have sometimes been almost electrified by a transient gleam of resemblance to humanity, so here I was struck with the closeness of man's approach to the inferior grade of animal existence. Nor was there much difference between the sick and well; the sick were more pitiable, for they seemed doomed to die, and death to any thing that lives is terrible; but the strong and lusty, men and women, were bathing in the river; and when they came out they smeared themselves with oil, and laid their shining bodies in the sun, and slept like brutes. To such as these, slavery to the Turk is not a bitter draught; philanthropists may refine and speculate, and liberals declaim, but what is liberty to men dying for bread, and what hardship is there in being separated from the parents who have sold them, or doomed to labour where that labour is light compared with what they must endure at home?

In the East slavery exists now precisely as it did in the days of the patriarchs. The slave is received into the family of a Turk in a relation more confidential and respectable than that of an ordinary domestic; and when liberated, which very often happens, stands upon the same footing with a free man. The curse does not rest upon him for ever; he may sit at the same board, dip his hand in the same dish, and, if there are no other impediments, may marry his master's daughter.

In the evening we left Djiddah, and about ten o'clock hauled up to the bank, and rested quietly till morning. Next day the wind was fair, but light, and I passed it on shore with my gun. This same gun, by the way, proved a better companion to me on my journey than I had expected. There were always plenty of pigeons; indeed, advancing in Upper Egypt, one of the most striking features in the villages on the Nile is the number of pigeon-cots, built of mud in the form of a sugar-loaf, and whitewashed. They are much more lofty than any of the houses, and their winged tenants constitute a great portion of the wealth of the villagers. It is not, however, allowable to shoot at these, the laws regulating the right of property in animals *feræ nature* being as well established on the banks of the Nile as at Westminster Hall; but there are hundreds of pigeons in the neighbourhood of every village which no one claims. In some places, too, there is fine sport in hunting hares; and if a man can bring himself to it, he may hunt the gazelle; and almost the whole line of the river, at least above Siout, abounds with ducks and geese. These, however, are very wild, and, moreover, very tough; and, except for the sport, are not worth shooting. No keeping and no cooking could make them tender, and good masticators were thrown away upon them.

But the standing shots on the Nile are crocodiles and pelicans. The former still abound, as in the days when the Egyptian worshipped them; and as you see one basking in the sun, on some little bank of sand, even in the act of firing at him, you cannot help going back to the time when the passing Egyptian would have bowed to him as to a god; and you may imagine the descendant of the ancient river-god, as he feels a ball rattling against his scaly side, invoking the shades of his departed worshippers, telling his little ones of the glory of his ancestors, and cursing the march of improvement,

which has degraded him from the deity of a mighty people into a target for strolling tourists. I always liked to see a crocodile upon the Nile, and always took a shot at him, for the sake of the associations. In one place I counted in sight at one time twenty-one, a degree of fruitfulness in the river probably equal to that of the time when each of them would have been deemed worthy of a temple while living, and embalment and a mighty tomb when dead.

While walking by the river-side, I met an Arab with a gun in his hand, who pointed to the dozing crocodiles on a bank before us, and, marking out a space on the ground, turned to the village a little back, and made me understand that he had a large crocodile there. As I was some distance in advance of my boat, I accompanied him, and found one fourteen feet long, stuffed with straw, and hanging under a palm-tree. He had been killed two days before, after a desperate resistance, having been disabled with bullets, and pierced with spears in a dozen places. I looked at him with interest and compassion, reflecting on the difference between his treatment and that experienced by his ancestors, but nevertheless opened a negotiation for a purchase; and though our languages were as far apart as our countries, bargain sharpens the intellect to such a degree that the Arab and I soon came to an understanding, and I bought him as he hung, for forty piasters and a charge of gunpowder. I had conceived a joke for my own amusement. A friend had requested me to buy for him some mosaics, cameos, &c., in Italy, which circumstances had prevented me from doing, and I had written to him, regretting my inability, and telling him that I was going to Egypt, and would send him a mummy or a pyramid; and when I saw the scaly monster hanging by the tail, with his large jaws distended by a stick, it struck me that he would make a still better substitute for cameos and mosaics, and that I would buy him up, and, without any advice, send him to my friend.

The reader may judge how desperately I was pushed for amusement, when I tell him that I chuckled greatly over this happy conceit; and having sent my Nubian to hail the boat as she was coming by, I followed with my little memorial. The whole village turned out to escort us, more than a hundred Arabs, men, women, and children, and we dragged him down with a pomp and circumstance worthy of his better days. Paul looked a little astonished when he saw me with a rope over my shoulder, leading the van of this ragged escort, and rather turned up his nose when I told him my joke. I had great difficulty in getting my prize on board, and, when I got him there, he deranged every thing else; but the first day I was so tickled that I could have thrown all my other cargo overboard rather than him. The second day the joke was not so good, and the third I grew tired of it, and tumbled my crocodile into the river. I followed him with my eye as his body floated down the stream; it was moonlight, and the creaking of the water-wheel on the banks sounded like the moaning spirit of an ancient Egyptian, indignant at the murder and profanation of his god. It was, perhaps, hardly worth while to mention this little circumstance, but it amused me for a day or two, brought me into mental contact with my friends at home, and gave me the credit of having myself shot a crocodile, any one of which was worth all the trouble it cost me. If the reader will excuse a bad pun, in consideration of its being my first and last, it was not a *dry* joke; for in getting the crocodile on board I tumbled over, and, very unintentionally on my part, had a January bath in the Nile.

During nearly the whole of that day, I was walking on the bank of the river; there was more tillable land than usual on the Arabian side, and I continually saw the Arabs, naked or with a wreath of grass around their loins, drawing water to irrigate the ground, in a basket fastened to a pole, like one of our old-fashioned well-poles.

On the 17th we approached Dendera. I usually



dined at one o'clock, because it was then too hot to go on shore, and also, to tell the truth, because it served to break the very long and tedious day. I was now about four hours from Dendera by land, of which two and a half were desert, the Libyan sands here coming down to the river. It was a fine afternoon, there was no wind, and I hoped, by walking, to have a view of the great temple before night. It was warm enough then; but as it regularly became very cold towards evening, I told my Nubian to follow me with my cloak. To my surprise, he objected. It was the first time he had done so. He was always glad to go ashore with me, as indeed were they all, and it was considered that I was showing partiality in always selecting him. I asked one of the others, and found that he, and in fact all of them, made objections, on the ground that it was a dangerous road.

This is one of the things that vex a traveller in Egypt, and in the East generally. He will often find the road which he wishes to travel a dangerous one, and, though no misadventure may have happened on it for years, he will find it impossible to get his Arabs to accompany him. My rais took the matter in hand, began kicking them ashore, and swore they should all go. This I would not allow. I knew that the whole course of the Nile was safe as the streets of London; that no accident had happened to a traveller since the pacha had been on the throne; and that women and children might travel with perfect safety from Alexandria to the Cataracts; and, vexed with their idle fears, after whipping Paul over their shoulders, who I saw was quite as much infected as any of them, I went ashore alone. Paul seemed quietly making up his mind for some desperate movement; without a word, he was arranging the things about the boat, shutting up the doors of the cabin, buttoning his coat, and with my cloak under his arm and a sword in his hand, he jumped ashore and followed me. He had not gone far, however, before his courage began to fail. The Arabs, whom we found at their daily labour drawing water, seemed particularly black, naked, and hairy. They gave dubious and suspicious answers, and when we came to the edge of the desert, he began to grumble outright; he did not want to be shot down like a dog; if we were strong enough to make a stout resistance, it would be another thing, &c. &c. In truth, the scene before us was dreary enough, the desert commencing on the very margin of the river, and running back to the eternal sands of Africa. Paul's courage seemed to be going with the green soil we were leaving behind us; and as we advanced where the grass seemed struggling to resist the encroachments of the desert, he was on the point of yielding to the terror of his own imagination, until I suggested to him that we could see before us the whole extent of desert we were to cross; that there was not a shrub or bush to interrupt the view, and not a living thing moving that could do us harm. He then began to revive; it was not for himself, but for me he feared. We walked on for about an hour, when, feeling that it was safe to trust me alone, and being tired, he sat down on the bank, and I proceeded. Fear is infectious. In about half an hour more I met three men, who had to me a peculiarly cut-throat appearance; they spoke, but I, of course, could not understand them. At length, finding night approaching, I turned back to meet the boat, and saw that the three Arabs had turned too, and were again advancing to meet me, which I thought a very suspicious movement. Paul's ridiculous fears had completely infected me, and I would have dodged them if I could; but there was no bush to hide behind. I almost blushed at myself for thinking of dodging three Arabs, when I had a double-barrelled gun in my hand and a pair of pistols in my sash; but I must say I was not at all sorry, before I met them again, to hear Paul shouting to me, and a moment after to see my boat coming up under full sail.

One who has never met an Arab in the desert, can have no conception of his terrible appearance. The worst pictures of the Italian bandits or Greek moun-

tain robbers I ever saw are tame in comparison. I have seen the celebrated Gasperini, who ten years ago kept in terror the whole country between Rome and Naples, and who was so strong as to negotiate and make a treaty with the pope. I saw him surrounded by nearly twenty of his comrades; and when he told me he could not remember how many murders he had committed, he looked civil and harmless compared with a Bedouin of the desert. The swarthy complexion of the latter, his long beard, his piercing coal-black eyes, half-naked figure, an enormous sword slung over his back, and a rusty matchlock in his hand, make the best figure for a painter I ever saw; but, happily, he is not so bad as he looks to be.

## CHAPTER VII.

The Temple of Dendera.—Practice against Theory.—Regulating the Sun.—The French at Thebes.—The Curse of Pharaoh.—An Egyptian Tournament.—Preparations for Dinner.—An English travelling Lady.

*Sunday, January 18.*—At eight o'clock in the morning we arrived at Gheneh, where, leaving my boat and crew to make a few additions to our stock, Paul and I crossed over in a sort of ferry-boat to Dendera.

The temple of Dendera is one of the finest specimens of the arts in Egypt, and the best preserved of any on the Nile. It stands about a mile from the river, on the edge of the desert, and coming up, may be seen at a great distance. The temples of the Egyptians, like the chapels in Catholic countries, in many instances stand in such positions as to arrest the attention of the passer-by; and the Egyptian boatman, long before he reached it, might see the open doors of the temple of Dendera, reminding him of his duty to the gods of his country. I shall not attempt any description of this beautiful temple; its great dimensions, its magnificent propylon or gateway, portico, and columns; the sculptured figures on the walls; the spirit of the devices, and their admirable execution; the winged globe and the sacred vulture; the hawk and the ibis, Isis, Osiris, and Horus, gods, goddesses, priests, and women; harps, altars, and people clapping their hands; and the whole interior covered with hieroglyphics and paintings, in some places, after a lapse of more than 2000 years, in colours fresh as if but the work of yesterday.

It was the first temple I had seen in Egypt; and although I ought not perhaps to say so, I was disappointed. I found it beautiful, far more beautiful than I expected; but look at it as I would, wander around it as I would, the ruins of the Acropolis at Athens rose before me; the severe and stately form of the Parthenon; the beautiful fragment of the temple of Minerva, and the rich Corinthian columns of the temple of Jupiter, came upon me with a clearness and vividness I could not have conceived. The temple is more than half buried in the sand. For many years it has formed the nucleus of a village. The Arabs have built their huts within and around it, range upon range, until they reached and almost covered the tops of the temple. Last year, for what cause I know not, they left their huts in a body, and the village, which for many years had existed there, is now entirely deserted. The ruined huts still remain around the columns and against the broken walls. On the very top is a chamber, beautifully sculptured, and formed for other uses, now blackened with smoke, and the polished floors strewed with fragments of pottery and culinary vessels.

Nor is this the worst affliction of the traveller at Dendera. He sees there other ruins, more lamentable than the encroachments of the desert and the burial in the sand, worse than the building and ruin of successive Arab villages; he sees wanton destruction by the barbarous hand of man. The beautiful columns, upon which the skilful and industrious Egyptian artist had laboured with his chisel for months, and perhaps for years, which were then looked upon with religious reverence, and ever since with admiration, have been

dashed into a thousand pieces, to build bridges and forts for the great modern reformer.

It is strange how the organ of mischief develops itself when it has something to work upon. I sat down upon the sculptured fragments of a column, which perhaps at this moment forms the abutment of some bridge, and, looking at the wreck around me, even while admiring and almost reverencing the noble ruin, began breaking off the beautifully chiselled figure of a hawk, and perhaps in ten minutes had demolished the work of a year. I felt that I was doing wrong, but excused myself by the plea that I was destroying to preserve, and saving that precious fragment from the ruin to which it was doomed, to show at home as a specimen of the skill of the Old World. So far I did well enough; but I went farther. I was looking intently, though almost unconsciously, at a pigeon on the head of Isis, the capital of one of the front columns of the temple. It was a beautiful shot; it could not have been finer if the temple had been built expressly to shoot pigeons from. I fired: the shot went smack into the beautifully sculptured face of the goddess, and put one of her eyes; the pigeon fell at the foot of the column, and while the goddess seemed to weep over her fallen state, and to reproach me for this renewed insult to herself and to the arts, I picked up the bird and returned to my boat.

On board I had constantly a fund of amusement in the movements of my Arab crew. During the Ramadan, a period of thirty days, no good Mussulman eats, drinks, or smokes, from the rising to the setting of the sun. My men religiously observed this severe requisition of the Koran, although sometimes they were at work at the oar under a burning sun nearly all day. They could form a pretty shrewd conjecture as to the time of the setting of the sun, but nevertheless they fell into the habit of regulating themselves by my watch, and I did not think the Prophet would be particularly hard upon them if I sometimes brought the day to a close half an hour or so before its time. Sometimes I was rather too liberal; but out of respect for me they considered the sun set when I told them it was; and it was interesting to see them regularly every evening, one after another, mount the upper deck, and, spreading out their cloaks, with their faces towards the tomb of the Prophet, kneel down and pray.

On the 20th, the wind was light but favourable, and part of the time the men were on shore towing with the cords. We were now approaching the most interesting spot on the Nile, perhaps in the world. Thebes, immortal Thebes, was before us, and a few hours more would place us among her ruins. Towards noon the wind died away, and left us again to the slow movement of the tow line. This was too slow for my then excited humour. I could not bear that the sun should again set before I stood among the ruins of the mighty city; and landing on the right side of the river, I set out to walk. About an hour before dark the lofty columns of the great temple at Luxor, and the still greater of Carnae, were visible. The glowing descriptions of travellers had to a certain extent inflamed my imagination. Denon, in his account of the expedition to Egypt, says, that when the French soldiers first came in sight of Thebes, the whole army involuntarily threw down their arms and stood in silent admiration—a sublime idea, whether true or not; but I am inclined to think that the French soldiers would have thrown down their arms, and clapped their hands with much greater satisfaction, if they had seen a living city and prospect of good quarters. For my own part, without at this moment referring to particulars, I was disappointed in the first view of the ruins of Thebes. We walked on the right side of the river, the valley, as usual, running back to the desert.

It was nearly dark when we arrived at the ruined village, which now occupies part of the site of the once magnificent city. The plough has been driven over the ruins of the temples, and grass was growing where palaces had stood. A single boat was lying along the

bank—a single flag, the red cross of England, was drooping lazily against the mast; and though it be death to my reputation as a sentimental traveller, at that moment I hailed the sight of that flag with more interest than the ruined city. Since I left Cairo I had seen nothing but Arabs; for three weeks I had not opened my lips except to Paul; and let me tell the reader, that though a man may take a certain degree of pleasure in travelling in strange and out-of-the-way places, he cannot forget the world he has left behind him. In a land of comparative savages, he hails the citizen of any civilised country as his brother; and when on the bank of the river I was accosted in my native tongue by a strapping fellow in a Turkish dress, though in the broken accents of a Sicilian servant, I thought it the purest English I had ever heard. I went on board the boat, and found two gentlemen, of whom I had heard at Cairo, who had been to Mount Sinai, from thence to Hor, by the Red Sea to Cosseir, and thence across the desert to Thebes, where they had only arrived that day. I sat with them till a late hour. I cannot flatter myself that the evening passed as agreeably to them as to me, for they had been a party of six, and I alone; but I saw them afterwards, and our acquaintance ripened into intimacy; and though our lots are cast in different places, and we shall probably never meet again, if I do not deceive myself, neither will ever forget the acquaintance formed that night on the banks of the Nile.

Our conversation during the evening was desultory and various. We mounted the pyramids, sat down among the ruins of temples, groped among tombs, and, mixed up with these higher matters, touched incidentally upon rats, fleas, and all kinds of vermin. I say we touched incidentally upon these things; but, to tell the truth, we talked so much about them, that when I went to my boat, I fairly crawled. I have omitted to mention that the curse provoked by Pharaoh still rests upon the land, and that rats, fleas, and all those detestable animals into which Aaron converted the sands, are still the portion of the traveller and sojourner in Egypt. I had suffered considerably during the last four days, but not willing to lose a favourable wind, had put off resorting to the usual means of relief. To-night, however, there was no enduring it any longer; the rats ran, shrieked, and shouted, as if celebrating a jubilee on account of some great mortality among the cats, and the lesser animals came upon me as if the rod of Aaron had been lifted for my special affliction. I got up during the night, and told Paul that we would remain here a day, and early in the morning they must sink the boat. Before I woke, we were half across the river, being obliged to cross in order to find a convenient place for sinking. I was vexed at having left so abruptly my new companions; but it was too late to return. We pitched our tent on the bank, and immediately commenced unloading the boat.

On a point a little above, in front of a large house built by the French, at the south end of the temple of Luxor, and one of the most beautiful positions on the Nile, were two tents. I knew that they belonged to the companions of the two gentlemen on the opposite side, and that there was a lady with them. I rather put myself out of the way for it, and the first time I met the three gentlemen on the bank, I was not particularly pleased with them. I may have deceived myself, but I thought they did not greet me as cordially as I was disposed to greet every traveller I met in that remote country. True, I was not a very inviting-looking object; but, as I said to myself, "Take the beam out of your own eye, and then—" True, too, their beards were longer, and one of them was redder than mine, but I did not think that gave them any right to put on airs. In short, I left them with a sort of go-to-the-devil feeling, and did not expect to have any more to do with them. I therefore strolled away, and spent the day rambling among the ruins of the temples of Luxor and Carnae. I shall not now attempt any de-

scription of these temples, nor of the ruins of Thebes generally (no easy task), but reserve the whole until my return from the Cataracts.

At about three o'clock I returned to my tent. It was the first day of the feast of Bairam, the thirty days of fasting (Ramadan) being just ended. It was a great day at Luxor; the bazaars were supplied with country products, the little cafeterias were filled with smokers, indemnifying themselves for their long abstinence, and the Fellahs were coming in from the country. On my return from Carnac, I for the first time saw dromedaries, richly caparisoned, mounted by well-armed Arabs, and dashing over the ground at full gallop. I had never seen dromedaries before, except in caravans, accommodating themselves to the slow pace of the camel, and I did not think the clumsy, lumbering animal, could carry himself so proudly, and move so rapidly. Their movement, however, was very far from realising the extravagant expression of "swift as the wind," applied to it in the East. I was somewhat fatigued on my return, and Paul met me on the bank with a smiling face, and information that the English party had sent their janizary to ask me to dine with them at six o'clock. Few things tend to give you a better opinion of a man, of his intelligence, his piety, and morals, than receiving from him an invitation to dinner. I am what is called a sure man in such cases, and the reader may suppose that I was not wanting upon this occasion.

It was an excessively hot day. You who were hovering over your coal fires, or moving about wrapped in cloaks or greatcoats, can hardly believe that on the 20th of January the Arabs were refreshing their heated bodies by a bath in the Nile, and that I was lying under my tent actually panting for breath. I had plenty to occupy me, but the heat was too intense; the sun seemed to search the brain, while the sands blistered the feet. I think it was the hottest day I experienced on the Nile.

While leaning on my elbow, looking out of the door of my tent towards the temple of Luxor, I saw a large body of Arabs, on foot, on dromedaries, and on horseback, coming down towards the river. They came about half way across the sandy plain between the temple and the river, and stopped nearly opposite to my tent, so as to give me a full view of all their movements. The slaves and pipe-bearers immediately spread mats on the sand, on which the principal persons seated themselves, and, while they were taking coffee and pipes, others were making preparations for equestrian exercises. The forms and ceremonies presented to my mind a lively picture of preparing the lists for a tournament; and the intense heat and scorching sands reminded me of the great passage of arms in Scott's Crusaders, near the Diamond of the Desert, on the shores of the Dead Sea.

The parties were on horseback, holding in their right hands long wooden spears, the lower ends resting on the sand, close together, and forming a pivot around which their movements were made. They rode round in a circle, with their spears in the sand, and their eyes keenly fixed on each other, watching an opportunity to strike; chased, turned, and doubled, but never leaving the pivot; occasionally the spears were raised, crossed, and struck together, and a murmuring ran through the crowd like the cry in the fencing-scene in Hamlet, "a hit, a fair hit!" and the parties separated, or again dropped their poles in the centre for another round. The play for some time seemed confined to slaves and dependents, and among them, and decidedly the most skilful, was a young Nubian. His master, a Turk, who was sitting on the mat, seemed particularly pleased with his success.

The whole of this seemed merely a preliminary designed to stir up the dormant spirit of the masters. For a long time they sat quietly puffing their pipes, and probably longing for the stimulus of a battle-cry to rouse them from their torpor. At length one of them, the master of the Nubian, slowly rose from the mat, and challenged an antagonist. Slowly he laid down his pipe, and took and raised the pole in his

hand; but still he was not more than half roused. A fresh horse was brought him, and, without taking off his heavy cloth mantle, he drowsily placed his left foot in the broad shovel stirrup, his right on the rump of the horse, behind the saddle, and swung himself into the seat. The first touch of the saddle seemed to rouse him; he took the pole from the hand of his attendant, gave his horse a severe check, and, driving the heavy corners of the stirrups into his sides, dashed through the sand on a full run. At the other end of the course he stopped, rested a moment or two, then again driving his irons into his horse, dashed back at full speed; and when it seemed as if his next step would carry him headlong among the Turks on the mat, with one jerk he threw his horse back on his haunches, and brought him up from a full run to a dead stop. This seemed to warm him a little; his attendant came up and took off his cloak, under which he had a red silk jacket and white trousers, and again he dashed through the sand and back as before. This time he brought up his horse with furious vehemence; his turban became unrolled, he flew into a violent passion, tore it off and threw it on the sand, and, leaving his play, fiercely struck the spear of his adversary, and the battle at once commenced. The Turk, who had seemed too indolent to move, now showed a fire and energy, and an endurance of fatigue, that would have been terrible in battle. Both horse and rider scorned the blazing sun and burning sands, and round and round they ran, chasing, turning, and doubling within an incredibly small circle, till an approving murmur was heard among the crowd. The trial was now over, and the excited Turk again seated himself upon the mat, and relapsed into a state of calm indifference.

The exercise finished just in time to enable me to make my toilet for dinner. As there was a lady in the case, I had some doubt whether I ought not to shave, not having performed that operation since I left Cairo; but as I had already seen the gentlemen of the party, and had fallen, moreover, into the fashion of the country, of shaving the head and wearing the tarbouch (one of the greatest luxuries in Egypt, by the way), and could not in any event sit with my head uncovered, I determined to stick to the beard; and disguising myself in a clean shirt, and giving directions to my boatmen to be ready to start at ten o'clock, I walked along the bank to the tent of my new friends. I do not know whether my notion in the morning was right, or whether I had misapprehended things; but at any rate, I had no reason to complain of my reception now; I think myself that there was a difference, which I accounted for in my own way, by ascribing to their discovery that I was an American. I have observed that English meeting abroad, though they would probably stand by each other to the death in a quarrel, are ridiculously shy of each other as acquaintances, on account of the great difference of caste at home. As regards Americans, the case is different, and to them the English display none of that feeling. After I had started on my ramble, Paul had planted my flag at the door of the tent, and, among the other advantages which that flag brought me, I included my invitation to dinner, agreeable acquaintances, and one of the most pleasant evenings I spent on the Nile. Indeed, I hope I may be pardoned a burst of national feeling, and be allowed to say, without meaning any disrespect to any other country, that I would rather travel under the name of an American than under any other known in Europe. Every American abroad meets a general prepossession in favour of his country, and it is an agreeable truth that the impression made by our countrymen abroad generally sustains the prepossession. I have met with some, however, who destroyed this good effect, and made themselves disagreeable and gave offence by a habit of intruding their country, and its institutions, and of drawing invidious comparisons, with a pertinacity and self-complacency I never saw in any other people.

But to return to the dinner: a man may make a long

## CHAPTER VIII.

digression before a dinner on paper, who would scorn such a thing before a dinner *de facto*. The party consisted of four—a gentleman and his lady, he an honourable, and heir to an old and respectable title; a brother of the lady, an ex-captain in the guards, who changed his name and resigned his commission on receiving a fortune from an uncle; and another gentleman, I do not know whether of that family, but bearing one of the proudest names in England. They were all young, the oldest not more than thirty-five, and not excepting the lady, full of thirst for adventure and travel. I say not excepting the lady; I should rather say that the lady was the life and soul of the party. She was young and beautiful, in the most attractive style of English beauty; she was married, and therefore dead in law; and as we may say what we will of the dead, I venture to say that she had shone as a beauty and a belle in the proudest circles of England, and was now enjoying more pleasure than Almack's or drawing-rooms could give, rambling among ruins, and sleeping under a tent on the banks of the Nile. They had travelled in Spain, had just come from Mount Sinai and the Red Sea, and talked of Bagdad. I had often met on the continent with Englishmen who "were out" as they called it, for a certain time, one year or two years, but this party had no fixed time; they "were out" for as long as suited their humour. To them I am indebted for the most interesting part of my journey in the East, for they first suggested to me the route by Petra and Arabia Petrea. We made a calculation by which we hoped, in reference to what each had to do, to meet at Cairo and make the attempt together. It was a great exertion of resolution that I did not abandon my own plans, and keep in company with them, but they had too much time for me; a month or two was no object to them, but to me a very great one.

All this, and much more, including the expression of a determination, when they had finished their travels in the Old World, to visit us in the New, took place while we were dining under the tent of the captain and his friend. The table stood in the middle on canteens, about eight inches from the ground, with a mattress on each side for seats. It was rather awkward sitting, particularly for me, who was next the lady, and in that position felt some of the trammels of conventional life; there was no room to put my legs under the table, and, not anticipating the precise state of things, I had not arranged straps and suspenders, and my feet seemed to be bigger than ever. I doubled them under me; they got asleep, not the quiet and tranquil sleep which makes you forget existence, but the slumber of a troubled conscience, pricking and burning, till human nature could endure it no longer, and I kicked out the offending members with very little regard to elegance of attitude. The ice once broken, I felt at my ease, and the evening wore away too soon. An embargo had been laid upon my tongue so long, that my ears fairly tingled with pleasure at hearing myself talk. It was, in fact, a glorious evening; a bright spot that I love to look back upon, more than indemnifying me for weeks of loneliness. I sat with them till a late hour; and when I parted, I did not feel as if it were the first time I had seen them, or think it would be the last, expecting to meet them a few days afterwards at the Cataracts. But I never saw them again; we passed each other on the river during the night. I received several messages from them; and at Beyroot, after I had finished my tour in Arabia Petrea and the Holy Land, I received a letter from them, still on the Nile. I should be extremely sorry to think that we are never to meet again, and hope that, when wearied with rambling among the ruins of the Old World, they will execute their purpose of visiting America, and that here we may talk over our meeting on the banks of the Nile. I went back to my boat to greater loneliness than before, but there was a fine wind, and in a few minutes we were again under way. I sat on deck till a late hour, smoked two or three pipes, and retired to my little cabin.

The Rock of the Chain.—Ravages of the Plague.—Deserted Quarries.—A youthful Navigator.—A recollection of Sam Patch.—Ancient Inscriptions.—A perplexed Major-domo.—A Dinner without Parallel.—An awkward Discovery.

THE next day and the next still brought us favourable winds and strong, and we were obliged to take down one of our tall lattes, but made great progress with the other, even against the rapid current of the river. The Nile was very wide, the water turbulent, and the waves rolling with such violence that Paul became seasick; and if it had not been for the distant banks, we could hardly have believed ourselves on the bosom of a river 1000 miles from the ocean.

In the evening we were approaching Hadjar Silsily, the Rock of the Chain, the narrowest part of the river, where the mountains of Africa and Arabia seem marching to meet each other, and stopping merely to leave a narrow passage for the river. Tradition says that in ancient days an iron chain was drawn across the narrow strait, which checked the current; and the Arab boatman believes he can still see, in the sides of the mountains, the marks of the rings and bolts to which the miraculous chain was fastened.

We hauled up alongside of the bank for part of the night, and the next morning, with a strong and favourable wind, were approaching Assouan, the last town in Egypt, standing on the borders of Ethiopia, and at the foot of the Cataracts of the Nile. For some time before reaching Assouan, the river becomes broader and the mountains again retire, leaving space for the islands, and a broad surface for the body of the river. About three miles this side, on the Arabian bank, is the new palace of Ibrahim, where he retired and shut himself up during the terrible plague of last year. On the right, the top of the Libyan mountain is crowned with the tomb of a Marabout Sheik, and about half way down are the ruins of a convent, picturesque and interesting, as telling that before the Crescent came and trampled it under foot, the Cross, the symbol of the Christian faith, once reared its sacred form in the interior of Africa. In front is the beautiful Island of Elephantina, with a green bank sloping down to the river. On the left are rugged mountains; and projecting in rude and giant masses into the river are the rocks of dark grey granite, from which came the mighty obelisks and monuments that adorned the ancient temples of Egypt. The little town of Assouan stands on the bank of the river, almost hid among palm-trees; and back at a distance on the height are the ruins of the old city.

From the deck of my boat, the approach to the Cataracts presented by far the finest scene on the Nile, possessing a variety and wildness equally striking and beautiful, after the monotonous scenery along the whole ascent of the river. With streamers gallantly flying, I entered the little harbour, and with a feeling of satisfaction that amply repaid me for all its vexations, I looked upon the end of my journey. I would have gone to the second cataract if time had been no object to me, or if I had had at that time any idea of writing a book, as the second cataract is the usual terminus for travellers on the Nile; and a man who returns to Cairo without having been there, is not considered entitled to talk much about his voyage up the river.

I am, perhaps, publishing my own want of taste when I say that the notion of going to the great Oasis had taken such a hold of me, that it was mainly for this object that I sacrificed the voyage to the second cataract. With the feeling, therefore, that here was the end of my journey in this direction, I jumped upon the bank; and, having been pent up on board for two days, I put myself in rapid action, and, in one of the cant phrases of continental tourists, began to "knock down the lions."

My first move was to the little town of Assouan; but here I found little to detain me. It was better built than most of the towns on the Nile, and has its street of bazaars; the slave-bazaars being by far the best

supplied of any. In one of the little caferias opposite the slave-market, a Turk meanly dressed, though with arms, and a mouthpiece to his pipe that marked him as a man of rank, attracted my particular attention. He was almost the last of the Mamelukes, but yesterday the lords of Egypt; one of the few who escaped the general massacre of his race, and one of the very few permitted to drag out the remnant of their days in the pacha's dominions.

The ruins of the old town are in a singularly high, bold, and commanding situation, overlooking the river, the Cataracts, the island of Elephantina, and the Arabian desert. More than 1000 years ago this city contained a large and flourishing population; and some idea may be formed of its former greatness, from the fact that more than 20,000 of its inhabitants died in one year of the plague. In consequence of the terrible ravages of this scourge, the inhabitants abandoned it; but, still clinging to their ancient homes, commenced building a new town, beginning at the northern wall of the old. The valley here is very narrow; and the desert of Arabia, with its front of dark granite mountains, advances to its bank.

The southern gate of the modern town opens to the sands of the desert, and immediately outside the walls is a large Mahomedan burying-ground, by its extent and the number of its tombstones exciting the wonder of the stranger how so small a town could pay such a tribute to the king of terrors. In many places the bodies were not more than half buried, the loose sand which had been sprinkled over them having been blown away. Skulls, legs, and arms, were scattered about in every direction; and in one place we saw a pile of skulls and bones, which seemed to have been collected by some pious hand, to save them from the foot of the passing traveller. In another, the rest of the body still buried, the feet were sticking out, and the naked skull, staring at us from its sightless sockets, seemed struggling to free itself from the bondage of the grave, and claiming the promise of a resurrection from the dead. We buried again these relics of mortality, and hoping it might not be our lot to lay our bones where the grave was so little revered, continued our way to the ancient granite quarries of Syene.

These quarries stand about half an hour's walk from the river, in the bosom of a long range of granite mountains, stretching off into the desert of Arabia. Time and exposure have not touched the freshness of the stone, and the whole of the immense quarry looks as if it were but yesterday that the Egyptian left it. You could imagine that the workman had just gone to his noonday meal; and as you look at the mighty obelisk lying rude and unfinished at your feet, you feel disposed to linger till the Egyptian shall come to resume his work, to carve his mysterious characters upon it, and make it a fit portal for some mighty temple. But the hammer and chisel will never be heard there more. The Egyptian workmen have passed away, and these immense quarries are now and for ever silent and deserted.

Aside from the great interest of these ancient quarries, it is curious to notice how, long before the forces of gunpowder and the art of blasting rocks were known, immense stones were separated from the sides of the mountains, and divided as the artist wished, by the slow process of boring small holes, and splitting them apart with wedges.

I returned by the old city, crossing its burying-ground, which, like that of the new town, told, in language that could not be misunderstood, that before the city was destroyed, it, too, had paid a large tribute to the grave. This burying-ground has an interest not possessed by any other in Egypt, as it contains, scattered over its extended surface, many tombstones with Coptic inscriptions, the only existing remains of the language of a people who style themselves, and are styled, the descendants of the ancient Egyptians.

It was late in the afternoon as I stood on the height crowned by the ruins of the ancient city, with a mo-

mentary feeling of returning loneliness, and gazed upon the sun retiring with glorious splendour towards my far-distant home. I turned my eyes to my boat, and beyond it at a distance down the river, I saw a boat coming up under full sail, bearing what my now practised eye told me was the English flag. I hurried down, and arrived in time to welcome to the Cataracts of the Nile the two gentlemen I had first met at Thebes.

We spent the evening together, and I abandoned my original intention of taking my own boat up the Cataracts, and agreed to go up with them.

In the morning, after an early breakfast, we started for the Island of Philoe, about eight miles from Assouan, and above all the Cataracts; an island singularly beautiful in situation, and containing the ruins of a magnificent temple. The road lay nearly all the way along the river, commanding a full view of the Cataracts, or rather, if a citizen of a new world may lay his innovating hand upon things consecrated by the universal consent of ages, what we who have heard the roar of Niagara, would call simply the "rapids." We set off on shaggy donkeys, without saddle, bridle, or halter. A short distance from Assouan, unmarked by any monument, amid arid sands, we crossed the line which, since the days of Pharaoh, has existed as the boundary between Egypt and Ethiopia. We passed through several villages, standing alone at the foot of the granite mountains, without green or verdure around them, even to the extent of a blade of grass, and irresistibly suggesting the question, "How do the miserable inhabitants live?" It was not the first time I had had occasion to remark the effect of blood on physical character, and the strong and marked difference of races among people living under the same sun, and almost on a common soil. In the first village in Nubia, though not half an hour from Assouan, there is a difference obvious to the most superficial observer, and here, on the very confines of Egypt, it would be impossible to mistake a border Nubian for an Arab of Assouan.

Before arriving at Philoe, the river is filled with rocks and islands, and the view becomes singularly bold and striking. At the foot of one of the islands is a sort of ferry, with a very big boat and a very little boy to manage it; we got on board, and were astonished to see with what courage and address the little fellow conducted us among the islands washed by the Cataracts. And it was not a straight ahead navigation either; he was obliged to take advantage of an eddy to get to one point, jump ashore, tow the boat to another, again drop to another, tow her again, and so on; and all this time the little fellow was at the helm, at the oar, at the rope, leading the chorus of a Nubian song, and ordering his crew, which consisted of three boys and one little girl. In this way we worked to an island inhabited by a few miserable Nubians, and, crossing it, came to the point of the principal cataract (I continue to call it cataract by courtesy), being a fall of about two feet.

And these were the great Cataracts of the Nile, whose roar in ancient days affrighted the Egyptian boatmen, and which history and poetry have invested with extraordinary and ideal terrors! The traveller who has come from a country as far distant as mine, bringing all that freshness of feeling with which a citizen of the New World turns to the storied wonders of the Old, and has roamed over the mountains and drunk of the rivers of Greece, will have found himself so often cheated by the exaggerated accounts of the ancients, the vivid descriptions of poets, and his own imagination, that he will hardly feel disappointed when he stands by this apology for a cataract.

Here the Nubian boys had a great feat to show, namely, jump into the cataract and float down to the point of the island. The inhabitants of the countries bordering on the Nile are great swimmers, and the Nubians are perhaps the best of all; but this was no great feat. The great and ever-to-be-lamented Sam Patch would have made the Nubians stare, and shown them, in his own pithy phrase, "that some folks could do things as well as other folks;" and I question if

there is a cataract on the Nile at which that daring diver would not have turned up his nose in scorn.

We returned by the same way we had come, and under the same guidance, augmented, however, by a motley collection of men and boys, who had joined us as our escort. In paying for the boat we showed a preference for our little boy, which brought down upon him all the rest, and he had to run to us for protection. We saved him for the present, but left him exposed to one of the evils attendant upon the acquisition of money all the world over, the difficulty of keeping it, which difficulty, in his case, was so great physically, that I have no doubt he was stripped of more than half before we were out of sight.

Getting rid of them, or as many of them as we could, we again mounted our shaggy donkeys, and rode to the Island of Philæ. This island makes one of the most beautiful pictures I ever saw. Perhaps the general monotony of the scenery on the Nile gives it a peculiar beauty; but I think it would be called beautiful any where, even among the finest scenes in Italy. It brought forcibly to my mind, but seemed to me far more lovely than, the Lake Maggiore, with the beautiful Isola Bella and Isola Madre. It is entirely unique, a beautiful *lusus nature*, a little island about 1000 feet long and 400 broad, rising in the centre of a circular bay, which appears to be cut off from the river, and forms a lake surrounded by dark sandstone rocks, carpeted with green to the water's edge, and covered with columns, propylons, and towers, the ruins of a majestic temple. A sunken wall encircles it on all sides, on which, in a few moments, we landed.

I have avoided description of ruins when I could. The fact is, I know nothing of architecture, and never measured anything in my life; before I came to Egypt I could not tell the difference between a dromos and a propylon, and my whole knowledge of Egyptian antiquities was little more than enough to enable me to distinguish between a mummy and a pyramid. I picked up about enough on the spot to answer my purpose; but I have too much charity for my reader to impose my smattering on him. In fact, I have already forgotten more than half of the little that I then learned, and I should show but a poor return for his kindness if I were to puzzle him with the use or misuse of technical phrases. Still I must do something; the temples of Egypt must have a place here; for I might as well leave out Jerusalem in the story of a tour through the Holy Land.

The temple of Philæ is a magnificent ruin, 435 feet in length, and 105 in width. It stands at the south-west corner of the island, close upon the bank of the river, and the approach to it is by a grand colonnade, extending 240 feet along the edge of the river to the grand propylon. The propylon is nearly 100 feet long, and rises on each side of the gateway in two lofty towers, in the form of a truncated pyramid. The front is decorated with sculpture and hieroglyphics; on each side a figure of Isis, twenty feet high, with the moon over her head, and near the front formerly stood two obelisks and two sphinxes, the pedestals and ruins of which still remain. The body of the temple contains eleven chambers, covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics, the figures tinted in the most lively colours, and the ceiling painted azure, and studded with stars.

But there are other things which touch the beholder more nearly than the majestic ruins of the temple—things which carry him from the works of man to a grander and higher subject, that of man himself. On the lofty towers in front of the temple, among the mysterious and unknown writings of the Egyptians, were inscriptions in Greek and Latin, telling that they whose names were there written had come to worship the great goddess Isis; that men had lived and looked upon the sun, moon, and stars, the mountains and the rolling river, and worshipped a mute idol. And again, on the front wall was the sacred cross, the emblem of the Christian faith, and the figures of the Egyptian deities were defaced and plastered over, showing that

another race had been there to worship, who scorned and trampled on the gods of the heathen. And again there was an inscription of later days, that in the ruins of the temple carried with it a wild and fearful interest; telling that the thunder of modern war had been heard above the roar of the cataract, and that the arm of the soldier which had struck terror in the frozen regions of the north, had swept the burning sands of Africa. In the grand propylon, among the names of tourists and travellers, in a small plain hand, is written—"L'an 6 de la république, le 13 Messidor, une armée Française, commandée par Buonaparte, est descendue à Alexandrie; l'armée ayant mis, vingt jours après, les Mamelukes en fuite aux pyramides, Dessaix, commandant la première division, les poursuivit, au delà des cataractes, où il est arrivé le 13 Ventose, de l'an 7." Near this was an inscription that to me was far more interesting than all the rest, the name of an early friend, "C—B—, U. S. of America," written with his own hand. I did not know that he had been here, although I knew he had been many years from home, and I had read in a newspaper that he had died in Palestine. A thousand recollections crowded upon me, of joys departed never to return, and made me sad. I wrote my name under his, and left the temple.

I was glad to get back to my rascally donkey. If a man were oppressed and borne down with mental anxiety, if he were mourning and melancholy, either from the loss of a friend or an undigested dinner, I would engage to cure him. I would put him on a donkey without saddle or halter, and if he did not find himself by degrees drawn from the sense of his misery, and worked up into a towering passion, getting off and belabouring his brute with his stick, and forgetting every thing in this world but the obstinacy of the ass, and his own folly in attempting to ride one, man is a more quiet animal than I take him to be.

As I intended going the next day up the Cataracts with my companions, and expected to spend the day on board their boat, I had asked them to dine with me in the evening. After giving the invitation, I held a council with Paul, who told me that the thing was impossible, and, with a prudence worthy of Caleb Balderstone, expressed his wonder that I had not worked an invitation out of them. I told him, however, that the thing was settled, and dine with me they must. My house-keeping had never been very extravagant, and macaroni, rice, and fowl, had been my standing dishes. Paul was pertinacious in raising objections, but I told him peremptorily there was no escape; that he must buy a cow or a camel, if necessary, and left him scratching his head and pondering over the task before him.

In the hurried business of the day, I had entirely forgotten Paul and his perplexities. Once only, I remember, with a commendable prudence, I tried to get my companions to expend some of their force upon dried dates and Nubian bread, which they as maliciously declined, that they might do justice to me. Returning now, at the end of nine hours' hard work, crossing rivers and rambling among ruins, the sharp exercise, and the grating of my teeth at the stubborn movements of my donkey, gave me an extraordinary voracity, and dinner—the all-important, never-to-be-forgotten business of the day, the delight alike of the ploughman and philosopher—dinner with its uncertain goodness, began to press upon the most tender sensibilities of my nature. My companions felt the vibrations of the same chord, and, with an unnecessary degree of circumstance, talked of the effect of air and exercise in sharpening the appetite, and the glorious satisfaction, after a day's work, of sitting down to a good dinner. I had perfect confidence in Paul's zeal and ability, but I began to have some misgivings. I felt a hungry devil within me, that roared as if he would never be satisfied. I looked at my companions, and heard them talk; and as I followed their humour with an hysterical laugh, I thought the genius of famine was at my heels in the shape of two hungry Englishmen. I trembled for Paul, but the first glimpse

I caught of him reassured me. He sat on the deck of the boat, with his arms folded, coolly, though with an air of conscious importance, looking out for us. Slowly and with dignity he came to assist us from our cursed donkeys; neither a smile nor frown was on his face, but there reigned an expression that you could not mistake. Reader, you have seen the countenance of a good man lighted up with the consciousness of having done a good action; even so was Paul's. I could read in his face a consciousness of having acted well his part. One might almost have dined on it. It said, as plainly as face could speak, one, two, three, four, five courses and a dessert, or, as they say at the two-franc restaurants in Paris, "Quatre plats, une demi bouteille de vin, et pain à discrétion."

In fact, the worthy butler of Ravenswood could not have stood in the hall of his master in the days of its glory, before thunder broke china and soured butter-milk, with more sober and conscious dignity than did Paul stand on the deck of my boat to receive us. A load was removed from my heart. I knew that my credit was saved, and I led the way with a proud step to my little cabin. Still I asked no questions, and made no apologies. I simply told my companions we were in Paul's hands, and he would do with us as seemed to him good. Another board had been added to my table, and my towel had been washed and dried during the day, and now lay, clean and of a rather reddish white, doing the duty of a table-cloth. I noticed, too, tumblers, knives and forks, and plates, which were strangers to me, but I said nothing; we seated ourselves and waited, nor did we wait long; soon we saw Paul coming towards us, staggering under the weight of his burden, the savoury odour of which preceded him. He entered, and laid before us an Irish stew. Reader, did you ever eat an Irish stew? Gracious Heaven! I shall never forget that paragon of dishes; how often in the Desert, among the mountains of Sinai, in the Holy Land, rambling along the Valley of Jehoshaphat, or on the shores of the Dead Sea—how often has that Irish stew risen before me to tease and tantalise me, and haunt me with the memory of departed joys! The potato is a vegetable that does not grow in Egypt. I had not tasted one for more than a month, and was almost startled out of my propriety at seeing them; but I held my peace, and was as solemn and dignified as Paul himself. Without much ceremony, we threw ourselves with one accord upon the stew. I think I only do our party justice, when I say that few of those famished gentlemen, from whose emerald isle it takes its name, could have shown more affection for the national dish. For my own part, as I did not know what was coming next, if any thing, I felt loath to part with it. My companions were knowing ones, and seemed to be of the same way of thinking, and, without any consultation, all appeared to be approaching the same end, to wit, the end of the stew. With the empty dish before him, demonstrative to Paul that so far we were perfectly satisfied with what he had done, that worthy purveyor came forward with an increase of dignity to change our plates. I now saw that something more was coming. I had suspected from the beginning that Paul was in the mutton line, and involuntarily murmured, "This day a sheep has died;" and presently on came another cut of the murdered innocent, in cutlets, accompanied by fried potatoes. Then came boiled mutton and boiled potatoes, and then roast mutton and roast potatoes, and then came a macaroni paté. I thought this was going to spoil the whole; until this I had considered the dinner as something extraordinary and recherché. But the macaroni, the thing of at least six days in the week, utterly disconcerted me. I tried to give Paul a wink to keep it back, but on he came; if he had followed with a chicken, I verily believe I should have thrown it at his head. But my friends were unflinching and uncompromising. They were determined to stand by Paul to the last; and we laid in the macaroni paté with as much vigour as if we had not already eaten a sheep. Paul wound us up and packed us down with pancakes. I never knew a

man that did not like pancakes, or who could not eat them even at the end of a mighty dinner. And now, feeling that happy sensation of fulness which puts a man above kings, princes, or pachas, we lighted our long pipes and smoked. Our stomachs were full, and our hearts were open. Talk of mutual sympathy, of congenial spirits, of similarity of tastes, and all that; 'tis the dinner which unlocks the heart; you feel yourself warming towards the man that has dined with you. It was in this happy spirit that we lay like warriors, resting on our arms, and talked over the particulars of our battles.

And now, all dignity put aside and all restraint removed, and thinking my friends might have recognised acquaintances among the things at the table which were strangers to me, and thinking, too, that I stood on a pinnacle, and, come what might, I could not fall, I led the way in speculating upon the manner in which Paul had served us. The ice once broken, my friends solved many of the mysteries, by claiming this, that, and the other, as part of their furniture and stores. In fact, they were going on most unscrupulously, making it somewhat doubtful whether I had furnished any thing for my own dinner, and I called in Paul. But that functionary had no desire to be questioned; he hemmed, and hawed, and dodged about; but I told him to make a clean heart of it, and then it came out, but it was like drawing teeth, that he had been on a regular foraging expedition among their stores. The potatoes with which he had made such a flourish were part of a very small stock furnished them by a friend, as a luxury not to be had on the Nile; and, instead of the acknowledgments which I expected to receive on account of my dinner, my friends congratulated me rather ironically upon possessing such a treasure of a steward. We sat together till a late hour; were grave, gay, laughing, and lachrymose, by turns; and when we began to doze over our pipes, betook ourselves to slumber.

## CHAPTER IX.

Ascent of the Cataracts.—A Nautical Patriarch.—Political Improvement.—A Nubian Damsel's Wardrobe.—A Test of Friendship.—East and West.—Moonlight on the Nile.—Uses of a Temple.

IN the morning we were up betimes, expecting another stirring day in mounting the Cataracts. Carrying boats up and down the rapids is the great business of the Nubians who live on the borders of Egypt. It is a business that requires great knowledge and address; and the rais who commands the large squad of men necessary to mount a boat, is an important person among them. He was already there with part of his men, the others being stationed among the islands of the Cataracts, at the places where their services would be needed. This rais was one of the most noble-looking men I ever saw. He was more than eighty, a native of Barbary, who had in early life wandered with a caravan across the Libyan Desert, and been left, he knew not why, on a little island among the Cataracts of the Nile. As the Nubian does now, firmly seated on a log and paddling with his hands, he had floated in every eddy, and marked every stone that the falling river lays bare to the eye; and now, with the experience of years, he stood among the Nubians, confessedly one of their most skilful pilots through a difficult and sometimes dangerous navigation. He was tall and thin, with a beard of uncommon length and whiteness; a face dried, scarred, and wrinkled, and dark as it could be without having the blackness of a negro. His costume was a clean white turban, red jacket, and red sash, with white trousers, red slippers, and a heavy club fastened by a string around his wrist. I am particular in describing the appearance of the hardy old man, for we were exceedingly struck with it. Nothing could be finer than his look, his walk, his every movement; and the picturesque effect was admirably heightened by contrast with his swarthy assistants, most of whom were despe-

rately ragged, and many of them as naked as they were born. The old man came on board with a dignity that savoured more of a youth passed amid the polish of a European court, than on the sands of Barbary, or the rude islands of the Nile. We received him as if he had been the great pacha himself, gave him coffee and pipes, and left him to the greatest luxury of the East, perfect rest, until his services should be required.

In the meantime, with a strong and favourable wind, we started from the little harbour of Assouan, while a throng of idlers, gathered together on the beach, watched our departure with as much interest as though it were not an event of almost daily occurrence. Almost immediately above Assouan the view extends over a broad surface, and the rocks and islands begin to multiply. The strong wind enabled us to ascend some distance with the sails; but our progress gradually diminished, and at length, while our sails were yet filled almost to bursting, we came to a dead stand, struggled vainly for a while against the increasing current, and then fell astern. The old rais, who had sat quietly watching the movements of the boat, now roused himself; and at his command, a naked Nubian, with a rope over his shoulders, plunged into the river and swam for the shore. At first he swam boldly and vigorously; but soon his strength began to fail, and the weight of the slackened rope effectually stopped his progress; when, resting for a little space, he dived like a duck, kicking his heels in the air, came up clear of the rope, and soon gained the bank. A dozen Nubians now threw themselves into the water, caught the sinking rope, carried it ashore, and wound it round a rock. Again the rais spoke, and fifty swarthy bodies were splashing in the water, and in a moment more they were on the rocky bank, hauling upon the rope; others joined them, but where they came from nobody could see; and by the strength of a hundred men, all pulling and shouting together, and both sails full, we passed the first Cataract.

Above this the passage became more difficult, and the old rais seemed to rise in spirit and energy with the emergency. As we approached the second Cataract, half a dozen ropes were thrown out, and the men seemed to multiply as if by magic, springing up among the rocks like a parcel of black river-gods. More than two hundred of them were hauling on the ropes at once, climbing over the rocks, descending into the river, and again mounting, with their naked bodies shining in the sun, all talking, tugging, ordering, and shouting together; and among them, high above the rest, was heard the clear voice of the rais. His noble figure, too, was seen, now scrambling along the base of a rock, now standing on its summit, his long arms thrown above his head, his white beard and ample dress streaming in the wind, until the inert mass had triumphed over the rushing river; when he again took his seat upon the deck, and in the luxury of his pipe forgot the animating scene that for a moment had cheated him back to youth.

At this season there was in no place a fall of more than two feet; though the river, breaking among the almost innumerable rocks and islands, hurried along with great violence and rapidity. In the midst of the most furious rushing of the waters, adding much to the striking wildness of the scene, were two figures, with their clothes tied above their heads, sitting upon the surface of the water apparently, and floating as if by a miracle. They were a man and his wife, crossing from one of the islands; their bark a log, with a bundle of corstalks on each side; too frail to support their weight, yet strong enough to keep them from sinking.

And now all was over; we had passed the Cataracts, catching our dinner at intervals as we came up. We had wound round the beautiful Island of Philœ, and the boat had hauled up alongside the bank to let me go ashore. The moment of parting and returning to my former loneliness had come, and I felt my courage failing. I verily believe that if my own boat had been above the Cataracts, I should have given up my own project and accompanied my English friends. Paul

was even more reluctant to part than his master. He had never travelled except with a party, where the other servants and dragomen were company for him, and after these chance encounters he was for a while completely prostrated. The moment of parting came and passed; warm adieus were exchanged, and, with Paul and my own rais for company, I set out on foot for Assouan.

Directly opposite the Island of Philœ is a stopping-place for boats, where dates, the great produce of Upper Egypt, are brought in large quantities, and deposited preparatory to being sent down to Cairo. All along the upper part of the Nile the palm-tree had become more plentiful, and here it was the principal and almost only product of the country. Its value is inestimable to the Nubians, as well as to the Arabs of Upper Egypt; and so well is this value known, and so general is the progress of the country in European improvements, that every tree pays an annual tax to the great reformer.

The Nubian is interesting in his appearance and character; his figure is tall, thin, sinewy, and graceful, possessing what would be called in civilised life an uncommon degree of gentility; his face is rather dark, though far removed from African blackness; his features are long and aquiline, decidedly resembling the Roman; the expression of his face mild, amiable, and approaching to melancholy. I remember to have thought, when reading Sir Walter Scott's *Crusaders*, that the metamorphosis of Kenneth into a Nubian was strained and improbable, as I did not then understand the shades of difference in the features and complexion of the inhabitants of Africa; but observation has shown me that it was my own ignorance that deceived me; and in this, as in other descriptions of Eastern scenes, I have been forced to admire the great and intimate knowledge of details possessed by the unequalled novelist, and his truth and liveliness of description.

The inhabitants of Nubia, like all who come under the rod of the pacha, suffer the accumulated ills of poverty. Happily, they live in a country where their wants are few; the sun warms them, and the palm-tree feeds and clothes them. The use of fire-arms is almost unknown, and their weapons are still the spear and shield, as in ages long past. In the upper part of Nubia the men and women go entirely naked, except a piece of leather about six inches wide, cut in strings, and tied about their loins; and even here, on the confines of Egypt, at least one half of the Nubians appear in the same costume.

I do not know what has made me introduce these remarks upon the character and manners of the Nubians here, except it be to pave the way for the incidents of my walk down to Assouan. Wishing to get rid of my unpleasant feelings at parting with my companions, I began to bargain for one of the large heavy clubs, made of the palm-tree, which every Nubian carries, and bought what a Kentuckian would call a screamer, or an Irishman a toothpick; a large round club, about two inches in diameter, which seldom left my hand till I lost it in the Holy Land. Then seeing a Nubian riding backward and forward on a dromedary, showing his paces like a jockey at a horse-market, I began to bargain for him. I mounted him (the first time I had mounted a dromedary); and as I expected to have considerable use for him, and liked his paces, I was on the point of buying him, but was prevented by the sudden reflection that I had no means of getting him down to Cairo.

My next essay was upon more delicate ground. I began to bargain for the costume of a Nubian lady, and to use an expressive phrase, though in this case not literally true, I bought it off her back. One of my friends in Italy had been very particular in making a collection of ladies' costumes, and, to a man curious in those things, it struck me that nothing could be more curious than this. One of the elements of beauty is said to be simplicity; and if this be not a mere poetical fiction, and beauty when unadorned is really adorned.



the most, then was the young Nubian girl whose dress I bought adorned in every perfection. In fact, it was impossible to be more simple, without going back to the origin of all dress, the simple fig-leaf. She was not more than sixteen, with a sweet mild face, and a figure that the finest lady might be proud to exhibit in its native beauty; every limb charmingly rounded, and every muscle finely developed. It would have been a burning shame to put such a figure into frock, petticoat, and the other et ceteras of a lady's dress. I now look back upon this, and many other scenes, as strange, of which I thought nothing at the time, when all around was in conformity. I remember, however, though I thought nothing of seeing women all but naked, that at first I did feel somewhat delicate in attempting to buy the few inches that constituted the young girl's wardrobe. Paul had no such scruples, and I found, too, that as in the road to vice, "ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte." In short, I bought it, and have it with me; and to the curious in such matters I have no hesitation in saying, that the costume of a Nubian lady is far more curious than any thing to be found in Italy, and would make a decided sensation at a masquerade or fancy ball.

It was nearly dark, when, from the ruined height of the old city of Assouan, I saw my little boat with the flag of my country, and near it, hardly less welcome to my eyes, the red-cross banner of England. The sight of these objects, assisted by my multifarious bargainings, relieved me from the loneliness I had felt in parting from my friends; and I went on board the English boat, hoping to find a party with which I had partially arranged to set out from Cairo, and which I was every day expecting. I was disappointed, however; but found a gentleman to whom I was then a stranger, the English consul at Alexandria. He had been eighteen years in the country, closely devoted to his public and private duties, without ever having been in Upper Egypt. On the point of returning home, to enjoy in his own country and among his own people the fruits of his honourable labours, he had now for the first time ascended the Nile. He was accompanied by his daughter, who had reigned as a belle and beauty in the ancient city of Cleopatra, and her newly married husband. Coming from home, their boat was furnished and fitted up with all kinds of luxuries. Their tea-table, in particular, made such a strong impression on me, that when I met them again at Thebes, I happened to find myself on board their boat regularly about the time for the evening meal. I was exceedingly pleased with Mr T——; so much so, that at Thebes I gave him the strongest mark of it a man could give—I borrowed money of him; and I have reason to remember his kindness in relieving me from a situation which might have embarrassed me.

Early the next morning the sails were already loosed and the stake pulled up, when Paul, from the bank, cried out, "A sail!" and looking down the river, I saw a boat coming up, and again the English flag. I furled my sails, fastened the stake, and waited till she came up, and found the party I had expected. I went on board, and breakfasted with them. They had started from Cairo on the same day with me, but with their large boats could not keep up with me against the wind. They had heard of me along the river; and, among other things, had heard of my having shot a crocodile. Waiting to see them off for the Island of Philo, and bidding them good-bye until we should meet at Thebes, I returned to my boat, and, letting fall the sails, before they were out of sight was descending the Nile.

My face was now turned towards home. Thousands of miles, it is true, were between us; but I was on the bosom of a mighty river, which was carrying me to the mightier ocean, and the waves that were rolling by my side were rapidly hurrying on, and might one day wash the shores of my native land. It was a beautiful prospect I had before me now. I could lie on the deck of my boat, and float hundreds of miles, shooting at crocodiles; or I could go ashore and ramble among modern villages, and the ruins of ancient cities, and

all the time I thought I would be advancing on my journey. Before night, however, the wind was blowing dead ahead, and we were obliged to furl our sails and take to our oars. But it was all of no use; our boat was blown along like a feather; carried round, backward and forward, across the river, zigzag, and at last fairly driven up the stream. With great difficulty we worked down to Ombos; and here, under the ruins of an ancient temple, part of which had already fallen into the river, we hauled up to the bank, and, in company with half a dozen Arab boats, lay by till morning.

Man is a gregarious animal. My boatmen always liked to stop where they saw other boats. I remember it was the same on the Ohio and Mississippi. Several years since, when the water was low, I started from Pittsburgh, in a flat-bottomed boat, to float down to New Orleans. There, too, we were in the habit of stopping along the bank at night, or in windy or foggy weather, and the scenes and circumstances were so different that the contrast was most interesting and impressive. Here we moored under the ruins of an ancient temple, there we made fast to the wild trees of an untrodden forest; here we joined half a dozen boats with eight or ten men in each, and they all gathered round a fire, sipped coffee, smoked, and lay down quietly to sleep; there we met the dashing roaring boys of the West, ripe for fun, frolic, or fight. The race of men "half horse, half alligator, and 'other half steam-boat," had not yet passed away, and whenever two boats met, these restless rovers must "do something;" play cards, pitch pennies, fight cocks, set fire to a house, or have a row of some description. Indeed, it always involved a long train of interesting reflections, to compare the stillness and quiet of a journey on this oldest of rivers with the moving castles and the splashing of paddle-wheels on the great rivers of the New World.

At daylight I had mounted the bank, and was groping among the ruins of the temple. The portico fronting the river is a noble ruin, nearly 100 feet in length, with three rows of columns, five in each row, 30 feet high, and 10 feet in diameter at the base. The principal figure on the walls is Osiris, with a crocodile head, and the sacred tau in his hand. The Ombites were distinguished for their worship of the crocodile, and this noble temple was dedicated to that bestial god: among the ruins are still to be seen the wall on which the sacred animal was led in religious procession, and the tank in which he was bathed.

Towards noon we were approaching Hadjar Silsily, or the Rock of the Chain, the narrowest part of the river, bounded on each side by ranges of sandstone mountains. On the eastern side are ancient quarries of great extent, with the same appearance of freshness as at Assouan. Nothing is known of the history of these quarries; but they seem to have furnished material enough for all the cities on the Nile, as well as the temples and monuments that adorned them. Whole mountains have been cut away; and while the solitary traveller walks among these deserted workshops, and looks at the smooth sides of the mountains, and the fragments of unfinished work around him, he feels a respect for the people who have passed away, greater than when standing among the ruins of their mighty temples; for here he has only the evidences of their gigantic industry, without being reminded of the gross and disgusting purposes to which that industry was prostituted. The roads worn in the stone by the ancient carriage-wheels are still to be seen, and somewhere among these extensive quarries travellers have found an unfinished sphinx. I remember one place where there was an irregular range of unfinished doors, which might well have been taken for the work of beginners, practising under the eyes of their masters. Paul took a philosophic and familiar view of them, and said, that it seemed as if, while the men were at work, the boys playing around had taken up the tools, and amused themselves by cutting these doors.

On the opposite side, too, are quarries, and several ranges of tombs, looking out on the river, excavated

in the solid rock, with pillars in front, and images of deities in the recesses for the altars. I remember a beautiful chamber overhanging the river like a balcony. It had been part of a temple, or perhaps a tomb. We thought of stopping there to dine, but our boat had gone ahead, and our want of provisions was somewhat of an impediment.

At about four o'clock we saw at a distance the minaret of Edfou. There was no wind, the men were gently pulling at the oars, and I took one myself, much to the uneasiness of the rais, who thought I was dissatisfied. Sloth forms so prominent a feature in the composition of the Orientals, and quiet is so material an item in their ideas of enjoyment, that they cannot conceive why a man should walk when he can stand, why he should stand when he can sit, or, in short, why he should do any thing when he can sit still and do nothing.

It was dark before we arrived at Edfou. I mean it was that period of time when, by nature's laws, it should be dark; that is, the day had ended, the sun had set with that rich and burning lustre which attends his departing glories nowhere but in Egypt, and the moon was shedding her pale light over the valley of the Nile. But it was a moon that lighted up all nature with a paler, purer, and more lovely light; a moon that would have told secrets; a moon—a moon—in short, a moon whose light enabled one to walk over fields without stumbling, and this was, at the moment, the principal consideration with me.

Edfou lies about a mile from the bank of the river, and, taking Paul and one of the Arabs with me, I set off to view the temple by moonlight. The town, as usual, contained mud houses, many of them in ruins, a mosque, a bath, bazaars, the usual apology for a palace, and more than the usual quantity of ferocious dogs; and at one corner of this miserable place stands one of the magnificent temples of the Nile. The propylon, its lofty proportions enlarged by the light of the moon, was the most grand and imposing portal I saw in Egypt. From a base of nearly 100 feet in length and 30 in breadth, it rises on each side the gate in the form of a truncated pyramid, to the height of 100 feet, gradually narrowing, till at the top it measures 75 feet in length and 18 in breadth. Judge, then, what was the temple to which this formed merely the entrance; and this was far from being one of the large temples of Egypt. It measured, however, 440 feet in length and 220 in breadth, about equal to the whole space occupied by St Paul's churchyard. Its dromos, pronaos, columns, and capitals, all correspond, and enclosing it is a high wall, still in a state of perfect preservation. I walked round it twice, and, by means of the wall erected to exclude the unhallowed gaze of the stranger, I looked down upon the interior of the temple. Built by the Egyptians for the highest uses to which a building could be dedicated, for the worship of their gods, it is now used by the pacha as a granary and storehouse. The portico and courtyard, and probably the interior chambers, were filled with grain. A guard was stationed to secure it against the pilfering Arabs; and to secure the fidelity of the guard himself, he was locked in at sunset, and the key left with the governor. The lofty entrance was closed by a wooden door; the vigilant guard was already asleep, and we were obliged to knock some time before we could wake him.

It was a novel and extraordinary scene, our parley with the guard at the door of the temple. We were standing under the great propylon, mere insects at the base of the lofty towers; behind us at a little distance sat a group of the miserable villagers, and leaning against a column in the porch of the temple was the indistinct figure of the guard, motionless, and answering in a low deep tone, like an ancient priest delivering the answers of the oracles. By the mellow light of the moon every thing seemed magnified; the majestic proportions of the temple appeared more majestic, and the miserable huts around it still more miserable, and the past glory and the present ruin of this once most favoured land rushed upon me with a force I had not felt even at the

foot of the pyramids. If the temple of that little unknown city now stood in Hyde Park or the garden of the Tuilleries, France, England, all Europe, would gaze upon it with wonder and admiration; and when thousands of years shall have rolled away, and they, too, shall have fallen, there will be no monument in those proudest of modern cities like this in the little town of Edfou, to raise its majestic head and tell the passing traveller the story of their former greatness.

Some of the Arabs proposed to conduct me to the interior through a passage opening from the ruined huts on the top; but after searching a while, the miserable village could not produce a candle, torch, or taper to light the way. But I did not care much about it. I did not care to disturb the strong impressions and general effect of that moonlight scene; and though in this, as in other things, I subject myself to the imputation of having been but a superficial observer, I would not exchange the lively recollection of that night for the most accurate knowledge of every particular stone in the whole temple.

I returned to my boat, and to the surprise of my rais ordered him to pull up stake and drop down the river. I intended to drop down about two hours to Elythias, or, in Arabic, Elkob. No one on board knew where it was, and, tempted by the mildness and beauty of the night, I staid on deck till a late hour. Several times we saw fires on the banks, where Arab boatmen were passing the night, and hailed them, but no one knew the place; and though seeking and inquiring of those who had spent all their lives on the banks of the river, we passed, without knowing it, a city which once carried on an extensive commerce with the Red Sea, where the traces of a road to the emerald mines and the fallen city of Berenice are still to be seen, and the ruins of whose temples, with the beautiful paintings in its tombs, excite the admiration of every traveller.

We continued descending with the current all night, and in the morning I betook myself to my old sport of shooting at crocodiles and pelicans. At about eleven o'clock we arrived at Esneh, the ancient Latopolis, so called from the worship of a fish, now containing 1500 or 2000 inhabitants. Here, too, the miserable subjects of the pacha may turn from the contemplation of their degraded state to the greatness of those who have gone before them. In the centre of the village, almost buried by the accumulation of sand from the desert and the ruins of Arab huts, is another magnificent temple. The street is upon a level with the roof, and a hole has been dug between two columns so as to give entrance to the interior. The traveller has by this time lost the wonder and indignation at the barbarity of converting the wonderful remains of Egyptian skill and labour to the meanest uses; and, descending between the excavated columns, finds himself, without any feeling of surprise, in a large cleared space, filled with grain, earthen jars, and Arabs. The gigantic columns, with their lotus-leaved capitals, are familiar things; but among the devices on the ceiling, his wandering eye is fixed by certain mysterious characters, which have been called the signs of the zodiac, and from which speculators in science have calculated that the temple was built more than 6000 years ago, before the time assigned by the Mosaic account as the beginning of the world.

But this little town contains objects of more interest than the ruin of a heathen temple; for here, among the bigoted followers of Mahommed, dwell fifty or sixty Christian families, being the last in Egypt, and standing on the very outposts of the Christian world. They exhibited, however, a melancholy picture of the religion they profess. The priest was a swarthy, scowling Arab, and, as Paul said, looked more like a robber than a pastor. He followed us for bucksheesh, and attended by a crowd of boys, we went to the house of the bishop. This bishop, as he is styled by courtesy, is a miserable-looking old man; he told us he had charge of the two churches at Esneh, and of all the Christians in the world beyond it to the south. His flock consists of about 200, poor wanderers from the true principles of Christianity, and knowing it only as teaching them to

make the sign of the cross, and to call upon the Son, and Virgin, and a long calendar of saints. Outside the door of the church was a school; a parcel of dirty boys sitting on the ground, under the shade of some palm-trees, with a more dirty blind man for their master, who seemed to be at the work of teaching because he was not fit for any thing else. I turned away with a feeling of melancholy, and almost blushed in the presence of the haughty Mussulmans, to recognise the ignorant and degraded objects around me as my Christian brethren.

## CHAPTER X.

Thebes, its Temples and great Ruins.—The Obelisk of Luxor, now of Paris.—An Avenue of Sphinxes.—Carnac.—The Mummy Pits.—The Tombs of the Kings.—The Memnonium.

It was nearly noon, when, with a gentle breeze, we dropped into the harbour of Thebes. The sun was beating upon it with meridian splendour; the inhabitants were seeking shelter in their miserable huts from its scorching rays; and when we made fast near the remains of the ancient port, to which, more than thirty centuries ago, the Egyptian boatman tied his boat, a small group of Arabs, smoking under the shade of some palm-trees on a point above, and two or three stragglers who came down to the bank to gaze at us, were the only living beings we beheld in a city which had numbered its millions. When Greece was just emerging from the shades of barbarism, and before the name of Rome was known, Egypt was far advanced in science and the arts, and Thebes the most magnificent city in the world. But the Assyrian came and overthrew for ever the throne of the Pharaohs. The Persian war-cry rang through the crowded streets of Thebes, Cambyzes laid his destroying hands upon the temples of its gods, and a greater than Babylon the Great fell to rise no more.

The ancient city was twenty-three miles in circumference. The valley of the Nile was not large enough to contain it, and its extremities rested upon the bases of the mountains of Arabia and Africa. The whole of this great extent is more or less strewn with ruins, broken columns, and avenues of sphinxes, colossal figures, obelisks, pyramidal gateways, porticoes, blocks of polished granite, and stones of extraordinary magnitude, while above them, "in all the nakedness of desolation," the colossal skeletons of giant temples are standing "in the unwatered sands, in solitude and silence. They are neither grey nor blackened; there is no lichen, no moss, no rank grass or mantling ivy, to robe them and conceal their deformities. Like the bones of man, they seem to whiten under the sun of the desert." The sand of Africa has been their most fearful enemy; blown upon them for more than 3000 years, it has buried the largest monuments, and, in some instances, almost entire temples.

At this day the temples of Thebes are known almost every where, by the glowing reports of travellers. Artists have taken drawings of all their minute details, and I shall refer to them very briefly. On the Arabian side of the Nile are the great temples of Luxor and Carnac. The temple of Luxor stands near the bank of the river, built there, as is supposed, for the convenience of the Egyptian boatmen. Before the magnificent gateway of this temple, until within a few years, stood two lofty obelisks, each a single block of red granite, more than eighty feet high, covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics fresh as if but yesterday from the hands of the sculptor. One of them has been lately taken down by the French, and at this moment rears its daring summit to the skies in the centre of admiring Paris; the other is yet standing on the spot where it was first erected.

Between these and the grand propylon are two colossal statues with mitred head-dresses, also single blocks of granite, buried to the chest by sand, but still rising more than twenty feet above the ground. The grand propylon is a magnificent gateway, more than 200 feet in length at its present base, and more than 60 feet above the sand. The whole front is covered with sculpture—the battle scenes of an Egyptian warrior, designed and exe-

cuted with extraordinary force and spirit. In one compartment the hero is represented advancing at the head of his forces, and breaking through the ranks of the enemy; then standing, a colossal figure, in a car drawn by two fiery horses, with feathers waving overhead, the reins tied round his body, his bow bent, the arrow drawn to its head, and the dead and wounded lying under the wheels of his car and the hoofs of his horses. In another place several cars are seen in full speed for the walls of a town, fugitives passing a river, horses, chariots, and men, struggling to reach the opposite bank, while the hero, hurried impetuously beyond the rank of his own followers, is standing alone among the slain and wounded who have fallen under his formidable arm. At the farthest extremity he is sitting on a throne as a conqueror, with a sceptre in his hand, a row of the principal captives before him, each with a rope around his neck; one with outstretched hands imploring pity, and another on his knees to receive the blow of the executioner, while above is the vanquished monarch, with his hands tied to a car, about to grace the triumph of the conqueror.

Passing this magnificent entrance, the visitor enters the dromos, or large open court, surrounded by a ruined portico formed by a double row of columns covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics; and working his way over heaps of rubbish and Arab huts, among stately columns twelve feet in diameter, and between thirty and forty feet in height, with spreading capitals resembling the budding lotus, some broken, some prostrate, some half buried, and some lofty and towering as when they were erected, at the distance of 600 feet reaches the sanctuary of the temple.

But great and magnificent as was the temple of Luxor, it served but as a portal to the greater Carnac. Standing nearly two miles from Luxor, the whole road to it was lined with rows of sphinxes, each of a solid block of granite. At this end they are broken, and, for the most part, buried under the sand and heaps of rubbish. But approaching Carnac, they stand entire, still and solemn as when the ancient Egyptian passed between them to worship in the great temple of Ammon. Four grand propylons terminate this avenue of sphinxes, and, passing through the last, the scene which presents itself defies description. Belzoni remarks of the ruins of Thebes generally, that he felt as if he were in a city of giants; and no man can look upon the ruins of Carnac without feeling humbled by the greatness of a people who have passed away for ever. The western entrance, facing the temple of Northern Dair on the opposite side of the river, also approached between two rows of sphinxes, is a magnificent propylon 400 feet long and 40 feet in thickness. In the language of Dr Richardson, "looking forward from the centre of this gateway, the vast scene of havoc and destruction presents itself in all the extent of this immense temple, with its columns, and walls, and immense propylons, all prostrate in one heap of ruins, looking as if the thunders of heaven had smitten it at the command of an insulted God."

The field of ruins is about a mile in diameter; the temple itself 1200 feet long and 420 broad. It has twelve principal entrances, each of which is approached through rows of sphinxes, as across the plain from Luxor, and each is composed of propylons, gateways, and other buildings, in themselves larger than most other temples; the sides of some of them are equal to the bases of most of the pyramids, and on each side of many are colossal statues, some sitting, others erect, from twenty to thirty feet in height. In front of the body of the temple is a large court, with an immense colonnade on each side, of thirty columns in length, and through the middle two rows of columns fifty feet in height; then an immense portico, the roof supported by 134 columns, from twenty-six feet to thirty-four feet in circumference. Next were four beautiful obelisks more than seventy feet high, three of which are still standing; and then the sanctuary, consisting of an apartment twenty feet square, the walls and ceiling of large blocks of highly-polished granite, the ceiling studded with stars on a blue ground, and the

walls covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics representing offerings to Osiris, illustrating the mysterious uses of this sacred chamber, and showing the degrading character of the Egyptian worship. Beyond this is another colonnade, and again porticoes and walls to another propylon, at a distance of 2000 feet from the western extremity of the temple.

But these are not half of the ruins of Thebes. On the western side of the river, besides others prostrate and nearly buried under the sands, but the traces of which are still visible, the temples of Gornou, Northern Dair, Dair-el-Medinet, the Memnonium, and Medinet Abou, with their columns, and sculpture, and colossal figures, still raise their giant skeletons above the sands. Volumes have been written upon them, and volumes may yet be written, and he that reads all will still have but an imperfect idea of the ruins of Thebes. I will only add, that all these temples were connected by long avenues of sphinxes, statues, propylons, and colossal figures, and the reader's imagination will work out the imposing scene that was presented in the crowded streets of the now desolate city, when with all the gorgeous ceremonies of pagan idolatry, the priests, bearing the sacred image of their god, and followed by thousands of the citizens, made their annual procession from temple to temple, and, "with harps, and cymbals, and songs of rejoicing," brought back their idol, and replaced him in his shrine in the grand temple at Carnac.

The rambler among the ruins of Thebes will often ask himself, "Where are the palaces of the kings, and princes, and people, who worshipped in these mighty temples?" With the devout though degraded spirit of religion that possessed the Egyptians, they seem to have paid but little regard to their earthly habitations; their temples and their tombs were the principal objects that engrossed the thoughts of this extraordinary people. It has been well said of them that they regarded the habitations of the living merely as temporary resting-places, while the tombs were regarded as permanent and eternal mansions; and while not a vestige of a habitation is to be seen, the tombs remain monuments of splendour and magnificence, perhaps even more wonderful than the ruins of their temples. Clinging to the cherished doctrine of the metempsychosis, the immortal part, on leaving its earthly tenement, was supposed to become a wandering, migratory spirit, giving life and vitality to some bird of the air, some beast of the field, or some fish of the sea, waiting for a regeneration in the natural body. And it was of the very essence of this faith to inculcate a pious regard for the security and preservation of the dead. The whole mountain-side on the western bank of the river is one vast necropolis. The open doors of tombs are seen in long ranges, and at different elevations, and on the plain large pits have been opened, in which have been found 1000 mummies at a time. For many years, and until a late order of the pacha preventing it, the Arabs have been in the habit of rifling the tombs to sell the mummies to travellers. Thousands have been torn from the places where pious hands had laid them, and the bones meet the traveller at every step. The Arabs use the mummy-cases for firewood, the bituminous matters used in the embalment being well adapted to ignition; and the epicurean traveller may cook his breakfast with the coffin of a king. Notwithstanding the depredations that have been committed, the mummies that have been taken away and scattered all over the world, those that have been burnt, and others that now remain in fragments around the tombs, the numbers yet undisturbed are no doubt infinitely greater; for the practice of embalming is known to have existed from the earliest periods recorded in the history of Egypt; and by a rough computation, founded upon the age, the population of the city, and the average duration of human life, it is supposed that there are from 8,000,000 to 10,000,000 of mummied bodies in the vast necropolis of Thebes.

Leaving these resting-places of the dead, I turn for one moment to those of more than royal magnificence, called the tombs of the kings. The world can show

nothing like them; and he who has not seen them can hardly believe in their existence. They lie in the valley of Biban-el-Melook, a dark and gloomy opening in the sandstone mountains, about three quarters of an hour from Gornou. The road to them is over a dreary waste of sands, and their doors open from the most desolate spot that the imagination can conceive.

Diodorus Siculus says that forty-seven of these tombs were entered on the sacred registers of the Egyptian priests, only seventeen of which remained at the time of his visit to Egypt, about sixty years B. C. In our own days, the industry and enterprise of a single individual, the indefatigable Belzoni, have brought to light one that was probably entirely unknown in the time of the Grecian traveller. The entrance is by a narrow door; a simple excavation in the side of the mountain, without device or ornament. The entrance-hall, which is extremely beautiful, is twenty-seven feet long and twenty-five broad, having at the end a large door opening into another chamber, twenty-eight feet by twenty-five, the walls covered with figures drawn in outline, but perfect as if recently done. Descending a large staircase, and passing through a beautiful corridor, Belzoni came to another staircase, at the foot of which he entered another apartment, twenty-four feet by thirteen, and so ornamented with sculpture and paintings that he called it the Hall of Beauty. The sides of all the chambers and corridors are covered with sculpture and paintings; the colours appearing fresher as the visitor advances towards the interior of the tomb; and the walls of this chamber are covered with the figures of Egyptian gods and goddesses, seeming to hover round and guard the remains of the honoured dead.

Farther on is a large hall, twenty-eight feet long and twenty-seven broad, supported by two rows of square pillars, which Belzoni called the Hall of Pillars; and beyond this is the entry to a large saloon with a vaulted roof, thirty-two feet in length and twenty-seven in breadth. Opening from this were several other chambers of different dimensions, one of them unfinished, and one forty-three feet long by seventeen feet six inches wide, in which he found the mummy of a bull; but in the centre of the grand saloon was a sarcophagus of the finest oriental alabaster, only two inches thick, minutely sculptured within and without with several hundred figures, and perfectly transparent when a light was placed within it.

All over the corridors and chambers the walls are adorned with sculptures and paintings in intaglio and relief, representing gods, goddesses, and the hero of the tomb in the most prominent events of his life, priests, religious processions and sacrifices, boats and agricultural scenes, and the most familiar pictures of everyday life, in colours as fresh as if they were painted not more than a month ago; and the large saloon, lighted up with the blaze of our torches, seemed more fitting for a banqueting-hall, for song and dance, than a burial-place of the dead. All travellers concur in pronouncing the sudden transition from the dreary desert without to these magnificent tombs as operating like a scene of enchantment; and we may imagine what must have been the sensations of Belzoni, when, wandering with the excitement of a first discoverer through these beautiful corridors and chambers, he found himself in the great saloon leaning over the alabaster sarcophagus. An old Arab who accompanied us remembered Belzoni, and pointed out a chamber where the fortunate explorer entertained a party of European travellers who happened to arrive there at that time, making the tomb of Pharaoh\* ring with shouts and songs of merriment.

At different times I wandered among all these tombs. All were of the same general character; all possessed the same beauty and magnificence of design and finish, and in all, at the extreme end, was a large saloon, adorned with sculpture and paintings of extraordinary beauty, and containing a single sarcophagus. "The kings of the nations did lie in glory, every one in his own house, but thou art cast out of thy grave like an

\* Supposed to be the tomb of Pharaoh Necho.

abominable branch." Every sarcophagus is broken, and the bones of the kings of Egypt are scattered. In one I picked up a skull. I mused over it a moment, and handed it to Paul, who moralised at large. "That man," said he, "once talked, and laughed, and sang, and danced, and ate maccaroni." Among the paintings on the walls was represented a heap of hands severed from the arms, showing that the hero of the tomb had played the tyrant in his brief hour on earth. I dashed the skull against a stone, broke it in fragments, and pocketed a piece as a memorial of a king. Paul cut off one of the ears, and we left the tomb.

Travellers and commentators concur in supposing that these magnificent excavations must have been intended for other uses than the burial, each of a single king. Perhaps, it is said, like the chambers of imagery seen by the Jewish prophet, they were the scene of idolatrous rites performed "in the dark;" and as the Israelites are known to have been mere copyists of the Egyptians, these tombs are supposed to illustrate the words of Ezekiel: "Then said he to me, Son of man, dig now in the wall; and when I had digged in the wall, behold a door. And he said unto me, Go in and see the abominable things that they do there. So I went in, and saw, and behold, every form of creeping thing and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, pourtrayed upon the wall round about."—Ezek. viii. 8-10.

Amid the wrecks of former greatness which tower above the plain of Thebes, the inhabitants who now hover around the site of the ancient city are perhaps the most miserable in Egypt. On one side of the river they build their mud huts around the ruins of the temples, and on the other their best habitations are in the tombs; wherever a small space has been cleared out, the inhabitants crawl in, with their dogs, goats, sheep, women, and children; and the Arab is passing rich who has for his sleeping-place the sarcophagus of an ancient Egyptian.

I have several times spoken of my intended journey to the great Oasis. Something was yet wanting in my voyage on the Nile. It was calm, tame, and wanting in that high excitement which I had expected from travelling in a barbarous country. A woman and child might go safely from Cairo to the Cataracts; and my blood began to run sluggishly in my veins. Besides, I had a great curiosity to see an oasis; a small spot of green fertile land in the great desert, rising in solitary beauty before the eyes of the traveller, after days of journeying through arid wastes, and divided by vast sandy ramparts from the rest of the world. The very name of the great Oasis in the Libyan Desert carried with it a wild and almost fearful interest, too powerful for me to resist. It was beyond the beaten track; and the sheik with whom I made my arrangements insisted on my taking a guard, telling me that he understood the character of his race, and an Arab in the desert could not resist the temptation to rob an unprotected traveller. For my own part, I had more fear of being followed by a party of the very unprepossessing fellows who were stealthily digging among the tombs, and all of whom knew of the preparations for our journey, than from any we might encounter in the desert. I must confess, however, that I was rather amused when I reviewed my body-guard, and, with the gravest air in the world, knocked out the primings from their guns, and primed them anew with the best of English powder. When I got through, I was on the point of discharging them all together; but it would have broken the poor fellows' hearts to disappoint them of their three piastres (about fifteen cents) per diem, dearly earned by a walk all day in the desert, and a chance of being shot at.

In the afternoon before the day fixed for my departure, I rode by the celebrated Memmons, the Damy and Shamy of the Arabs. Perhaps it was because it was the last time, but I had never before looked upon them with so much interest. Among the mightier monuments of Thebes, her temples and her tombs, I had passed these ancient statues with a comparatively careless eye, scarcely even bestowing a thought upon the vocal Mem-

non. Now I was in a different mood, and looked upon its still towering form with a feeling of melancholy interest. I stood before it and gazed up at its worn face, its scars and bruises, and my heart warmed to it. It told of exposure, for unknown ages, to the rude assaults of the elements and the ruder assaults of man. I climbed upon the pedestal, upon the still hardy legs of the Memnon. I pored over a thousand inscriptions in Greek and Latin. A thousand names of strangers from distant lands, who had come like me to do homage to the mighty monuments of Thebes; Greeks and Romans who had been in their graves more than 2000 years, and who had written with their own hands that they had heard the voice of the vocal Memnon. But, alas! the voice has departed from Memnon; the soul has fled, and it stands a gigantic skeleton in a grave of ruins. I returned to my boat, and in ten minutes thereafter, if the vocal Memnon had bellowed in my ears, he could not have awaked me.

#### CHAPTER XI.

The Arabs and the Pacha.—March into the Desert.—Arab Christians.—A cold Reception.—Arab Punctuality.—A Night in a Convent.—An Arab Christian Priest.—Speculative Theology.—A Journey ended before commenced.

EARLY in the morning I was on the bank, waiting for my caravan and guides. I had every thing ready, rice, maccaroni, bread, biscuit, a hare, and a few shirts. I had given instructions to my rais to take my boat down to Siout, and wait for me there, as my intention was to go from the great Oasis to the Oasis of Siwah, containing the ruins of the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to destroy which Cambyses had sent from this very spot an army of 50,000 men, who, by the way, left their bones on the sands of Africa; and I need not remind the reader that Alexander the Great had visited it in person, and been acknowledged by the priest as the son of Jupiter. I waited a little longer, and then, becoming impatient, mounted a donkey to ride to the sheik's. My rais and crew accompanied me a little way; they were the only persons to bid us farewell; and, as Paul remarked, if we never got back, they were the only persons to make any report of us to our friends.

The sheik's house was situated near the mountains, in the midst of the tombs forming the great necropolis of Thebes, and we found him surrounded by fifty or sixty men, and women and children without number, all helping to fit out the expedition. There did not appear to be much choice among them, but I picked out my body-guard; and when I looked at their swarthy visages by broad daylight, I could not help asking the sheik what security I had against them. The sheik seemed a little touched, but, pointing to the open doors of the tombs, and the miserable beings around us, he said he had their wives and children in his hands as pledges for my safety. Of the sheik himself I knew nothing, except that he was sheik. I knew, too, that though by virtue of the pacha's firman he was bound to do every thing he could for me, he was no friend to the pacha or his government; for one evening, in speaking of the general poverty of the Arabs, he said that if one fourth of them owned a musket, one charge of powder, and one ball, before morning there would not be a Turk in Egypt. However, I knew all this before.

At 12 o'clock the last sack of biscuit was packed upon the camels, and I mounted a fine dromedary, while my companions bade farewell to their wives, children, and friends; a farewell so calm and quiet, particularly for a people whose blood was warmed by the burning sun of Africa, that it seemed cold and heartless.

My caravan consisted of six camels, or rather four camels and two dromedaries, two camel-drivers armed with swords, eight men with pistols and muskets, Paul, and myself. It was the first time I had undertaken a journey in the desert. My first endeavour was to learn something of the character of my companions, and even Paul became perfectly satisfied and pleased with the journey, when, upon acquaintance, he found that their ugly outsides gave no true indication of the inward man.

Our guide, he who was to conduct us through the pathless desert, was not yet with us; he lived at a village about four miles distant, and a messenger had been sent forward to advise him of our coming. Riding for the last time among the ruined temples of Thebes, beyond the limits of the ancient city, our road lay behind the valley bordering the river, and along the edge of the desert. On one side was one of the richest and most extensive valleys of the Nile, well cultivated, and at this season of the year covered with the richest greens; on the other were barren mountains and a sandy desert.

In about four hours we saw, crossing the valley and stopping on the edge of the desert, a single Arab. It was our messenger, come to tell us that our guide would meet us at a Christian church about four hours' march in the desert. We now left the borders of the valley, and struck directly into the desert. Before us, at some distance over a sandy plain, was a high range of sandstone mountains, and beyond these was the mighty waste of sand and barrenness. Towards evening we saw from afar the church at which we were to meet our guide. It was the only object that rose above the level of the sands; and as the setting sun was fast reminding us that the day was closing, it looked like a resting-place for a weary traveller.

Congratulating myself upon my unexpected good fortune in meeting with those who bore the name of Christians, I was still more happy in the prospect, for this night at least, of sleeping under a roof. As we approached, we saw the figure of a man stealing along the wall, and were near enough to hear the hasty closing of the door and the heavy drawing of bolts inside. It was nine o'clock when we dismounted and knocked at the door of the convent, but received no answer; we knocked again and again without success. We then commenced a regular battery. I rattled against the door with my Nubian club in a small way, like Richard at the gate of the castle of Front de Bœuf; but my blows did not tell like the battle-axe of the Lion-hearted, and the churlish inmates, secure behind their strong walls, paid no regard to us. Tired of knocking, and irritated at this inhospitable treatment from men calling themselves Christians, I walked round the building to see if by accident there was not some back-door left open. The convent was enclosed by a square wall of unburnt brick, twelve or fourteen feet high, and not a door, window, or loop-hole, was to be seen. It was built for defence against the roving Arabs, and if we had intended to storm it, we could not have found an assailable point. I returned, vexed and disappointed; and calling away my men, and almost cursing the unchristian spirit of its inmates, I pitched my tent under its walls, and prepared to pass the night in the desert.

I had hardly stretched myself upon my mat before I heard the smart trot of a dromedary, and presently my guide, whom I had almost forgotten, dismounted at the door of the tent. He was a tall, hard-faced, weather-beaten man of about fifty, the white hairs just beginning to make their appearance in his black beard. I wanted to have a good view of him, and, calling him inside, gave him a seat on the mat, a pipe, and coffee. He told me that for many years he had been in the habit of going once a-year to the Oasis, on a trading voyage, and that he knew the road perfectly. Almost the first thing he said was, that he supposed I intended to remain there the next day. The Arabs, like most other Orientals, have no respect for the value of time; and among the petty vexations of travelling among them, few annoyed me more than the eternal "bokhara, bokhara"—"to-morrow, to-morrow." When they first sent to this guide to know whether he could engage with me, he said he was ready at any moment, by which he probably meant a week's notice; and when they sent word that I had named a particular day, he probably thought that I would be along in the course of two or three thereafter, and was no doubt taken by surprise when the messenger came to tell him that I was already on the march. I, of course, had no idea of remaining there. He told me that I had better stay;

that one day could not make any difference, and finally said he had no bread baked, and must have a day or two to prepare himself. I answered that he had told the sheik at Thebes that he would be ready at any moment; that it was absurd to think I would wait there in the desert; that I would not be trifled with, and if he were not ready the next morning, I would ride over to his village and make a complaint to the sheik. After a long parley, which those only can imagine who have had to deal with Arabs, he promised to be there at sunrise the next morning, and took his leave.

After supper, when, if ever, a man should feel good-natured, I began again to feel indignant at the churlish inmates of the convent, and resolved upon another effort to see what stuff these Christians were made of. I knew that the monks in these isolated places, among fanatic Mussulmans, were sometimes obliged to have recourse to carnal weapons; and telling Paul to keep a look-out, and give me notice if he saw the barrel of a musket presenting itself over the wall, I again commenced thundering at the door; almost at the first blow it was thrown wide open, with a suddenness that startled me, and a dark, surly, and half-naked Arab stood facing me in the doorway. He had been reconnoitring, and though not sufficiently assured to come out and welcome us, he was ready to open when again summoned. With no small degree of asperity, and certainly without the meekness of the character upon which I was then presuming, I asked him if that was his Christian spirit, to let a stranger and a Christian sleep outside his walls when he had a roof to shelter him; and before he could interpose a word, I had read him a homily upon the Christian virtues that would have done credit to some pulpits. He might have retorted upon me, that with the Christian duties coming so glibly from my tongue, I was amazingly deficient in the cardinal virtue of forbearance; but I had the satisfaction of learning that I had not been excluded by the hands of Christians. The priests and monks had gone to a neighbouring village, and he was left alone. I followed him through a sort of courtyard into a vestibule, where was a noble fire, with a large caldron boiling over it. He neither asked me to stay, nor told me to go, and seated himself by the fire, perfectly indifferent to my movements. As soon as I had satisfied myself that he was alone, and saw that my Arabs had followed me, I thought I ran no risk in considering the building as a castle which I had stormed, and him as the captive of my bow and spear. I therefore required him to show me the interior of the convent, and he immediately took up a blazing stick from the fire, and conducted me within; and when I told him that I meant to sleep there, he said it would be for him a night "white as milk."

From the vestibule the door opened into the chapel, which consisted of a long apartment running transversely, the door in the centre; the floor was covered with mats, ostrich-eggs were suspended from the ceilings, and three or four recesses contained altars to favourite saints. Directly opposite the door was a larger recess, in which stood the great altar, separated by a railing, ornamented with bone and mother-of-pearl, and over the top were four pictures of St George slaying the dragon. I walked up and down the chapel two or three times, followed in silence by my swarthy friends, not altogether with the reverential spirit of a pious Christian, but with the prudence of a man of the world, looking out for the best place to sleep, and finally deposited my mat at the foot of the great altar.

I might better have slept on the sand after all, for the walls of the church were damp, and a strong current of air from the large window above had been pouring in upon me the whole night. When I first woke, I felt as if pinned to the floor, and I was startled and alarmed at the recurrence of a malady, on account of which I was then an exile from home. I went outside, and found, although it was late, that the guide had not come. If he had been there, I should no doubt have gone on; but, most fortunately for me, I had time to reflect. I was a changed man since the day before; my buoyancy

of spirits was gone, and I was depressed and dejected. I sent a messenger, however, for the guide; and while I was sitting under the walls, hesitating whether I should expose myself to the long and dreary journey before me, I saw four men coming across the desert towards the convent. They were the priest and three of his Christian flock; and their greeting was such as to make me reproach myself for the injustice I had done the Arab Christians, and feel that there was something in that religion, even in the corrupt state in which it existed there, that had power to open and warm the heart. The priest was a tall thin man, his dark face almost covered with a black beard and mustaches, and wore the common blue gown of the better class of Arabs, with a square black cap on his head, and his feet bare. I could not understand him, but I could read in his face that he saluted me as a brother Christian, and welcomed me to all that a brother Christian could give.

Living as we do, in a land where the only religious difference is that of sect, and all sects have the bond of a common faith, it is difficult to realise the feeling which draws together believers in the same God and the same Redeemer, in lands where power is wielded by the worshippers of a false religion. One must visit a country in which religion is the dividing line, where haughty and deluded fanatics are the masters, and hear his faith reviled, and see its professors persecuted and despised, to know and feel how strong a tie it is.

After exchanging our greetings outside, the priest led the way to the church. I do not know whether it was a customary thing, or done specially in honour of me (Paul said the latter); but, at any rate, he immediately lighted up the edifice, and, slipping over his frock a dirty white gown, with a large red cross down the back, commenced the service of the mass. His appearance and manner were extremely interesting, and very different from those of the priest I had seen at Esneh. His fine head, his noble expression, his earnestness, his simplicity, his apparent piety, his long black beard and mustaches, his mean apparel and naked feet, all gave him the primitive aspect of an apostle. He was assisted by a dirty, ragged, barefooted boy, who followed him round with a censer of incense, vigorously perfuming the church from time to time, and then climbing up a stand, holding on by his naked feet, and reading a lesson from the thumbed, torn, and tattered leaves of an Arabic Bible. There were but three persons present besides myself; poor, ignorant people, far astray, no doubt, from the path of true Christianity, but worshipping, in all honesty and sincerity, according to the best light they had, the God of their fathers. The priest went through many long and unmeaning forms, which I did not understand, but I had seen things quite as incomprehensible to me in the splendid cathedrals of Europe, and I joined, so far as I could, in the humble worship of these Egyptian Christians. There were no vessels of silver and gold, no imposing array of costly implements, to captivate the senses. A broken tumbler, a bottle of wine, and three small rolls of bread, formed the simple materials for the holy rite of the Lord's Supper. The three Arabs partook of it, and twice it was offered to me; but the feelings with which I had been accustomed to look upon this solemn sacrifice forbade me to partake of the consecrated elements, and never did I regret my unworthiness so bitterly as when it prevented me from joining in the holy feast with these simple-hearted Christians. In the meantime Paul came in, and the service being ended, I fell into conversation with the priest. He was a good man, but very ignorant, weak, and of great simplicity of character. He conducted me around the little church into the several chapels, and pointed out all that he thought curious, and particularly the ornaments of bone and mother-of-pearl; and, finally, with a most imposing air, like a priest in a church in Italy uncovering the works of the first masters, he drew the curtain from the four pictures of St George slaying the dragon, and looked at me with an air of great satisfaction to enjoy the expression of my surprise and astonishment. I did not disappoint him, nor

did I tell him that I had the night before most irreverently drawn aside the curtain, and exposed these sacred specimens of the arts to the eyes of my unbelieving Arabs; nor did I tell him that, in each of the four, St George seemed to be making a different thrust at the dragon. There was no use in disturbing the complacency of the poor priest; he had but little of which he could be proud, and I would not deprive him of that. Leaving him undisturbed in his exalted opinion of St George and his dragons, I inquired of him touching the number and condition of the Christians under his charge, and their state of security under the government of the pacha; and, among other things, asked him if they increased. He told me that they remained about the same, or perhaps rather decreased. I asked him if a Mussulman ever became a Christian. He answered never, but sometimes a Christian would embrace the religion of Mahommed, and assigned a cause for this unhappy difference which I am sorry to mention, being no less than the influence of the tender passion. He told me that, in the free intercourse now existing under the government of the pacha between Christians and Mussulmans, it often happened that a Christian youth became enamoured of a Moslem girl; and as they could not by any possibility marry and retain their separate religions, it was necessary that one of them should change. The Moslem dare not, for death by the hands of her own friends would be the certain consequence, while the Christian, instead of running any temporal risks, gains with his bride the protection and favour of the Mussulmans. Paul seemed rather scandalised at this information, and began to catechise the priest on his own account. I could not understand the conversation, but could judge, from the movements, that Paul was examining him on that cardinal point, the sign of the cross. All appeared to go smoothly enough for a little while, but I soon noticed the flashing of Paul's eyes, and sundry other symptoms of indignation and contempt. I asked him several times what it was all about; but, without answering, he walked backward and forward, slapping his hands under the priest's nose, and talking louder and faster than ever, and I had to take hold of him, and ask him sharply what the plague was the matter, before I could get a word out of him. "A pretty Christian," said Paul; "fast fifty-six days for Lent, when we fast only forty-six; forty that our Saviour was in the mount, and six Sundays." I told him there was not so much difference between them as I thought, as it was only ten days; he looked at me for a moment, and then, as if fearful of trusting himself, shrugged his shoulders, and marched out of the chapel. During all this time, the condition of the poor priest was pitiable and amusing; he had never been so sharply questioned before, and he listened with as much deference to Paul's questions and rebukes as if he had been listening to the Pope of Rome, and, when it was over, looked perfectly crest-fallen.

It was twelve o'clock when the man we had sent after the guide returned, but before this time my malady had increased to such a degree as to leave me no option; and I had resolved to abandon the Oasis, and go back to Thebes. I had great reason to congratulate myself upon my accidental detention, and still greater that the symptoms of my malady had developed themselves before I had advanced another day's journey in the desert. Still, it was with a heavy heart that I mounted my dromedary to return. I had not only the regret of being compelled abruptly to abandon a long-cherished plan, but I had great uneasiness as to what was to become of me on my arrival at Thebes. My boat was probably already gone. I knew that no other could be obtained there, and, if obliged to wait for a casual opportunity, I must live in my tent on the banks of the river, or in one of the tombs. My anxieties, however, were quickly dispelled on my arrival at Thebes, where I found the English gentleman and lady whom I had met at Cairo, and afterwards at the Cataracts. They kindly took me on board their boat; and so ended my expedition to the great Oasis.

## CHAPTER XII.

A Travelling Artist and Antiquary.—An Egyptian Sugar-house.—Grecian Architecture.—A Melancholy Greeting.—Tyranny of the Pacha.—Amateurs of Physic.—Memphis.—Adventure with a Wild Boar.—Perils of a Pyramid.—The Catacombs of Birds.—Amor Patriæ.—Voyaging on the Nile.

I SHALL never forget the kindness of these excellent friends; and, indeed, it was a happy thing for me that my own boat had gone, and that I was thrown upon their hospitality; for, in addition to the greater comforts I found with them, I had the benefit of cheerful society, under circumstances when to be alone would have been horrible. Even when we arrived at Siout, after a voyage of seven days, they would not let me leave them, but assumed the right of physicians, and prescribed that I should be their guest until perfectly restored. I remained, accordingly, three days longer with them, my little boat following like a tender to a man-of-war, and passed my time luxuriously. I had books, conversation, and a medicine-chest. But one thing troubled me. We had a cook who looked upon his profession as a liberal and enlightened science, and had attained its very highest honours. He had served various noblemen of eminent taste, had accumulated 50,000 dollars, and was now cooking at the rate of fifty dollars a-month upon the Nile. Michel was an extraordinary man. He came from the mountains of Dalmatia, near the shores of the Adriatic; one of a small nation who had preserved the name, and form, and spirit of a republic against Italians, Hungarians, and Turks, and fell only before the irresistible arm of Napoleon. He had been a great traveller in his youth, and, besides his attainments in the culinary art, was better acquainted with history, ancient and modern, than almost any man I ever met. He had two great passions, the love of liberty and the love of the fine arts (cookery included), and it was really extraordinary to hear him, with a ladle in his hand, and tasting, from time to time, some piquant sauce, discourse of the republics of Rome and America, of the ruins of Italy, Palmyra, and Egypt. Michel's dinners, making proper allowance for the want of a daily market, would have done honour to the best lord he ever served; and I was obliged to sit down, day after day, to my tea, rice-water, biscuit, &c., and listen to the praises of his dainties while they passed untasted from me.

It was not until within two days of Cairo that we parted, with an agreement to meet at Jerusalem and travel together to Palmyra. We did meet for a few moments at Cairo, but the plague was beginning to rage, the pacha had been putting himself into quarantine, and we had barely time to renew our engagement, which a particularly unfortunate circumstance (the illness of Mrs S.) prevented us from keeping, and we never met again. Few things connected with my compelled departure from the Holy Land gave me more regret than this; and if these pages should ever meet their eyes, they will believe me when I say that I shall remember, to the last day of my life, their kindness on the Nile.

The story of my journeying on this river is almost ended. Kenneh was our first stopping-place on our way down; a place of considerable note, there being a route from it across the desert to Cosseir, by which many of the pilgrims, and a great portion of the trade of the Red Sea, are conveyed.

At Ramaïoum, not far below Siout, we went ashore to visit a sugar-factory belonging to the pacha. This manufactory is pointed out as one of the great improvements introduced into Egypt, and, so far as it shows the capabilities of the Arabs, of which, however, no one can doubt, it may be considered useful. Formerly eighty Europeans were employed in the factory, but now the work is carried on entirely by Arabs. The principal was educated in France at the expense of the pacha, and is one of the few who have returned to render any service to their country and master. The enlightened pacha understands thoroughly that liberal principle of political economy which consists in encouraging domestic manufactures, no matter at what expense. The

sugar costs more than that imported, and is bought by none but governors and dependents of the pacha. It is made from cane, contains a great deal of saccharine matter, and has a good taste, but a bad colour. This factory, however, can hardly be considered as influential upon the general interests of the country, for its principal business is the making of rock candy for the ladies of the harem. They gave us a little to taste, but would not sell any except to Mrs S., the whole being wanted for the use of the ladies. There was also a distillery attached to the factory, under the direction of another Arab, who gave satisfactory evidence, in his own person at least, of the strength of the spirit made, being more than two-thirds drunk.

The same evening we came to at Beni Hassan, and the next morning lauded to visit the tombs. Like all the tombs in Egypt, except those of the kings at Thebes, they are excavated in the sides of the mountain, commanding an extensive view of the valley of the Nile; but in one respect they are different from all others in Egypt. The doors have regular Doric columns, and they are the only specimens of architecture in Egypt which at all approximate to the Grecian style. This would not be at all extraordinary if they were constructed after the invasion of Alexander and the settlement of the Greeks in the country, but it is ascertained that they were built long before that time; and, indeed, it is alleged by antiquaries that these tombs and the obelisk at Heliopolis are the oldest monuments in Egypt. The interiors are large and handsomely proportioned (one of them being sixty feet square and forty feet high), and adorned with paintings, representing principally scenes of domestic life. Among them Mr S. and myself made out one, which is constantly to be seen at the present day, namely, a half-naked Egyptian, with a skin of water across his back, precisely like the modern Arab in the streets of Cairo.

We returned to our boat, and, being now within two days of Cairo, and having different places to stop at below, after dinner I said farewell to my kind friends, and returned to my own boat. My crew received me with three cheers, I was going to say, but they do not understand or practise that noisy mode of civilised welcome, and gave me the grave and quiet salutation of their country, all rising as soon as I touched the deck, and one after the other taking my hand in his, and touching it to his forehead and lips. My poor rais gave me a melancholy greeting. He had been unwell during the whole voyage, but since we parted had been growing worse. He told me that our stars were the same, and that misfortune had happened to us both as soon as we separated. I could but hope that our stars were not inseparably connected, for I looked upon him as a doomed man. I had saved him at Cairo from being pressed into the pacha's service; and again in descending, when he stopped at Kenneh, he and his whole crew had been seized in the bazaars, and, in spite of their protestations that they were in the service of an American, the iron bonds were put around their wrists and the iron collars round their necks. The governor afterwards rode down to the river, and the American flag streaming from the masthead of my little boat procured their speedy release, and saved them from the miserable fate of Arab soldiers.

Under all the oppressions of the pacha's government, there is nothing more grinding than this. The governor of a town, or the sheik of a village, is ordered to furnish so many men as soldiers. He frequently has a leaning towards his own subjects or followers, and is disposed to save them if he can; and if any unlucky stranger happens to pass before the complement is made up, he is inevitably pounced upon as one of the required number. It is useless for the poor captive to complain that he is a stranger, and that the rights of hospitality are violated; he appeals to those who are interested in tightening his bonds; and when he is transferred to the higher authorities, they neither know nor care who he is or whence he comes. He has the thews and sinews of a man, and though his heartstrings be cracking, he



can bear a musket, and that is enough. For centuries Egypt has been overrun by strangers, and the foot of a tyrant has been upon the necks of her inhabitants; but I do not believe that, since the days of the Pharaohs, there has been on the throne of Egypt so thorough a despot as the present pacha.

But to return to my rais. His first request was for medicine, which, unfortunately, I could not give him. The Arabs have a perfect passion for medicine. Early in our voyage my crew had discovered that I had some on board, and one or another of them was constantly sick until they had got it all; and then they all got well except the rais; and for him I feared there was no cure.

On the eleventh, early in the morning, Paul burst into the cabin, cursing all manner of Arabs, snatched the gun from over my head, and was out again in a moment. I knew there was no danger when Paul was so valorous; and, opening my broken shutter, I saw one of my men struggling with an Arab on shore, the latter holding him by the throat with a pistol at his head. The rascal had gone on shore just at daylight to steal wood, and while in the act of tearing down a little fence, the watchful owner had sprung upon him, and seemed on the point of correcting for ever all his bad habits. His fellows ran to the rescue, with Paul at their head; and the culprit, relieved from the giant grasp of his adversary, quietly sneaked on board, and we resumed our progress.

In the course of my last day on the Nile, I visited one of the greatest of its ruined cities, and for moral effect, for powerful impression on the imagination and feelings, perhaps the most interesting of them all. So absolute, complete, and total is the ruin of this once powerful city, that antiquaries have disputed whether there is really a single monument to show where the great Memphis stood; but the weight of authority seems to be, that its stately temples and palaces, and its thousands of inhabitants, once covered the ground now occupied by the little Arab village of Metrahenny. This village stands about four miles from the river; and the traveller might pass through it and around it, without ever dreaming that it had once been the site of a mighty city. He might, indeed, as he wandered around the miserable village, find, half buried in the earth, the broken fragments of a colossal statue; and, looking from the shattered relic to the half-savage Arabs around him, he might say to himself, "This is the work of other men and other times, and how comes it here?" But it would never occur to him that this was the last remaining monument of one of the greatest cities in the world. He might stop and gaze upon the huge mounds of ruins piled among the groves of palm, and ask himself, "Whence, too, came these?" But he would receive no answer that could satisfy him. In a curious and unsatisfied mood, he would stroll on through the village, and from the other extremity would see on the mountains towering before him, on the edge of the desert, a long range of pyramids and tombs, some crumbling in ruin, others upright and unbroken as when they were reared, and all stretching away for miles, one vast necropolis; his reason and reflection would tell him that, where are the chambers of the dead, there must also have been the abodes of the living; and with wonder he would ask himself, "Where is the mighty city whose inhabitants now sleep in yonder tombs? Here are the proud graves in which they were buried; where are the palaces in which they revelled, and the temples in which they worshipped?" And he returns to the broken statue and the mounds of ruins, with the assurance that they are the sad remnants of a city once among the proudest in the world.

My movements in Egypt were too hurried, my means of observation and my stock of knowledge too limited, to enable me to speculate advisedly upon the mystery which overhangs the history of her ruined cities; but I always endeavoured to come to some decision of my own, from the labours, the speculations, and the conflicting opinions of others. An expression which I had seen referred to in one of the books, as being the only

one in the Bible in which Memphis was mentioned by name, was uppermost in my mind while I was wandering over its site—"And Memphis shall bury them." There must be, I thought, some special meaning in this expression; some allusion to the manner in which the dead were buried at Memphis, or to a cemetery or tombs different from those which existed in other cities of its day. It seems almost impossible to believe that a city, having for its burying-place the immense tombs and pyramids which even yet for many miles skirt the borders of the desert, can ever have stood upon the site of this miserable village; but the evidence is irresistible.

The plain on which this ancient city stood is one of the richest on the Nile, and herds of cattle are still seen grazing upon it, as in the days of the Pharaohs. The pyramids of Sacchara stand on the edge of the desert, a little south of the site of Memphis. If it was not for their mightier neighbours, these pyramids, which are comparatively seldom honoured with a visit, would alone be deemed worthy of a pilgrimage to Egypt. The first to which we came is about 350 feet high, and 700 feet square at its base. The door is on the north side, 180 feet from the base. The entrance is by a beautifully polished shaft, 200 feet long, and inclining at an angle of about ten degrees. We descended till we found the passage choked up with huge stones. I was very anxious to see the interior, as there is a chamber within said to resemble the tomb of Agamemnon at Mycene; and having once made an interesting visit to that tomb of the king of kings, I wished to compare them; but it was excessively close, the sweat was pouring from us in streams, and we were suffocating with heat and dust. We came out and attempted to clamber up the side from the door to the top, but found it so difficult that we abandoned the effort, although Paul afterwards mounted, with great ease, by one of the corners. While I was walking round the base, I heard a loud scream from that courageous dragoon, and saw him standing about half way up, the picture of terror, staring at a wild boar that was running away, if possible, more frightened than himself. It was a mystery to me what the animal could be doing there, unless he went up on purpose to frighten Paul. After he got over his fright, however, the boar was a great acquisition to him, for I always had great difficulty in getting him into any tomb or other place of the kind without a guide; and whenever I urged him to enter a pyramid or excavation of any kind, he always threw the wild boar in my teeth, whose den, he was sure to say, was somewhere within.

There are several pyramids in this vicinity; among others, one which is called the brick pyramid, and which has crumbled so gradually and uniformly that it now appears only a huge misshapen mass of brick, somewhat resembling a bee-hive. Its ruins speak a moral lesson. Herodotus says that this fallen pyramid was built by King Asyehis, and contained on a piece of marble the vain-glorious inscription—"Do not disparage my worth by comparing me to those pyramids composed of stone; I am as much superior to them as Jove is to the rest of the deities."

Retracing my steps, I continued along the edge of the mountain, which every where showed the marks of having been once lined with pyramids and tombs. I was seeking for one of the most curious and interesting objects that exist in Egypt—not so interesting in itself, as illustrating the character of the ancient inhabitants and their superstitions—I mean the burial-place of the sacred birds. Before we reached it, my Arab guide pointed to a pyramid on our left, saying that it contained a remarkable chamber, so high that a stone hurled with a man's utmost strength could not reach the top. As this pyramid was not mentioned in my guide-book, and I had no hope in a country so trodden as Egypt now is, to become a discoverer of new wonders, I at first paid no attention to him; but he continued urging me to visit the lofty chamber; and at last, telling him that if I did not find it as he said, I would not give him a para of bucksheesh, I consented. There was no door to the pyramid; but, about 100 feet from its base, on the north

side, was a square excavation or shaft about 40 feet deep, at the end of which was a little hole not more than large enough to admit a man's arm. The Arab scooped out the sand, and with his hands and feet worked his meagre body through, and I followed on my back, feet foremost. Though not particularly bulky, I wanted more room than the Arab, and my shoulders stuck fast. I was trying to work out again, when he grasped me by the heels, and began pulling me in with all his might; but, luckily, I had play for my legs, and, drawing them up, I gave him a kick with my heavy boots that kept him from taking hold again until I had time to scramble out.

While Paul and the Arab were enlarging the hole below, the top of the pit was darkened, and, looking up, I saw two young Englishmen with whom I had dined a few days before, while coming down the river with Mr S. and his lady. They had seen my boat, and come to join me, and I was very glad to see them; for though I had no actual apprehension of the thing, yet it occurred to me that it would be very easy for my Arab friends to roll a stone against the hole, and shut me in for ever. It would have been something to be buried in a pyramid, to be sure; but even the belief that it was the tomb of a king would hardly compensate for the inconvenience of being buried alive. We left their servant, a strapping Greek, at the door, and the Arab having enlarged the hole, we went to work systematically, laid ourselves upon our backs, and, being prepared beforehand, were dragged in by the heels. The narrow part of the hole was not more than half the length of the body, and once past this, there was more room to move about than in any other of the pyramids; we could walk without stooping. Descending some hundred feet through an inclined passage excavated in the rock, with doors opening from it at regular intervals, we came to the large chamber of which the Arab had spoken. As in all the pyramids and tombs, the interior was in perfect darkness, and the feeble light of our torches gave us but an imperfect view of the apartment. The Arab immediately commenced his experiment with the stone; we could hear the whizzing as it cut through the empty space, and, after what seemed a very long time, the sound of its fall upon the rocky floor. At some distance up we could distinguish a door, and sending one of the Arabs up to it, by the flaring light of his torch, held as high as he could reach, we thought, but we were not certain, that we could make out the ceiling.

From hence it was but a short distance to the catacombs of birds; a small opening in the side of a rock leads to an excavated chamber, in the centre of which is a square pit or well. Descending the pit by bracing our arms, and putting our toes in little holes in the side, we reached the bottom, where, crawling on our hands and knees, we were among the mummies of the sacred ibis, the embalmed deities of the Egyptians. The extent of these catacombs is unknown, but they are supposed to occupy an area of many miles. The birds are preserved in stone jars, piled one upon another as closely as they can be stowed. By the light of our torches, sometimes almost flat upon our faces, we groped and crawled along the passages, lined on each side with rows of jars, until we found ourselves again and again stopped by an impenetrable phalanx of the little mummies, or rather of the jars containing them. Once we reached a small open space where we had room to turn ourselves; and knocking together two of the vessels, the offended deities within sent forth volumes of dust which almost suffocated us. The bird was still entire, in form and lineament perfect as the mummied man, and like him, too, wanting merely the breath of life. The Arabs brought out with them several jars, which we broke and examined above ground, more at our ease. With the pyramids towering around us, it was almost impossible to believe that the men who had raised such mighty structures had fallen down and worshipped the puny birds whose skeletons we were now dashing at our feet.

My last work was now done, and I had seen my last sight on the Nile. Leaving behind me for ever the pyramids of Egypt, and the mountains and sands of the

Libyan Desert, I rode along the valley, among villages and groves of palm-trees, and a little before dark arrived at Ghizeh. My boat was there; I went on board for the last time; my men took to their oars, and in half an hour we were at Boulac. It was dark when we arrived, and I jumped on shore searching for a donkey, but none was to be had. I was almost tired out with the labours of the day, but Paul and I set off, nevertheless, on foot for Cairo. We were obliged to walk smartly, too, as the gate closed at nine o'clock; but when about half way there, we met an Arab with a donkey, cheering the stillness of the evening with a song. An extravagant price (I believe it was something like eighteen and three quarter cents) bribed him to dismount, and I galloped on to Cairo, while Paul retraced his steps to the boat. The reader may judge how completely "turned up" must have been the feelings of a quiet citizen of New York, when told that, in winding at night through the narrow streets of Grand Cairo, the citizen aforesaid felt himself quite at home; and that the greeting of Francisco, the garçon at the Locanda d'Italia, seemed the welcome of an old friend. Hoping to receive letters from home, I went immediately to the American consul, and was disappointed; there were no letters, but there was other and interesting news for me; and as an American, identified with the honour of my country, I was congratulated there, thousands of miles from home, upon the expected speedy and honourable termination of our difficulties with France. An English vessel had arrived at Alexandria, bringing a London paper containing the president's last message, a notice of the offer of mediation from the English government, its acceptance by France, and the general impression that the quarrel might be considered settled and the money paid. A man must be long and far from home to feel how dearly he loves his country, how his eye brightens and his heart beats when he hears her praises from the lips of strangers; and when the paper was given me, with congratulations and compliments on the successful and honourable issue of the affair with France, my feelings grew prouder and prouder as I read, until, when I had finished the last line, I threw up my cap in the old city of Cairo, and shouted the old gathering cry, "Hurrah for Jackson!"

I have heard all manners of opinion expressed in regard to a voyage on the Nile, and may be allowed, perhaps, to give my own. Mrs S. used frequently to say, that although she had travelled in France, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, and Sicily, she had never enjoyed a journey so much before, and was always afraid that it would end too soon. Another lady's sentiments, expressed in my hearing, were just the contrary. For myself, being alone, and not in very good health, I had some heavy moments; but I have no hesitation in saying that, with a friend, a good boat well fitted up, books, guns, plenty of time, and a cook like Michel, a voyage on the Nile would exceed any travelling within my experience. The perfect freedom from all restraint, and from the conventional trammels of civilised society, forms an episode in a man's life that is vastly agreeable and exciting. Think of not shaving for two months, of washing your shirts in the Nile, and wearing them without being ironed. True, these things are not absolutely necessary; but who would go to Egypt to travel as he does in Europe? "Away with all fantasies and fetters," is the motto of the tourist. We throw aside pretty much every thing except our pantaloons; and a generous rivalry in long beards and soiled linen is kept up with exceeding spirit. You may go ashore whenever you like, and stroll through the little villages, and be stared at by the Arabs, or walk along the banks of the river till darkness covers the earth; shooting pigeons, and sometimes pheasants and hares, besides the odd shots from the deck of your boat at geese, crocodiles, and pelicans. And then it is so ridiculously cheap an amusement. You get your boat with ten men for thirty or forty dollars a-month, fowls for three piastres (about a shilling) a-pair, a sheep for half or three quarters of a dollar, and eggs almost for the asking. You sail under

your own country's banner; and when you walk along the river, if the Arabs look particularly black and truculent, you proudly feel that there is safety in its folds. From time to time you hear that a French or English flag has passed so many days before you, and you meet your fellow-voyagers with a freedom and cordiality which exist nowhere but on the Nile.

These are the little every-day items in the voyage, without referring to the great and interesting objects which are the traveller's principal inducements and rewards—the ruined cities on its banks, the mighty temples and tombs, and all the wonderful monuments of Egypt's departed greatness. Of them I will barely say, that their great antiquity, the mystery that overhangs them, and their extraordinary preservation amid the surrounding desolation, make Egypt perhaps the most interesting country in the world. In the words of an old traveller, "Time sadly overcometh all things, and is now dominant, and sitteth upon a sphinx and looketh into Memphis and old Thebes, while his sister Oblivion reclines semi-somnolent on a pyramid, gloriously triumphing and turning old glories into dreams. History sinketh beneath her cloud. The traveller as he passeth amazedly through those deserts, asketh of her who builded them, and she mumbleth something, but what it is he heareth not."

It is now more than 3000 years since the curse went forth against the land of Egypt. The Assyrian, the Persian, the Greek, the Roman, the Arabian, the Georgian, the Circassian, and the Ottoman Turk, have successively trodden it down and trampled upon it; for thirty centuries the foot of a stranger has been upon the necks of her inhabitants; and in bidding farewell to this once favoured land, now lying in the most abject degradation and misery, groaning under the iron rod of a tyrant and a stranger, I cannot help recurring to the inspired words, the doom of prophecy—"It shall be the basest of the kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any more among the nations; and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt."

### CHAPTER XIII.

A good Word for the Arabs.—A Prophecy fulfilled.—Ruins of a Lost City.—A Sheikh of the Bedouins.—Interviews and Negotiations.—A Hadj, or Pilgrimage to Mecca.—Mahomedan Heaven for Wives.—A French Sheikh.—The Bastinado.—Departure for the Desert.

I HAD now finished my journey in Egypt, from the Mediterranean to the Cataracts, or, as the boundaries of this ancient country are given in the Bible, from "Migdol to Syene, even unto the borders of Ethiopia." For nearly two months I had been floating on the celebrated river, with a dozen Arabs, prompt to do my slightest bidding, and, in spite of bugs and all manner of creeping things, enjoying pleasures and comforts that are not to be found in Europe; and it was with something more than an ordinary feeling of regret that I parted from my worthy boatmen. I know that it is the custom with many travellers to rail at the Arabs, and perhaps to beat them, and have them bastinadoed; but I could not and cannot join in such oppression of this poor and much abused people. On the contrary, I do not hesitate to say that I always found them kind, honest, and faithful, thankful for the smallest favour, never surly or discontented, and always ready and anxious to serve me with a zeal that I have not met in any other people; and when they came up in a body to the locanda to say farewell, I felt that I was parting with tried and trusty friends, most probably for ever. That such was the case with the rais, there could be little doubt; he seemed to look upon himself as a doomed man, and a broken cough, a sunken eye, and a hollow cheek, proclaimed him one fast hurrying to the grave.

I was now about wandering amid new and different scenes. I was about to cross the dreary waste of sand, to exchange my quiet, easy-going boat for a caravan of dromedaries and camels; to pitch my tent wherever the setting sun might find me, and, instead of my gentle

Arabs of the Nile, to have for my companions the wild, rude Bedouins of the desert; to follow the wandering footsteps of the children of Israel when they took up the bones of Joseph, and fled before the anger of Pharaoh, from their land of bondage; to visit the holy mountain of Sinai, where the Almighty, by the hands of his servant Moses, delivered the tables of his law to his chosen people.

But I had in view something beyond the holy mountain. My object was to go from thence to the Holy Land. If I should return to Suez, and thence cross the desert to El Arich and Gaza, I should be subjected to a quarantine of fourteen days on account of the plague in Egypt; and I thought I might avoid this by striking directly through the heart of the desert from Mount Sinai to the frontier of the Holy Land. There were difficulties and perhaps dangers on this route; but besides the advantage of escaping the quarantine, another consideration presented itself, which, in the end, I found it impossible to resist. This route was entirely new. It lay through the land of Edom—a land that occupies a large space on the pages of the Bible; Edom denounced by God himself, once given to Esau for his inheritance, "as being of the fatness of the earth," but now a desolate monument of the divine wrath, and a fearful witness to the truth of the words spoken by his prophets. The English friends with whom I had dined at Thebes first suggested to me this route, referring me, at the same time, to Keith on the Prophecies, in which, after showing with great clearness and force the fulfilment of prophecy after prophecy, as illustrated by the writings and reports of travellers, the learned divine enlarges upon the prophecy of Isaiah against the land of Idumea, "None shall pass through it for ever and ever;" and proves, by abundant references to the works of modern travellers, that though several have crossed its borders, none have ever passed through it. Burckhardt, he says, made the nearest approach to this achievement; but by reference to the geographical boundaries, he maintains that Burckhardt did not pass through the land of Edom; and so strenuously does the learned divine insist upon the fulfilment of the prophecy to its utmost extent, as to contend that, if Burckhardt did pass through the land of Edom, he died in consequence of the hardships he suffered on that journey. I did not mean to brave a prophecy. I had already learned to regard the words of the inspired penmen with an interest I never felt before; and with the evidence I had already had of the sure fulfilment of their predictions, I should have considered it daring and impious to place myself in the way of a still impending curse. But I did not go so far as the learned commentator, and to me the words of the prophet seemed sufficiently verified in the total breaking up of the route then travelled, as the great highway from Jerusalem to the Red Sea and India, and the general and probably eternal desolation that reigns in Edom.

Still, however, it added to the interest with which I looked upon this route; and, moreover, in this dreary and desolate region, for more than a thousand years buried from the eyes of mankind, its place unknown, and its very name almost forgotten, lay the long lost city of Petra, the capital of Arabia Petrea, and the Edom of the Edomites, containing, according to the reports of the only travellers who have ever been permitted to enter it, the most curious and wonderful remains existing in the world: a city excavated from the solid rock, with long ranges of dwellings, temples, and tombs, cut in the sides of the mountain, and all lying in ruins; "thorns coming up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof, a habitation of dragons, and a court for owls." Three parties had at different times visited Petra, but neither of them had passed through the land of Idumea; and, according to the reports of the few travellers who had crossed its borders, the Bedouins who roamed over the dreary sands of Idumea were the most ferocious tribe of the desert race. It will not be considered surprising, therefore, that, having once conceived the project, I was will-

ing to fulfil it even at the cost of some personal difficulty and hazard.

I have said that this route was entirely new. It was known that two Englishmen, with an Italian, long resident in Egypt, and understanding thoroughly the language and character of the Arabs, had started from Cairo about a year before to make this journey, and, as they had been heard of afterwards in Europe, it was known that they had succeeded; but no account of their journey had ever been published, and all the intelligence I could obtain of the route and its perils was doubtful and confused. The general remark was, that the undertaking was dangerous, and that I had better let it alone. Almost the only person who encouraged me was Mr Gliddon, our vice-consul; and, probably, if it had not been for him, I should have given up the idea. Besides the difficulties of the road, there were others of a more personal nature. I was alone. I could not speak the language, and I had with me a servant, who, instead of leading me on, and sustaining me when I faltered, was constantly torturing himself with idle fears, and was very reluctant to accompany me at all. Nor was this all; my health was far from being restored, and my friend Waghorn was telling me every day, with a warning voice, to turn my steps westward; but objections presented themselves in vain; and perhaps it was precisely because of the objections that I finally determined upon attempting the journey through the land of Idumea.

By singular good fortune, the sheik of Akaba was then at Cairo. The great yearly caravan of pilgrims for Mecca was assembling outside the walls, and he was there, on the summons of the pacha, to escort and protect them through the desert as far as Akaba. He was the chief of a powerful tribe of Bedouins somewhat reduced by long and bloody wars with other tribes, but still maintaining, in all its vigour, the wild independence of the race, and yet strong enough to set at defiance even the powerful arm of the pacha. A system of mutual forbearance seemed to exist between them, the Bedouins knowing that, although the pacha might not subdue them, his long arm could reach and disturb them even in their sandy hills; while the pacha could not overlook the fact that the effort would cost him the lives of his best troops, and that the plunder of their miserable tents would bring him neither glory nor profit. Thus the desert was still the possession of the Bedouins; they still claimed a tribute from the stranger for permission to pass over it; and this induced the pacha annually to invite the sheik of Akaba to Cairo, to conduct the caravan for Mecca, knowing that if not so invited, even the sacred character of the pilgrims would not protect them in passing through his country.

I found him about a mile outside the walls near the tombs of the califs, on the edge of the desert, sitting on a mat under his tent, and surrounded by a dozen of his swarthy tribe, armed with long sabres, pistols, and matchlock guns. The sheik was a short stout man, of the darkest shade of bronze; his eye keen, roving, and unsettled; his teeth white; and his skin so dried up and withered that it seemed cleaving to his very bones. At the first glance, I did not like his face; it wanted frankness, and even boldness; and I thought at the time, that if I had met him alone in the desert, I should not have trusted him. He received me with great civility, while his companions rose, gave me their low salaam, seated me on the mat beside him, and then resumed their own cross-legged attitude, with less noise than would have attended the entrance of a gentleman into a drawing-room on a morning call. All stared at me with silent gravity; and the sheik, though desert born and bred, with an air and manner that showed him familiar with the usages of good society in Cairo, took the pipe from his mouth and handed it to me.

All being seated, the consul's janizary, who had come with me, opened the divan; but he had scarcely begun to declare my object before the whole group, sheik and all, apparently surprised out of their habitual phlegm, cried out together that they were ready to escort me,

and to defend me with their lives against every danger. I said a few words, and they became clamorous in their assurances of the great friendship they had conceived for me; that life was nothing in my service; that they would sleep in my tent, guard and watch me by day and night, and, in short, that they would be my father, mother, sister, and brother, and all my relations, in the desert; and the final assurance was, that it would not be possible to travel that road except under their protection. I then began to inquire the terms, when, as before, all spoke at once; some fixed one price, some another, and for bucksheesh whatever I pleased. I did not like this wild and noisy negotiation. I knew that I must make great allowance for the extravagant language of the Arabs; but there seemed to be an eagerness to get me among them, which, in my eyes, was rather ominous of bad intentions. They were known to be a lawless people, and distinguished, even among their desert brethren, as a wild and savage tribe. And these were the people with whom I was negotiating to meet in the desert, at the little fortress of Akaba, at the eastern extremity of the Red Sea; into whose hands I was to place myself, and from whom I was to expect protection against greater dangers.

My interview with them was not very satisfactory, and, wishing to talk the matter over more quietly with the sheik alone, I asked him to go with me to my hotel; whereupon the whole group started up at once, and, some on foot, and others on dromedaries or on horseback, prepared to follow. This did not suit me, and the sheik contrived to get rid of all except one, his principal and constant attendant, "his black," as he was called. He followed me on horseback; and when he came up into my room, it was, perhaps, the first time in his life that he had ever been under a roof. As an instance of his simplicity and ignorance, it may be worth mentioning here, although I did not know it until we were on the point of separating after our journey was completed, that he mistook the consul's janizary, who wore a dashing red Turkish dress, sword, &c., for an officer of the pacha's household, and, consequently, had always looked upon me as specially recommended to him by the pacha. I could not come to any definite understanding with him. The precise service that I required of him was to conduct me from Akaba to Hebron, through the land of Edom, diverging to visit the excavated city of Petra, a journey of about ten days. I could not get him to name any sum as compensation for this service; he told me that he would conduct me for nothing, that I might give him what I pleased, &c. When I first spoke about the terms at his tent, he had said twelve dollars a camel, and, as it seemed to me, he had named this sum without the least calculation, as the first that happened to occur to him. I now referred him to this price, which he had probably forgotten, hoping to establish it as a sort of basis upon which to negotiate; but when his attention was called to it, he insisted upon the twelve dollars, and something more for bucksheesh. A fair price for this service would have been about two dollars. I told him this did not satisfy me; that I wanted every thing definitely arranged beforehand, and that I would not give the enormous price he asked, and bucksheesh in proportion; but I could do nothing with him: he listened with perfect coolness; and taking his pipe from his mouth, in answer to every thing I said, told me to come to him at Akaba, come to him at his tent; he had plenty of camels, and would conduct me without any reward, or I might give him what I pleased. We parted without coming to an arrangement. He offered to send one of his men to conduct me from Mount Sinai to Akaba; but as something might occur to prevent my going, I would not take him. He gave me, however, his signet, which he told me every Bedouin on that route knew and would respect, and writing his name under it according to the sound, I repeated it over and over, until I could pronounce it intelligibly, and treasured it up as a password for the desert.

The next morning, under pretence that I went to see the starting of the great caravan of pilgrims for Mecca,

I rode out to the sheik; and telling him that, if I came to him, I should come destitute of every thing, and he must have some good tobacco for me, I slipped a couple of gold pieces into his hand, and, without any further remark, left the question of my going undetermined. It was worth my ride to see the departure of the caravan. It consisted of more than 30,000 pilgrims, who had come from the shores of the Caspian, the extremities of Persia, and the confines of Africa; and having assembled, according to usage for hundreds of years, at Cairo as a central point, the whole mass was getting in motion for a pilgrimage of fifty days, through dreary sands, to the tomb of the Prophet.

Accustomed as I was to associate the idea of order and decorum with the observance of all rites and duties of religion, I could not but feel surprised at the noise, tumult, and confusion, the strifes and battles, of these pilgrim-travellers. If I had met them in the desert after their line of march was formed, it would have been an imposing spectacle, and comparatively easy to describe; but here, as far as the eye could reach, they were scattered over the sandy plain; 30,000 people, with probably 20,000 camels and dromedaries, men, women, and children, beasts and baggage, all commingled in a confused mass that seemed hopelessly inextricable. Some had not yet struck their tents, some were making coffee, some smoking, some cooking, some eating, many shouting and cursing, others on their knees praying, and others, again, hurrying on to join the long moving stream that already extended several miles into the desert.

It is a vulgar prejudice the belief that women are not admitted into the heaven of Mahommed. It is true that the cunning Prophet, in order not to disturb the joyful serenity with which his followers look forward to their promised heaven, has not given to women any fixed position there, and the pious Mussulman, although blessed with the lawful complement of four wives, is not bound to see among his seventy-two black-eyed hours the faces of his companions upon earth; but the women are not utterly cast out; they are deemed to have souls, and entitled to a heaven of their own; and it may be, too, that their visions of futurity are not less bright, for that there is a mystery to be unravelled beyond the grave, and they are not doomed to eternal companionship with their earthly lords. In the wildest, rudest scene where woman appears at all, there is a sweet and undefinable charm; and their appearance among the pilgrims, the care with which they shrouded themselves from every eye, their long thick veils, and their tents or four-post beds, with curtains of red silk, fastened down all around and secured on the high backs of camels, were the most striking objects in the caravan. Next to them in interest were the miserable figures of the marabouts, santons, or Arab saints, having only a scanty covering of rags over their shoulders, and the rest of their bodies completely naked, yet strutting about as if clothed in purple and fine linen; and setting off utterly destitute of every thing, for a journey of months across the desert, safely trusting to that open-handed charity which forms so conspicuous an item in the list of Mussulman virtues. But the object of universal interest was the great box containing the presents and decorations for the tomb of the Prophet. The camel which bears this sacred burden is adorned with banners and rich housings, is watched and tended with pious care, and when his journey is ended, no meaner load can touch his back; he has filled the measure of a camel's glory, and lives and dies respected by all good Mussulmans.

In the evening, being the last of my stay in Cairo, I heard that Mr Linant, the companion of M. Laborde on his visit to Petra, had arrived at Alexandria, and, with Mr Gliddon, went to see him. Mr L. is one of the many French emigrés driven from their native soil by political convulsions, and who have risen to distinction in foreign lands by military talents, and the force of that restless energy so peculiar to his countrymen. Many years before, he had thrown himself into the Arabian Desert, where he had become so much beloved by the Bedouins, that on the occasion of a dispute between two contend-

ing claimants, the customs of their tribe were waived, the pretensions of the rivals set aside, and he was elected sheik of Mount Sinai, and invested with the flattering name, which he retains to this day, of Abdel Hag, or the slave of truth. Notwithstanding his desert rank and dignity, he received me with a politeness which savoured of the salons of Paris, and encouraged me in my intention of visiting Petra, assuring me that it would abundantly repay me for all the difficulties attending it; in fact, he spoke lightly of these, although I afterwards found that his acquaintance with the language, his high standing among the Bedouins, and his lavish distribution of money and presents, had removed or diminished obstacles which, to a stranger without these advantages, were by no means of a trifling nature. In addition to much general advice, he counselled me particularly to wear the Turkish or Arab dress, and to get a letter from the Habeeb Effendi to the governor of the little fortress of Akaba. Mr Linant has been twenty years in Egypt, and is now a bey in the pacha's service; and that very afternoon, after a long interview, had received orders from the great reformer to make a survey of the pyramids, for the purpose of deciding which of those gigantic monuments, after having been respected by all preceding tyrants for 3000 years, should now be demolished for the illustrious object of yielding material for a petty fortress, or scarcely more useful and important bridge.

Early in the morning I went into the bazaars, and fitted out Paul and myself with the necessary dresses. Paul was soon equipped with the common Arab dress, the blue cotton shirt, tarbouch, and Bedouin shoes. A native of Malta, he was very probably of Arab descent in part, and his dark complexion and long black beard would enable him readily to pass for one born under the sun of Egypt. As for myself, I could not look the swarthy Arab of the desert, and the dress of the Turkish houaja or gentleman, with the necessary arms and equipments, was very expensive; so I provided myself with the unpretending and respectable costume of a Cairo merchant; a long red silk gown, with a black abbas of camel's hair over it; red tarbouch, with a green and yellow striped handkerchief rolled round it as a turban; white trousers, large red shoes over yellow slippers, blue sash, sword, and a pair of large Turkish pistols.

Having finished my purchases in the bazaars, I returned to my hotel ready to set out, and found the dromedaries, camels, and guides, and expected to find the letter for the governor of Akaba, which, at the suggestion of Mr Linant, I had requested Mr Gliddon to procure for me. I now learned, however, from that gentleman, that, to avoid delay, it would be better to go myself, first sending my caravan outside the gate, and representing to the minister that I was actually waiting for the letter, in which case he would probably give it to me immediately. I accordingly sent Paul with my little caravan to wait for me at the tombs of the califs, and, attended by the consul's janizary, rode up to the citadel, and stopped at the door of the governor's palace.

The reader may remember that, on my first visit to his excellency, I saw a man whipped; this time I saw one bastinadoed. I had heard much of this, a punishment existing, I believe, only in the East, but I had never seen it inflicted before, and hope I never shall see it again. As on the former occasion, I found the little governor standing at one end of the large hall of entrance, munching, and trying causes. A crowd was gathered around, and before him was a poor Arab, pleading and beseeching most piteously, while the big tears were rolling down his cheeks; near him was a man whose resolute and somewhat angry expression marked him as the accuser, seeking vengeance rather than justice. Suddenly the governor made a gentle movement with his hand; all noise ceased; all stretched their necks and turned their eager eyes towards him; the accused cut short his crying, and stood with his mouth wide open, and his eyes fixed upon the governor. The latter spoke a few words in a very low voice, to me of course unintelligible, and, indeed, scarcely audible, but they seemed to fall upon the quick ears of the culprit like bolts of

thunder; the agony of suspense was over, and, without a word or look, he laid himself down on his face at the feet of the governor. A space was immediately cleared around; a man on each side took him by the hand, and, stretching out his arms, knelt upon and held them down, while another seated himself across his neck and shoulders. Thus nailed to the ground, the poor fellow, knowing that there was no chance of escape, threw up his feet from the knee-joint, so as to present the soles in a horizontal position. Two men came forward with a pair of long stout bars of wood, attached together by a cord, between which they placed the feet, drawing them together with the cord so as to fix them in their horizontal position, and leave the whole flat surface exposed to the full force of the blow. In the meantime two strong Turks were standing ready, one at each side, armed with long whips resembling our common cowskin, but longer and thicker, and made of the tough hide of the hippopotamus. While the occupation of the judge was suspended by these preparations, the janizary had presented the consul's letter. My sensibilities are not particularly acute, but they yielded in this instance. I had watched all the preliminary arrangements, nerv- ing myself for what was to come; but when I heard the scourge whizzing through the air, and, when the first blow fell upon the naked feet, saw the convulsive movements of the body, and heard the first loud piercing shriek, I could stand it no longer; I broke through the crowd, forgetting the governor and every thing else, except the agonising sounds from which I was escaping; but the janizary followed close at my heels, and, laying his hand upon my arm, hauled me back to the governor. If I had consulted merely the impulse of feeling, I should have consigned him, and the governor, and the whole nation of Turks, to the lower regions; but it was all-important not to offend this summary dispenser of justice, and I never made a greater sacrifice of feeling to expediency than when I re-entered his presence. The shrieks of the unhappy criminal were ringing through the chamber; but the governor received me with as calm a smile as if he had been sitting on his own divan, listening to the strains of some pleasant music, while I stood with my teeth clenched, and felt the hot breath of the victim, and heard the whizzing of the accursed whip, as it fell again and again upon his bleeding feet. I have heard men cry out in agony when the sea was raging, and the drowning man, rising for the last time upon the mountain waves, turned his imploring arms towards us, and with his dying breath called in vain for help; but I never heard such heart-rending sounds as those from the poor hastinadored wretch before me. I thought the governor would never make an end of reading the letter, when the scribe handed it to him for his signature, although it contained but half a dozen lines; he fumbled in his pocket for his seal, and dipped it in the ink; the impression did not suit him, and he made another; and, after a delay that seemed to me eternal, employed in folding it, handed it to me with a most gracious smile. I am sure I grinned horribly in return; and almost snatching the letter just as the last blow fell, I turned to hasten from the scene. The poor scourged wretch was silent; he had found relief in insensibility; I cast one look upon the senseless body, and saw the feet laid open in gashes, and the blood streaming down the legs. At that moment the bars were taken away, and the mangled feet fell like lead upon the floor. I had to work my way through the crowd, and before I could escape, I saw the poor fellow revive, and by the first natural impulse rise upon his feet, but fall again as if he had stepped upon red-hot irons. He crawled upon his hands and knees to the door of the hall, and here it was most grateful to see that the poor miserable, mangled, and degraded Arab, yet had friends whose hearts yearned towards him; they took him in their arms, and carried him away.

I was sick of Cairo, and in a right humour to bid farewell to cities, with all their artificial laws, their crimes and punishments, and all the varied shades of inhumanity from man to man, and in a few minutes I

was beyond the gate, and galloping away to join my companions in the desert. At the tombs of the califs I found Paul with my caravan; but I had not yet escaped the stormy passions of men. With the cries of the poor Arab still ringing in my ears, I was greeted with a furious quarrel, arising from the apportionment of the money I had paid my guides. I was in no humour to interfere, and, mounting my dromedary, and leaving Paul to arrange the affair with them as he best could, I rode on alone.

It was a journey of no ordinary interest on which I was now beginning my lonely way. I had travelled in Italy, among the mountains of Greece, the plains of Turkey, the wild steppes of Russia, and the plains of Poland, but neither of these afforded half the material for curious expectation that my journey through the desert promised. After an interval of 4000 years, I was about to pursue the devious path of the children of Israel, when they took up the bones of Joseph and fled before the anger of Pharaoh, among the mountain passes of Sinai, and through that great and terrible desert which shut them from the Land of Promise. I rode on in silence and alone for nearly two hours, and just as the sun was sinking behind the dark mountains of Mokkattam, halted to wait for my little caravan; and I pitched my tent for the first night in the desert, with the door opening to the distant land of Goshen.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

The Caravan.—Arab Political Economy.—A projected Railroad.—The Sirocco.—Suez.—A travelled Englishman.—The Red Sea.—Embarkation of Pilgrims.—A Misadventure.—Scriptural Localities.—The bitter Fountain.

THE arrangements for my journey as far as Mount Sinai had been made by Mr Gliddon. It was necessary to have as my guides some of the Bedouins from around the mountains, and he had procured one known to him, a man in whom I could place the most implicit confidence; and possessing another not less powerful recommendation, in the fact that he had been with Messrs Linant and Laborde to Petra. My caravan consisted of eight camels and dromedaries, and, as guide and camel-drivers, three young Bedouins from nineteen to twenty-two years old. My tent was the common tent of the Egyptian soldiers, bought at the government factory, easily carried, and as easily pitched; my bedding was a mattress and coverlet; and I had, moreover, a couple of boxes, about eighteen inches high, and the width of my mattress, filled with eatables, which I carried slung over the back of a camel, one upon each side, and at night, by the addition of two pieces of board, converted into a bedstead. My store of provisions consisted of bread, biscuit, rice, maccaroni, tea, coffee, dried apricots, oranges, a roasted leg of mutton, and two of the largest skins containing the filtered water of the Nile.

In the evening, while we were sitting around a fire, I inquired the cause of the quarrel from which I had escaped, and this led Toualeb into an explanation of some of the customs of the Bedouins. There exists among them that community of interest and property for which radicals and visionaries contend in civilised society. The property of the tribe is to a great extent common, and their earnings, or the profits of their labour, are shared among the whole. A Bedouin's wives are his own; and as the chastity of women is guarded by the most sanguinary laws, his children are generally his own; his tent, also, and one or two camels, are his, and the rest belongs to his tribe. The practical operation of this law is not attended with any great difficulty; for, in general, the *rest*, or that which belongs to the tribe, is nothing; there are no hoarded treasures, no coffers of wealth, the bequest of ancestors, or the gains of enterprise and industry, to excite the cupidity of the avaricious. Poor is the Bedouin born, and poor he dies, and his condition is more than usually prosperous when his poverty does not lead him to the shedding of blood.

I did not expect to learn lessons of political economy

among the Bedouin Arabs; but in the commencement of my journey with them, I found the embarrassment and evil of trammelling individual enterprise and industry. The consul had applied to Toualeb. Toualeb was obliged to propose the thing to such of his tribe as were then in Cairo, and all had a right to participate. The consequence was, that when we were ready to move, instead of five there were a dozen camels and dromedaries, and their several owners were the men whom I had left wrangling at the tombs of the califs; and even when it was ascertained that only five were wanted, still three supernumeraries were sent, that all might be engaged in the work. In countries where the labour of man and beast has a per diem value, the loss of the labour of three or four men and three or four camels would be counted; but in the East, time and labour have no value.

I do not mean to go into any dissertations on the character of the Bedouins, and shall merely refer to such traits as fell under my observation, and were developed by circumstances. While I was eating my evening meal, and talking with Toualeb, the three young camel-drivers sat at the door of the tent, leaning on their hands, and looking at me. I at first did not pay much attention to them, but it soon struck me as singular that they did not prepare their own meal; and, noticing them more attentively, I thought they were not looking so much at me as at the 'smoking pilau before me. I asked them why they did not eat their supper, and they told me that their masters had sent them away without a particle of any thing to eat. I was exceedingly vexed at this, inasmuch as it showed that I had four mouths to feed more than I had prepared for; no trifling matter on a journey in the desert, and one which Paul, as my quartermaster, said it was utterly impossible to accomplish. I at first told one of them to mount my dromedary and go back to Cairo, assuring him that, if he did not return before daylight, I would follow and have both him and his master bastinadoed; but before he had mounted, I changed my mind. I hated all returns and delays, and, smothering my wrath, told Paul to give them some rice and biscuit, at the risk of being obliged to come down to Arab bread myself. And so ended the first day of my journey.

Early in the morning we began our march, with our faces towards the rising sun. Before mid-day we were in as perfect a desert as if we were removed thousands of miles from the habitations of men; behind, before, and around us, was one wide expanse of level and arid sands, although we were as yet not more than eight hours from the crowded city of Cairo; and I might already cry out, in the spirit of Neikomm's famous cavatina, "The sea, the sea, the open sea!" Indeed, in all the travelling in the East nothing strikes one more forcibly than the quick transitions from the noise of cities to the stillness of the unpeopled waste.

It does, indeed, appear remarkable that, within so short a distance from Cairo, a city of so great antiquity and large population, and on a road which we know to have been travelled more than 4000 years, and which at this day is the principal route to the Red Sea, there is so little travelling. During the whole day we did not meet more than a dozen Arabs, with perhaps twenty or thirty camels. But a mighty change will soon be made in this particular. A railroad is about to be constructed across the desert, over the track followed by the children of Israel to the Red Sea. The pacha had already ordered iron from England for the purpose when I was in Egypt, and there is no doubt of its practicability, being only a distance of eighty miles over a dead level; but whether it will ever be finished, or whether, if finished, it will pay the expense, is much more questionable. Indeed, the better opinion is, that the pacha does it merely to bolster up his reputation in Europe as a reformer; that he has begun without calculating the costs; and that he will get tired and abandon it before it is half completed. It may be, however, that the reader will one day be hurried by a steam engine over the route which I was now crossing at the slow pace of a camel;

and when that day comes, all the excitement and wonder of a journey in the desert will be over. There will be no more pitching of tents, or sleeping under the starry firmament, surrounded by Arabs and camels; no more carrying provisions, and no danger of dying of thirst; all will be reduced to the systematic tameness of a cotton-factory, and the wild Arab will retire farther into the heart of the desert, shunning, like our native Indians, the faces of strangers, and following for ever the footsteps of his wandering ancestors. Blessed be my fortune, improvement had not yet actually begun its march.

In the course of the night I was suddenly awakened by a loud noise like the flapping of sails. A high wind had risen, and my tent not being well secured, it had turned over, so that the wind got under it and carried it away. In the civilised world, we often hear of reverses of fortune which reduce a man to such a state that he has not a roof to cover him; but few are ever deprived of the protection of their roof in so summary a way as this, and it is but fair to add that few have ever got it back so expeditiously. I opened my eyes upon the stars, and saw my house fleeing from me. Paul and I were on our feet in a moment, and gave chase, and with the assistance of our Arabs, brought it back and planted it again; I thought of the prudent Kentuckian who tied his house to a stump to keep it from being blown away, and would have done the same thing if I could have found a stump; but tree or stump in the desert there is none.

I was not disturbed again during the night; but the wind continued to increase, and towards morning and all the next day blew with great violence. It was the dread sirocco, the wind that has for ever continued to blow over the desert, carrying with it the fine particles of sand which, by the continued action of centuries, have buried the monuments, the temples, and the cities of Egypt; the sirocco, always disagreeable and dangerous, and sometimes, if the reports of travellers be true, suffocating and burying whole caravans of men and camels. Fortunately for me, it was blowing upon my back; but still it was necessary to draw my Arab cloak close over my head; and even then the particles of sand found their way within, so that my eyes were soon filled with them. This was very far from being one of the worst siroccos; but the sun was obscured, the atmosphere was a perfect cloud of sand, and the tracks were so completely obliterated, that a little after mid-day we were obliged to stop and take shelter under the lee of a hillock of sand; occasionally we had met caravans coming upon us through the thick clouds of sand, the Arabs riding with their backs to the heads of their camels, and their faces covered, so that not a single feature could be seen.

By the third morning the wind had somewhat abated, but the sand had become so scattered that not a single track could be seen. I was forcibly reminded of a circumstance related to me by Mr Waghorn. A short time before I met him at Cairo, in making a hurried march from Suez, with an Arab unaccustomed to the desert, he encamped about mid-way, and starting two hours before daylight, continued travelling, half asleep, upon his dromedary, until it happened to strike him that the sun had risen in the wrong place, and was then shining in his face instead of warming his back; he had been more than three hours retracing his steps to Suez. If I had been alone this morning, I might very easily have fallen into the same or a worse error. The prospect before me was precisely the same, turn which way I would; and if I had been left to myself, I might have wandered as long as the children of Israel in search of the Promised Land, before I should have arrived at the gate of Suez.

We soon came in sight of the principal, perhaps the only object, which a stranger would mark in the route from Cairo to Suez. It is a large palm-tree, standing alone about half way across, the only green and living thing on that expanse of barrenness. We saw it two or three hours; and moving with the slow pace of our camels, it seemed as if we should never reach it; and then, again, as if we should never leave it behind

us. A journey in the desert is so barren of incident, that wayfarers note the smallest circumstances, and our relative distance from the palm-tree, or half-way house, furnished occupation for a great part of the day.

At about twelve o'clock the next day we caught the first view of the Red Sea, rolling between the dark mountains of Egypt and Arabia, as in the days of Pharaoh and Moses. In an hour more we came in sight of Suez, a low dark spot on the shore, above the commencement of the chains of mountains on each side. About two hours before arriving, we passed, at a little distance on the left, a large khan, on the direct road to Akaba, built by the pacha as a stopping-place for the pilgrims on their way to Mecca. Three days before, more than 30,000 pilgrims had halted in and around it, but now not a living being was to be seen. About half an hour on the hither side of Suez we came to a well, where, for the first time since we left Cairo, we watered our camels.

Even among the miserable cities of Turkey and Egypt, few present so wretched an appearance as Suez. Standing on the borders of the desert, and on the shore of the sea, with bad and unwholesome water, not a blade of grass growing around it, and dependent upon Cairo for the food that supports its inhabitants, it sustains a poor existence by the trade of the great caravan for Mecca, and the small commerce between the ports of Cosseir, Djiddah, and Moeha. A new project has lately been attempted here, which, it might be supposed, would have a tendency to regenerate the fallen city. The route to India by the Red Sea is in the full tide of successful experiment; the English flag is often seen waving in the harbour, and about once in two months an English steamer arrives from Bombay; but even the clatter of a steam-boat is unable to infuse life into its sluggish population.

The gate was open, a single soldier was lying on a mat basking in the sun, his musket gleaming brightly by his side, and a single cannon projected over the wall, frowning with Tom Thumb greatness upon the stranger entering the city. Passing the gate, we found ourselves within a large open space crowded with pilgrims. Even the small space enclosed by the walls was not more than one quarter occupied by buildings, and these few were at the farthest extremity. The whole intermediate area was occupied by pilgrims, scattered about in every imaginable position and occupation, who stared at me as I passed among them in my European dress, and noticed me according to their various humours, some greeting me with a smile, some with a low and respectful salaam, and others with the black look and ferocious scowl of the bigoted and Frank-detesting Mussulmans.

We stopped in the square in front of the harbour, and inquired for an Englishman, the agent of Mr Waghorn, to whom I had a letter, and from whom I hoped to obtain a bed; but he had arrived only two days before, and I doubt whether he had one for himself. He did all he could for me, but that was very little. I remember one thing about him, which is characteristic of a class of European residents in Egypt; he had lived fourteen years between Alexandria and Cairo, and had never been in the desert before, and talked as if he had made a voyage to Babylon or Bagdad. He had provided himself with almost every thing that his English notions of comfort could suggest, and with these he talked of his three days' journey in the desert as a thing to be done but once in a man's life. I ought not to be harsh on him, however, for he was as kind as he could be to me, and in one thing I felt very sensibly the benefit of his kindness. By bad management, my water-skins, instead of being old and seasoned, were entirely new; the second day out the water was injured, and the third it was not drinkable. I did not suffer so much as Paul and the Arabs did, having fallen into the habit of drinking but little, and assuaging my thirst with an orange; but I suffered from a cause much worse; my eyes were badly inflamed, and the water was so much impregnated with the noxious absorption from the leather, that it destroyed the effect of the powders which I diluted

in it, and aggravated instead of relieving the inflammation. The Englishman had used kegs made for the purpose, and had more than a kegful left, which he insisted on my taking. One can hardly imagine that the giving or receiving a keg of water should be a matter of any moment; but, much as I wanted it, indeed, all-important as it was to me for the rest of my journey, I hesitated to deprive him of it. Before going, however, I filled one of my skins, and counted it at the time one of the most valuable presents I had ever received. He had been in the desert, too, the same day that we suffered from the sirocco, and his eyes were in a worse condition than mine.

The first thing he did was to find me a place to pass the night in. Directly opposite the open space was a large roquet or stone building, containing a ground and upper floor, and open in the centre, forming a hollow square. The whole building was divided by partitions into perhaps a hundred apartments, and every one of these and the open square outside were filled with pilgrims. The apartments consisted merely of a floor, roof, door, and walls, and sometimes one or the other of these requisites was wanting, and its deficiency supplied by the excess of another. My room was in one corner in the second story, and had a most unnecessary and uncomfortable proportion of windows; but I had no choice. I regretted that I had not pitched my tent outside the walls; but, calling to my assistance the ingenuity and contriving spirit of my country, fastened it up as a screen to keep the wind from coming upon me too severely, and walked out to see the little that was to be seen of Suez.

I had soon made a tour of the town; and having performed this duty, I hurried where my thoughts and feelings had long been carrying me, to the shore of the sea. Half a dozen vessels of some eighty or a hundred tons, sharp built, with tall spars for latteen sails, high poops, and strangely painted, resembling the ancient ships of war, or the Turkish corsair or Arab pirate of modern days, were riding at anchor in the harbour, waiting to take on board the thousands of pilgrims who were all around me. I followed the shore till I had turned the walls, and was entirely alone. I sat down under the wall, where I had an extensive view down the sea, and saw the place where the waters divided for the passage of the Israelites. Two hours I strolled along the shore, and when the sun was sinking behind the dark mountains of Mokattam, I was bathing my feet in the waters of the coral sea.

Early in the morning I went out on the balcony, and looking down into the open square, filled with groups of pilgrims, male and female, sleeping on the bare ground, in all manner of attitudes, I saw directly under me a dead Tartar. He had died during the night, his death-bed a single plank, and he was lying in the sheepskin dress which he wore when living. Two friends from the frozen regions of the north, companions in his long pilgrimage, were sitting on the ground preparing their morning coffee, and my Arabs were sleeping by his side, unconscious that but a few feet from them, during the stillness of the night, an immortal spirit had been called away. I gazed long and steadfastly upon the face of the dead Tartar, and moralised very solemnly — indeed, painfully — upon the imaginary incidents which my fancy summoned up in connection with his fate. Nor was the possibility of my own death, among strangers in a distant land, the least prominent or least saddening portion of my reverie.

I ascribe this unconformable moping-fit to my exposing myself before breakfast. The stomach must be fortified, or force, moral and physical, is gone, and melancholy and blue devils are the inevitable consequence. After breakfast I was another creature. My acute sensibility, my tender sympathies, were gone; and when I went out again, I looked upon the body of the dead Tartar with the utmost indifference.

The pilgrims were now nearly all stirring, and the square was all in motion. The balcony, and, indeed, every part of the old roquet, were filled with the better



class of pilgrims, principally Turks, the lords of the land; and in an apartment opening on the balcony, immediately next to mine, sat a beautiful Circassian, with the regular features and brilliant complexion of her country. By her side were two lovely children, fair and beautiful as their mother. Her face was completely uncovered, for she did not know that a stranger was gazing on her, and, turning from the black visages around him to her fair and lovely face, was revelling in recollections of the beauties of his native land. And lo, the virtue of a breakfast! I, that by looking upon a dead Tartar had buried myself in the deserts of Arabia, written my epitaph, and cried over my own grave, was now ready to break a lance with a Turk to rob him of his wife.

The balcony and staircase were thronged with pilgrims, many still asleep, so that I was obliged to step over their bodies in going down, and out of doors the case was much the same. At home I should have thought it a peculiarly interesting circumstance to join a caravan of Mussulmans on their pilgrimage to Mecca; but long before I had seen them start from the gate of Cairo, my feelings were essentially changed. I had hired my caravan for Mount Sinai; but feeling rather weak, and wishing to save myself six days' journey in the desert, I endeavoured to hire a boat to go down the Red Sea to Tor, supposed to be the Elim, or place of palm-trees, mentioned in the Exodus of the Israelites, and only two days' journey from Mount Sinai. The boats were all taken by the pilgrims, and these holy travellers were packed together as closely as sheep on board one of our North River sloops for the New York market. They were a filthy set, many of them probably not changing their clothes from the time they left their homes until they reached the tomb of the Prophet. I would rather not have travelled with them; but as it was my only way of going down the sea, I applied to an Arab to hire a certain portion of space on the deck of a boat for myself and servant; but he advised me not to think of such a thing. He told me if I hired and paid for such a space, the pilgrims would certainly encroach upon me; that they would beg, and borrow, and at last rob me; and, above all, that they were bigoted fanatics, and, if a storm occurred, would very likely throw me overboard. With this character of his brethren from a true believer, I abandoned the idea of going by sea, and that the more readily, as his account was perfectly consistent with what I had before heard of the pilgrims.

The scene itself did not sustain the high and holy character of a pilgrimage. As I said before, all were abominably filthy; some were sitting around a great dish of pilau, thrusting their hands in it up to the knuckles, squeezing the boiled rice, and throwing back their heads as they crammed the huge morsel down their throats; others packing up their merchandise, or carrying water-skins, or whetting their sabres; others wrangling for a few paras; and in one place was an Arab butcher, bare-legged, and naked from the waist upward, with his hands, breast, and face smeared with blood, leaning over the body of a slaughtered camel, brandishing an axe, and chopping off huge pieces of meat for the surrounding pilgrims. A little off from the shore a large party were embarking on board a small boat to go down to their vessel, which was lying at the mouth of the harbour; they were wading up to their middle, every one with something on his shoulders or above his head. Thirty or forty had already got on board, and as many more were trying to do the same; but the boat was already full. A loud wrangling commenced, succeeded by clenching, throttling, splashing in the water, and running to the shore. I saw bright swords gleaming in the air, heard the ominous click of a pistol, and in one moment more blood would have been shed, but for a Turkish aga, who had been watching the scene from the governor's balcony, and now dashing in among them with a huge silver-headed mace, and laying about him right and left, brought the turbulent pilgrims to a condition more suited to their sacred character.

At about nine o'clock I sent off my camels to go round

the head of the gulf, intending to cross over in a boat and meet them. At the moment they left the roquet, two friends were holding up a quilt before the body of the dead Tartar, while a third was within, washing and preparing it for burial. At twelve o'clock I got on board my boat; she was, like the others, sharp built, with a high poop and tall lateen sails, and, for the first time in all my travelling, I began to think a voyage better than a journey. In addition to the greater ease and pleasantness, there was something new and exciting in the passage of the Red Sea; and we had hardly given our large lateen sails to the wind, before I began to talk with the rais about carrying me down to Tor; but he told me the boat was too small for such a voyage, and money would not induce him to attempt it.

Late in the afternoon we landed on the opposite side, on the most sacred spot connected with the wanderings of the Israelites, where they rose from the dry bed of the sea, and, at the command of Moses, the divided waters rushed together, overwhelming Pharaoh and his chariots, and the whole host of Egypt. With the devotion of a pious pilgrim, I picked up a shell, and put it in my pocket as a memorial of the place; and then Paul and I, mounting the dromedaries which my guide had brought down to the shore in readiness, rode to a grove of palm-trees, shading a fountain of bad water, called Ayoun Monssa, or the Fountain of Moses. I was riding carelessly along, looking behind me towards the sea, and had almost reached the grove of palm-trees, when a large flock of crows flew out, and my dromedary, frightened with their sudden whizzing, started back and threw me twenty feet over his head, completely clear of his long neck, and left me sprawling in the sand. It was a mercy I did not finish my wanderings where the children of Israel began theirs; but I saved my head at the expense of my hands, which sank in the loose soil up to the wrist, and bore the marks for more than two months afterwards. I seated myself where I fell, and, as the sun was just dipping below the horizon, told Paul to pitch the tent, with the door towards the place of the miraculous passage. I shall never forget that sunset scene, and it is the last I shall inflict upon the reader. I was sitting on the very spot where the chosen people of God, after walking over the dry bed of the sea, stopped to behold the divided waters returning to their place and swallowing up the host of the pursuers. The mountains on the other side looked dark and portentous, as if proud and conscious witnesses of the mighty miracle, while the sun, descending slowly behind them, long after it had disappeared, left a reflected brightness which illumined with an almost supernatural light the dark surface of the water.

But to return to the Fountain of Moses. I am aware that there is some dispute as to the precise spot where Moses crossed; but having no time for scepticism on such matters, I began by making up my mind that this was the place, and then looked around to see whether, according to the account given in the Bible, the face of the country and the natural landmarks did not sustain my opinion. I remember I looked up to the head of the gulf, where Suez or Kolsum now stands, and saw that almost to the very head of the gulf there was a high range of mountains which it would be necessary to cross, an undertaking which it would have been physically impossible for 600,000 people, men, women, and children, to accomplish, with a hostile army pursuing them. At Suez, Moses could not have been hemmed in as he was; he could go off into the Syrian Desert, or, unless the sea has greatly changed since that time, round the head of the gulf. But here, directly opposite where I sat, was an opening in the mountains, making a clear passage from the desert to the shore of the sea. It is admitted that, from the earliest history of the country, there was a caravan route from the Ramesh of the Pharaohs to this spot, and it was perfectly clear to my mind that, if the account be true at all, Moses had taken that route; that it was directly opposite me, between the two mountains, where he had come down with his multitude to the shore, and that it was there

he had found himself hemmed in, in the manner described in the Bible, with the sea before him, and the army of Pharaoh in his rear; it was there he had stretched out his hand and divided the waters; and probably, on the very spot where I sat, the children of Israel had kneeled upon the sands to offer thanks to God for his miraculous interposition. The distance, too, was in confirmation of this opinion. It was about twenty miles across; the distance which that immense multitude, with their necessary baggage, could have passed in the space of time (a night) mentioned in the Bible. Besides my own judgment and conclusions, I had authority on the spot, in my Bedouin Toualeb, who talked of it with as much certainty as if he had seen it himself; and, by the waning light of the moon, pointed out the metes and bounds according to the tradition received from his fathers. "And even yet," said he, "on a still evening like this, or sometimes when the sea is raging, the ghosts of the departed Egyptians are seen walking upon the waters; and once, when, after a long day's journey, I lay down with my camels on this very spot, I saw the ghost of Pharaoh himself, with the crown upon his head, flying with his chariot and horses over the face of the deep; and even to this day the Arab diving for coral, brings up fragments of swords, broken helmets, or chariot-wheels, swallowed up with the host of Egypt."

Early the next morning we resumed our journey, and travelled several hours along a sandy valley, diverging slowly from the sea, and approaching the mountains on our left. The day's journey was barren of incident, though not void of interest. We met only one small caravan of Bedouins, with their empty sacks, like the children of Jacob of old, journeying from a land of famine to a land of plenty. From time to time we passed the bones of a camel bleaching on the sand, and once the body of one just dead, his eyes already picked out, and their sockets hollow to the brain. A huge vulture was standing over him, with his long talons fastened in the entrails, his beak and his whole head stained with blood. I drove the horrid bird away; but before I had got out of sight, he had again fastened on his prey.

The third day we started at seven o'clock, and, after three hours' journeying, entered among the mountains of Sinai. The scene was now entirely changed in character; the level expanse of the sandy desert for the wild and rugged mountain-pass. At eleven we came to the fountain of Marah, supposed to be that at which the Israelites rested after their three days' journey from the Red Sea. There is some uncertainty as to the particulars of this journey; the print of their footsteps did not long remain in the shifting sands; their descendants have long been strangers in the land; and tradition but imperfectly supplies the want of more accurate and enduring records. Of the general fact there is no doubt; no other road from the Red Sea to Mount Sinai has existed since the days of Moses, and there is no part of the world where the face of nature and the natural land-marks have remained so totally unchanged. Then, as now, it was a barren mountainous region, bare of verdure, and destitute of streams of living water; so that the Almighty was obliged to sustain his people with manna from heaven, and water from the rocks.

But travellers have questioned whether this is the fountain of Marah. The Bible account is simple and brief—"They went three days into the wilderness, and found no water; and when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter." Burekhardt objects that the distance is too short for three days' journey, but this cavil is sufficiently answered by others; that the movements of such an immense multitude, of all ages and both sexes, with flocks and cattle, which they must have had for the sacrifices, if for no other purpose, must necessarily have been slow. Besides, supposing the habits of the people to have been the same as we find them now among Orientals, the presumption is rather that they would march slowly than push on with speed, after the danger of pursuit was over. Time is thought of

little consequence by the Arabs; and as the Jews were Arabs, it is probable that the same was a feature of their character also. At all events, I was disposed to consider this the fountain, and would fain have performed the duty of a pious pilgrim by making my noon-day meal at its brink; but, as in the days of Moses, we could not drink of the waters of Marah, "for they were bitter." I do not wonder that the people murmured, for even our camels would not drink of them. The ground around the fountain was white with salt. In about two hours more we came to the valley of Gherondel, a large valley with palm-trees; away at the right, in the mountains, is another spring of water, which Shaw makes the bitter fountain of Moses, the water being also undrinkable.

That night Paul was unwell, and, as it always happened with him when he had a headache, he thought he was going to die. As soon as we pitched our tent, I made him lie down; and not knowing how to deal with his real and fancied ailments, gave him some hot tea, and then piled upon him quilts, blankets, empty sacks, saddle-cloths, and every other covering I could find, until he cried for quarter. I had no difficulty in cooking my own supper, and, I remember, tried the savage taste of my Bedouins with the China weed, which they liked exceedingly, when so abundantly sweetened as utterly to destroy its flavour.

#### CHAPTER XV.

The Aspect of the Mountains.—Arab Graves.—The Pacha and the Bedouins.—The Value of Water.—Perplexing Inscriptions.—Habits of the Arabs.—Ethics of the Desert.—Breach of the Marriage Vow.—Arrival at the Convent.—An Excess of Welcome.—Greece and America.—Amor Patriæ.

In the morning Paul was well, but I recommended a little starvation to make all sure; this, however, by no means agreed with his opinion, or his appetite; for, as he said, a man who rode a dromedary all day must eat or die. Late in the afternoon we passed a hill of stones, which Burekhardt calls the tomb of a saint; but according to Toualeb's account, and he spoke of it as a thing within his own knowledge, it was the tomb of a very different personage, namely, a woman who was surprised by her kindred with a paramour, and killed and buried on the spot; on a little eminence above, a few stones marked the place where a slave had been stationed to give the guilty pair a timely notice of approaching danger, but had neglected his important trust.

Our road now lay between wild and rugged mountains, and the valley itself was stony, broken, and gullied by the washing of the winter torrents; and a few straggling thorn-bushes were all that grew in that region of desolation. I had remarked for some time, and every moment impressed it more and more forcibly upon my mind, that every thing around me seemed old and in decay: the valley was barren and devastated by torrents; the rocks were rent; the mountains cracked, broken, and crumbling into thousands of pieces; and we encamped at night between rocks which seemed to have been torn asunder by some violent convulsion, where the stones had washed down into the valley, and the drifted sand almost choked the passage. It had been excessively hot during the day, and at night the wind was whistling around my tent as in mid-winter.

Early in the morning we were again in motion, our route lying nearly all day in the same narrow valley, bounded by the same lofty mountains. At every step the scene became more solemn and impressive; all was still around us; and not a sound broke the universal silence, except the soft tread of our camels, and now and then the voice of one of us; but there was little encouragement to garrulity. The mountains became more and more striking, venerable, and interesting. Not a shrub or blade of grass grew on their naked sides, deformed with gaps and fissures; and they looked as if, by a slight jar or shake, they would crumble into millions of pieces. It is impossible to describe correctly the singularly interesting appearance of these mountains.

Age, hoary and venerable, is the predominant character. They looked as if their great Creator had made them higher than they are, and their summits, worn and weakened by the action of the elements for thousands of years, had cracked and fallen. My days in the desert did not pass as quickly as I hurry through them here. They wore away, not slowly alone, but sometimes heavily; and to help them in their progress, I sometimes descended to very commonplace amusements. On one occasion I remember meeting a party of friendly Bedouins, and, sitting down with them to pipes and coffee, I noticed a fine lad of nineteen or twenty, about the size of one of my party, and pitted mine against him for a wrestling-match. The old Bedouins took the precaution to remove their knives and swords, and it was well they did, for the two lads throttled each other like young furies; and when mine received a pretty severe prostration on the sand, he first attempted to regain his sword, and, failing in that, sprang again upon his adversary with such ferocity that I was glad to have the young devils taken apart, and still more glad to know that they were going to travel different roads.

Several times we passed the rude burying-grounds of the Bedouins, standing alone in the waste of sand, a few stones thrown together in a heap marking the spot where an Arab's bones reposed; but the wanderer of the desert looks forward to his final rest in this wild burying-place of his tribe with the same feeling that animates the English peasant towards the churchyard of his native village, or the noble peer towards the honoured tomb of his ancestors.

About noon we came to an irregular stone fence, running across the valley and extending up the sides nearly to the top of the adjacent mountains, built as a wall by the Bedouins of Sinai during the war with the Pacha of Egypt. Among the strong and energetic measures of his government, Mahommed Ali had endeavoured to reduce these children of the desert under his iron rule; to subject them to taxes, like his subjects of the Nile, and, worse, to establish his oppressive system of military conscription. But the free spirit of the untameable could not brook this invasion of their independence. They plundered his caravans, drank his best Mocha coffee, devoured his spices from Arabia and India, and clothed themselves and their wives in the rich silks intended for the harems of the wealthy Turks. Hassan Bey was sent against them with 2500 men; 400 Bedouins defended this pass for several days, when, craftily permitting him to force his way to the convent of Mount Sinai, the tribes gathered in force between him and the Red Sea, and held him there a prisoner until a treaty of perpetual amity had been ratified by the pacha, by which it was agreed that the pacha should not invade their territory, and that they would be his subjects, provided he would not call upon them for duties, or soldiers, or, indeed, for any thing which should abridge their natural freedom; or, in other words, that he might do as he pleased with them, provided he let them have their own way. It was, in fact, the school-boy's bargain, "Let me alone, and I will let you alone," and so it has been faithfully kept by both parties, and I have no doubt will continue to be kept, until one of them shall have a strong probability of profit and success in breaking it. Upon the whole, however, the Bedouins of Mount Sinai are rather afraid of Mahommed Ali, and he has a great rod over them in his power of excluding them from Cairo, where they come to exchange their dates and apricots for grain, clothing, weapons, and ammunition. As they told me themselves, before his time they had been great robbers, and now a robbery is seldom heard of among them.

For two days we had been suffering for want of water. The skins with which I had been provided by the consul's janizary at Cairo were so new that they contaminated the water; and it had at last become so bad, that, fearful of injurious effects from drinking it, and preferring the evil of thirst to that of sickness, I had poured it all out upon the sand. Toualeb had told me that some time during the day we should come to a fountain,

but the evening was drawing nigh, and we had not reached it. Fortunately we had still a few oranges left, which served to moisten our parched mouths; and we were in the momentary expectation of coming to the water, when Toualeb discovered some marks, from which he told us that it was yet three hours distant. We had no apprehension of being reduced to the extremity of thirst; but for men who had already been suffering for some time, the prolongation of such thirst was by no means pleasant. During those three hours I thought of nothing but water. Rivers were floating through my imagination, and, while moving slowly on my dromedary, with the hot sun beating upon my head, I wiped the sweat from my face, and thought upon the frosty Caucasus; and when, after travelling an hour aside from the main track, through an opening in the mountains, we saw a single palm-tree shading a fountain, our progress was gradually accelerated, until, as we approached, we broke into a run, and dashing through the sand, and without much respect of persons, all threw ourselves upon the fountain.

If any of my friends at home could have seen me then, they would have laughed to see me scrambling among a party of Arabs for a place around a fountain, all prostrate on the ground, with our heads together, for a moment raising them to look gravely at each other while we paused for breath, and then burying our noses again in the delicious water; and yet, when my thirst was satisfied, and I had time to look at it, I thought it lucky that I had not seen it before. It was not a fountain, but merely a deposit of water in a hollow sandstone rock; the surface was green, and the bottom muddy. Such as it was, however, we filled our skins, and returned to the main track.

We continued about an hour in the valley, rising gently until we found ourselves on the top of a little eminence, from which we saw before us another valley, bounded also by high rocky cliffs; and directly in front, still more than a day's journey distant, standing directly across the road, and, as has been forcibly and truly said, "looking like the end of the world," stood the towering mountains of Sinai. At the other end of the plain the mountains contracted, and on one side was an immense block of porphyry, which had fallen, probably, thousands of years ago. I could still see where it had come leaping and crashing down the mountain-side, and trace its destructive course to the very spot where it now lay, itself almost a mountain, though a mere pebble when compared with the giant from which it came. I pitched my tent by its side, with the door open to the holy mountain, as many a weary pilgrim had done before me. The rock was covered with inscriptions, but I could not read them. I walked round and round it with Paul at my elbow, looking eagerly for some small scrap, a single line, in a language we could read; but all were strange, and at length we gave up the search. In several places in the wilderness of Sinai, the rocks are filled with inscriptions, supposed to have been made by the Jews; and finding those before me utterly beyond my comprehension, I resolved to carry them back to a respectable antiquity, and in many of the worn and faded characters, to recognise the work of some wandering Israelite. I meditated, also, a desperate but noble deed. Those who had written before me were long since dead; but in this lonely desert they had left a record of themselves and of their language. I resolved to add one of my country's also. Dwelling fondly in imagination upon the absorbing interest with which some future traveller, perhaps from my own distant land, would stop to read on this lonely rock a greeting in his native tongue, I sought with great care a stone that would serve as a pencil. It made a mark which did not suit me, and I laid it down to break it into a better shape, but unluckily smashed my fingers, and in one moment all my enthusiasm of sentiment was gone; I crammed my fingers into my mouth, and danced about the rock in an agony of heroics; and so my inscription remained unwritten.

At seven o'clock of the tenth day from Cairo I was again on my dromedary, and during the whole day the

lofty top of Sinai was constantly before me. We were now in a country of friendly Arabs. The Bedouins around Mount Sinai were all of the same tribe, and the escort of any child of that tribe was a sufficient protection. About nine o'clock Toualeb left me for his tent among the mountains. He was a little at a loss, having two wives living in separate tents, at some distance from each other, and he hesitated which to visit. I made it my business to pry into particulars, and found the substance of the Arab's nature not much different from other men's. Old ties and a sense of duty called him to his old wife—to her who had been his only wife when he was young and poor; but something stronger than old ties or the obligation of duty impelled him to his younger bride. Like the Prophet whom he worshipped, he honoured and respected his old wife, but his heart yearned to her younger and more lovely rival.

The last was by far the most interesting day of my journey to Mount Sinai. We were moving along a broad valley, bounded by ranges of lofty and crumbling mountains, forming an immense rocky rampart on each side of us; and rocky and barren as these mountains seemed, on their tops were gardens which produced oranges, dates, and figs, in great abundance. Here, on heights almost inaccessible to any but the children of the desert, the Bedouin pitches his tent, pastures his sheep and goats, and gains the slender subsistence necessary for himself and family; and often, looking up the bare side of the mountain, we could see on its summit's edge the wild figure of a half-naked Arab, with his long match-lock gun in his hand, watching the movement of our little caravan. Sometimes, too, the eye rested upon the form of a woman stealing across the valley, not a traveller or passer-by, but a dweller in the land where no smoke curled from the domestic hearth, and no sign of a habitation was perceptible. There was something very interesting to me in the greetings of my companions with the other young men of their tribe. They were just returning from a journey to Cairo, an event in the life of a young Bedouin, and they were bringing a stranger from a land that none of them had ever heard of; yet their greeting had the coldness of frosty age, and the reserve of strangers; twice they would gently touch the palms of each other's hands, mutter a few words, and in a moment the welcome were again climbing to their tents. One, I remember, greeted us more warmly, and stood longer among us. He was by profession a beggar or robber, as occasion required, and wanted something from us, but it was not much; merely some bread and a charge of powder. Not far from the track, we saw, hanging on a thorn-bush, the black cloth of a Bedouin's tent, with the pole, ropes, pegs, and every thing necessary to convert it into a habitation for a family. It had been there six months; the owner had gone to a new pasture-ground, and there it had hung, and there it would hang, sacred and untouched, until he returned to claim it. "It belongs to one of our tribe, and cursed be the hand that touches it," is the feeling of every Bedouin. Uncounted gold might be exposed in the same way; and the poorest Bedouin, though a robber by birth and profession, would pass by and touch it not.

On the very summit of the mountain, apparently enscathed behind it as a wall, his body not more than half visible, a Bedouin was looking down upon us; and one of my party, who had long kept his face turned that way, told me that there was the tent of his father. I talked with him about his kindred and his mountain home, not expecting, however, to discover any thing of extraordinary interest or novelty. The sons of Ishmael have ever been the same, inhabitants of the desert, despising the dwellers under a roof, wanderers and wild men from their birth, with their hands against every man, and every man's hand against them. "There is blood between us," says the Bedouin when he meets in the desert one of a tribe by some individual of which an ancestor of his own was killed, perhaps a hundred years before. And then they draw their swords, and a new account of blood is opened, to be handed down as a legacy to their children. "Thy aunt wants thy purse,"

says the Bedouin when he meets the stranger travelling through his wild domain. "The desert is ours, and every man who passes over it must pay us tribute." These principal and distinguishing traits of the Bedouin character have long been known; but as I had now been with them ten days, and expected to be with them a month longer, to see them in their tents, and be thrown among different tribes, claiming friendship from those who were enemies to each other, I was curious to know something of the lighter shades, the details of their lives and habits; and I listened with exceeding interest while the young Bedouin, with his eyes constantly fixed upon it, told me that for more than 400 years the tent of his fathers had been in that mountain. Wild and unsettled, robbers and plunderers as they are, they have laws which are as sacred as our own; and the tent, and the garden, and the little pasture-ground, are transmitted from father to son for centuries. I have probably forgotten more than half of our conversation; but I remember he told me that all the sons shared equally; that the daughters took nothing; that the children lived together; that if any of the brothers got married, the property must be divided; that if any difficulty arose on the division, the man who worked the place for a share of the profits must divide it; and, lastly, that the sisters must remain with the brothers, until they (the sisters) are married. I asked him, if the brothers did not choose to keep a sister with them, what became of her; but he did not understand me. I repeated the question, but still he did not comprehend it, and looked to his companions for an explanation. And when, at last, the meaning of my question became apparent to his mind, he answered, with a look of wonder, "It is impossible; she is his own blood." I pressed my question again and again in various forms, suggesting the possibility that the brother's wife might dislike the sister, and other very supposable cases; but it was so strange an idea, that to the last he did not fully comprehend it, and his answer was still the same—"It is impossible; she is his own blood." Paul was in ecstasies at the noble answers of the young savage, and declared him the finest fellow he had ever met since he left Cairo. This was not very high praise, to be sure; but Paul intended it as a compliment, and the young Bedouin was willing to believe him, though he could not exactly comprehend how Paul had found it out.

I asked him who governed them; he stretched himself up, and answered in one word, "God." I asked him if they paid tribute to the pacha; and his answer was, "No, we take tribute from him." I asked him how. "We plunder his caravans." Desirous to understand my exact position with the sheik of Akaba, under his promise of protection, I asked him if they were governed by their sheik; to which he answered, "No, we govern him." The sheik was their representative, their mouthpiece with the pacha and with other tribes, and had a personal influence, but not more than any other member of the tribe. I asked him, if the sheik had promised a stranger to conduct him through his territory, whether the tribe would not consider themselves bound by his promise. He said no; they would take the sheik apart, ask him what he was going to do with the stranger; how much he was going to get; and, if they were satisfied, would let him pass, otherwise they would send him back; but they would respect the promise of the sheik so far as not to do him any personal injury. In case of any quarrel or difference between members of a tribe, they had no law or tribunal to adjust it; but if one of them was wounded—and he spoke as if this was the regular consequence of a quarrel—upon his recovery he made out his account, charging a per diem price for the loss of his services, and the other must pay it. But what if he will not? "He must," was the reply, given in the same tone with which he had before pronounced it "impossible" for the brother to withhold protection and shelter from his sister. If he does not, he will be visited with the contempt of his tribe, and very soon he or one of his near relations will be killed. They have a law which is as powerful in its

operations as any that we have; and it is a strange and not uninteresting feature in their social compact, that what we call public opinion should be as powerful among them as among civilised people, and that even the wild and lawless Bedouin, a man who may fight, rob, and kill with impunity, cannot live under the contempt of his tribe.

In regard to their yet more domestic habits, he told me that though the law of Mahommed allowed four wives, the Bedouin seldom took more than one, unless that one was barren or could not make good bread, or unless he fell in love with another girl, or could afford to keep more than one; with these, and some few other extraordinary exceptions, the Bedouin married but one wife; and the chastity of women was protected by sanguinary laws, the guilty woman having her head cut off by her own relations, while her paramour, unless caught in the act, is allowed to escape; the Arabs proceeding on the ground that the chastity of the woman is a pearl above all price; that it is in her own keeping; and that it is but part of the infirmity of man's nature to seek to rob her of it.

The whole day we were moving between parallel ranges of mountains, receding in some places, and then again contracting, and at about mid-day entered a narrow and rugged defile, bounded on each side with precipitous granite rocks more than a thousand feet high. We entered at the very bottom of this defile, moving for a time along the dry bed of a torrent, now obstructed with sand and stones, the rocks on every side shivered and torn, and the whole scene wild to sublimity. Our camels stumbled among the rocky fragments to such a degree that we dismounted, and passed through the wild defile on foot. At the other end we came suddenly upon a plain table of ground, and before us towered in awful grandeur, so huge and dark that it seemed close to us and barring all farther progress, the end of my pilgrimage, the holy mountain of Sinai. On our left was a large insulated stone, rudely resembling a chair, called the chair of Moses, on which tradition says that Moses rested himself when he came up with the people of his charge; farther on, upon a little eminence, are some rude stones, which are pointed out as the ruins of the house of Aaron, where the great high-priest discoursed to the wandering Israelites. On the right is a stone alleged to be the petrified golden calf. But it was not necessary to draw upon false and frivolous legends to give interest to this scene; the majesty of nature was enough. I felt that I was on holy ground; and dismounting from my dromedary, loitered for more than an hour in the valley. It was cold, and I sent my shivering Bedouins forward, supposing myself to be at the foot of the mountain, and lingered there until after the sun had set. It was after dark, as alone, and on foot, I entered the last defile leading to the holy mountain. The moon had risen, but her light could not penetrate the deep defile through which I was toiling slowly on to the foot of Sinai. From about half-way up it shone with a pale and solemn lustre, while below all was in the deepest shade, and a dark spot on the side of the mountain, seeming perfectly black in contrast with the light above it, marked the situation of the convent. I passed a Bedouin tent, under which a group of Arabs were sleeping around a large fire, and in a few moments stood at the foot of the convent wall. My camels were lying down eating their evening meal, and my Bedouins were asleep on the ground close under the walls.

Knowing that they would not be admitted themselves, they had not demanded entrance; and as I had not told them to do so, they had not given notice of my coming. The convent was a very large building, and the high stone walls surrounding it, with turrets at the corners, gave it the appearance of a fortress. Exposed as they are to occasional attacks by the Bedouins, the holy fathers are sometimes obliged to have recourse to carnal weapons. The walls are accordingly mounted with cannon, and there is no entrance except by a subterraneous passage under the garden, or by a small door in one of the walls, about thirty feet from the ground.

My Bedouins had stopped under this door, and here we commenced shouting for admission, first singly, and then altogether, in French, English, and Arabic; but no one came to admit us. I was strongly reminded of the scene under the walls of the little convent in the desert, on my attempted expedition to the great Oasis. Then, as now, it was a moonlight night, and the scene was a convent, a lonely habitation of Christians, with its door closed against a fellow-*Christian*. I remember that then I had to force my way in and make my own welcome, and I resolved that no trifle should keep me from an entrance here. The convent belonged to the Greek church. I did not know how many monks were in it, or what was the sanctity of their lives, but I wished that some of them had slept with more troubled consciences, for we made almost noise enough to wake the dead; and it was not until we had discharged two volleys of fire-arms that we succeeded in rousing any of the slumbering inmates. On one side were two or three little slits or portholes, and a monk, with a long white beard and a lighted taper in his hand, cautiously thrust out his head at one of them, and demanded our business. This was soon told; we were strangers and Christians, and wanted admission; and had a letter from the Greek patriarch at Cairo. The head disappeared from the loophole, and soon after I saw its owner slowly open the little door, and let down a rope for the patriarch's letter. He read it by the feeble glimmer of his lamp, and then again appeared at the window, and bade us welcome. The rope was again let down; I tied it around my arms; and after dangling in the air for a brief space, swinging to and fro against the walls, found myself clasped in the arms of a burly, long-bearded monk, who hauled me in, kissed me on both cheeks, our long beards rubbing together in friendly union, and, untwisting the rope, set me upon my feet, and passed me over to his associates.

By this time nearly all the monks had assembled, and all pressed forward to welcome me. They shook my hand, took me in their arms, and kissed my face; and if I had been their dearest friend just escaped from the jaws of death, they could not have received me with a more cordial greeting. Glad as I was, after a ten days' journey, to be received with such warmth by these recluses of the mountains, I could have spared the kissing. The custom is one of the detestable things of the East. It would not be so bad if it were universal, and the traveller might sometimes receive his welcome from rosy lips; but, unhappily, the women hide their faces and run away from a stranger, while the men rub him with their bristly beards. At first I went at it with a stout heart, flattering myself that I could give as well as take; but I soon finched and gave up. Their beards were the growth of years, while mine had only a few months to boast of, and its downward aspirations must continue many a long day before it would attain the respectable longitude of theirs.

During the kissing scene, a Bedouin servant came from the other end of the terrace with an armful of burning brush, and threw it in a blaze upon the stony floor. The monks were gathered around, talking to me and uttering assurances of welcome, as I knew them to be, although I could not understand them; and, confused and almost stunned with their clamorous greeting, I threw myself on the floor, thrust my feet in the fire, and called out for *Paul*. Twice the rope descended and brought up my tent, baggage, &c.; and the third time it brought up *Paul*, hung round with guns, pistols, and swords, like a travelling battery. The rope was wound up by a windlass, half a dozen monks, in long black frocks with white stripes, turning it with all their might. In the general eagerness to help, they kept on turning until they had carried *Paul* above the window, and brought his neck up short under the beam, his feet struggling to hold on to the sill of the door. He roared out lustily in Greek and Arabic; and while they were helping to disencumber him of his multifarious armour, he was cursing and abusing them for a set of blundering workmen, who had almost broken the neck of as

good a Christian as any among them. Probably, since the last incursion of the Bedouins, the peaceful walls of the convent had not been disturbed by such an infernal clatter.

The monks had been roused from sleep, and some of them were hardly yet awake; the superior was the last who came, and his presence quickly restored order. He was a remarkably noble-looking old man, of more than sixty. He asked me my country, and called me his child, and told me that God would reward me for coming from so distant a land to do homage on the holy mountain; and I did not deny the character he ascribed to me, or correct his mistake in supposing that the motive of my journey was purely religious; and looking upon me as a devout pilgrim, he led me through a long range of winding passages, which seemed like the streets of a city, into a small room spread with mats, having a pile of coverlets in one corner, and wearing an appearance of comfort that could be fully appreciated by one who had then spent ten nights in the desert. I threw myself on the mats with a feeling of gratitude, while the superior renewed his welcome, telling me that the convent was the pilgrim's home, and that every thing it contained was mine for a week, a month, or the rest of my days. Nor did he neglect my immediate wants, but, with all the warmth and earnestness of a man who could feel for others' woes in so important a matter as eating, expressed his regret that meat was always a forbidden thing within the walls of the convent, and that now, during their forty days of fasting, even fish and eggs were proscribed. I told him that I was an invalid, and wanted only the plainest and simplest viands, but insinuated that speed was of more importance than richness of fare, having eaten only a biscuit and an orange since morning. The cook of the convent, however, a lay brother in his novitiate, was not used to do things in a hurry, and before he was ready I felt myself goaded by the fiend of famine; and when he came with a platter of beans and a smoking pilau of rice, I made such an attack upon them as made the good superior stare with wonder and admiration; and I have no doubt that, before I had done, he must have thought a few more such invalids would bring him and the whole brotherhood to actual starvation.

The superior was a Greek by birth; and though it was forty years since he had first come to the convent at Sinai, and twenty years since he entered it for the last time, he was still a Greek in heart. His relations with his native land were kept up by the occasional visits of pilgrims. He had heard of their bloody struggle for liberty, and of what America had done for her in her hour of need, and he told me that, next to his own country, he loved mine; and by his kindness to me as an individual, he sought to repay, in part, his country's debt of gratitude. In my wanderings in Greece, I had invariably found the warmest feeling towards my country. I had found it in the offices of government, in my boatmen, my muleteer, and I remember a ploughman on immortal Marathon sang in my greedy ears the praises of America. I had seen the tear stream down the manly cheeks of a mustached Greek when he talked of America. I had seen those who had received directly from the hands of my countrymen the bounty that came from home. One, I remember, pointed me to a family of sons and daughters, who, he told me, were saved from absolute starvation by our timely help; and so dearly was our country loved there, that I verily believe the mountain robber would have spared the unprotected American.

I knew that this feeling existed in Greece, but I did not expect to find it thus glowing in the wilderness of Sinai. For myself, different in this respect from most other travellers, I liked the Greeks. Travellers and strangers condemn the whole people as dishonest because they are cheated by their boatmen or muleteers, without ever thinking of their four centuries of bitter servitude; but when I remembered their long oppression and galling chains, instead of wondering that they were so bad, I wondered that they were not worse. I

liked the Greeks; and when I talked of Greece and what I had seen there, of the Bavarians lording it over the descendants of Cimon and Miltiades, the face of the superior flushed, and his eyes flashed fire; and when I spoke of the deep interest their sufferings and their glorious struggle had created in America, the old man wept. Oh, who can measure the feeling that binds a man to his native land! Though forty years an exile, buried in the wilderness, and neither expecting nor wishing to revisit the world, he loved his country as if his foot now pressed her soil, and under his monkish robe there glowed a heart as patriotic as ever beat beneath a soldier's corslet. The reader will excuse an unusual touch of sensibility in me when he reflects upon my singular position, sitting at the base of Mount Sinai, and hearing from the lips of a white-bearded Greek the praises of my beloved country. He sat with me till the ringing of the midnight bell for prayers, when I threw myself upon the mat, and, before the hollow sounds had died away in the cloisters, I was fast asleep.

#### CHAPTER XVI.

Ascent of Sinai.—A Miracle.—The Grotto of Elias.—A Monkish Legend.—The Pinnacle of Sinai.—Anchorites.—Mahommed and his Camel.—An Argument.—Legend of St Catharine.—The Rock of the Tables.—The Stone struck by Moses.—Description of the Convent.—Habits and Character of its Inmates.

THE next day was one of the most interesting of my life. At eight o'clock I was breakfasting; the superior was again at my side; again offering me all the convent could give, and urging me to stay a month, a fortnight, a week, at least to spend that day with him, and repose myself after the fatigues of my journey; but from the door of the little room in which I sat, I saw the holy mountain, and I longed to stand on its lofty summit. Though feeble and far from well, I felt the blood of health again coursing in my veins, and congratulated myself that I was not so hackneyed in feeling as I had once supposed. I found, and I was happy to find, for the prospective enjoyment of my farther journey, that the first tangible monument in the history of the Bible, the first spot that could be called holy ground, raised in me feelings that had not been awakened by the most classic ground of Italy and Greece, or the proudest monuments of the arts in Egypt.

Immediately after breakfast I rose to ascend the mountain. The superior conducted me through the convent, which, even more than at night, seemed like a small city, through long galleries built of stone, with iron doors, and finally through a long subterranean passage to the outer garden, a beautiful spot in the midst of the surrounding barrenness, now blooming with almonds and oranges, lemons, dates, and apricots, and shaded by arbours of grape-vines to the extreme end of the walls. At this moment I gave but a passing glance at the garden; and hurrying on to the walls, where a trusty Arab was sitting as sentinel, I descended by a rope, the superior, or papa, as he is called, bidding me farewell, and telling me not to fatigue myself or be long away. At the foot of the wall I found Toualeb waiting orders for my final departure. He said that he must consult with his tribe before he could make any bargain; and I told him to come to the convent in two days, prepared to start upon the third.

Immediately behind the wall of the convent we began to ascend. A Bedouin dwarf, the first specimen of deformity I had seen among the Arabs, led the way, with a leather bag of refreshments on his back. An old monk followed, with long white hair and beard, supporting himself by a staff; after him came a young novice from Corfu, who spoke Italian, and then Paul and myself. For some time the ascent was easy. Ever since the establishment of the convent, it had been the business of the monks to improve the path to the top of the mountain; and for about twenty minutes we continued ascending by regular steps. In half an hour we came to a beautiful fountain under an overhanging rock. Besides the hallowed localities in and around the moun-

tain, consecrated by scenes of Bible history, almost every spot has some monkish legend, of which that connected with the fountain is a specimen. Taking a long draught from its stony bed, our younger companion began the story somewhat in the usual Eastern form. "Once there was a poor shoemaker" who, in making his pilgrimage to the holy mountain, on a hot day, sat down under the shade of the impending rock. He was an industrious man, and while resting himself, took out his cobbling materials, and began to cobble; he was a good man, and while he sat there at his work, he thought of the wickedness of the world and its temptations, and how the devil was always roaming about after poor cobblers, and resolved to leave the world for ever, and live under that rock. There was no water near it then; but as soon as he had made this resolution, the water gushed forth, and a living fountain has remained there ever since. The same year there was a dispute between the Greek and Armenian patriarchs at Cairo, and the pacha gave notice that he would decide in favour of him who should perform a miracle. This was more than either had power to do; but the Greek dreamed one night of the poor cobbler, and the next morning dispatched a messenger to the mountain with a dromedary, and a request that the holy man should come and perform a miracle. The cobbler was a modest man, and said he would be glad to make a pair of shoes for the patriarch, but could not perform a miracle. The messenger, however, insisted upon taking him to Cairo, where, roused into a belief of his own powers, he ordered a mountain to approach the city. The obedient mountain marched till it was told to stop, and there it stands to the present day.

In half an hour more we came to a little chapel dedicated to the Virgin, to which, some 200 or 300 years ago, certain holy men, who wished to separate themselves more completely from the world, had withdrawn from the convent, and here lived and died upon the mountain. The chapel had been fitted up several times, but the Bedouins had always entered and destroyed every thing it contained. The situation was well suited for retirement; quiet and isolated, but not dreary, and fitted for a calm and contemplative spirit. Paul was particularly struck with it, and in a moment of enthusiasm said he would like to end his days there; and, with his characteristic prudence, asked if he could get his meals from the convent. The monk did not approve his enthusiasm, and told him that his inspiration was of the devil, and not of God, but suddenly said that there were no hermits now; that all men thought too much of eating and drinking, and indulging in luxuries; sighed, kissed the cross, asked Paul for a cigar, and then walked on again. Passing through a defile of precipitous rocks, we soon reached a gate about three feet wide, where formerly, when pilgrimages to this place were more frequent, a guard was stationed, to whom it was necessary to show a permission from the superior of the convent. A little beyond this was another narrow passage secured by a door, where it was formerly necessary to show a pass from the keeper of the gate, and where a dozen men could make a good defence against a thousand. Soon after we entered a large open space, forming a valley surrounded on all sides by mountains; and on the left, high above the others, rose the lofty peak of Sinai. It is this part of the mountain which bears the sacred name of Horeb. In the centre, enclosed by a stone fence, is a tall cypress, the only tree on the mountain, planted by the monks more than 100 years ago. Near it is a fountain, called the Fountain of Elias, which the prophet dug with his own hands when he lived in the mountain, before he was ordered by the Lord to Jerusalem. According to the monks, the prophet is still living somewhere in the world, wandering about with Enoch, and preparing for the great final battle with Antichrist. A little above is an old church, with strong walls and iron doors, now falling and dilapidated, and containing a grotto, called the Grotto of Elias, which, according to the legend, formed the prophet's sleeping-chamber. I crawled into the rocky cell,

and, thanks to my travelling experience, which had taught me not to be fastidious in such matters, found the bedroom of the prophet by no means an uncomfortable place; often in the desert I would have been thankful for such a shelter.

Here our dwarf left us, and, continuing our ascent, the old monk still leading the way, in about a quarter of an hour we came to a table of rock standing boldly out, and running down almost perpendicularly an immense distance to the valley. I was expecting another monkish legend, and my very heart thrilled when the monk told me that this was the top of the hill on which Moses had sat during the battle of the Israelites and the Amalekites, while Aaron and Hur supported his uplifted hands, until the sun went down upon the victorious arms of his people. From the height I could see, clearly and distinctly, every part of the battle-ground, and the whole vale of Rephedim and the mountains beyond; and Moses, while on this spot, must have been visible to the contending parties from every part of the field on which they were engaged.

Some distance farther on, the old monk stopped, and prostrating himself before a stone, kissed it devoutly, and then told me its history. He said that the last time the monks in the convent were beset by the Arabs, when their communication with Cairo was cut off, and death by the sword or famine staring them in the face, the superior proposed that they should put on their holiest vestments, and, under the sacred banner of the cross, ascend in a body, and for the last time sing their Te Deum on the top of the mountain. On their return, at this stone they met a woman with a child, who told them that all their danger was over: and, in accordance with her words, when they returned to the convent they found the Arabs gone, and forty camels from Cairo laden with provisions standing under the walls. Since that time they had never been molested by the Arabs; "and there is no doubt," continued the old monk, "that the woman was the mother of God, and the child the Saviour of the world."

But away with monkish superstition. I stand upon the very peak of Sinai, where Moses stood when he talked with the Almighty. Can it be, or is it a mere dream? Can this naked rock have been the witness of that great interview between man and his Maker—where, amid thunder and lightning, and a fearful quaking of the mountain, the Almighty gave to his chosen people the precious tables of his law, those rules of infinite wisdom and goodness, which to this day best teach man his duty towards his God, his neighbour, and himself?

The scenes of many of the incidents recorded in the Bible are extremely uncertain. Historians and geographers place the garden of Eden, the paradise of our first parents, in different parts of Asia; and they do not agree upon the site of the Tower of Babel, the mountain of Ararat, and many of the most interesting places in the Holy Land; but of Sinai there is no doubt. This is the holy mountain; and among all the stupendous works of Nature, not a place can be selected more fitted for the exhibition of Almighty power. I have stood upon the summit of the giant *Étna*, and looked over the clouds floating beneath it, upon the bold scenery of Sicily, and the distant mountains of Calabria; upon the top of *Vesuvius*, and looked down upon the waves of lava, and the ruined and half-recovered cities at its foot; but they are nothing compared with the terrific solitude and bleak majesty of Sinai. An observing traveller has well called it "a perfect sea of desolation." Not a tree, or shrub, or blade of grass, is to be seen upon the bare and rugged sides of innumerable mountains, heaving their naked summits to the skies, while the crumbling masses of granite around, and the distant view of the Syrian desert, with its boundless waste of sands, form the wildest and most dreary, the most terrific and desolate, picture that imagination can conceive.

The level surface of the very top, or pinnacle, is about sixty feet square. At one end is a single rock about twenty feet high, on which, as said the monk, the spirit of God descended, while in the crevice beneath, his fa-

voured servant received the tables of the law. There, on the same spot where they were given, I opened the sacred book in which those laws are recorded, and read them with a deeper feeling of devotion, as if I were standing nearer and receiving them more directly from the Deity himself.

The ruins of a church and convent are still to be seen upon the mountain, to which, before the convent below was built, monks and hermits used to retire, and, secluded from the world, sing the praises of God upon his chosen hill. Near this, also in ruins, stands a Mahomedan mosque; for on this sacred spot the followers of Christ and Mahomed have united in worshipping the true and living God. Under the chapel is a hermit's cell, where in the iron age of fanaticism the anchorite lingered out his days in fasting, meditation, and prayer.

In the East, the fruitful parent of superstition, occurred the first instances of monastic life. A single enthusiast withdrew himself from the society of his fellow-men, and wandered for years among the rocks and sands of the desert, devoting himself to the service of his Maker by the mistaken homage of bodily mortification. The deep humility of the wanderer, his purity and sincerity, and the lashes and stripes he inflicted upon his worn and haggard body, excited the warm imaginations of the Christians of the East. Others, tortured by the same overpowering consciousness of sin, followed his example, emulating each other in self-punishment; and he was accounted the most holy, and the most worthy to be received at the right hand of God, who showed himself most dead to all the natural feelings of humanity. The deserts of the Thebaid were soon covered with hermits; and more than 70,000 anchorites were wasting their lives in the gloomy wilds of Sinai, startling the solitude with the cries of their self-inflicted torture. The ruins of their convents are still to be seen upon the rudest mountain side, in the most savage chasm, or upon the craggiest top; and, strange as the feeling may seem, my very soul cleaved to the scene around me. I, too, felt myself lifted above the world, and its petty cares and troubles, and almost hurried into the wild enthusiasm which had sent the tenants of these ruined convents to live and die among the mountains.

Blame me not, reader, nor think me impious, that, on the top of the holy mountain of Sinai, half unconscious what I did, I fired at a partridge. The sound of my gun, ringing in frequent echoes from the broken and hollow rocks, startled and aroused me; and, chasing the bird down the mountain side, I again reached "the place in Horeb," and threw myself on the ground under the palm-tree, near the Fountain of Elias.

I always endeavoured to make my noonday meal near some rock or ruin, some tree or fountain; and I could not pass by the fountain of the prophet. My Arab dwarf had anticipated my wants; and now prepared some of the genuine Mocha, which every Arabian (and an Arabian only) knows how to prepare, exhaling an aroma that refreshes and invigorates the wearied frame; and, in the desert, a cordial more precious than the finest wines of France or Madeira. Seated under the palm-tree, monks, Bedouins, Paul, and myself, all together, eating our frugal meal of bread and fruit, accompanied with long draughts from the Fountain of Elias, I talked with the Bedouins about the mountain consecrated in the eyes of all true Mussulmans by the legend of Mahomed and his camel.

In one respect I was very unlucky in this journey. I had no guide-books. Having formed no definite plan in my wanderings, I never knew with what books to provide myself, and therefore carried none, trusting to chance for finding what I wanted. As might be supposed, when I needed them most it was utterly impossible to obtain any; and from the borders of Egypt to the confines of the Holy Land, I was in some measure groping in the dark; the Bible was my only guide; and though the best a man could have in his pilgrimage through life, and far better than any other in this particular journey, yet others would have been exceedingly valuable, as illustrating obscure passages in the sacred book; and

particularly as referring, besides, to circumstances and traditions other than scriptural, connected with the holy mountain.

In the book of one of the modern travellers, I believe of the lamented Burckhardt, I remembered to have seen a reference to a tradition among the Mussulmans, that Mahomed had ascended the mountain on the back of his camel, and from its lofty summit had taken his departure to the seventh heaven, and that the prints of the beast's footsteps were still to be seen on the surface of the rock. I questioned the Arab about this story. In the more engrossing interest of the scene, I had forgotten to look for the prints of the camel's feet, and told him, with great truth, that I had examined every thing carefully, but had not seen them. The old monk, who had sat quietly munching his bread and figs, scandalised at my inquiring into such a profane story, and considering the holy mountain in a manner his property, broke out unceremoniously, and denounced it as a wicked invention of the Arabs, averring that every body knew that, before Mahomed got half way up, the camel stumbled, fell, and broke the neck of the Prophet. This was equally new and monstrous to the Arab, who swore that the legend was true, for it was written in the Koran, and that he himself had often seen the print of the foot; and he accounted for my not seeing it by the very sensible and satisfactory explanation that it was visible only to the eyes of true believers. The good father was completely roused by this obstinate resistance in the scandal; and a reckless Bedouin and an old Bulgarian monk, sitting by a fountain among the deserts of Sinai, were soon disputing with as much clamour and bitterness as if they had been brought up in the midst of civilisation, to harangue, from opposing pulpits, the preachers of the promises and the denouncers of the curses of rival churches. One thing the pious father especially insisted on: the strong point in his argument, and particularly ludicrous, as coming from such an old bundle of superstitions, was the impossibility of a camel's foot making an impression on stone; and, judging from this alone, one might have suspected him of having had in his youth some feeble glimmerings of common sense; but a few minutes after he told me the legend of Mount St Catharine.

Mount St Catharine is the great rival of Sinai in the range of mountains in the Arabian peninsula. They rise like giant twin brothers, towering above every other; and the only thing which detracts in the slightest degree from the awful supremacy of Sinai, is the fact that Mount St Catharine is somewhat the highest. The legend is, that in the early days of the Christian church the daughter of a king of Alexandria became converted. While her father remained a pagan, she tried to convert him; but, indignant at the attempt, he cast her into prison, where she was visited by the Saviour, who entered through the key-hole, and married her with a ring, which is now in the hands of the Empress of Russia. Her father cut her head off, and angels carried her body to the top of the mountain, and laid it on the rock. For centuries no one knew where it was deposited, the Christians believing that it had been carried up into heaven, until about two centuries ago, when a monk at the convent dreamed where it had been laid. The next morning he took his staff and climbed to the top of the mountain; and there, on the naked rock, fresh and blooming as in youthful beauty, after a death of more than a thousand years, he found the body of the saint. The monks then went up in solemn procession, and, taking up the body, bore it in pious triumph to the convent below, where it now lies in a coffin with a silver lid, near the great altar in the chapel, and receives the homage of all pious pilgrims.

It was nearly dark when I returned to the convent; and, in no small degree fatigued with the labours of the day, I again threw myself on the mat, and welcomed rest. In the evening the superior came to my room, and again we mingled the names of Greece and America. I was weary, and talked with the old man when I would rather have been asleep; but with his own hands he



drew mats and cushions around me, and made me so comfortable, that I could not refuse to indulge him with the rare luxury of conversation on the subject of his native land, and of the world from which he was shut out for ever. He was single-hearted and simple, or, perhaps I should rather say, simple and ignorant; I remember, for instance, when we had been embarrassed for a time by the absence of the younger monk who served as our interpreter, the old man told me very gravely, and as a new thing, which I could not be expected to know, but which he did not think the less of me for not knowing, that formerly, in the time of Adam, all mankind spoke but one tongue; and that men became wicked, and built a tower to reach to heaven (he had forgotten its name), and that God had destroyed it, and confounded the impious builders with a variety of tongues. I expressed my astonishment, as in duty bound, and denounced, in good set terms, the wickedness of our fathers, which now prevented us from enjoying at our ease the sweets of friendly converse.

Before breakfast the next morning he was with me again, with a striped abbas over his black gown, and a staff in his hand, prepared to accompany me outside the walls. I was surprised. He had told me that he had not left the convent for more than three years, when he had accompanied a great apostolic vicar, holding a distinguished situation in the church of France; and this was the last and only time he had ever bestowed such attention on a stranger. The kind-hearted old man intended it as an act of extraordinary kindness; I received it as such; and, as such, he told me I could mention it to my friends in America. Humble and unimportant as was that old monk in the great drama of life, I felt proud of his kindness—prouder than I should have been of a reception at a European court, or a greeting from royal lips—and my pride was the greater that I did not ascribe it to any merits of my own. My only claim was that possessed by all my countrymen—I was an American; my country had heard the cry of his in her distress, and from her seat across the broad Atlantic had answered that cry.

We passed, as before, through the subterraneous passages into the garden. The miserable Bedouins who were gathered around outside, waiting for the bread which they received daily from the convent, surprised at the unexpected but welcome appearance of the superior, gathered around him, and kissed his hands and the hem of his garment. He had provided himself with an extra sack of bread, which he distributed among them, and which they seemed to receive with peculiar pleasure from his hands. The monks of Mount Sinai are now no longer obliged to have recourse to carnal weapons for protection; peace reigns between them and the Bedouins; and part of the price of peace is the distribution of 2500 rolls of bread among the poor around the mountain. I did not think so much of this price when I saw the bread, hard, black, and mouldy, and such as the meanest beggar in our country would not accept from the hand of charity. But the Bedouins took it, and thanked God and the monks for it.

Hurrying away from these grateful pensioners, we descended by the defile through which we had entered; and again passing the ruins of the house of Aaron, and the spot from which he preached to the assembled people, we came to a long flat stone, with a few holes indented in its surface, which the superior pointed out as that on which Moses threw down and broke the tablets of the law, when he descended from the mountain and found the Israelites worshipping the golden calf. About half an hour farther on was another stone much holier than this; at first I understood the interpreter that it was the petrification of the golden calf; but gathered, with some difficulty, from the superior, that it was the mould in which the head of the golden calf was run. He pointed out to me the prints of the head, ears, and horns, clear even to the eyes of a man of sixty; and told me the story of the golden calf somewhat differently from the Bible account. He said that the people, wanting another god, came up with one accord and threw their

golden ornaments upon that stone, and agreed by acclamation that when it was melted they would worship whatever should come out; three times it came out the head of a calf; and then they fell down and worshipped it.

Some distance farther on we passed on our right a Hebrew burying-ground—"The burial-place," said the superior, "of the Israelites who died in their forty years' wandering among the mountains of Sinai." The old man had heard these things so long, and had told them so often, and believed them so firmly, that it would have broken his heart—besides shaking his confidence in my Christian principles—if I had intimated the slightest doubt. I asked whether the Jews ever came in pilgrimage to the mountain of their fathers; and he told me that, four years ago, two Asiatic Jews had come disguised as Europeans, and attempted to pass themselves as Christians; "but," said the priest, with a vindictive spirit lighting his usually mild eye, "I detected them under their sheeps' clothing, and they did not stay long in the convent." Yet I remember seeing on the wall of the convent, and with no small degree of interest, the name of an American Jew.

Farther on, turning into a valley which opened between the mountains on the left, we came to a garden belonging to the convent, which presented a strange appearance in the midst of the surrounding desolation, producing all kinds of fruits; where one might almost wonder to see a blade of grass put forth, the orange, the date, the fig, and the vine, are growing in rich luxuriance. The soil is formed from the debris of rocks washed from the mountains; and though too light for strong products, for fruit it is better than the rich valley of the Nile. Sitting under the shade of the fig-tree, the superior pointed out to me a rent in the mountain opposite, which, he said, was caused by an earthquake that had swallowed up two friends and servants of Moses, of whom I had never heard before, and who were so swallowed up for disobeying the orders of their earthly master.

The superior, unused to such a task as he had imposed upon himself, here completely gave out, and I left him panting under the shade of his fig-tree, while I went on to the Valley of Rephidim; and, passing another garden, came to the rock of Horeb, the stone which Moses struck with his rod, and caused the waters to gush out. The stone is about twelve feet high, and on one side are eight or ten deep gashes from one to three feet long, and from one to two inches wide, some of which were trickling with water. These gashes are singular in their appearance, though probably showing only the natural effect of time and exposure. They look something like the gashes in the bark of a growing tree, except that, instead of the lips of the gash swelling and growing over, they are worn and reduced to a polished smoothness. They are, no doubt, the work of men's hands, a clumsy artifice of the early monks to touch the hearts of pious pilgrims; but the monks of the convent, and the Greek pilgrims who go there now, believe in it with as much honesty and sincerity as in the crucifixion.

Will the reader forgive me if I say that this rock had in my eyes an interest scarcely less than that which the rod of Moses gave it? Three names were written on it: one of a German, the second of an Englishman, and the third of my early friend, the same which I had seen above the Cataracts of the Nile. When, a few years since, he bade me farewell in my native city, little did I think that I afterwards should trace him beyond the borders of Egypt, and through the wilderness of Sinai, to his grave in Jerusalem!

Again I wrote my name under his, and, returning by the way I came, found the superior still sitting under the fig-tree, and, moving on, we soon reached the convent. He hurried away to his official duties, and I retired to my room. I staid there three or four hours, poring over the scriptural account of the scenes that hallowed the wilderness of Sinai, with an attention that no sound disturbed. Indeed, the stillness of the convent was at all times most extraordinary; day or night

not a sound was to be heard but the tolling of the bell for prayers, or occasionally the soft step of a monk stealing through the cloisters.

In the afternoon I lounged around the interior of the convent. The walls form an irregular quadrangle, of about 150 paces on each side, and, as I before remarked, it has the appearance of a small city. The building was erected by the Empress Helena, the mother of the first Christian emperor, and I might almost call her the mother of the Holy Land. Her pious heart sent her, with the same spirit which afterwards animated the crusaders, to search out the holy places referred to in the Bible; and when she found one, she erected a monument to mark it for the guidance of future Christians; and the pilgrim may see the fruits of her pious labours, from the mountain where God spake in thunder, down to the place where the cock crew when Peter denied his master. The convent is capable of containing several hundred people. It was originally built as a place of defence; but the necessity of keeping it fortified has passed away: a parcel of rusty guns are lying in a sort of armoury, and a few small cannon are frowning from the walls. The cells of the monks, compared with any thing else I had seen in the East, are exceedingly comfortable; on one side, raised about a foot from the floor, is a stone platform, on which the monk spreads his mat and coverlet, and the furniture includes a table, chairs, sometimes two or three books, and the fragment of a looking-glass. There are twenty-four chapels erected to different saints, in which prayers are said regularly in rotation. I went through them, but saw nothing to interest me until I came to the church of the convent. Here I was surprised to find the handsomest Greek church I had seen, except in Russia; the floor and steps were of marble; and distributed around in various places were pillars and columns, the works of ancient artists, plundered from heathen temples, and sent to this lonely spot in the desert by the active piety of the early Christian emperors. The convent was raised in honour of the transfiguration, and the dome of the altar contains a coarse but antique painting of the holy scene. In front, near the great altar, in a coffin covered with rich palls and a silver lid, are the bones of St Catharine, the patroness of the convent. Among the chapels, one, I remember, is dedicated to Constantine and Helena, and another to Justinian and his wife; but the great object of interest is the holy of holies, the spot where God appeared to Moses in the burning bush. A chapel is now erected over it; and the pilgrim, on entering, hears at this day almost the same words which God addressed to Moses, "Put thy shoes from off thy feet, for the ground whereon thou treadest is holy ground;" I pulled off my shoes, and followed my conductor. The place is now bedizened with Grecian ornaments; the rude simplicity of nature, which beheld the interview between God and his servant, is utterly gone, and the burning bush is the last thing one would think of on the spot where it grew.

There are but few objects of interest besides. In one of the chapels are a copy of the Evangelists, written in letters of gold by the Emperor Theodosius, and portraits of the four evangelists and the twelve apostles, and all the psalms of David, written in an inconceivably small space by a young Virgin who came out and died in the desert.

The condition and character of the monks formed a subject of no little interest for my speculating observation; and I investigated their habits and dispositions as closely as bienséance and my inability for conversing with them, except through an interpreter, would permit. So far as I could judge, they seemed perfectly contented; but they were for the most part mere drones and slugs, doing little good for themselves or others, and living idly upon the misapplied bounty of Christian pilgrims. I do not mean to say that they were bad men. Most of them were too simple to be bad; and if there was evil in their nature, they had no temptation to do evil; and, after all, the mere negative goodness which does no harm is not to be lightly spoken of, in a world

so full of restlessness and mischief as this of ours. Many of them had been a long time in the convent, some as much as twenty or thirty years, and one, who was now 105 years old, had been seventy-five years worshipping the Lord, after his fashion, at the foot of Sinai. Among them were a baker, shoemaker, and tailor; they baked, cooked, made and mended for themselves, and had but one other duty to perform, and that was four times daily to kneel down and pray. Nothing could be more dull and monotonous than their lives, and none but the most sluggish or the most philosophic spirit could endure it. They were philosophers without knowing it, and dozed away their existence in one unvarying round of prayer, and meals, and sleep. Their discipline was not rigid, save in one particular, and that a matter in regard to which there has been much discussion with us; they never ate meat; no animal food of any kind is permitted to enter the walls of the convent. During all the various periods of their abode in the convent, some thirty, some forty, and one more than seventy-five years, not one of them had eaten a particle of animal food; and yet I never saw more healthy-looking men. Hardier men I have seen, for they are indolent in their habits, take but little exercise, and in most cases show a strong disposition to corpulency; but I had some little opportunity of testing their ability to endure fatigue; and though the superior soon walked himself out of breath, the monk who guided us up the mountain, and who was more than sixty years old, when he descended, after a hard day's labour, seemed less tired than either Paul or myself. I am aware that climate may make a difference; but, from my own observation and experience, I am perfectly satisfied that, even in our climate, invalids and persons of sedentary habits, and, indeed, all except labouring men, would be much benefited by a total abstinence from animal food. I have travelled for a week at a time, night and day, not under the mild sky of the East, but in the rough climate of Russia, and found myself perfectly able to endure the fatigue upon bread and milk diet; and I have been told that the Tartars who ride post from Constantinople to Bagdad in an incredibly short time, never sleeping, except on horseback, during the whole of their immense journey rigidly abstain from any thing more solid and nutritious than eggs.

The night of my return from the top of Sinai I was awake when the bell tolled for midnight prayers; and, wrapping myself in my Arab cloak, took a small lamp in my hand, and, groping my way along the passage, descended to the chapel, where the monks were all assembled. I leaned behind a protecting pillar, and watched their proceedings; and it was an event of no common interest, thus, at the dead hour of night, to be an unobserved witness of their sincerity, and earnest though erroneous devotion. There was not one among them who did not believe he was doing God good service, and that his works would find acceptance at the throne of grace, and obtain for him that blessed immortality which we are all seeking.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Diet of the Monks.—Advantages of Abstinence.—Scruples Overcome.—A mysterious Brother.—The Convent Burial-place.—Strange Charnel-houses.—Death in a Mask.—Familiarity breeds Contempt.—A Man of two Centuries.—Doubts and Fears.—Parting Gifts.—The Farewell.

THE next day was Sunday, and early in the morning the superior sent for me to come down and take my meal with the holy brotherhood. The monks were all at the table, and it was the first time I had had so good an opportunity of seeing them together. They were about thirty in number, mostly old men with long white beards, all Greeks, and some with faces as noble as Grecian chisel ever traced. There was not a beard at table less than eight inches long; and my own, though it would have been rather distinguished at home, blushed more than its natural red at its comparative insignificance. The table was a long naked board; the vessels were all of

metal, and before each man were a wooden spoon, and a drinking-cup in the form of a porringer. It was Lent, the season of forty or fifty days' fasting, during which even fish, eggs, and oil, are prohibited. A large basin of boiled beans was set before each of the monks; and, besides this, there were black olives, beans in water, salad, vinegar, salt, dates, and bread. My companions had never been pampered with luxuries, and ate their bread and beans with as keen a relish as if they were feasting on turtle and venison, and drank their water as freely as though it were Tokay or Burgundy. The meal was eaten in silence, all appearing of opinion that they came simply to eat; and the only unusual circumstance I remarked was the civility of my immediate neighbours in pushing the tempting viands before me. It was curious to see how they found the way to their mouths through such a wilderness of beard, and the spoon disappearing in a huge red opening, leaving the handle projecting from a bush of hair. The room in which we ate was perhaps sixty feet long, having at one end a chapel and altar, and a reading-desk close by, in which, during the whole of the meal, a monk was reading aloud from the lives of the saints. After dinner the monks all rose, and wiping their mouths, walked in a body to the foot of the altar, and two of them commenced burning incense. One of my neighbours took me by the hand, and led me up with them. There they knelt, prayed, and chanted, and went through a long routine of ceremonies, in which, so far as it was practicable, they carried me with them. They could not get me up and down as fast as they moved themselves, but they flung the incense at me as hard as at the worthiest of them all. I supposed this to be a sort of grace after meat, and that there it would end; but to my surprise and great regret, I found that this was merely preparatory to the administration of the sacrament. It was the second time I had been placed in the same situation; and the second time, and even more earnestly than before, I wished for that state of heart which, according to the notions of its solemnity in which I had been brought up, would have permitted me to join in the sacred rite. I refused the consecrated bread, and the monk, after pausing some moments, apparently in astonishment, passed on to the next. After he had completed the circle, the superior crossed and brought him back again to me; I could not wound the feelings of the good old man, and ate the consecrated bread and drank the wine. May God forgive me if I did wrong; but, though rigid censors may condemn, I cannot believe that I incurred the sin of "the unworthy partaker" by yielding to the benevolent importunity of the kind old priest. After this we walked out on the terrace, under the shade of some venerable grape-vines, and sitting down along the wall, took coffee. The reading-desk was brought out, and the same monk continued reading for more than two hours.

I had noticed that monk before; for he was the same who had conducted me through the church, had visited me in my room, and I had seen him in his cell. He was not more than thirty-five, and his face was as perfect as art could make it; and the sunbeams occasionally glancing through the thick foliage of the vines, and lighting up his pale and chiselled features and long black beard, made him one of those perfect figures for a sketch which I had often dreamed of, but had never seen. His face was thin, pale, and emaciated; the excitement of reading gave it a hectic flush, and he looked like a man who, almost before the springtime of life was over, had drained the cup of bitterness to its dregs. If I am not deceived, he had not always led so peaceful and innocent a life, and could unfold a tale of stirring incident, of wild and high excitement, and perhaps of crime. He was from the island of Tenos, but spoke Italian, and I had talked with him of the islands of Greece, and the ports in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, with many of which he seemed familiar; and then he spoke of the snares and temptations of the world, and his freedom from them in the convent; and, above all, of the perils to which men are exposed by the wiles and witcheries of

the sex; and I could not but imagine that some beautiful Grecian girl, not less than fair, had driven him to the wilderness. One of the other monks told me that it was about the time when the last of the pirates were swept from the Mediterranean that the young islander had buried himself in the walls of the convent. They told me, too, that he was rich, and would give all he had to the fraternity. Poor fellow! they will soon come into possession.

In the garden of the convent is the cemetery of the monks. Though not of a particularly melancholy humour, I am in a small way given to meditation among the tombs; and in many of the countries I have visited, the burial-places of the dead have been the most interesting objects of examination. The superior had promised to show me his graves; and something in the look of the reader reminding me of death and burial, I now told the old man of his promise, and he hobbled off to get the key; for it appeared that the cemetery was not to be visited without his special permission. At the end of a long arbour of grape-vines, a narrow staircase cut in the rock, which I had not seen before, led down to an excavated square of about twenty feet; on the left of which was a small door opening into a vault, where formerly the bodies of the dead monks were laid on an iron bedstead, and there suffered to remain until all the corruptible part was gone, and only the dry bones remained. Now they are buried for about three years, or as long as may be necessary to effect the same object; and when the flesh and muscles have disappeared, the bones are deposited in the great cemetery, the door of which is directly opposite. Within the door is a small antechamber, containing a divan and a portrait of some saint who wandered eighteen years in the desert without meat or drink. From this the door opens into the cemetery, which was so different from any I had ever seen, that I started back on the threshold with surprise. Along the wall was an excavation about thirty feet in length, but of what depth I could not tell. It was enclosed by a fence, which was three or four feet above the ground, and filled with human skulls; and in front, extending along the whole width of the chamber, was a pile of bones about twenty feet high, and running back I could not tell how far. They were very regularly disposed in layers, the feet and shoulders being placed outward alternately, and by the side of the last skeleton was a vacant place for the next that should be ready.

I had seen thousands of Egyptian mummies, and the catacombs of Chioff, the holy city of Russia, where the bodies of the saints are laid in rows, in open coffins, clothed in their best apparel, and adorned with gold and jewels; and in that extraordinary burial-place I had seen, too, a range of small glasses in a dead stone wall, where wild and desperate fanatics had made their own tombs, with their own hands building themselves in an upright position against the walls, leaving a small hole open in front by which to receive their bread and water; and when they died, the small opening was closed with a piece of glass, and the body of the saint was left thus buried. I had seen the catacombs of the Capuchin convent at Syracuse, where the bodies of the monks are dried and laid in open coffins, or fixed in niches in the walls, with their names labelled on their breasts; and in the vault of the convent of Palermo I had seen the bodies of nobles and ladies, the men arranged upright along the walls, dressed as in life, with canes in their hands and swords by their sides; and the noble ladies of Palermo lying in state, their withered bodies clothed in silks and satins, and adorned with gold and jewels; and I remember one among them, who, if then living, would have been but twenty, who two years before had shone in the bright constellation of Sicilian beauty, and, lovely as a light from heaven, had led the dance in the royal palace; I saw her in the same white dress which she had worn at the ball, complete even to the white slippers, the belt around her waist, and the jewelled mockery of a watch hanging at her side, as if she had not done with time for ever; her face was bare, the skin

dry, black, and shrivelled, like burnt paper; the cheeks sunken; the rosy lips a piece of discoloured parchment; the teeth horribly projecting; the nose gone; a wreath of roses around her head, and a long tress of hair curling in each hollow eye. I had seen these things, and even these did not strike me so powerfully as the charnel-house at the convent of Mount Sinai. There was something peculiarly and terribly revolting in this promiscuous heaping together of mortal relics; bones upon bones; the old and young; wise men and fools; good men and bad; martyrs and murderers; masters and servants; bold, daring, and ambitious men—men who would have plucked bright honour from the moon—lying pell-mell with cowards and knaves. The superior told me that there were more than 30,000 skeletons in the cemetery—literally an army of dead men's bones. Besides the pile of skulls and bones, in a chamber adjoining were the bones of the archbishops, in open boxes, with their names and ages labelled on them, and those of two sons of a king of Persia, who came hither on a pilgrimage and died in the convent; their iron shirts, the only dress they wore on their long journey from their father's court, are in the same box. Other skeletons were lying about, some in baskets, and some arranged on shelves, and others tied together and hanging from the roof. In one corner were the bones of St Stephen—not the martyr who was stoned to death at Jerusalem, but some pious anchorite of later and less authentic canonization.

As to the effect upon the mind of such burial-places as this, or the catacombs to which I have referred, I can say from my own experience that they destroy altogether the feeling of solemnity with which we look upon the grave. I remember once, in walking through long rows of dead, arranged like statues in niches of the wall, I remarked to the friar who accompanied me that he promenaded every day among his old acquaintances; and he stopped and opened a box, and took out piece-meal the bones of one who, he said, had been his closest friend, and laughed as he pulled them about, and told me of the fun and jokes they two had had together.

Returning to the convent, and passing through the great chapel on the way to my room, I met one who, in the natural course of things, must soon be borne to the charnel-house I had just left. It was the aged monk of whom I have before spoken; he whose years exceeded by thirty-five the seventy allotted to man. I had desired an opportunity of speaking with him, and was curious to know the workings of his mind. The superior had told me that he had outlived every feeling and affection; that he spent all his time in prayer, and had happily arrived at a new and perfect state of innocence; and I remember, that after comparing him to the lamb, and every other emblem of purity, the good superior ended, with a simplicity that showed his own wonderful ignorance of human nature, by declaring that the old monk was as innocent as a young girl. It occurred to me that this might be a dubious comparison; but as I knew that the monastic life of the old eulogist, and his long seclusion from the world, had prevented him from acquiring any very accurate knowledge of young girls, I understood him to mean the perfection of innocence.

I looked upon the old monk with exceeding interest, as a venerable relic of the past. For more than seventy-five years he had wandered around the holy mountain, prostrating himself daily at the foot of the altar, and with three generations of men, had sung the praises of God under the hallowed peak of Sinai. I approached him, and told him my pleasure in knowing so old and holy a man, and the wonder with which his story would be heard in my own far-distant country. But the old man listened with impatience. The other monks were rather pleased when I stopped to talk with them, but he seemed anxious to get away, and stood, as I supposed, with his hand on his heart, as if pleading some religious duty as an excuse for his haste; but it turned out that he was merely complaining of the emptiness of his stomach, and was hungering for his evening meal. I was sorry to have the interesting picture I had conceived of

this monkish Methuselah marred and effaced by so matter-of-fact an incident; but I describe him as I found him, not as I would have wished him to be.

Ever since I had left Cairo, I had been troubled with misgivings touching my ability to undertake the journey by Petra. I had hoped to recruit during my few days' residence at the convent, but I was obliged to acknowledge to myself that I was, to say the least, no better. The route through Idumea was difficult and dangerous, requiring all the energy of mind and body that perfect health could give; and a wrong movement from the point where I now was might place me in a position in which the loudest cry of distress could never be heard. It was not necessary to inflict upon the reader all my hesitations; it is enough to say, that with one of the strongest efforts of resolution I was ever called upon to make, I abandoned my cherished project of visiting Petra and the land of Idumea; and, with a heavy heart, wrote to Mr Gliddon that I was a broken reed, and was bound on the safe and direct road to Gaza. My kind friend the superior would not hear of me leaving the convent; but I resisted his importunities, and laughingly told him I did not like that unchristian way of burial, cutting up and piling away a man's bones like sticks of firewood to dry. Finding me resolved, he took me to his room, and gave me from his little store of treasures some shells and petrifications (which I threw away when out of his sight), engravings of Mount Sinai, and incidents of which it has been the scene, the rudest and most uncouth conceptions that ever were imagined, and a small box of manna, the same, as he religiously believed, which fed the Israelites during their sojourn in the wilderness. He gave me, too, a long letter, written in modern Greek, and directed to the governor of Gaza, certifying that I was a pilgrim from America; that I had performed all the duties of the pilgrimage, and was now travelling to the holy city of Jerusalem. The letter contained, also, a warm and earnest recommendation to all the Greek convents in the Holy Land to receive and comfort, feed and clothe, and help and succour me, in case of need. Last of all, he put on my finger a ring of the simplest form and substance, and worthy to accompany the palmer's staff of an older age. Every pilgrim to Mount Sinai receives one of these rings; and like the green turban of the Mussulman, which distinguishes the devout hadji who has been to Mecca, among the Christians of the East it is the honoured token of a complete and perfect pilgrimage.

At eight o'clock in the morning the whole convent was in commotion, preparing for my departure. My old Bedouin guide had been out among his tribe, and arrived the night before with three times as many men and camels as I wanted, ready to conduct me to Akaba or Gaza. I took my leave of the holy brotherhood, who now sped me on my way as kindly and warmly as they had welcomed me on my arrival; and, after a long and most affectionate parting with the good old superior, who told me that in all probability he should never see me again, but should always remember me, and begged me not to forget him—assuring me that there in the desert I always had a home, and telling me that if, when I returned to my own country, misfortune should press upon me, and I should find my kindred gone and friends standing aloof, I must shake the dust from off my feet, and come back and live with him in the wilderness—I fastened the rope around me, and was let down for the last time to the foot of the convent-wall. A group of Bedouins, heggars, and dependents upon the charity of the convent, gathered around, and invoked blessings upon me as I started. Twice since my arrival there had been rain. In that dry and thirsty desert, every drop of water falls upon the earth like precious ointment, and "welcome," says the Arab, "is the stranger who brings us rain."

I turned my back upon the rising sun, and felt by comparison on my homeward way; but a long journey was still before me. I had still to cross "the great and terrible desert" of the Bible, which spread before the wandering Israelites its dreary and eternal sands, from the base of Sinai to the Promised Land.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

The Caravan.—A sudden Change of Purpose.—Perils of a Storm.

—Comfortless Repentance.—Solitude.—A Woman and a Chase.

—A Patriarchal Feast.—Condition of the Arab Women.—Hospitality.—No refusing a good Offer.—A Dilemma.

My caravan consisted of five camels, four Arabs, Paul, and myself. We moved silently down the valley, and I tried hard to fasten my thoughts on Gaza, the strong city of the Philistines, the city of Delilah and Samson, and to amuse my discontented spirit with imagining the gates which he carried away, and the temple which he pulled down; but it would not do—Petra, the rock of Edom, the excavated city, was uppermost in my mind. We had been marching in perfect silence about four hours, and I was sitting carelessly on my dromedary, thinking of every thing but what I saw, when Toualeb pointed to a narrow opening in the mountain as the road to Akaba. I raised my head unconsciously, and it struck me, all of a sudden, that I was perfectly recovered, and fit for any journey. It was a day such as can only be seen in the mountainous desert of Arabia, presenting a clearness and purity in the atmosphere, and a gentle freshness in the air, which might almost bring to life a dying man. I stretched myself and brandished my Nubian club; my arm seemed nerved with uncommon vigour; I rose in my saddle strong as the slayer of the Philistines, and, turning the head of my dromedary towards the opening in the mountains, called out briefly and decidedly, to "Akaba and Petra." Paul was astonished; he took the pipe from his mouth, and for a moment paused; then knocking out the ashes, he slipped from his dromedary and ran up to the side of mine, looking up in my face with an expression of countenance that seemed to intimate strong suspicions of my sanity. After gazing at me as steadfastly as he could without being impertinent, he went away, still apparently in doubt, and I soon saw him following with Toualeb, in earnest conversation. Toualeb was even more astonished than Paul. The Arabs are not used to any of these mercurial changes of humour; and, according to their notion, if a man sets out for Gaza, he must go to Gaza: they cannot conceive how one in his right reason can change his mind; and Toualeb would have been very easily persuaded that an evil spirit was hurrying me on, particularly as, like Paul, from the beginning he had opposed my going by Petra and Idumea. Finding me resolute, however, he soon began to run, and brought back the camels, which were some distance in advance, and for several hours we moved on in perfect silence through the wild and rugged defile.

The mountains on each side were high, broken, and rugged, and ever presenting the same appearance of extreme old age. The road, if road it might be called, was rougher than any I had yet travelled; it was the only opening among the mountains by which we could pass at all, made, by the hand of Nature, and so encumbered with fallen rocks that it was exceedingly difficult for our camels to advance. I did not intend to push far that day; and a little before dark I proposed to encamp in a narrow pass between the mountains, where there was barely room to pitch our tents; but appearances threatened rain, and Toualeb, pointing to the accumulation of stones and rocks which had fallen from the mountain and been washed through the pass, told me it would be a dangerous place to spend the night in. There was no earth to drink the falling rain, and, pouring down the hard and naked mountain sides, it formed a torrent in the pass, which hurried and dashed along, gathering force at every moment, and carrying with it bodies of sand and stones that would have crushed to atoms any obstruction they might meet in their resistless progress. I felt at once the force of the suggestion; and as I had no idea of being disturbed in the night by such a knock at the door of my tent as one of these gigantic missiles would have made, we kept on our difficult way. At dark we were still in the ravine. Toualeb was right in his apprehensions; for some time before we reached the end of the pass the rain was falling in torrents, the rocks and stones were washing

under our feet, and we heard the loud roar of thunder, and saw the forked lightning play among the mountain-tops. It was two hours after dark before we reached a place where it was prudent to encamp. We pitched our tent in the open valley; the thunder was rumbling, and ever and anon bursting with a terrific crash among the riven mountains, and the red lightning was flashing around the hoary head of Sinai. It was a scene for a poet or painter; but, under the circumstances, I would have given all its sublimity for a pair of dry pantaloons. Thunder and lightning among mountains are exceedingly sublime, and excellent things to talk about in a ball-room or by the fireside; but my word for it, a man travelling in the desert has other things to think of. Every thing is wet and sloppy; the wind catches under his tent before he can get it pinned down; and when it is fastened, and he finds his tight canvass turning the water like a cemented roof, and begins to rub his hands and feel himself comfortable, he finds but the beginning of trouble in a wet mat and coverlet.

I was but poorly prepared for a change like this, for I had been so long used to a clear, unclouded sky, that I almost considered myself beyond the reach of the changing elements. It was the beauty of the weather more than any thing else that had tempted me to turn off from the road to Gaza; and, hardly equal to this change of scene, my heart almost sank within me. I reproached myself as if for a wilful and unjustifiable disregard of prudence, and no writer on moral duties could have written a better lecture than I inflicted upon myself that evening. In wet clothes, I was literally sitting on the stool of repentance. Drooping and disheartened, I told Paul that I was already punished for my temerity, and the next morning I would go back and resume the road to Gaza. For the night, however, there was but one thing to be done, and that was to sleep if I could, and sleep I did. A man who rides all day upon a dromedary must sleep, come what may, and even thunder among the mountains of Sinai cannot wake him. Daylight brought back my courage; the storm was over; the sun was shining brightly as I ever saw it even in the East; and again there was the same clear and refreshing atmosphere that had beguiled me from my prudent resolution. I, too, was changed again; and in answer to the suggestion of Paul, that we should retrace our steps, I pointed towards Akaba, and gave the brief and emphatic order—"Forward!"

We continued for several hours along the valley, which was closely bounded on either side by mountains, not high, but bare, cracked, and crumbling into fragments. The tops had apparently once been lofty and pointed, but time, and the action of the elements, had changed their character. The summits had crumbled and fallen, so as to expose on every side a rounded surface, and the idea constantly present to my mind was, that the whole range had been shaken by an Almighty hand—shaken so as to break the rugged surface of the mountains, but not with sufficient force to dash them into pieces; I could not help thinking that, with another shock, the whole mass would fall in ruins. I had often remarked the silence and stillness of the desert; but never had I been so forcibly impressed with this peculiarity as since I left the convent. The idea was constantly present to my mind, "How still, how almost fearfully still!" The mountains were bare of verdure; there were no shrubs or bushes, and no rustling of the wind, and the quiet was like that of the ocean in a perfect calm, when there is not a breath of air to curl a wave or shake the smallest fold in the lazy sail that hangs useless from the yard. Occasionally we disturbed a hare or a partridge, but we had not met a human being since we left the convent. Once we saw the track of a solitary dromedary, the prints of his feet deeply bedded in the sand, as if urged by one hurrying with hot haste; perhaps some Bedouin robber flying to his tent among the mountains with the plunder of some desert victim. We followed it for more than an hour, and when we lost sight of it on the rocky road, I felt as if we were more lonely than before.

I was thinking what an incident it would be in the life of one used to the hurrying bustle of steam-boats and rail-roads, to travel for days through this oldest of countries without meeting a living being; and as far as I could understand, it might well be so; and there was no trade even for small caravans, and years passed by without any person, even an Arab, travelling this road. Toualeb had been over it but once, and that was ten years before, when he accompanied M. Laborde on his way to Petra. I knew that there were Bedouin tents among the mountains, but, unless by accident, we might pass through without seeing any of them; and I was speculating on the chances of our not meeting a single creature, when Paul cried out that he saw a woman; and soon after repeating the exclamation, dismounted and gave chase. Toualeb ran after him, and in another moment or two I caught a glimpse and followed.

I have before mentioned that, among these barren and desolate mountains, there was frequently a small space of ground, near some fountain or deposit of water, known only to the Arabs, capable of producing a scanty crop of grass to pasture a few camels and a small flock of sheep or goats. There the Bedouin pitches his tent, and remains till the scanty product is consumed; and then packs up his household goods, and seeks another pasture-ground. The Bedouins are essentially a pastoral people; their only riches are their flocks and herds, their home is in the wide desert, and they have no local attachments; to-day they pitch their tent among the mountains, to-morrow in the plain; and wherever they plant themselves for the time, all that they have on earth, wife, children, and friends, are immediately around them. In fact, the life of the Bedouin, his appearance and habits, are precisely the same as those of the patriarchs of old. Abraham himself, the first of the patriarchs, was a Bedouin, and 4000 years have not made the slightest alteration in the character and habits of this extraordinary people. Read of the patriarchs in the Bible, and it is the best description you can have of pastoral life in the East at the present day.

The woman whom we had pursued belonged to the tent of a Bedouin not far from our road, but completely hidden from our view; and when overtaken by Toualeb, she recognised in him a friend of her tribe, and in the same spirit, and almost in the same words which would have been used by her ancestors 4000 years ago, she asked us to her tent, and promised us a lamb or a kid for supper. Her husband was stretched on the ground in front of his tent, and welcomed us with an air and manner that belonged to the desert, but which a king on his throne could not have excelled. He was the embodied personification of all my conceptions of a patriarch. A large loose frock, a striped handkerchief on his head, bare legs, sandals on his feet, and a long white beard, formed the outward man. Almost immediately after we were seated, he took his shepherd's crook, and, assisted by his son, selected a lamb from the flock for the evening meal; and now I would fain prolong the illusion of this pastoral scene. To stop at the door of an Arab's tent, and partake with him of a lamb or kid prepared by his hospitable hands, all sitting together on the ground, and provided with no other implements than those which Nature gave us, is a picture of primitive and captivating simplicity; but the details were such as to destroy for ever all its poetry, and take away all relish for patriarchal feasts. While we were taking coffee, the lamb lay bleating in our ears, as if conscious of its coming fate. The coffee drunk, and the pipe smoked, our host arose and laid his hand upon the victim; the long sword which he wore over his shoulder was quickly drawn; one man held the head, and another the hind legs; and, with a rapidity almost inconceivable, it was killed and dressed, and its smoking entrails, yet curling with life, were broiling on the fire.

I was the guest of the evening, and had no reason to complain of the civility of my entertainer; for, with the air of a well-bred host, and an epicure to boot, he drew from the burning coals one of the daintiest pieces, about a yard and a half in length, and rolling one end between

the palms of his hands to a tapering point, broke off about a foot and handed it to me. Now I was by no means dainty. I could live upon the coarsest fare, and all the little luxuries of tables, knives and forks, were of very little moment in my estimation. I was prepared to go full length in this patriarchal feast. But my indifference was not proof against the convivial elegances of my companions; and as I saw yard after yard disappear, like long strings of macaroni, down their capacious throats, I was cured of all poetical associations and my appetite together.

In the tent of the Arabian patriarch, woman, the pride, the ornament, and the charm of domestic life, is the mere household drudge. In vain may one listen for her light footstep, or look to find her by the side of her natural lord, giving a richer charm to the hospitality he is extending to a stranger. It would repay one for much of the toil and monotony of a journey in the desert, if, when by chance he found himself at a Bedouin tent, he could be greeted by her sunny smile. Dark and swarthy as she is, and poor and ignorant, it would pay the traveller for many a weary hour to receive his welcome from the lips of an Arabian girl. But this the customs of the tribes forbid. When the stranger approaches, the woman retires; and so completely is she accustomed to this seclusion, that, however closely he may watch, he can never catch her even peeping at him from behind a screen or partition of the tent; curiosity, which in civilised life is so universally imputed to the daughters of Eve, seems entirely unknown to the sex in this wild region. Nor is this the worst of her lot. Even when alone, the wife of the Bedouin is not regarded as his equal; the holy companionship of wedded life has between them no existence. Even when no guest is present, she never eats with him. I have seen the father and sons sit down together, and when they had withdrawn from the tent, the mother and daughters came in to what was left. Away, then, with all dreams of superior happiness in this more primitive condition of society. Captivating as is the wild idea of roving abroad at will, unfettered by the restraints of law or of conventional observances, the meanest tenant of a log-hut in our western prairies has sources of happiness which the wandering Arab can never know. A spirit of perfect weariness and dissatisfaction with the world might drive a man to the desert, and, after having fallen into the indolent and mere animal habits of savage life, he might find it difficult to return to the wholesome restraints and duties of society; but I am satisfied that it is sheer affectation or ignorance in which a member of the civilised family sighs, or pretends to sigh, for the imagined delights of an untried freedom. For my own part, I had long been satisfied of this truth, and did not need the cumulative evidence of my visit to the Bedouin's tent. He would have had me sleep under its shelter; but I knew that in all the Bedouin tents there were multitudes of enemies to rest—creatures that murder sleep; and I preferred the solitude of my own.

One word as to the hospitality of the Arabs. I had read beautiful descriptions of its manifestation, and in some way or other had gathered up the notion that the Bedouin would be offended by an offer to reward his hospitality with a price; but, feeling naturally anxious not to make a blunder on either side of a question so delicate, I applied to my guide Toualeb for information on the subject. His answer was brief and explicit. He said there was no obligation to give or pay, it being the custom of the Bedouins (among friendly tribes) to ask the wayfarer man into his tent, give him food and shelter, and send him on his way in the morning; that I could give or not, as I pleased; but that, if I did not, the hospitable host would wish his lamb alive again; and from the exceeding satisfaction with which that estimable person received my parting gift, I am very sure that in this instance, at least, I did better in taking Toualeb's knowledge of his people for my guide than I should have done by acting upon what I had read in books. It may be that, if I had gone among them poor and friendless, I should have been received in the same

manner, and nothing would have been expected or received from me; but I am inclined to think, from what I saw afterwards, that in such case the lamb would have been spared for a longer term of existence, and the hospitality confined to a dip into the dish and a mat at the door of the tent.

Early in the morning we left the tent of our Bedouin landlord. We were still among mountains; at every moment a new view presented itself, wild, fanciful, and picturesque; and in the distance was still visible the long range of dark mountains bordering the Red Sea. Our course was now directly for this sea, but the mountain range appeared so contiguous and unbroken that there seemed no way of getting to it but by crossing their rugged summits. There was a way, however; an opening which we could not distinguish at so great a distance, and for some time Toualeb was at a loss. He was so purblind that he could scarcely distinguish me from one of his dark companions, yet he could read the firmament like a book, and mark the proportions of the almost shapeless mountains; but he was uncertain how to hit precisely the opening by which we must pass through. There was no danger of our losing ourselves, and the only hazard was that of wasting a day in the search; but, fortunately, at the commencement of our perplexity, we came upon a Bedouin whose tent was at the foot of the mountain; and, under his instructions, we pushed on with confidence and ultimate success.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Evening Amusements.—A Trial of the Feelings.—A Disappointment.—A Santon of the Desert.—An Arab Fisherman.—Turkish Costume.—A potent Official.—A Comfortless Sick-room.—A Visit from the Sheik.—Interested Friendship.—Akaba.—The El Alouins.—Questionable Piety.

It was late in the afternoon when our little caravan entered the narrow opening, presenting itself like a natural door between precipitous rocks several hundred feet in height. Passing this, and continuing onward to a vast amphitheatre, or hollow square of lofty rocks through a larger opening on our left, we again saw the dark waters of the Red Sea. About midway across I dismounted from my dromedary to survey the scene around me; and among the many of high interest presented to the traveller in the wilderness of Sinai, I remember none more striking and impressive. It was neither so dreary and desolate, nor so wild and terrible, as others I had seen, but different from all. The door by which we entered was undistinguishable, the rocks in the background completely closing it to the sight; on all sides except towards the sea, and forming almost a perfect square, were the naked faces of the rock, lofty, smooth, and regular, like the excavated sides of an ancient quarry, and quiet to that extraordinary and indescribable degree of which I have already spoken. Descending towards the opening that led to the sea, directly under us was an extensive and sandy plain, reaching to its very margin; and nearly opposite, rising abruptly from the clear waters, a long unbroken range of steep and rugged mountains, their dark irregular outline finely contrasted with the level surface at their feet, while the sea itself extended on the right and left as far as the eye could reach in that clear atmosphere; but the first stage of my journey, the head of the gulf, and the little fortress of Akaba, were still invisible.

We rode about an hour along the shore, passing at a distance the tents of some Bedouins; and about an hour before dark, encamped in a grove of wild palm-trees, so near the sea that the waves almost reached the door of my tent. When the moon rose, I walked for an hour along the shore, and, musing upon the new scenes which every day was presenting me, picked up some shells and bits of coral as memorials of the place. I am no stargazer, but I had learned to look up at the stars; and though I knew most of them merely by sight, I felt an attraction towards them as faces I had seen at home;

while the Great Bear with his pointers, and the North Star, seemed my particular friends.

Returning to my tent, I found my Bedouins, with some strangers from the tents which we had passed, sitting round a fire of the branches of palm-trees, smoking, and telling stories as extravagant as any in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. I sat down with them a few moments, then entered my tent, and lay down on my mat on the very shore of the sea, and was lulled to sleep by the gentle murmur of its waters.

In the morning Paul told me that there was a strange Arab outside, who wanted to see me. When we first came down from the mountain on the preceding day, a Bedouin had come out and requested me to turn aside and visit a sick man in his tent. In their perfect ignorance of the healing art, the Arabs believe every stranger to be a hakim; and so great is their confidence in the virtue of medicine, and so great their indifference to the hands from which they receive it, that the path of the traveller is constantly beset with applications from the sick or their friends. I had been so often besought and entreated to cure blindness, deafness, and other maladies beyond even the reach of medical skill, that now I paid little attention to such applications; and when this last request was made, after inquiring into the symptoms of the case, I told the messenger that I could do the sick man no good, and passed on. This morning Paul told me that the patient himself had come over during the night, and was then at the door, begging me to cure him. Paul had told him of my utter inability, but he would not be satisfied; and when I went out of my tent, he was sitting directly before the door, a thin, ghastly figure; and opening his mouth and attempting an inarticulate jabber, there fell out a tongue so festered to the very throat, that the sight of it made me sick. I told him that it was utterly out of my power to help him; that I knew no more of the healing art than he did himself; and that the only advice I could give him was to endeavour to get to Cairo, and put himself under the hands of a physician. I shall never forget the poor fellow's look, and almost blamed myself for not giving him some simple preparation, which might have cheated him, at least for a few days, with the hope that he might escape the tomb to which he was hurrying. His hands fell lifeless by his side, as if he had heard a sentence of death; he gave me a look which seemed to say that it was all my fault, and fell senseless on the ground. His two companions lifted him up; his faithful dromedary knelt to receive him; and as he turned away, he cast a reproachful glance towards me, which made me almost imagine myself guilty of his death. I have no doubt that, long before this, the poor Arab is dead, and that in his dying moments, when struggling with the king of terrors, he has seen in his distracted visions the figure of the hard-hearted stranger, who, as he thought, might have saved him, but would not.

Anxious to escape an object so painful to my feelings, I walked on, and was soon busily engaged in picking up shells and coral; of the former I never saw so many as at this place. Some were particularly beautiful, but exceedingly delicate, and difficult to be carried. The first day I could have loaded a camel with them. The coral, too, such as it was, lay scattered about in lavish profusion. I remember, the first piece Paul found, he rubbed his hands like the toiling and untiring alchemist when he thinks he has discovered the philosopher's stone; but when he came to a second, he threw away the first, in the same spirit in which the Irishman, on his arrival in America, the El Dorado of his dreams, threw down a sixpence which he had picked up in the street, assuring himself that there was more where that came from. Some of this coral was exceedingly beautiful; we did not know its value, but I did not think very highly of it merely from the circumstance of its lying there in such abundance. It was not the rock or branch coral, but a light porous substance, resembling very much the honeycomb. Paul gathered a large quantity of it, and contrived to carry it to Jerusalem, though it got very much broken on the way. He had the satisfaction of

knowing, however, that he had not sustained any great loss; for, on our first visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, we found in the porch a green-turbaned Mussulman, who, returning from his pilgrimage to Mecca, had thought to indemnify himself for the expense and fatigue of his long and dreary journey with this treasure of the sea. Paul took up a large piece and asked him the price, when the Mussulman, with an air as dejected in telling as was that of Paul in hearing it, told him two paras, a para being about one-eighth of a cent; and the next day I saw before the door of the convent at which we were staying a large heap of the coral which Paul had been so careful in carrying; and after that he talked only of his shells, the value of which was not yet ascertained.

At about twelve o'clock, close by the shore, we came to a stunted wild palm-tree, with a small stone fence around it; and looking down from my dromedary, I saw extended on the ground the figure of an Arab. I at first thought he was dead; but at the noise of our approach, he raised his head from a stone which served him as a pillow, and the first greeting he gave us was to ask for bread. Among all the habitations of hermits I had yet seen, in caves, among rocks or mountains, there was none which could be compared with this by the shore of the sea; a small fence, but little higher than his recumbent body, protected him from the wind; the withered branches of the palm-tree were his only covering; his pillow a stone, and the bare earth his bed; and when he crawled out and stood before us, erect as age and infirmity would allow, I thought I had never seen such a miserable figure. I could not have believed, without seeing it, that any thing so wretched, made in God's image, existed on the earth. He was more than sixty; his face was dried, and seamed with the deep wrinkles of age and exposure; his beard long and white, and his body thin to emaciation. Over his shoulders and breast was a miserable covering of rags, but the rest of his body was perfectly naked: his skin was dry, horny, and covered with blotches resembling large scales, which, on his legs, and particularly over his knees, stood out like the gravies of an ancient coat of mail; and he looked like one who literally crawled on his belly and looked the dust of the earth. He reminded me of the wild hermit of Engaddi, who came out upon the Saracen emir when he journeyed with the Knight of the Leopard on the shore of the Dead Sea. And this man was a saint, and my Arabs looked on him with respect and reverence; and when he died, a public tomb would be erected over him, and they upon whose charity he now lived would resort to it as a shrine of prayer. We gave him some bread, and left him in his solitary den; and before we had got out of sight, he had crawled back under his palm-leaves, and was again resting upon his pillow of stone. In our busy and stirring world, we cannot imagine the possibility of existing in such a dromish state; but in all probability that man would lie there till the bread he gave him was exhausted, and when he had taken his last morsel, again lie down in hope that more would come.

About an hour afterwards we came upon a fisherman stealing along the shore with his net in his hand, looking into the sea, and ready to throw it when he saw any fish. The process, like every thing else that one sees here, is perfectly primitive, and carries the beholder back to the early days of this ancient country. Carrying the net on his left arm crooked, cleared and prepared for a throw, with the one end in his right hand, and taking advantage of ripples made by the wind, and the sun throwing his shadow behind him, he runs along the shore until he sees a shoal of fish, when, with a gentle jerk, and without any noise, he throws his net, which opens and spreads as it falls, so that a little thing, which could be put easily into a hat, expands sufficiently to cover a surface of twenty or thirty feet. While running along with us, he threw several times; and as he managed his craft with skill, never throwing until he saw something, he was always successful. I could not make any thing out of the Arabic name of the fish, but I have

the flavour of them still on my tongue; a flavour at the moment finer than that of the sole or turbot of Paris, or the trout of Long Island.

In the afternoon the weather changed. Since we first struck the sea, our road along its shore had been one of uncommon beauty, and my time passed very pleasantly, sometimes allowing my dromedary to cool his feet in the clear water, sometimes dismounting to pick up a shell, and all the time having a warm sun and a refreshing breeze; but it was my fortune to see this ancient country under every hue of the changing elements. The sun was now obscured; a strong wind came down the sea directly in our teeth; the head of the gulf was cut off from our view; the sea was troubled, and the white caps were dancing on its surface; the dark mountains looked darker and more lonely; while before us a rainbow was forming over the point of Akaba, which threw itself across the gulf to the east, marking in the firmament, with its rich and varied colours, the figure of the crescent. Soon after, we were in the midst of a perfect hurricane. Several times during the day I had wished to float upon the bosom of the tranquil sea, and had looked in vain for some boat or fisherman's skiff to carry me up the gulf; but I now shrank from the angry face of the deep, and, under the shelter of an impending rock, listened to the fierce whistling of the wind, and the crashing of the thunder among the mountains.

In the morning the storm was over, and the atmosphere pure, clear, and refreshing as before; but as a set-off to the pleasure of returning sunshine, Toualeb told me that we had passed the boundaries of the friendly tribes, and that we must look to our weapons, for we were now among strangers, and perhaps enemies. Here, too, for the first time, I put on my Turkish dress, being that of a merchant of Cairo, with the addition of pistols and sabre; but, fearful of taking cold, I cut down an old coat and tied up a pair of pantaloons, so as to have a complete suit under the large white trousers and red silk gown which formed the principal items of my dress. The red turban I had worn ever since I had been in Egypt; but I now rolled round it a green and yellow striped handkerchief, to which Toualeb gave the proper twist; and, with my yellow slippers and red shoes over them, sash, pistols, sword, and long beard, I received the congratulations and compliments of my friends upon my improved appearance.

Indeed, I played the Turk well. Different from my notions of the appearance of the Turks, they have generally light and florid complexions; and if I could have talked their language, dressed as a Turk, they could not have judged from my appearance that I had ever been outside the walls of old Stamboul. There is no exaggeration in the unanimous reports of travellers of the effect which the costumes of the East give to personal appearance; and having seen and known it even in my own person, I am inclined to believe that there is fallacy in the equally prevalent opinion of the personal beauty of the Turks. Their dress completely hides all deformity of person, and the variety of colours, the arms and the long beard, divert the attention of the observer from a close examination of features. The striking effect of costume is strongly perceptible in the soldiers of the sultan, and the mongrel, half European uniform in which he has put them, and which they are not by any means an uncommonly fine-looking set of men. These soldiers are taken wherever they are caught, and, consequently, are a fair specimen of the Turkish race; and any English regiment will turn out finer men than the best in the sultan's army. Following my example, Paul also slipped into his Bedouin shirt, and could hardly be distinguished from the best Arab of them all.

Again our road lay along the shore, so near that sometimes we had to dismount and pick our way over the rocks, and at others our dromedaries bathed their feet in the water. In one place the side of the mountain rose so directly and abruptly from the water's edge, that we had to turn aside and pass around it, coming again to the shore after about an hour's ride. Here we saw



the gulf narrowing towards its extremity; and on the opposite side a cluster of palm-trees, within which, and completely hidden from view, was the end of our first stage, the fortress of Akaba. Never was the sight of one of the dearest objects on earth, home to the wanderer, land to the sailor, or a mistress to the lover, more welcome than the sight of those palm-trees to me. The malady under which I had been labouring had grown upon me every day; and in spite of all that was rich and interesting, time after time I had regretted my rashness in throwing myself so far into the desert. The repose, therefore, which awaited me at Akaba, seemed the most precious thing on earth.

Towards evening we could see Akaba more distinctly, though still on the opposite side of the gulf, and still at a formidable distance to me. A brisk trot would have carried me there in an hour; but this was more than I could bear, supported as I was by a mattress on each side of me, and barely able to sustain the slow and measured movement of a walk. Night was again coming on, and heavy clouds were gathering in the east. I was extremely anxious to sleep within the fortress that night; and fearful that a stranger would not be admitted after dark, I sent Paul ahead with my compliments to the governor, and the modest request that he would keep the gates open till I came.

A governor is a governor all the world over. Honour and respect attend him wherever he may be; whether the almost regal governor-general of India, the untitled chief magistrate of our own democratic state, or the governor of a little fortress on the shore of the Red Sea. But there are some governors one may take a liberty with, and others not; and of the former class was my friend of Akaba. His name was Suliman, his title aga, and therefore he was called Suliman Aga. He had his appointment by favour of the pacha, and permission to retain it by favour of the Bedouins around; he had under him nominally a garrison of Mogrebbin soldiers, but they were as restive as some of our own unbroken militia; and like many a worthy disciplinarian among us, he could do just as he pleased with them, if he only let them have their own way. He was, in short, an excellent governor, and I gave him two dollars and a recommendation at parting.

But I am going too fast. I arrived before dark, and in such a state that I almost fell from my dromedary in dismounting at the gate of the fortress. The first glance told me that this was not the place of rest I had promised myself. Half a dozen Mogrebbin from the shores of Morocco, the most tried and faithful of the hired troops of the pacha, were sitting on a mat within the gate, smoking their long pipes, with their long guns, swords, and pistols, hanging above their heads. They rose and gave me a seat beside them, and the whole of the little population of the fortress, and the Bedouins living under the palm-trees outside, gathered around to gaze at the stranger. The great caravan of pilgrims from Mecca had left them only three days before; and, except upon the passing and return of the caravan, years pass by without a stranger ever appearing at the fortress. They had heard of my coming, for the sheik had waited two days after the departure of the caravan, and had only gone that morning, leaving directions with the governor to send for him as soon as I arrived. I was somewhat surprised at his confidence in my coming, for when I saw him, I was very far from being decided; but in the miserable condition in which I found myself, I hailed it as a favourable omen. The governor soon came, and was profuse in his offers of service, beginning, of course, with coffee and a pipe, which I was forced to decline, apologising on the ground of my extreme indisposition, and begged to be conducted to a room by myself. The governor rose and conducted me, and every Bedouin present followed after; and when I came to the room by myself, I had at least forty of them around me. Once Paul prevailed on some of them to go out; but they soon came back again, and I was too ill to urge the matter.

The very aspect of the room into which I was shown

prostrated the last remains of my physical strength. It was 80 or 100 feet long, 40 feet wide, and about as many high, having on one side a dead wall, being that of the fortress, and on the other, two large windows without shutters, and the door; the naked floor was of mud, and so were the walls and ceiling. I looked for one spot less cheerless than the rest; and finding at the upper end a place where the floor was elevated about a foot, with a feeling of despondency I have seldom known, I stretched my mattress in the extreme corner, and, too far gone to have any regard to the presence of the governor or his Arab soldiers, threw myself at full length upon it. I was sick in body and soul; for besides the actual and prostrating debility under which I was labouring, I had before me the horrible certainty that I was completely cut off from all medical aid, and from all the comforts which a sick man wants. I was ten days from Cairo; to go there in person was impossible; and if I should send, I could not obtain the aid of a physician in less than twenty-five or thirty days, if at all; and before that I might be past his help. When I left Cairo, Dr Walne had set me up, so that I held out tolerably well until I reached Mount Sinai; and, moreover, had given me sundry medicines, with directions for their use under particular circumstances; but my symptoms had so completely changed, that the directions, if not the medicines themselves, were entirely useless. In a spirit of desperation, however, I took them out, and not knowing where to begin, resolved to go through the whole catalogue in such order as chance might direct. I began with a double dose of cathartic powders, and while lying on my mat, I was diverted from the misery of my own gloomy reflections by the pious conversation of the Mussulman governor. If God willed, he said, I would soon get well; himself and his wife had been ill three months, and had no physician, but God willed that they should recover, and they did; and as I looked in his believing face and those of the Bedouins, I found myself gradually falling into the fatalism of their creed. I shall never forget the manner in which I passed that night, and the sombre fancies that chased each other through my brain. A single lamp threw a dim and feeble light through the large apartment, scarcely revealing the dusky forms of the sleeping Bedouins, with their weapons by their sides, and I was the only one awake. Busy memory called up all the considerations that ought to have prevented my taking such a journey, and the warning voice of my friend at Cairo, "Turn your steps westward," again rang in my ears. I saw the figure of the dead Tartar at Suez, like me a wanderer from home, and buried by strangers in the sandy desert; and so nervous and desponding had I become, that the words of the prophet in regard to the land of Idumea, "None shall pass through it for ever and ever," struck upon my heart like a funeral knell. I was now upon the borders of Edom; and, in the despondency of sickness, I looked upon myself as rash and impious, in undertaking what might be considered a defiance of the prophetic denunciations inspired by God himself.

In the morning I was worse; and following up my almost desperate plan of treatment, commenced the day with a double emetic. The governor came in; and though I tried to keep the door shut, another and another followed, till my room was as public as any part of the fortress. Indeed, it was by far the most public, for all the rest was stripped of its bronzed figures to ornament my room. Annoyed to death by seeing twenty or thirty pairs of fiery black eyes constantly fixed upon me, I remembered, with feelings of envy, my tent in the desert. There I could at least be alone, and I resolved, at all hazards, not to pass another night in the fortress.

In the midst of my exceeding perplexities, the sheik of Akaba, my friend of Cairo, made his appearance. I was in a pitiable condition when he entered, under the immediate operation of my emetic, with the whole of the Mogrebbin guard and every beggarly Bedouin about the fortress staring at me. He looked surprised and

startled when he saw me; but with a glimmering of good sense, though, as I thought, with unnecessary harshness, told me that I would die if I staid there, and that he was ready to set out with me at a moment's notice. By the advice of Mr Gliddon, my plan had been to make this my place of negotiation and arrangement, and not to proceed farther without having all things definitely explained and settled. But I was in no condition to negotiate, and was ready to do any thing to get away from the fortress. He was exceedingly anxious to start immediately, and gave me a piece of information that almost lifted me from the ground—namely, that he could provide me with a horse of the best blood of Arabia for the whole of the journey. He could not have given me more grateful intelligence, for the bare idea of again mounting my dromedary deprived me of all energy and strength. I had endeavoured to procure a sort of palanquin, to be swung between two camels; but so destitute was the fortress of all kinds of material, that it was impossible to make it. When he spoke to me, then, of a horse, it made me a new man; and, without a moment's hesitation, I told him that if he would give me till five o'clock in the afternoon, I would be ready to set out with him. One thing I did not like. I wished and designed to take with me my faithful Toualeb; but he had told me that he did not believe that the El Alouins would allow it; and when he spoke to the sheik, the latter had positively refused, pretending that all was arranged between us at Cairo. I was fain, therefore, to abandon the idea, not having energy to insist upon any thing that was disputed, and to trust every thing to fortune and the sheik. I told Paul to do all that was necessary; and begging to be left alone for a few hours, I laid myself down upon my mat, and, worn out with the watching of the last night, and the excitement of thinking and deciding on my future movements, quickly fell asleep.

At five o'clock the sheik returned, punctual to his appointment; I had slept soundly, and awoke somewhat refreshed. The room was again filled with the Bedouins, and I was as ready to go as he was to take me. He had ordered what was necessary upon the journey for man and beast, and provisions for six camels and ten men for ten days. I gave Paul my purse, and told him to pay, and, walking to the gate of the fortress, a dozen Arabs helped me to my saddle; they would have taken me up in their arms and carried me, and, when I had mounted, they would have taken up the horse and carried him too, so great a friendship had they already conceived for me. But the friendship was not for what I was, but for what I had. They had welcomed me as they would have welcomed a bag of gold; and I had scarcely mounted before they all, governor, Mogrebbin soldiers, and Bedouins, began to clamour for bucksheesh. Ten years before, M. Laborde had passed along this route, and stopped at the fortress while waiting for the sheik who was to guide and protect him to Petra; and having in view the purpose of preparing the great work which has since given him such merited reputation, he had scattered money and presents with a most liberal hand. M. Laborde himself was not personally known to any of those now at the fortress; but his companion, Mr Linant, of whom I have before spoken, was known to them all; and they all had heard of the gold shower in which M. Laborde appeared among them. They therefore expected the same from me; and when Paul had got through his distribution, I was startled at perceiving the dissatisfied air with which they received a bucksheesh that would have overwhelmed any other Arabs with joy and gratitude.

But I must not hurry the reader from Akaba with the same eagerness which I displayed in leaving it. This little fortress is seldom visited by travellers, and it is worth a brief description. It stands at the extremity of the eastern or Elicanic branch of the Red Sea, at the foot of the sandstone mountains, near the shore, and almost buried in a grove of palm-trees, the only living things in that region of barren sands. It is the last stopping-place of the caravan of pilgrims on

its way to Mecca, being yet thirty days' journey from the tomb of the Prophet, and, of course, the first at which they touch on their return. Except at the time of these two visits, the place is desolate from the beginning of the year to its close; the arrival of a traveller is of exceedingly rare occurrence, and seldom does even the wandering Bedouin stop within its walls; no ship rides in its harbour, and not even a solitary fishing-boat breaks the stillness of the water at its feet. But it was not always so desolate, for this was the Ezion-geber of the Bible, where, 3000 years ago, King Solomon made a navy of ships, which brought from Ophir gold and precious stones for the great temple at Jerusalem; and again, at a later day, a great city existed here, through which, at this distant point of the wilderness, the wealth of India was conveyed to imperial Rome. But all these are gone, and there are no relics or monuments to tell of former greatness; like the ships which once floated in the harbour, all have passed away. Still, ruined and desolate as it is, to the eye of feeling the little fortress is not without its interest; for, as the governor told me, it was built by the heroic Saladin.

I had taken leave of my trusty Toualeb, and was again in the hands of strangers; and I do not deceive myself when I say, that on the very borders of Edom I noticed a change for the worse in the appearance of the Bedouins. According to the reports of travellers and writers, those with whom I now set out from Akaba belonged to one of the most lawless tribes of a lawless race, and they were by far the wildest and fiercest-looking of all I had yet seen; with complexions bronzed and burnt to blackness; dark eyes, glowing with a fire approaching to ferocity; figures thin and shrunken, though sinewy; chests standing out, and ribs projecting from the skin, like those of a skeleton. The sheik, like myself, was on horseback, dressed in a red silk gown like my own, and over it a large cloak of scarlet cloth, both the gifts of Messieurs Linant and Laborde; a red tarbouch with a shawl rolled round it, long red boots, and a sash; and carried pistols, a sword, and a spear about twelve feet long, pointed with steel at both ends; his brother, too, wore a silk gown, and carried pistols and sword, and the rest were armed with swords and matchlock guns, and wore the common Bedouin dress; some of them almost no dress at all. We had moved some distance from the fortress without a word being uttered, for they neither spoke to me nor with each other. I was in no humour for talking myself, but it was unpleasant to have more than a dozen men around, all bending their keen eyes upon me, and not one of them uttering a word. With a view to making some approach to acquaintance, and removing their jealousy of me as a stranger, I asked some casual question about the road; but I might better have held my peace, for it seemed that I could not well have hit upon a subject more displeasing. My amiable companions looked as black as midnight, and one of them, a particularly swarthy and truculent-looking fellow, turned short round, and told me that I had too much curiosity, and that he did not understand what right a Christian had to come there and hunt up their villages, take down their names, &c. But the sheik came in as mediator, and told them that I was a good man; that he had been to my house in Cairo, and that I was no spy; and so this cloud passed off. I did not mean to go far that afternoon, for I had left the fortress merely to get rid of the crowd, and return to fresh air and quiet; and in less than an hour I again pitched my tent in the desert. Finding plenty of brush, we kindled a large fire, and all sat down around it. It was a great object with me to establish myself on a good footing with my companions at the outset; and, more fortunate on my second attempt, before one round of coffee and pipes was over, the sheik turned to me, and with all the extravagance of Eastern hyperbole, said he thanked God for having permitted us again to see each other's face, and that I had been recovering since I saw his face; and, turning his eyes to heaven, with an expression of deep and confiding piety, he added, "God grant that you may soon become a strong man!"

and then the others all took their pipes from their mouths, and turning up their eyes to heaven, the whole band of breechless desperadoes added, "Wullah—Wullah!"—"God grant it!"

## CHAPTER XX.

Prophecy and Fulfilment.—Unpleasant Suggestions.—The Denounced Land.—Management.—A Rencontre.—An Arab's Cunning.—The Camel's Hump.—Adventure with a Lamb.—Mount Hor.—Delicate Negotiations.—Approach to Petra.

I HAD now crossed the borders of Edom. Standing near the shore of the Elanitic branch of the Red Sea, the doomed and accursed land lay stretched out before me, the theatre of awful visitations and their more awful fulfilment; given to Esau as being of the fatness of the earth, but now a barren waste, a picture of death, an eternal monument of the wrath of an offended God, and a fearful witness to the truth of the words spoken by his prophets—"For my sword shall be bathed in heaven: behold it shall come down upon Idumea, and upon the people of my curse, to judgment." "From generation to generation it shall lie waste; none shall pass through it for ever and ever. But the cormorant and the bittern shall possess it; the owl also and the raven shall dwell in it; and he shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion and the stones of emptiness. They shall call the nobles thereof to the kingdom, but none shall be there, and all her princes shall be nothing. And thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof: and it shall be a habitation of dragons, and a court for owls. The wild beasts of the desert shall also meet with the wild beasts of the island, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow: the screech-owl also shall rest there, and find for herself a place of rest. There shall the great owl make her nest, and lay, and hatch, and gather under her shadow: there shall the vultures also be gathered, every one with her mate. Seek ye out the book of the Lord, and read: no one of these shall fail, none shall want her mate: for my mouth it hath commanded, and his spirit it hath gathered them. And he hath cast the lot for them, and his hand hath divided it unto them by line: they shall possess it for ever; from generation to generation shall they dwell therein."—Isaiah xxxiv.

I read in the sacred book prophecy upon prophecy and curse upon curse against the very land on which I stood. I was about to journey through this land, and to see with my own eyes whether the Almighty had stayed his uplifted arm, or whether his sword had indeed come down "upon Idumea, and the people of his curse, to judgment." I have before referred to Keith on the Prophecies, where, in illustrating the fulfilment of the prophecies against Idumea, "none shall pass through it for ever and ever," after referring to the singular fact that the great caravan routes existing in the days of David and Solomon, and under the Roman empire, are now completely broken up, and that the great hadji routes to Mecca from Damascus and Cairo lie along the borders of Idumea, barely touching, and not passing through it, he proves by abundant references that to this day no traveller has ever passed through the land.

The Bedouins who roam over the land of Idumea have been described by travellers as one of their race. "The Arabs about Akaba," says Poccocke, "are a very bad people and notorious robbers, and are at war with all others." Mr Joliffe alludes to it as one of the wildest and most dangerous divisions of Arabia; and Burckhardt says, "that for the first time he had ever felt fear during his travels in the desert, and his route was the most dangerous he had ever travelled;" that he had "nothing with him that could attract the notice or excite the cupidity of the Bedouins," and was "even stripped of some rags that covered his wounded ankles." Messrs Legh and Banks, and Captains Irby and Mangles, were told that the Arabs of Wady Moussa, the tribe that formed

my escort, "were a most savage and treacherous race, and that they would use their Frank's blood for a medicine;" and they learned on the spot that "upwards of thirty pilgrims from Barbary had been murdered at Petra the preceding year by the men of Wady Moussa;" and they speak of the opposition and obstruction from the Bedouins as resembling the case of the Israelites under Moses, when Edom refused to give them passage through his country. None of these had passed through it; and unless the two Englishmen and Italian before referred to succeeded in their attempt, when I pitched my tent on the borders of Edom no traveller had ever done so. The ignorance and mystery that hung over it added to the interest with which I looked to the land of barrenness and desolation stretched out before me; and I would have regarded all the difficulties and dangers of the road merely as materials for a not unpleasant excitement, if I had only felt a confidence in my physical strength to carry me through. But some idea may be formed of my unhappy condition from the circumstance that, in the evening, my servant, an honest and faithful fellow, who I believe was sincerely attached to me, while I was lying on my mat, with many apologies, and hoping I would not think hard of him, and praying that no accident might happen to me, told me that he was a poor man, and it would be very hard for him to lose his earnings, and that an English traveller had died in Syria the year before, and his consul had taken possession of his effects, and to this day his poor servant had never received his wages. I at first thought it unkind of him to come upon me at that moment with such a suggestion; but I soon changed my mind. I had not paid him a cent since he had been with me, and his earnings were no trifle to him; and, after all, what was I to him except a debtor? In any event I should leave him in a few months, and in all probability should never see him again. I told him that he knew the circumstances under which we had left Cairo, that I had brought with me barely enough to pay my expenses on the road; nor could I give him what he wanted, an order upon my consul at Beyroot; but after he had gone out, with somewhat the same feelings that may be supposed to possess a man in extremis writing his own will, I wrote an order, including a gratuity which he richly deserved, upon a merchant in Beyroot, upon whom I had a letter of credit; but the cheerlessness and helplessness of my situation never struck me so forcibly as when I reflected that, in the uncertain position in which I was placed, it was not prudent to give it into his hands. At that moment I mistrusted every body; and though I had not then, nor at any subsequent time, the slightest reason to doubt his faith, I did not dare to let him know that he could in any event be a gainer by my death. I considered it necessary to make him suppose that his interest was identified with my safety, and therefore folded up the paper, enclosed it in the letter of credit directed to the merchant, and put it back in my trunk; and I need not say that it was a great satisfaction to me that the validity of the draft was never tested.

When I awoke in the morning, the first thing I thought of was my horse. It almost made me well to think of him, and it was not long before I was on his back.

Standing near the shore of this northern extremity of the Red Sea, I saw before me an immense sandy valley, which, without the aid of geological science, to the eye of common observation and reason had once been the bottom of a sea or the bed of a river. This dreary valley, extending far beyond the reach of the eye, had been partly explored by Burckhardt; sufficiently to ascertain and mention it in the latest geography of the country as the great valley of El Ghor, extending from the shores of the Elanitic Gulf to the southern extremity of the Lake Asphaltites or the Dead Sea; and it was manifest, by landmarks of Nature's own providing, that over that sandy plain those seas had once mingled their waters, or, perhaps, more probably, that before the cities of the plain had been consumed by brimstone and fire, and Sodom and Gomorrah covered by a pestilential lake, the Jordan had here rolled its waters. The valley

varied from four to eight miles in breadth, and on each side were high, dark, and barren mountains, bounding it like a wall. On the left were the mountains of Judea, and on the right those of Seir, the portion given to Esau as an inheritance; and among them, buried from the eyes of strangers, the approach to it known only to the wandering Bedouins, was the ancient capital of his kingdom, the excavated city of Petra, the cursed and blighted Edom of the Edomites. The land of Idumea lay before me, in barrenness and desolation; no trees grew in the valley, and no verdure on the mountain tops. All was bare, dreary, and desolate.

But the beauty of the weather atoned for this barrenness of scene; and, mounted on the back of my Arabian, I felt a lightness of frame and an elasticity of spirits that I could not have believed possible in my actual state of health. Patting the neck of the noble animal, I talked with the sheik about his horse, and, by warm and honest praises, was rapidly gaining upon the affections of my wild companions. The sheik told me that the race of these horses had been in his family more than 400 years, though I am inclined to think, from his not being able to tell his own age, that he did not precisely know the pedigree of his beasts. If any thing connected with my journey in the East could throw me into ecstasies, it would be the recollection of that horse. I felt lifted up when on his back, and snuffed the pure air of the desert with a zest not unworthy of a Bedouin. Like all the Arabian horses, he was broken only to the walk and gallop, the unnatural and ungraceful movement of a trot being deemed unworthy the free limbs of an Arab courser.

The sheik to-day was more communicative. Indeed, he became very fond of talking; suspicious as I was, and on the watch for any thing that might rouse my apprehensions, I observed that he regularly settled down upon the same topics, namely, the dangers of the road, the bad character of the Arabs, his great friendship for me the first moment he saw me, and his determination to protect me with his life against all dangers. This was well enough for once or twice, but he repeated it too often, and overshot the mark, as I did when I first began to recommend myself to them. I suspected him of exaggerating the dangers of the road to enhance the value of his services; and lest I should entertain any doubt upon the subject, he betrayed himself by always winding up with a reference to the generosity of Monsieur Linant. The consequence was, that instead of inspiring me with fear, he gave me confidence; and by the end of my first day's journey, I had lost nearly all apprehensions of the dangers of the road, and acquired some distrust and contempt for my protector. We were all getting along very well, however. Paul had been playing a great game among the men, and, by his superior knowledge of mankind, easily circumvented these ignorant Bedouins; and his Arabic name of "Osman" was constantly in some one's mouth. I forgot to mention that, very early in my journey in the desert, my companions, unable to twist my name to suit their Arabic intonations, had called me *Abdel Hasin* (literally, the slave of the good God), and Paul, Osman.

In the evening, while making a note in a little memorandum-book, and on the point of lying down to sleep, I heard a deep guttural voice at some distance outside, and approaching nearer, till the harsh sounds grated as if spoken in my very ears. My Bedouins were sitting around a large fire at the door of the tent, and through the flames I saw coming up two wild and ferocious-looking Arabs, their dark visages reddened by the blaze, and their keen eyes flashing; and hardly had they reached my men, before all drew their swords, and began cutting away at each other with all their might. I did not feel much apprehension, and could not but admire the boldness of the fellows, two men walking up deliberately and drawing upon ten. One of the first charges Toualeb gave me on my entrance into the desert was, if the Arabs composing my escort got into any quarrel, to keep out of the way and let them fight it out by themselves; and in pursuance of this advice, without making any attempt to interfere, I stood in the door

watching the progress of the fray. The larger of the two was engaged with the sheik's brother, and their swords were clashing in a way that would soon have put an end to one of them, when the sheik, who had been absent at the moment, sprang in among them, and knocking up their swords with his long spear, while his scarlet cloak fell from his shoulders, his dark face reddened, and his black eyes glowed in the firelight, with a voice that drowned the clatter of the weapons, roared out a volley of Arabic gutturals which made them drop their points, and apparently silenced them with shame. What he said we did not know, but the result was a general cessation of hostilities. The sheik's brother had received a cut in the arm, and his adversary helped to bind up the wound, and they all sat down together round the fire to pipes and coffee, as good friends as a party of Irishmen with their heads broken after a Donnybrook fairing. I had noticed, in this flurry, the exceeding awkwardness with which they used their swords, by their overhand blows constantly laying themselves open, so that any little Frenchman with his toothpick of a rapier would have run them through before they could have cried quarter. After the thing was all over, Paul went out and asked the cause; but the sheik told him that it was an affair of their own, and with this satisfactory answer we were obliged to rest content.

Though all was now quiet, the elements of discord were still existing. The new-comer was a ferocious fellow; his voice was constantly heard, like the hoarse croaking of some bird of evil omen, and sometimes it was raised to the pitch of high and deadly passion. Paul heard him ask if I was a European, to which the sheik answered No; I was a Turk. He then got upon the railroad to Suez, and the poor benighted Bedouin, completely behind the age in the march of improvement, having never read Say's Political Economy or Smith's Wealth of Nations, denounced it as an invasion of the natural rights of the people, and a wicked breaking up of the business of the camel-drivers. He cursed every European that ever set foot in their country; and, speaking of Mr Galloway, the engineer of the proposed railroad, hoped that he might some day meet him, and swore he would strangle him with his own hands.

In the morning we were again under way. Our quarrelsome friend of the night before was by our side, perched on the bare back of a dromedary, and, if possible, looking more grim and savage by daylight. His companion was mounted behind him, and he kept near the sheik, occasionally crossing my path, looking back at me, and croaking in the sheik's ears as he had done the night before. Two or three times he crossed my path, as if with the intention of going into the mountains; and then, as if he found it impossible to tear himself away, returned to the sheik. At length he did go, and with a most discontented and disconsolate air; and after he had gone, the sheik told us, that when they came up to the fire, they demanded tribute or bucksheesh from the stranger passing over the Bedouins' highway; that his brother had refused to pay it, which had been the cause of the quarrel; and that, when he himself came up, he had told the demanders of tribute that he had undertaken to protect me from injury through the desert; that he had given his head to Mahommed Ali for my safety, and would defend me with his life against every danger; but that, finally, he had pacified them by giving them a couple of dollars apiece. I did not believe this. They looked too disconsolate when they went away; for the four dollars would have made the hearts of two beggarly Bedouins leap for joy; and I could not help asking him if we were obliged to buy our peace when only two came upon us, what we should do when 100 should come; to which he answered that they must all be paid, and that it was impossible to pass through the desert without it.

We got through the day remarkably well, the scene being always precisely the same; before us, the long, desolate, sandy valley, and on each side the still more desolate and dreary mountains. Towards evening we encamped; and after sitting some time around a fire

with my companions, I entered my tent. Soon after, the sheik, in pursuance of his pitiful plan of exciting my fears and raising his own value, sent in for my gun and pistols, telling me that there were Arabs near; that he heard the barking of a dog, and intended to keep watch all night. I had already seen so much of him, that I knew this was a mere piece of braggadocio; and I met it with another, by telling him that no man could use my pistols better than myself, and that all he had to do was, upon the first alarm, to give me notice, and I would be among them. About an hour afterwards I went out and found them all asleep; and I could not help making Paul rouse the sheik, and ask him if he did not want the pistols for his vigilant watch.

In the morning we started at half-past six. The day was again beautiful and inspiring; my horse and myself had become the best friends in the world; and though I was disgusted with the sheik's general conduct, I moved quietly along the valley, conversing with him or Paul, or with any of the men, about any thing that happened to suggest itself. I remember I had a long discourse about the difference between the camel and the dromedary. Buffon gives the camel two humps, and the dromedary one; and this I believe is the received opinion, as it had always been mine; but since I had been in the East, I had remarked that it was exceedingly rare to meet a camel with two humps. I had seen together at one time, on the starting of the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca, perhaps 20,000 camels and dromedaries, and had not seen among them more than half a dozen with two humps. Not satisfied with any explanation from European residents or travellers, I had inquired among the Bedouins; and Toualeb, my old guide, brought up among camels, had given such a strange account that I never paid any regard to it. Now, however, the sheik told me the same thing, namely, that they were of different races, the dromedary being to the camel as the blood-horse is to the cart-horse; and that the two humps were peculiar neither to the dromedary nor the camel, or natural to either; but that both are always born with only one hump, which being a mere mass of flesh, and very tender, almost as soon as the young camel is born a piece is sometimes cut out of the middle for the convenience of better arranging the saddle; and, being cut out of the centre, a hump is left on either side of the cavity; and this, according to the account given by Toualeb, is the only way in which two humps ever appear on the back of a camel or dromedary. I should not mention this story if I had heard it only once; but, precisely as I had it from Toualeb, it was confirmed with a great deal of circumstantial detail by another Bedouin, who like himself had lived among camels and dromedaries all his life; and his statement was assented to by all his companions. I do not give this out as a discovery made at this late day in regard to an animal so well known as the camel—indeed, I am told that the Arabs are not ignorant of that elegance of civilised life called “quizzing;” I give it merely to show how I whiled away my time in the desert, and for what it is worth.

Towards mid-day the sheik dashed across the plain, with his long lance poised in his hand, and his scarlet dress streaming in the wind; and about an hour afterwards we came to his spear stuck in the sand, and a little Bedouin boy sitting by it to invite us to his father's tent. We turned aside, and, coming to the tent, found the sheik sitting on the ground refreshing himself with long draughts of goat's milk. He passed the skin to us; but, as master of the ceremonies, he declined the regular Arab invitation to stay and eat a lamb. He could not, however, neglect the gods the gods provided, and told our host that we would take a lamb with us for our evening meal. The lamb was caught, and, with his legs tied, was thrown into a sack, where he made music for us for the rest of the day. To the Bedouin, next to the pleasure of eating a lamb is that of knowing he has one to eat; and so the bleating of the doomed innocent was merely a whetter of appetite. After we had gone some distance from the tent, we set down the lamb on the

ground, and I never saw a creature so perfectly the emblem of helplessness. At first he ran back a little way from us; then stopped; and apparently feeling the loneliness of his condition, returned and followed us, and in a few moments was under the feet of the camels, a part of our caravan unwittingly moving to the slaughter. The tent was hardly pitched before he lay bleeding on the ground; and the fire was no sooner kindled than his entrails, liver, &c., were in the burning brush; and in a few moments the Arabs were greedily devouring the meal into which he had been so speedily converted. The whole scene which I have before described was repeated; and, as before, in the morning the skin was the only part of the lamb to be seen.

One thing in the sheik was particularly disagreeable. He was constantly talking with Paul about the sacrifice he made in accompanying me; his confident expectation that I would pay him well for it, and the generosity of M. Linant; always winding up with asking what bucksheesh I intended to give him. Paul told me all that passed, and it was evident that the sheik and his men were making extravagant calculations. I had estimated with Mr Gliddon the probable expenses to Jerusalem, founded on the rate of hire for camels which the sheik had named at Cairo; and as it was not beyond the range of possibilities that I should be stripped on the way, I had brought with me barely enough to cover my probable expenses; and, consequently, I saw that my means were very likely to fall short of the sheik's expectations. I did not want any disappointment at the last, and that night I called him to my tent, resolved upon coming to an understanding. I told him that, knowing it was a dangerous road, and that I was subject to the risk of being robbed, I had brought with me a specific sum of money, all of which I intended for him, and that all he scattered along the road would be so much taken from his own pocket in the end. He was evidently startled, and expressed his surprise that a howaga, or gentleman, should have any bottom to his pocket, but promised to economise in future.

The next day the general features of the scene were the same, eternal barrenness and desolation; and moving to the right, at one o'clock we were at the foot of the mountains of Seir; and towering above all the rest, surmounted by a circular dome, like the tombs of the sheiks in Egypt, was the bare and rugged summit of Mount Hor, the burial-place of Aaron, visible in every direction at a great distance from below, and on both sides the great range of mountains, and forming one of the marks by which the Bedouin regulates his wanderings in the desert. Soon after, we turned in among the mountains, occasionally passing small spots of verdure, strangely contrasting with the surrounding and general desolation. Towards evening, in a small mountain on our left, we saw an excavation in the rock, which the sheik said had been a fortress; and, as of every other work of which the history is unknown, its construction was ascribed to the early Christians. It was a beautiful afternoon; gazelles were playing in the valleys, and partridges running wild up the sides of the mountains, and we pitched our tent partly over a carpet of grass, with the door open to the lofty tomb of the great high priest of Israel.

In the evening the sheik came to my tent for money, having been very pertinacious on that tender subject all day with Paul, asking him how much he thought I had with me, and how much I intended to give him. He began by asking me for pay for the camels, at the price agreed upon at Cairo. If he had asked me before starting from Akaba, I should probably have paid him; but after what I had seen, and what had passed between him and Paul, I did not like his asking for it now. He told me, too, that we were now at the door of Petra, and that it would be necessary to pay a bucksheesh or tribute on entering, but he could not tell how much would be required, as that would depend altogether on circumstances. There was always a guard stationed at the entrance of the defile leading to Petra, and the amount to be paid would depend upon the number

we might happen to find when we entered. These were never less than thirty or forty; and if there should not be more, the tribute exacted would not be more than thirty or forty dollars, but there might be two or three hundred; and, at all events, I had better give him my purse, and he would return me what was left. I suspected that, as he could not find out from Paul either how much I had with me or what I intended to give him, this story of the tribute was merely a pretext to levy an immediate contribution. The precise danger I had to fear was, that he would get my money from me piecemeal, and, when we came among Bedouins where it would be necessary to buy my peace, go off and leave me to their mercy. I did not want to have any rupture with him, particularly at that moment when I was at the very door of Petra, and might lose all that I had been endeavouring with so much personal difficulty to accomplish; and therefore told him, as to the bucksheesh for entering Petra, that I expected; and, when we should arrive there and learn how much it was, would be ready to pay it; but, in the meantime, for any little casual expense that might be incurred, I would give him a purse of 500 piastres, or 25 dollars. Touching the hire of camels, I said that I did not expect to pay it until we should arrive at Hebron; and, hurling back upon him one of his own flourishes, told him that it was distrustful my honour to ask it now. I reminded him of our conversation at Cairo, remarking that I had come into the desert upon the faith of his promise; and he replied very impertinently, if not menacingly, that one word here was worth a hundred at Cairo. I was somewhat roused at this, and, determined not to be dragged into compliance, forgot for a moment my prudential plan, and told him that I would not be driven into that or any thing else; and that sooner than submit to his demand, I would turn back here, at the very door of Petra, and return to Cairo. This had its effect, for he was no more disposed to proceed to extremities than myself; and when I found him giving way a little, I threw in a powerful argument, which I had several times before hinted at, namely, that there were two parties on the Nile, who were exceedingly anxious to make the same journey, and who would be governed altogether by the report I should make. I saw that his avarice and hope of future gain were rapidly getting the better of his eagerness to touch his money before it was earned; and without inflicting upon the reader a full account of our long negotiation, made up principally of blustering and exaggeration, with some diplomatic concessions on both sides, it is enough to say that at last, to my great relief, he withdrew his demand, and took what I offered.

Before daybreak the next morning we had struck our tent, and sending it and the other baggage by another route, the sheik being afraid to take with us any thing that might tempt the Bedouins, and leaving behind us several of our men, the sheik, his brother, three Arabs, Paul, and myself, with nothing but what we had on, and provisions for one day, started for Wady Moussa and the city of Petra. Our course was a continued ascent. I have found it throughout difficult to give any description which can impart to the reader a distinct idea of the wild and desolate scenes presented among these mountainous deserts. I have been, too, in so many of the same general nature, that particular ones do not present themselves to my mind now with the force and distinctness of perfect recollection; and in the few rough and hurried notes which I made on the spot, I marked rather the effect than the causes which produced it. I remember, however, that the mountains were barren, solitary, and desolate, and that as we ascended, their aspect became more and more wild and rugged, and rose to grandeur and sublimity. I remember, too, that among these arid wastes of crumbling rock there were beautiful streams gushing out from the sides of the mountains; and sometimes small valleys, where the green grass, and shrubs, and bushes, were putting forth an early spring; and that, altogether, I saw among the stony mountains of Arabia Petræa more verdure than

I had observed since I left the banks of the Nile. I remember, moreover, that the ascent was difficult; that our camels toiled laboriously; and that even our sure-footed Arabian horses often slipped upon the steep and rugged path. Once the sheik and myself, being in advance of the rest, sat down upon an eminence which overlooked, on one side, a range of wild and barren mountains, and on the other, the dreary valley of El Ghor; above us was the venerable summit of Mount Hor; and near us a stone blackened with smoke, and surrounded by fragments of bones, showing the place where the Arabs had sacrificed sheep to the Prophet Aaron. From this point we wound along the base of Mount Hor, which, from this great height, seemed just beginning to rise into a mountain; and I remember, that, in winding slowly along its base, as our companions had objected to our mounting to the tomb of Aaron, Paul and I were narrowly examining its sides for a path, and making arrangements to slip out as soon as they should all be asleep, and ascend by moonlight. Not far from the base of Mount Hor we came to some tombs cut in the sides of the rocks, and standing at the threshold of the entrance to the excavated city. Before entering this extraordinary place, it would not be amiss, in a few words, to give its history.

## CHAPTER XXI.

Petra.—Arrival.—Entrance to the City.—The Temple of Petra.—A Record.—The Theatre.—Tombs of Petra.—Arab Simplicity.—Departure from Petra.—A Night in a Tomb.—Dangers of the Route.

PETRA, the excavated city, the long lost capital of Edom, in the Scriptures and profane writings, in every language in which its name occurs, signifies a rock; and through the shadows of its early history, we learn that its inhabitants lived in natural clefts or excavations made in the solid rock. Desolate as it now is, we have reason to believe that it goes back to the time of Esau, "the father of Edom;" that princes and dukes, eight successive kings, and again a long line of dukes, dwelt there before any king "reigned over Israel;" and we recognise it from the earliest ages as the central point to which came the caravans from the interior of Arabia, Persia, and India, laden with all the precious commodities of the East, and through which these commodities were distributed through Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, and all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, even Tyre and Sidon deriving their purple and dyes from Petra. Eight hundred years before Christ, Amaziah, the King of Judea, "slew of Edom in the Valley of Salt 10,000, and took Selah (the Hebrew name of Petra) by war." Three hundred years after the last of the prophets, and nearly a century before the Christian era, the "King of Arabia" issued from his palace at Petra, at the head of 50,000 men, horse and foot, entered Jerusalem, and, uniting with the Jews, pressed the siege of the temple, which was only raised by the advance of the Romans; and in the beginning of the second century, though its independence was lost, Petra was still the capital of a Roman province. After that time it rapidly declined; its history became more and more obscure; for more than a thousand years it was completely lost to the civilised world; and until its discovery by Burckhardt in 1812, except to the wandering Bedouins, its very site was unknown.

And this was the city at whose door I now stood. In a few words, this ancient and extraordinary city is situated within a natural amphitheatre of two or three miles in circumference, encompassed on all sides by rugged mountains 500 or 600 feet in height. The whole of this area is now a waste of ruins; dwelling-houses, palaces, temples, and triumphal arches, all prostrate together in undistinguishable confusion. The sides of the mountains are cut smooth, in a perpendicular direction, and filled with long and continued ranges of dwelling-houses, temples, and tombs, excavated with vast

labour out of the solid rock; and while their summits present Nature in her wildest and most savage form, their bases are adorned with all the beauty of architecture and art, with columns, and porticoes, and pediments, and ranges of corridors, enduring as the mountains out of which they are hewn, and fresh as if the work of a generation scarcely yet gone by.

Nothing can be finer than the immense rocky rampart which encloses the city. Strong, firm, and immovable as Nature itself, it seems to deride the walls of cities, and the puny fortifications of skilful engineers. The only access is by clambering over this wall of stone, practicable only in one place, or by an entrance the most extraordinary that Nature, in her wildest freaks, has ever framed. The loftiest portals ever raised by the hands of man, the proudest monuments of architectural skill and daring, sink into insignificance by the comparison. It is, perhaps, the most wonderful object in the world, except the ruins of the city to which it forms the entrance. Unfortunately, I did not enter by this door, but by clambering over the mountains at the other end; and when I stood upon the summit of the mountain, though I looked down upon the vast area filled with ruined buildings and heaps of rubbish, and saw the mountain sides cut away so as to form a level surface, and presenting long ranges of doors in successive tiers or stories, the dwelling and burial-places of a people long since passed away; and though immediately before me was the excavated front of a large and beautiful temple, I was disappointed. I had read the unpublished description of Captains Irby and Mangles. Several times the sheik had told me, in the most positive manner, that there was no other entrance; and I was moved to indignation at the marvellous and exaggerated, not to say false representations, as I thought, of the only persons who had given any account of this wonderful entrance. I was disappointed, too, in another matter. Burckhardt had been accosted, immediately upon his entry, by a large party of Bedouins, and been suffered to remain but a very short time. Messrs Legh, Banks, Irby, and Mangles, had been opposed by hundreds of Bedouins, who swore "that they should never enter their territory nor drink of their waters," and "that they would shoot them like dogs if they attempted it." And I expected some immediate opposition from at least the thirty or forty, fewer than whom, the sheik had told me, were never to be found in Wady Moussa. I expected a scene of some kind; but at the entrance of the city there was not a creature to dispute our passage; its portals were wide open, and we passed along the stream down into the area, and still no man came to oppose us. We moved to the extreme end of the area; and when in the act of dismounting at the foot of the rock on which stood the temple that had constantly faced us, we saw one solitary Arab, straggling along without any apparent object, a mere wanderer among the ruins; and it is a not uninteresting fact, that this poor Bedouin was the only living being we saw in the desolate city of Petra. After gazing at us for a few moments from a distance, he came towards us, and in a few moments was sitting down to pipes and coffee with my companions. I again asked the sheik for the other entrance, and he again told me there was none; but I could not believe him, and set out to look for it myself; and although in my search I had already seen enough abundantly to repay me for all my difficulties in getting there, I could not be content without finding this desired avenue.

In front of the great temple, the pride and beauty of Petra, of which more hereafter, I saw a narrow opening in the rocks, exactly corresponding with my conception of the object for which I was seeking. A full stream of water was gushing through it, and filling up the whole mouth of the passage. Mounted on the shoulders of one of my Bedouins, I got him to carry me through the swollen stream at the mouth of the opening, and set me down on a dry place a little above, whence I began to pick my way, occasionally taking to the shoulders of my follower, and continued to advance more than a mile. I was beyond all peradventure in the great entrance I

was seeking. There could not be two such, and I should have gone on to the extreme end of the ravine, but my Bedouin suddenly refused me the further use of his shoulders. He had been some time objecting and begging me to return, and now positively refused to go any farther; and, in fact, turned about himself. I was anxious to proceed, but I did not like wading up to my knees in the water, nor did I feel very resolute to go where I might expose myself to danger, as he seemed to intimate. While I was hesitating, another of my men came running up the ravine, and shortly after him Paul and the sheik, breathless with haste, and crying in low gutturals, "El Arab! el Arab!"—"The Arabs! the Arabs!" This was enough for me. I had heard so much of El Arab that I had become nervous. It was like the cry of Delilah in the ears of the sleeping Samson, "The Philistines be upon thee." At the other end of the ravine was an encampment of the El Alouins; and the sheik, having due regard to my communication about money matters, had shunned this entrance to avoid bringing upon me this horde of tribute-gatherers for a participation in the spoils. Without any disposition to explore farther, I turned towards the city; and it was now that I began to feel the powerful and indelible impression that must be produced on entering, through this mountainous passage, the excavated city of Petra.

For about two miles it lies between high and precipitous ranges of rocks, from 500 to 1000 feet in height, standing as if torn asunder by some great convulsion, and barely wide enough for two horsemen to pass abreast. A swelling stream rushes between them; the summits are wild and broken; in some places overhanging the opposite sides, casting the darkness of night upon the narrow defile; then receding and forming an opening above, through which a strong ray of light is thrown down, and illuminates with the blaze of day the frightful chasm below. Wild fig-trees, oleanders, and ivy, were growing out of the rocky sides of the cliffs hundreds of feet above our heads; the eagle was screaming above us; all along were the open doors of tombs, forming the great necropolis of the city; and at the extreme end was a large open space, with a powerful body of light thrown down upon it, and exhibiting in one full view the façade of a beautiful temple, hewn out of the rock, with rows of Corinthian columns and ornaments, standing out fresh and clear, as if by yesterday from the hands of the sculptor. Though coming directly from the banks of the Nile, where the preservation of the temples excites the admiration and astonishment of every traveller, we were roused and excited by the extraordinary beauty and excellent condition of the great temple at Petra. Even in coming upon it, as we did, at disadvantage, I remember that Paul, who was a passionate admirer of the arts, when he first obtained a glimpse of it, involuntarily cried out, and moving on to the front with a vivacity I never saw him exhibit before or afterwards, clapped his hands, and shouted in ecstacy. To the last day of our being together he was in the habit of referring to his extraordinary fit of enthusiasm when he first came upon that temple; and I can well imagine that, entering by this narrow defile, with the feelings roused by its extraordinary and romantic wildness and beauty, the first view of that superb façade must produce an effect which could never pass away. Even now, that I have returned to the pursuits and thought-engrossing incidents of a life in the busiest city in the world, often in situations as widely different as light from darkness, I see before me the façade of that temple; neither the Coliseum at Rome, grand and interesting as it is, nor the ruins of the Acropolis at Athens, nor the Pyramids, nor the mighty temples of the Nile, are so often present to my memory.

The whole temple, its columns, ornaments, porticoes, and porches, are cut out from and form part of the solid rock; and this rock, at the foot of which the temple stands like a mere print, towers several hundred feet above, its face cut smooth to the very summit, and

the top remaining wild and misshapen as Nature made it. The whole area before the temple is perhaps an acre in extent, enclosed on all sides except at the narrow entrance, and an opening to the left of the temple, which leads into the area of the city by a pass through perpendicular rocks 500 or 600 feet in height.

It is not my design to enter into the details of the many monuments in this extraordinary city; but to give a general idea of the character of all the excavations, I cannot do better than go within the temple. Ascending several broad steps, we entered under a colonnade of four Corinthian columns, about thirty-five feet high, into a large chamber of some fifty feet square and twenty-five feet high. The outside of the temple is richly ornamented, but the interior is perfectly plain, there being no ornament of any kind upon the walls or ceiling; on each of the three sides is a small chamber for the reception of the dead; and on the back wall of the innermost chamber I saw the names of Messrs Legh, Banks, Irby, and Mangles, the four English travellers who with so much difficulty had effected their entrance to the city; of Messieurs Laborde and Linant, and the two Englishmen and Italian of whom I have before spoken; and two or three others, which, from the character of the writing, I supposed to be the names of attendants upon some of these gentlemen. These were the only names recorded in the temple; and, besides Burckhardt, no other traveller had ever reached it. I was the first American who had ever been there. Many of my countrymen, probably, as was the case with me, have never known the existence of such a city; and, independently of all personal considerations, I confess that I felt what I trust was not an inexcusable pride, in writing upon the innermost wall of that temple the name of an American citizen; and under it, and flourishing on its own account in temples, and tombs, and all the most conspicuous places in Petra, is the illustrious name of "Paulo Nozzo, dragomano."

Leaving the temple and the open area on which it fronts, and following the stream, we entered another defile much broader than the first, on each side of which were ranges of tombs, with sculptured doors and columns; and on the left, in the bosom of the mountain, hewn out of the solid rock, is a large theatre, circular in form, the pillars in front fallen, and containing thirty-three rows of seats, capable of containing more than 3000 persons. Above the corridor was a range of doors opening to chambers in the rocks, the seats of the princes and wealthiest inhabitants of Petra, and not unlike a row of private boxes in a modern theatre.

The whole theatre is at this day in such a state of preservation, that if the tenants of the tombs around could once more rise into life, they might take their old places on its seats, and listen to the declamation of their favourite player. To me the stillness of a ruined city is nowhere so impressive as when sitting on the steps of its theatre; once thronged with the gay and pleasure-seeking, but now given up to solitude and desolation. Day after day these seats had been filled, and the now silent rocks had echoed to the applauding shout of thousands; and little could an ancient Edomite imagine that a solitary stranger, from a then unknown world, would one day be wandering among the ruins of his proud and wonderful city, meditating upon the fate of a race that has for ages passed away. Where are ye, inhabitants of this desolate city!—ye who once sat on the seats of this theatre, the young, the high-born, the beautiful, and brave, who once rejoiced in your riches and power, and lived as if there were no grave? Where are ye now? Even the very tombs, whose open doors are stretching away in long ranges before the eyes of the wondering traveller, cannot reveal the mystery of your doom: your dry bones are gone; the robber has invaded your graves, and your very ashes have been swept away to make room for the wandering Arab of the desert.

But we need not stop at the days when a gay population were crowding to this theatre. In the earliest periods of recorded time, long before this theatre was

built, and long before the tragic muse was known, a great city stood here. When Esau, having sold his birthright for a mess of pottage, came to his portion among the mountains of Seir; and Edom, growing in power and strength, became presumptuous and haughty, until, in her pride, when Israel prayed a passage through her country, Edom said unto Israel, "Thou shalt not pass by me, lest I come out against thee with the sword."

Amid all the terrible denunciations against the land of Idumea, "her cities and the inhabitants thereof," this proud city among the rocks, doubtless for its extraordinary sins, was always marked as a subject of extraordinary vengeance. "I have sworn by myself, saith the Lord, that Bozrah (the strong or fortified city) shall become a desolation, a reproach, and a waste, and a curse, and all the cities thereof shall be perpetual waste. Lo, I will make thee small among the heathen, and despised among men. Thy terriblest hath deceived thee, and the pride of thy heart, oh thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rocks, that holdest the height of the hill; though thou shouldst make thy nest as high as the eagle, I will bring thee down from thence, saith the Lord."—Jeremiah xlix., 13, 16. "They shall call the nobles thereof to the kingdom, but none shall be there, and all her princes shall be nothing; and thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof, and it shall be a habitation for dragons and a court for owls."—Isaiah xxxiv., 14, 15.

I would that the sceptic could stand as I did among the ruins of this city among the rocks, and there open the sacred book and read the words of the inspired penman, written when this desolate place was one of the greatest cities in the world. I see the scoff arrested, his cheek pale, his lip quivering, and his heart quaking with fear, as the ruined city cries out to him in a voice loud and powerful as that of one risen from the dead; though he would not believe Moses and the prophets, he believes the handwriting of God himself in the desolation and eternal ruin around him. We sat on the steps of the theatre, and made our noonday meal; our drink was from the pure stream that rolled down at our feet. Paul and myself were alone. We scared the partridge before us as we ascended, and I broke for a moment the stillness of the desolate city by the report of my gun.

All around the theatre, in the sides of the mountains, were ranges of tombs; and directly opposite they rose in long tiers one above another. Having looked into those around the theatre, I crossed to those opposite; and, carefully as the brief time I had would allow, examined the whole range. Though I had no small experience in exploring catacombs and tombs, these were so different from any I had seen, that I found it difficult to distinguish the habitations of the living from the chambers of the dead. The façades or architectural decorations of the front were everywhere handsome; and in this they differed materially from the tombs in Egypt. In the latter the doors were simply an opening in the rock, and all the grandeur and beauty of the work within; while here the door was always imposing in its appearance, and the interior was generally a simple chamber, unpainted and unsculptured.

I say that I could not distinguish the dwellings from the tombs, but this was not invariably the case; some were clearly tombs, for there were pits in which the dead had been laid, and others were as clearly dwellings, being without a place for the deposit of the dead. One of these last particularly attracted my attention. It consisted of one large chamber, having on one side, at the foot of the wall, a stone bench about a foot high, and two or three broad, in form like the divans in the East at the present day; at the other end were several small apartments, hewn out of the rock, with partition walls left between them, like stalls in a stable, and these had probably been the sleeping apartments of the different members of the family, the mysteries of bars and bolts, of folding-doors and third stories, being unknown in the days of the ancient Edomites. There were no paintings or decorations of any kind within the chamber; but this



rock out of which it was hewn, like the whole stony rampart that encircled the city, was of a peculiarity and beauty that I never saw elsewhere, being a dark ground, with veins of white, blue, red, purple, and sometimes scarlet and light orange, running through it in rainbow streaks; and within the chambers, where there had been no exposure to the action of the elements, the freshness and beauty of the colours in which these waving lines were drawn, gave an effect hardly inferior to that of the paintings in the tombs of the kings at Thebes. From its high and commanding position, and the unusual finish of the work, this house, if so it may be called, had no doubt been the residence of one who had strutted his hour of brief existence among the wealthy citizens of Petra. In front was a large table of rock, forming a sort of court for the excavated dwelling, where probably, year after year, in this beautiful climate, the Edomite of old sat under the gathering shades of evening, sometimes looking down upon the congregated thousands and the stirring scenes in the theatre beneath, or beyond upon the palaces and dwellings in the area of the then populous city.

Farther on in the same range, though, in consequence of the steps of the streets being broken, we were obliged to go down and ascend again before we could reach it, was another temple, like the first, cut out of the solid rock, and, like the first, too, having for its principal ornament a large urn, shattered and bruised by musket balls; for the ignorant Arab, believing that gold is concealed in it, day after day, as he passes, levels at it his murderous gun, in the vain hope to break the vessel and scatter a golden shower on the ground.

But it would be unprofitable to dwell upon details. In the exceeding interest of the scene around me, I hurried from place to place, utterly insensible to physical fatigue; and being entirely alone, and having a full and undisturbed range of the ruins, I clambered up broken staircases and among the ruins of streets; and, looking into one excavation, passed on to another and another, and made the whole circuit of the desolate city. There, on the spot, every thing had an interest which I cannot give in description; and if the reader has followed me so far, I have too much regard for him to drag him about after me as I did Paul. I am warned of the consequences by what occurred with that excellent and patient follower; for before the day was over, he was completely worn out with fatigue.

The shades of evening were gathering around us as we stood for the last time on the steps of the theatre. Perfect as has been the fulfilment of the prophecy in regard to this desolate city, in no one particular has its truth been more awfully verified than in the complete destruction of its inhabitants; in the extermination of the race of the Edomites. In the same day, and by the voice of the same prophets, came the separate denunciations against the descendants of Israel and Edom, declaring against both a complete change in their temporal condition; and while the Jews have been dispersed in every country under heaven, and are still, in every land, a separate and unmixed people, "the Edomites have been cut off for ever, and there is not any remaining of the house of Esau."

"Wisdom has departed from Teman, and understanding out of the mount of Esau;" and the miserable Arab who now roams over the land cannot appreciate or understand the works of its ancient inhabitants. In the summer he cultivates the few valleys in which seed will grow, and in the winter makes his habitation in the tombs; and, stimulated by vague and exaggerated traditional notions of the greatness and wealth of the people who have gone before him, his barbarous hand is raised against the remaining monuments of their arts; and as he breaks to atoms the sculptured stone, he expects to gather up their long-hidden treasures. I could have lingered for days on the steps of that theatre, for I never was at a place where such a crowd of associations pressed upon the mind. But the sheik was hurrying me away. From the first he had told me that I must not pass a night within the city; and begging me not to

tempt my fortune too rashly, he was perpetually urging me to make my retreat while there was yet time. He said that, if the Arabs at the other end of the great entrance heard of a stranger being there, they would be down upon me to a man, and, not content with extorting money, would certainly prevent my visiting the tomb of Aaron. He had touched the right chord; and considering that weeks or months could not impress the scene more strongly on my mind, and that I was no artist, and could not carry away on paper the plans and models of ancient art, I mounted my horse from the very steps of the theatre, and followed the sheik in his progress up the valley. Turning back from the theatre, the whole area of the city burst upon the sight at once, filled with crumbling masses of rock and stone, the ruined habitations of a people long since perished from the face of the earth, and encompassed on every side by high ranges of mountains; and the sides of these were cut smooth, even to the summit, hundreds of feet above my head as I rode past, and filled with long-continued ranges of open doors, the entrances to dwellings and tombs, of which the small connecting staircases were not visible at a distance, and many of the tenements seemed utterly inaccessible.

Every moment the sheik was becoming more and more impatient; and, spurring my horse, I followed him on a gallop among the ruins. We ascended the valley, and rising to the summit of the rocky rampart, it was almost dark when we found ourselves opposite a range of tombs in the suburbs of the city. Here we dismounted; and selecting from among them one which, from its finish and dimensions, must have been the last abode of some wealthy Edomite, we prepared to pass the night within its walls. I was completely worn out, when I threw myself on the rocky floor of the tomb. I had just completed one of the most interesting days in my life; for the singular character of the city, and the uncommon beauty of its ruins, its great antiquity, the prophetic denunciations of whose truth it was the witness, its loss for more than a thousand years to the civilised world, its very existence being known only to the wandering Arab, the difficulty of reaching it, and the hurried and dangerous manner in which I had reached it, gave a thrilling and almost fearful interest to the time and place, of which I feel it utterly impossible to convey any idea.

In the morning Paul and I had determined, when our companions should be asleep, to ascend Mount Hor by moonlight; but now we thought only of rest; and seldom has the pampered tenant of a palace lain down with greater satisfaction upon his canopied bed, than I did upon the stony floor of this tomb in Petra. In the front part of it was a large chamber, about twenty-five feet square and ten feet high; and behind this was another of smaller dimensions, furnished with receptacles for the dead, not arranged after the manner of shelves extending along the wall, as in the catacombs I had seen in Italy and Egypt, but cut lengthwise in the rock like ovens, so as to admit the insertion of the body with the feet foremost.

We built a fire in the outer chamber, thus lighting up the innermost recesses of the tombs; and after our evening meal, while sipping coffee and smoking pipes, the sheik congratulated me upon my extreme good fortune in having seen Petra without any annoyance from the Bedouins; adding, as usual, that it was a happy day for me when I saw his face at Cairo. He told me that he had never been to Wady Moussa without seeing at least thirty or forty Arabs, and sometimes 300 or 400; that when Abdel Hag (M. Linant) and M. Laborde visited Petra the first time, they were driven out by the Bedouins after remaining only five hours, and were chased down into the valley, M. Linant changing his dromedary every three hours on his way back to Akaba; that there he remained, pretending to be sick, for twenty-four days, every day feasting half the tribe: and during that time sending to Cairo for money, dresses, swords, guns, pistols, ammunition, &c., which he distributed among them so lavishly that the whole

tribe escorted him in triumph to Petra. This is so different from M. Laborde's account of his visit, that it cannot be true. I asked him about the visit of Messrs Legh and Banks, and Captains Irby and Mangles: and drawing close to me, so as not to be overheard by the rest, he told me that he remembered their visit well: that they came from Kerek with three sheiks and 300 or 400 men, and that the Bedouins of Wady Moussa turned out against them more than 2000 strong. His uncle was then the sheik, and he himself a young man: and if his account is true, which cannot however be, as it is entirely different from theirs, he began the life of a knave so young, that though he had no great field for exercise, he ought then to have been something of a proficient; he said, that while they were negotiating and parleying, one of the strange Arabs slipped into his hands a purse with 100 pieces of gold, which he showed to his uncle, and proposed to him that they should use their influence to procure the admission of the strangers, and divide the money between them; and so wrought upon the old man that he procured their entrance, telling the tribe that one of the strangers was sick, and, if they did not admit them into Wady Moussa, he would take them to his tent; and, added the sheik, his eyes sparkling with low cunning, my uncle and I ate the whole of that gold without any one of the tribe knowing any thing about it.

One piece of information he gave me, which I thought very likely to be true; that the road to Petra, and thence through Idumea in any direction, never could be pursued with assurance of safety, or become a frequented route, because the Bedouins would always be lying in wait for travellers, to exact tribute or presents; and although a little might sometimes content them, at others their demands would be exorbitant, and quarrels and bad consequences to the traveller would be almost sure to follow; and he added, in reference to our visit, that as soon as the Arabs should hear of a stranger having been at Petra, they would be down in swarms, and perhaps even now would follow us into the valley. I was satisfied that I had made a fortunate escape, not, perhaps, from personal danger, but from grinding exactions, if not from robbery; and, congratulating myself upon my good fortune so far, I began to feel my way for what I now regarded as important as before I had thought the journey to Petra, namely, a visit to the tomb of Aaron.

My companions opposed my going to it, saying that no Christian had ever done so; and that none but Mussulmans went there, and they only to sacrifice a sheep upon the tomb. I told them that I also designed to sacrifice, and that, like them, we regarded Aaron as a prophet; that my visit to Petra was nothing unless I made the sacrifice; and that my conscience would not be at ease unless I performed it according to my vow. This notice of my pious purpose smoothed some of the difficulties, as the Arabs knew that after the sacrifice the sheep must be eaten. The sheik was much more liberal or more indifferent than the rest, and my desire was finally assented to; although, in winding up a long discussion about the pedigree of Aaron, one of them held out to the last that Aaron was a Mussulman, and would not believe that he lived before Mahommed. He had an indefinite idea that Mahommed was the greatest man that ever lived, and in his mind this was not consistent with the idea of any one having lived before him.

My plans for the morrow being all arranged, the Bedouins stretched themselves out in the outer chamber, while I went within; and seeking out a tomb as far back as I could find, I crawled in, feet first, and found myself very much in the condition of a man buried alive. But never did a man go to his tomb with so much satisfaction as I felt. I was very tired; the night was cold, and here I was completely sheltered. I had just room enough to turn round; and the worthy old Edomite for whom the tomb was made, never slept in it more quietly than I did. Little did he imagine that his bones would one day be scattered to the winds, and a straggling American and a horde of Bedouins, born and living

thousands of miles from each other, would be sleeping quietly in his tomb, alike ignorant and careless of him for whom it was built.

## CHAPTER XXII.

A bold Endeavour.—Unexpected Obstacles.—Disadvantage of a Dress.—The Dead Sea.—A New Project.—The Tomb of Aaron.—An Alarm.—Descent of the Mountain.—An awkward Meeting.—Poetic Licence.—All's Well that ends Well.—Unexpected Difficulties.—Arab Notions of Travel.

A MAN rising from a tomb with all his clothes on does not require much time for the arrangement of his toilet. In less than half an hour we had breakfasted, and were again on our way. Forgetting all that had engrossed my thoughts and feelings the day before, I now fixed my eyes upon the tomb of Aaron, on the summit of Mount Hor. The mountain was high, towering above all the rest, bare and rugged to its very summit, without a tree or even a bush growing on its sterile side; and our road lay directly along its base. The Bedouins again began to show an unwillingness to allow my visit to the tomb; and the sheik himself told me that it would take half the day, and perhaps be the means of bringing upon me some of the horde I had escaped. I saw that they were disposed to prevent me from accomplishing my object; and I felt sure that, if we met any strange Arabs, my purpose would certainly be defeated. I suspected them of stratagem, and began to think of resorting to stratagem for myself. They remembered the sheep, however, and told me that the sacrifice could as well be performed at the base as on the summit of the mountain; but this, of course, would not satisfy my conscience.

With my eyes constantly fixed on the top of the mountain, I had thought for some time that it would not be impracticable to ascend from the side on which I was. Paul and I examined the localities as carefully as a couple of engineers seeking an assailable place to scale the wall of a fortified city; and afraid to wait till they had matured some plan of opposing me, I determined to take them by surprise; and throwing myself from my horse, and telling Paul to say we would climb the mountain here, and meet them on the other side, I was almost out of hearing before they had recovered from their astonishment. Paul followed me, and the sheik and his men stood for some time without moving, irresolute what to do; and it was not until we had advanced considerably on the mountain, that we saw the caravan again slowly moving along its base. None of them offered to accompany us, though we should have been glad to have one or two with us on our expedition.

For some distance we found the ascent sufficiently smooth and easy—much more so than that of Mount Sinai—and, so far as we could see before us, it was likely to continue the same all the way up. We were railing at the sheik for wanting to carry us round to the other side, and congratulating ourselves upon having attempted it here, when we came to a yawning and precipitous chasm, opening its horrid jaws almost from the very base of the mountain. From the distance at which we had marked out our route, the inequalities of surface could not be distinguished, but here it was quite another thing. We stood on the brink of the chasm, and looked at each other in blank amazement; and at a long distance, as they wound along the base of the mountain, I thought I could see a quiet smile of derision lighting up the grim visages of my Bedouin companions. We stood upon the edge of the chasm, looking down into its deep abyss, like the spirits of the departed lingering on the shores of the Styx, vainly wishing for a ferryman to carry us over, and our case seemed perfectly hopeless without some such aid. But the days when genii and spirits lent their kind assistance to the sons of men are gone; if a man finds himself in a ditch, he must get out of it as well as he can, and so it was with us on the brink of this chasm. Bad, however, as was our prospect in looking forward, we had not yet begun to look back; and as soon as we saw that there

was no possibility of getting over it, we began to descend; and groping, sliding, jumping, and holding on with hands and feet, we reached the bottom of the gully; and, after another hard half hour's toil, were resting our wearied limbs upon the opposite brink, at about the same elevation as that of the place from which we had started.

This success encouraged us; and without caring or thinking how we should come down again, we felt only the spirit of the seaman's cry to the trembling sailor boy, "Look aloft, you lubber;" and looking aloft, we saw through a small opening before us, though still at a great distance, the white dome that covered the tomb of the first high-priest of Israel. Again with stout hearts we resumed our ascent; but, as we might reasonably have supposed, that which we had passed was not the only chasm in the mountains. What had appeared to us slight inequalities of surface, we found great fissures and openings, presenting themselves before us in quick succession; not, indeed, as absolute and insurmountable barriers to farther progress, but affording us only the encouragement of a bare possibility of crossing them. The whole mountain, from its base to its summit, was rocky and naked, affording not a tree or bush to assist us; and all that we had to hold on by were the rough and broken corners of the porous sandstone rocks, which crumbled in our hands and under our feet, and more than once put us in danger of our lives. Several times, after desperate exertion, we sat down perfectly discouraged at seeing another and another chasm before us, and more than once we were on the point of giving up the attempt, thinking it impossible to advance any farther; but we had come so far, and taken so little notice of our road, that it was almost as impossible to return; and a distant and accidental glimpse of the whitened dome would revive our courage, and stimulate us to another effort. Several times I mounted on Paul's shoulders, and with his help reached the top of a precipitous or overhanging rock, where, lying down with my face over the brink, I took up the pistols, swords, &c., and then helped him up in turn; sometimes, again, he was the climber, and my shoulders were the stepping-stone; and in the rough grasps that we gave each other, neither thought of the relation of master and servant. On the sides of that rugged mountain, so desolate, so completely removed from the world, whose difficult ascent had been attempted by few human footsteps since the days when "Moses and Aaron went up in sight of all the congregation," the master and the man lay on the same rock, encountering the same fatigues and dangers, and inspired by the same hopes and fears. My dress was particularly bad for the occasion; for, besides the encumbrance of pistols and a sword, my long silk gown and large sleeves were a great annoyance, as I wanted every moment a long reach of the arm, and full play of the legs; even our light Turkish slippers were impediments in our desperate scramble, and we were obliged to pull them off, for the better hold that could be taken with the naked feet.

It will be remembered that we were ascending on the eastern side of the mountain; and in one of our pauses to breathe, when about half way up, we looked back upon the high rampart of rocks that enclosed the city of Petra; and on the outside of the rock we saw the façade of a beautiful temple, resembling in its prominent features, but seeming larger and more beautiful than, the Khasne of Pharaoh, opposite the principal entrance of the city. I have no doubt that a visit to that temple would have abundantly repaid me for the day I should have lost; for besides its architectural beauty, it would have been curious to examine, and, if possible, discover why it was constructed, standing alone outside of the city, and, as it appeared, apart from every thing connected with the habitations of the Edomites. But as yet we had work enough before us. Disencumbering ourselves of all our useless trappings, shoes, pistols, swords, tobacco-pouch, and water-sack, which we tied together in a sash and the roll of a turban, by dint of climbing, pushing, and lifting each other, after the most arduous upward scramble I ever accomplished,

we attained the bald and hoary summit of the mountain; and before we had time to look around, at the extreme end of the desolate valley of El Ghor, our attention was instantly attracted and engrossed by one of the most interesting objects in the world, and Paul and I exclaimed at the same moment, "The Dead Sea!" Lying between the barren mountains of Arabia and Judea, presenting to us from that height no more than a small, calm, and silvery surface, was that mysterious sea which rolled its dark waters over the guilty cities of Sodom and Gomorrah; over whose surface, according to the superstition of the Arabs, no bird can fly, and in whose waters no fish can swim; constantly receiving in its greedy bosom the whole body of the Jordan, but, unlike all other waters, sending forth no tribute to the ocean. A new idea entered my mind. I would follow the desert valley of El Ghor to the shores of the Dead Sea, along whose savage borders I would coast to the ruined Jericho and the hallowed Jordan, and search in its deadly waters for the ruins of the doomed and blasted cities.

If I had never stood on the top of Mount Sinai, I should say that nothing could exceed the desolation of the view from the summit of Mount Hor, its most striking objects being the dreary and rugged mountains of Seir, bare and naked of trees and verdure, and heaving their lofty summits to the skies, as if in a vain and fruitless effort to excel the mighty pile, on the top of which the high-priest of Israel was buried. Before me was a land of barrenness and ruin, a land accursed by God, and against which the prophets had set their faces; the land of which it is thus written in the Book of Life—"Moreover, the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, set thy face against Mount Seir, and prophesy against it, and say unto it, Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, oh Mount Seir, I am against thee, and I will stretch out mine hand against thee, and I will make thee most desolate. I will lay thy cities waste, and thou shalt be desolate; and thou shalt know that I am the Lord. Because thou hast had a perpetual hatred, and hast shed the blood of the children of Israel by the force of the sword in the time of their calamity, in the time that their iniquity had an end: therefore, as I live, saith the Lord God, I will prepare thee unto blood, and blood shall pursue thee: sith thou hast not hated blood, even blood shall pursue thee. Thus will I make Mount Seir most desolate, and cut off from it him that passeth out and him that returneth. And I will fill his mountains with his slain men: in thy hills, and in thy valleys, and in all thy rivers, shall they fall that are slain with the sword. I will make thee perpetual desolations, and thy cities shall not return: and ye shall know that I am the Lord."—Ezekiel, xxxv.

The Bible account of the death of Aaron is—"And the children of Israel, even the whole congregation, journeyed from Kadesh, and came unto Mount Hor. And the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron in Mount Hor, by the coast of the land of Edom, saying, Aaron shall be gathered unto his people: for he shall not enter into the land which I have given unto the children of Israel, because ye rebelled against my word at the water of Meribah. Take Aaron and Eleazar his son, and bring them up unto Mount Hor; and strip Aaron of his garments and put them upon Eleazar his son: and Aaron shall be gathered unto his people, and shall die there. And Moses did as the Lord commanded: and they went up unto Mount Hor in the sight of all the congregation. And Moses stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son; and Aaron died there in the top of the mount: and Moses and Eleazar came down from the mount. And when all the congregation saw that Aaron was dead, they mourned for Aaron thirty days, even all the house of Israel."—Numbers, xx.

On the very "top of the mount," revered alike by Mussulmans and Christians, is the tomb of Aaron. The building is about thirty feet square, containing a single chamber; in front of the door is a tombstone, in form

like the oblong slabs in our churchyards, but larger and higher; the top rather larger than the bottom, and covered with a ragged pall of faded red cotton in shreds and patches. At its head stood a high round stone, on which the Mussulman offers his sacrifices. The stone was blackened with smoke; stains of blood and fragments of burnt brush were still about it; all was ready but the victim; and when I saw the reality of the preparations, I was very well satisfied to have avoided the necessity of conforming to the Mussulman custom. A few ostrich eggs, the usual ornaments of a mosque, were suspended from the ceiling, and the rest of the chamber was perfectly bare. After going out, and from the very top of the tomb surveying again and again the desolate and dreary scene that presented itself on every side, always terminating with the distant view of the Dead Sea, I returned within; and examining once more the tomb and the altar, walked carefully around the chamber. There was no light except what came from the door; and in groping in the extreme corner on one side, my foot descended into an aperture in the floor. I put it down carefully, and found a step, then another, and another, evidently a staircase leading to a chamber below. I went down till my head was on the level of the floor, but could see nothing; all was dark, and I called to Paul to strike a light. Most provokingly, he had no materials with him. He generally carried a flint and steel for lighting his pipe with; but now, when I most wanted it, he had none. I went back to the staircase, and, descending to the bottom of the steps, attempted to make out what the place might be; but it was utterly impossible. I could not see even the steps on which I stood. I again came out, and made Paul search in all his pockets for the steel and flint. My curiosity increased with the difficulty of gratifying it; and in a little while, when the thing seemed to be utterly impossible, with this hole unexplored, Petra, Mount Hor, and the Dead Sea, appeared to lose half their interest. I ran up and down the steps, inside and out, abused Paul, and struck stones together in the hopes of eliciting a spark; but all to no purpose. I was in an agony of despair, when I found myself grasping convulsively the handle of my pistol. A light broke suddenly upon me. A pile of dry brush and cotton rags lay at the foot of the sacrificial altar; I fired my pistol into it, gave one puff, and the whole mass was in a blaze. Each seized a burning brand, and we descended. At the foot of the steps was a narrow chamber, at the other end an iron grating, opening in the middle, and behind the grating a tomb cut in the naked rock, guarded and revered as the tomb of Aaron. I tore aside the rusty grating, and thrusting in my arm up to the shoulders, touched the hallowed spot. The rocks and mountains were echoing the discharge of my pistol, like peals of crashing thunder; and while, with the burning brand in one hand, I was thrusting the other through the grating, the deafening reverberations seemed to rebuke me for an act of sacrilege, and I rushed up the steps like a guilty and fear-stricken criminal. Suddenly I heard from the foot of the mountain a quick and irregular discharge of fire-arms, which again resounded in loud echoes through the mountains. It was far from my desire that the bigoted Mussulmans should come upon me, and find me with my pistol still smoking in my hand, and the brush still burning in the tomb of the prophet; and tearing off a piece of the ragged pall, we hurried from the place and dashed down the mountain on the opposite side, with a speed and recklessness that only fear could give. If there was room for question between a scramble or a jump, we gave the jump; and when we could not jump, our shoes were off in a moment; one leaned over the brow of the precipice, and gave the other his hand, and down we went, allowing nothing to stop us. Once for a moment we were at a loss; but Paul, who, in the excitement of one successful leap after another, had become amazingly confident, saw a stream of water, and made for it with the glorious boast that where water descended we could; and the suggestion proved correct, although the water found

much less difficulty in getting down than we did. In short, after an ascent the most toilsome, and a descent the most hair-brained and perilous it was ever my fortune to accomplish, in about half an hour we were at the base of the mountain, but still hurrying on to join our escort.

We had only to cross a little valley to reach the regular camel-track, when we saw from behind a slightly elevated range of rocks the head and long neck of a dromedary; a Bedouin was on his back, but, riding sideways, did not see us. Another came, and another, and another; then two or three, and, finally, half a dozen at a time, the blackest, grimmest, and ugliest vagabonds I had ever yet seen. A moment before Paul and I had both complained of fatigue, but it is astonishing how the sight of these honest men revived us; any one seeing the manner in which we scoured along the side of the mountain, would have thought that all our consciousness was in our legs. The course we were pursuing when we first saw them would have brought us on the regular camel-track a little in advance of them, but now our feet seemed to cling to the sides of the mountain. We were in a humour for almost calling on the rocks to fall upon us and cover us; and if there had been a good dodging-place, I am afraid I should here have to say that we had taken advantage of it until the very unwelcome caravan passed by; but the whole surface of the country, whether on mountain side or in valley's depth, was bare and naked as a floor; there was not a bush to obstruct the view; and soon we stood revealed to these unpleasant witnesses of our agility. They all shouted to us at once; and we returned the salute, looking at them over our shoulders, but pushing on as fast as we could walk. In civilised society, our course of proceeding would have been considered a decided cut; but the unmannerly savages did not know when they received a civil cut, and were bent on cultivating our acquaintance. With a loud shout, slipping off their camels and whipping up their dromedaries, they left the track, and dashed across the valley to intercept us. I told Paul that it was all over, and now we must brazen it out; and we had just time to turn around and reconnoitre for a moment, before we were almost trodden under foot by their dromedaries.

With the accounts that we had read and heard of these Bedouins, it was not a pleasant thing to fall into their hands alone; and without the protection of the sheik, we had reason to apprehend bad treatment. We were on a rising ground; and as they came bounding towards us, I had time to remark that there was not a gun or pistol among them; but every one, old and young, big and little, carried an enormous sword slung over his back, the hilt coming up towards the left shoulder, and in his hand a large club, with a knot at the end as large as a doubled fist. Though I had no idea of making any resistance, it was a satisfaction to feel that they might have some respect for our fire-arms; as even a Bedouin's logic can teach him, that though a gun or pistol can kill but one, no man in a crowd can tell but that he may be that one. Our armoury, however, was not in the best condition for immediate use. I had fired one of my pistols in the tomb of Aaron, and lost the flint of the other; and Paul had burst the priming cap on one of his barrels, and the other was charged with bird-shot.

It seemed that there was nothing hostile in their intentions; for though they came upon us with a wild and clamorous shout, their dark eyes appeared to sparkle with delight as they shook us by the hand, and their tumultuous greeting, to compare small things with great, reminded me of the wild welcome which the Arabs of Saladin gave to the litter of the Queen of England, when approaching the Diamond of the Desert on the shores of the Dead Sea. Nevertheless, I looked suspiciously upon all their demonstrations of good will; and though I returned all their greetings, even to the kiss on their black faces, I would rather have been looking at them through the bars of an iron grating. But Paul behaved like a hero, although he was a supreme coward, and

admitted it himself.\* I knew that every thing depended upon him; but they had come upon us in such a hurry, and so few words had passed between us, that I had no idea how he stood affected. His first words reassured me; and really, if he had passed all his life in taming Bedouins, he could not have conducted himself more gallantly or sensibly. He shook hands with one, took a pipe from the mouth of another, kicked the dromedary of a third, and patted his owner on the back, smoking, laughing, and talking all the time, ringing the changes upon the Sheik El Alouin, Habeeb Effendi, and Abdel Hasis. I knew that he was lying, from his remarkable amplitude of words, and from his constantly mixing up Abdel Hasis (myself) with the Habeeb Effendi, the prime minister of the pacha; but he was going on so smoothly that I had not the heart to stop him; and, besides, I thought he was playing for himself as well as for me, and I had no right to put him in danger by interfering. At length, all talking together, and Paul's voice rising above the rest, in force as well as frequency, we returned to the track, and proceeded forward in a body to find the sheik.

Not to be too heavy on Paul for the little wanderings of his tongue, I will barely mention such as he remembered himself. Beginning with a solemn assurance that we had not been in Wady Moussa or Petra (for this was his cardinal point), he affirmed that I was a Turk making a pilgrimage to the tomb of Aaron under a vow; and that, when Sheik El Alouin was in Cairo, the Habeeb Effendi had taken me to the sheik's tent, and had told him to conduct me to Djebel Haroun, or Mount Hor, and from thence to Hebron (Khalil), and that, if I arrived in safety, he, the Habeeb Effendi, would pay him well for it. We went on very well for a little while; but by and bye the Bedouins began talking earnestly among themselves, and a fine, wicked-looking boy, leaning down from the hump of his bare-backed dromedary, with sparkling eyes thrust out his hand and whispered bucksheesh; an old dried-up man echoed it in a hoarse voice directly in my ears; and one after another joined in, till the whole party, with their deep-toned gutturals, were croaking the odious and ominous demand that grated harshly on my nerves. Their black eyes were turned upon me with a keen and eager brightness; the harsh cry was growing louder every moment; and I had already congratulated myself upon having very little about my person, and Paul was looking over his shoulders, and flourishing the Habeeb Effendi and the Sheik El Alouin with as loud a voice as ever, but evidently with a fainting heart; bucksheesh, bucksheesh, bucksheesh, was drowning every other noise, when a sudden turn in the road brought us upon the sheik and his attendants. The whole party were in confusion; some were descending the bare sides of the mountains, others were coming down with their dromedaries upon a full run; the sheik's brother, on my horse, was galloping along the base; and the sheik himself, with his long red dress streaming in the wind, and his spear poised in the air, was dashing full speed across the plain. All seemed to catch a glimpse of us at the same moment, and at the same moment all stopped. The sheik stood for a little space, as if astonished and confounded at seeing us attended by such an escort; and then spurring again his fiery horse, moved a few paces towards us, and dismounting, struck his spear in the sand, and waited to receive us. The men came in from all quarters; and almost at the same moment all had gathered around the spear. The sheik seemed more alarmed than any of us, and Paul said he turned perfectly green. He had heard the report of the pistol, which had given him much uneasiness; the men had answered, and scattered themselves abroad in search

of us; and now seeing us come up in the midst of such a horde of Bedouins, he supposed that we had opened an account which could only be settled with blood.

The spirit of lying seemed to have taken possession of us. Thinking it would not be particularly acceptable to my pious friends to hear that I had been shooting in the tomb of Aaron, I told Paul to say that we had shot at a partridge. Even before saluting the strangers, with a hurried voice and quivering lip the sheik asked the cause of our firing; and when Paul told him, according to my instructions, that the cause was merely a simple bird, he was evidently relieved, although, unable to master his emotion, he muttered, "Cursed be the partridge, and the emsuf, and cursed the hand that fired it." He then saluted our new companions, and all sat down around his long spear to smoke and drink coffee. I withdrew a little apart from them, and threw myself on the ground, and then began to suffer severely from a pain which, in my constant excitement since the cause of it occurred, I had not felt. The pistol which I fired in the tomb had been charged by Paul with two balls, and powder enough for a musket; and in the firing it recoiled with such force as to lay open the back of my hand to the bone. While I was binding it up as well as I could, the sheik was taking care that I should not suffer from my withdrawal. I have mentioned Paul's lying humour, and my own tendency that way; but the sheik cast all our doings in the shade; and particularly, as if it had been concerted beforehand, he averred most solemnly, and with the most determined look of truth imaginable, that we had not been in Wady Moussa; that I was a Turk on a pilgrimage to Mount Hor; that when he was in Cairo waiting for the caravan of pilgrims, the pacha sent the Habeeb Effendi to conduct him to the citadel, whither he went, and found me sitting on the divan by the side of the pacha; that the pacha took me by the hand, told him that I was his (the pacha's) particular friend, and that he, Sheik El Alouin, must conduct me first to Mount Hor, and then to Khalil or Hebron, and that he had given his head to Mahommed Ali for my safety. Paul was constantly moving between me and the group around the spear, and advising me of the progress of affairs; and when I heard who I was, and of my intimacy with the pacha, thinking that it was not exactly the thing for the particular friend of the Viceroy of Egypt to be sprawling on the sand, I got up, and, for the credit of my friend, put myself rather more upon my dignity. We remained here half an hour, when, seeing that matters became no worse, I took it for granted that they were better; and, after moving about a little, I began to arrange the saddle of my horse; and by and bye, as a sort of declaration of independence, I told them that I would ride on slowly, and they could follow at their convenience. The sheik remained to settle with my new friends. They were a caravan belonging to the El Alouin tribe, from the tents at the mouth of the entrance to Petra, now on their way to Gaza; and the sheik got rid of them by paying them something, and assuring them that we had not been in Petra.

Early in the afternoon a favourite camel was taken sick, stumbled, and fell; and we turned aside among the mountains, where we were completely hidden from the view of any passing Bedouins. The camel belonged to a former female slave of the sheik, whom he had manumitted and married to "his black," and to whom he had given a tent, and this camel as a dowry. He had been very anxious to get away as far as possible from Wady Moussa that night; but as soon as the accident happened, with the expression always uppermost in the mouth of the followers of the Prophet, "God wills it," he began to doctor the animal. It was strange to be brought into such immediate contact with the disciples of fatalism. If we did not reach the point we were aiming at, God willed it; if it rained, God willed it; and I suppose that, if they had happened to lay their black hands upon my throat, and stripped me of every thing I possessed, they would have piously raised their eyes to heaven, and cried, "God willed it." I remember

\* Paul's explanation of his cowardice was somewhat remarkable, and perhaps veracious. He said that he was by nature brave enough, but that, when travelling in Syria, about three years before, with Mr Wellesley—a natural son of the Duke of Wellington—their party was stopped by Arabs, and their two kervashes, without any parley, raised their muskets and shot two of the poor savages dead before his face; which had such an effect upon his nerves as to give him a horror of lead and cold steel ever since.

Mr Wolff,\* the converted Jew missionary, told me an anecdote illustrating most strikingly the operation of this fatalist creed. He was in Aleppo during an earthquake, and saw two Turks smoking their pipes at the base of a house then tottering and ready to fall. He cried out to them and warned them of their peril; but they turned their eyes to the impending danger, and crying, "Allah el Allah," "God is merciful," were buried under the ruins.

It was not more than four o'clock when we pitched our tent. The Arabs all came under the shade to talk more at ease about our ascent of Mount Hor, and our adventure with the Bedouins of Wady Moussa; and wishing to show them that we Christians conceived ourselves to have some rights and interests in Aaron, I read to them, and Paul explained, the verses in the Bible recording his death and burial on the mountain. They were astonished and confounded at finding any thing about him in a book; records of travel being entirely unknown to them, and books, therefore, regarded as of unquestionable veracity. The unbeliever of the previous night, however, was now as obstinate as if he had come from the banks of the Zuyder Zee. He still contended that the great high-priest of the Jews was a true follower of the Prophet; and I at last accommodated the matter by allowing that he was not a Christian.

That evening Paul and the sheik had a long and curious conversation. After supper, and over their pipes and coffee, the sheik asked him, as a brother, why we had come to that old city, Wady Moussa, so long a journey through the desert, spending so much money; and when Paul told him it was to see the ruins, he took the pipe from his mouth and said, "That will do very well before the world; but, between ourselves, there is something else;" and when Paul persisted in it, the sheik said to him, "Swear by your God that you do not come here to search for treasure;" and when Paul had sworn by his God, the sheik rose, and, pointing to his brother as the very acme of honesty and truth, said, after a moment's hesitation, "Osman, I would not believe it if that brother had sworn it. No," he continued; "the Europeans are too cunning to spend their money in looking at old stones. I know there is treasure in Wady Moussa; I have dug for it, and I mean to dig for it again;" and then again he asked Paul whether he had discovered any, and where; telling him that he would aid in removing it, without letting any of the rest of the tribe know any thing of the matter.

#### CHAPTER XXIII.

Valley of El Ghor.—Prophecies against Edom.—The Sheik's Treachery.—An Explosion.—Personnel of the Arabs.—Amusing Retrospect.—Money Troubles.—Aspect of the Valley.—Death of a Camel.—The Desert Horses.—Native Salt.

EARLY in the morning we continued our descent down the mountain. Every turn was presenting us with a new view of wild, barren, and desolate scenery; and yet frequently, in little spots watered by the mountain streams, we saw shrubs, and patches of green grass, and odoriferous bushes. At about nine o'clock we were again at the foot of the mountains of Seir, again moving along the great desert valley of El Ghor; and again I saw, in imagination, at the extreme end of the valley,

\* The Rev. Joseph Wolff is now in America, and has taken orders in the Episcopal Church. When I left Egypt, he had set out on his long-projected journey to Timbuctoo. He was taken sick in Abyssinia, and, unable to continue his progress, under great personal hardship and suffering, crossed the desert to the Red Sea, and went down to Bombay. It is greatly to be regretted that Mr Wolff's health failed him. From his extensive travels in Asia and Africa, and his intimate knowledge of the languages and customs of the wild tribes that roam over their deserts, he was probably better qualified, and had a better chance of reaching that city, than any other man now living. It will probably be long before the attempt is made by another. Mr Wolff has not, however, abandoned his purpose. As soon as his health will permit, he intends to resume his journey; and if the difficulties and dangers are not greater than man can overcome, we may yet hear from him in the heart of Africa.

that mysterious sea which I had first looked upon from the summit of Mount Hor. I had spoken to the sheik before, and again I tried to prevail upon him to follow the valley directly to its shores; but he told me, as before, that he had never travelled that road, and the Bedouins (whom he had last night declared to be total strangers) were deadly enemies of his tribe; in short, it was impossible to prevail upon him; and, as I found afterwards, it would have been physically impossible to proceed along the mountainous borders of the sea.

We pursued the route which I had originally contemplated, through the land of Idumea. In regard to this part of my journey I wish to be particularly understood. Three different parties, at different times, and under different circumstances, after an interval of twenty years from its discovery by Burekhardt, had entered the city of Petra, but not one of them had passed through the land of Idumea. The route of the two Englishmen and Italian before referred to was not precisely known; and, with the exception of these three, I was the first traveller who had ever attempted to pass through the doomed and blighted Edom. In very truth, the prophecy of Isaiah, "None shall pass through it for ever and ever," seemed in a state of literal fulfilment. And now, without considering that I was perhaps braving the malediction of Heaven, but stimulated by the interest of associations connected with the denounced region, and the excitement of travelling over a new and unbeaten track, I was again moving along the desert valley of El Ghor.

In the present state of the world, it is an unusual thing to travel a road over which hundreds have not passed before. Europe, Asia, and even the sands of Africa, have been overrun and trodden down by the feet of travellers; but in the land of Idumea, the oldest country in the world, the aspect of every thing is new and strange, and the very sands you tread on have never been trodden by the feet of civilised human beings. The Bedouin roams over them like the Indian on our native prairies. The road along which the stranger journeys was far better known in the days of David and Solomon than it is now; and when he tires with the contemplation of barrenness and ruin, he may take the Bible in his hand, and read what Edom was, and how God, by the mouth of his prophets, cursed it; and see with his own eyes whether God's words be true. "Also Edom shall be a desolation; every one that goeth by it shall be astonished and shall hiss at all the plagues thereof. As in the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the neighbouring cities thereof, saith the Lord, no man shall abide there, neither shall a son of man dwell in it. Therefore, hear the counsel of the Lord that he hath taken against Edom, and his purposes that he hath purposed against the inhabitants of Teman; surely the least of the flock shall draw them out; surely he shall make their habitations desolate with them. The earth is moved at the noise of their fall, at the cry, the noise thereof was heard in the Red Sea."—Jeremiah, xlix. And again—"Thus saith the Lord God: Because that Edom hath dealt against the house of Judah by taking vengeance, and hath greatly offended, and revenged himself upon them; therefore, thus saith the Lord God, I will also stretch out mine hand upon Edom, and will cut off man and beast from it; and I will make it desolate from Teman."—Ezekiel, xxv. "Edom shall be a desolate wilderness."—Joel, iii. 19. "For three transgressions of Edom, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof."—Amos, i. 11. "Thus saith the Lord God concerning Edom: Behold, I have made thee small among the heathen: thou art greatly despised. The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee, thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, whose habitation is high; that saith in his heart, Who shall bring me down to the ground? Though thou exalt thyself as the eagle, and though thou set thy nest among the stars, thence will I bring thee down, saith the Lord. Shall I not in that day, saith the Lord, even destroy the wise men out of Edom, and understanding out of the Mount of Esau? And thy mighty men, oh Teman, shall be

dismayed, to the end that every one of the Mount of Esau may be cut off by slaughter."—Obadiah, i.

All that day the sheik was particularly disagreeable. He was constantly talking of the favourable circumstances under which I had seen Petra, the bad character of the Bedouins, his devotion to me, and the generosity of M. Laborde and Abdel Hag. Ever since we started, one of his standing subjects of conversation with Paul had been what he expected from me; and to-day he pressed him particularly, to learn how much money I had brought with me. In the evening he came to my tent. He was in the habit of coming in every evening; and though I did not like him, I was in the habit of talking with him; and, according to the Arab custom, I always asked him to take a share of my meal. In general, appease the stomach, and you gain the heart of the Arab; but the viscera of my sheik were of impenetrable toughness. They produced none of that delicious repose, that "peace on earth, and good-will towards all men" spirit, which comes over an honest man after dinner. "A child might play with me," said the good-hearted son of Erin, as he threw himself back in his chair after dinner; but it was not so with my sheik. While he was eating my bread, he was plotting against me. I had smoked my pipe, and was lying on my mat reading, while a long conversation was going on between him and Paul, and my suspicions were aroused; for, on the part of the sheik, it was carried on in a low whisper. Though he knew I could not understand a word, he had the indefinite fear that indicates a guilty intention; and, as I looked up occasionally from my book, I saw his keen and cunning eyes turned towards me, and withdrawn as soon as they met mine. He remained there more than an hour, conversing in the same low whisper—I, meanwhile, watching his looks from time to time; and when he had gone, I asked what it all meant. At first Paul hesitated, but finally said, that it was the old story about Abdel Hag's generosity, and what he expected from me; for himself, the sheik expected at least 250 dollars; his brother would not expect so much; but that he was on an entirely different footing from the men; and he had concluded, by attempting to bribe Paul, to find out how much money I had with me, and how much I intended to give him; and, in going out, had slipped a couple of pieces into Paul's hand as an earnest. I have not troubled the reader with the many petty difficulties I had with the sheik, nor the many little circumstances that were constantly occurring to irritate me against him. I had been several times worked up to such a pitch that it was difficult to keep within the bounds of prudence; and I now broke through all restraints. From the beginning he had been exaggerating the danger of the road, and making a parade of devotion and the value of his services; and only the last night I had been driven out of my tent by four enormous fires which he had built at the four corners, as he said, for the men to sleep by and keep guard. I could hardly restrain myself then; but merely telling him that I would rather be robbed than roasted, I reserved myself for a better moment. The fact is, from the beginning I had been completely mistaken in my opinion touching the character of the chief of a powerful tribe of Bedouins. I had imagined him like the chief of a tribe of our own Indians, wild, savage, and lawless, but generous and true when he had once offered his protection; one who might rob or even murder, but who would never descend to the meanness of trickery and falsehood.

I had been smothering my feelings of contempt through the whole journey; but now I had seen Petra and Mount Hor, and it was a relief to have something to justify me in my own eyes in breaking through all restraint. I had caught him in the very act of baseness and villany, corrupting the faith of my servant; bribing under my own eyes, and while eating my bread, the only man on whom I could rely at all; and the proof of his treason, the accursed gold, was before me. With a loud voice I called him back to the tent, and charged him with his baseness, reproaching him that I

had come into the desert upon the faith of his promises, and he had endeavoured to corrupt my servant before my eyes; I told him that he was false and faithless; that I had before distrusted him, but that I now despised him, and would not give him a para till we got to Hebron, nor would I tell him how much I would give him then; but that, if he would take himself off and leave me alone in the desert, I would pay him the price of his camels; I assured him that, bad as he represented them, I did not believe there was a worse Arab in all his tribe than himself; and, finally, throwing open my trunk, I told him I did not fear him or all his tribe; that I had there a certain sum of money, which should belong to the man who should conduct me to Hebron, whoever he might be, and clothes which would not suit an Arab's back; that I knew I was in his power; but that, if they killed me, they could not get more than they could without it; and added, turning my pistols in my belt, that they should not get it while I could defend it. All this, passing through an interpreter, had given me time to cool; and before coming to my grand climax, though still highly indignant, I was able to observe the effect of my words. At the first glance I saw I had the vantage ground, and that the consciousness of being detected in his baseness sealed his lips. I am inclined to think that he would have been disgraced in the eyes of his tribe if they had been acquainted with the circumstances; for instead of resenting my passionate language, he earnestly begged me to lower my voice, and frequently looked out of the tent to see if any of his companions were near. Keep cool, is a good maxim, generally, in a man's walk through life, and it is particularly useful with the Bedouins in the desert; but there are times when it is good to be in a passion, and this was one of them. Without attempting to resent what I said, even by word or look, he came up to me, kissed my hand, and swore that he would never mention the subject of bucksheesh again until we got to Hebron, and he did not. I retained my command over him through the whole journey, while he was constantly at my side, taking my horse, holding my stirrup, and in every way trying to make himself useful. I am not sure, however, but that in his new character of a sycophant he was worse than before. A sycophant in civilised life, where the usages of society admit and perhaps demand a certain degree of unmean civility, is the most contemptible thing that crawls; but in a wild Arab it was intolerable. I really despised him, and made no secret of it; and sometimes, rash and imprudent as was the bare thought, it was with difficulty that I could keep from giving him my foot. After he had gone out, Paul sewed twenty gold pieces in the collar of my jacket, and I left the rest of my money open in my trunk.

I have frequently been astonished at the entire absence of apprehension which accompanied me during the whole of this journey. I fortunately observed, at the very first, an intention of exaggerating its danger; and this and other little things carried me into the other extreme, to such a degree, that perhaps my eyes were closed against the real dangers. Among all the pictures and descriptions of robbers and bandits that I have seen, I have never met with anything so unprepossessing as a party of desert Arabs coming down upon the traveller on their dormitories; but one soon gets over the effect of their dark and scowling visages; and after becoming acquainted with their weapons and bodily strength, a man of ordinary vigour, well armed, feels no little confidence in himself among them. They are small in stature, under our middle size, and thin almost to emaciation. Indeed, the same degree of spareness in Europeans would be deemed the effect of illness or starvation; but with them it seems to be a mere drying up of the fluids, or, as it were, an attraction between skin and bone, which prevents flesh from insinuating itself between. Their breast-bones stand out very prominently; their ribs are as distinctly perceptible as the bars of a gridiron, and their empty stomachs seem drawn up till they touch the back bone; and their weapons, though ugly enough, are far from being formidable.

The sheik was the only one of our party who carried pistols, and I do not believe they could have been discharged without picking the flints once or twice; the rest had swords and matchlock guns; the latter, of course, not to be fired without first striking a light, which is not the work of a moment; and although these inconvenient implements do well enough for contests with their brother Bedouins, the odds are very much against them when they have to do with a well-armed Frank; two pairs of good pistols and a double-barrelled gun would have been a match for all our matchlock muskets. Besides all this, one naturally feels a confidence in himself after being some time left to his own resources; a development of capacities and energies which he is entirely unconscious of possessing, until he is placed in a situation to call them out. A man must have been in the desert alone, and beyond the reach of help, where his voice can never reach the ears of his distant friends, with a strong and overwhelming sense that every thing depends upon himself, his own coolness and discretion; and such is the elasticity of the human character, that his spirit, instead of sinking and quailing as it would once have done under difficulties and dangers incomparably less, rises with the occasion; and as he draws his sash or tightens his sword-belt, he stretches himself to his full length, and is prepared and ready for any emergency that may befall him. Indeed, now that I have returned to the peaceful occupations of civilised life, I often look back with a species of mirthful feeling upon my journey in the desert as a strange and amusing episode in my life; and when laying my head on my quiet pillow, I can hardly believe that, but a few months ago, I never slept without first placing my pistols carefully by my side, and never woke without putting forth my hand to ascertain that they were near, and ready for instant use.

I had scarcely mounted the next morning before one of the men came up to me, and, telling me that he intended to return home, asked for his bucksheesh. I looked at the sheik, who was still sitting on the ground, enjoying a last sip of coffee, and apparently taking no notice of us, and it immediately occurred to me that this was another scheme of his to find out how much I intended to give. The idea had no sooner occurred to me than I determined to sustain the tone I had assumed the night before; and I therefore told the fellow that I should not pay any one a piastre until I arrived at Hebron. This occasioned a great clamour; the sheik still remained silent, but all the others took up the matter, and I do not know how far it would have gone if I had persisted. I was the only one mounted; and having given my answer, I turned my horse's head, and moved on a few paces, looking over my shoulder, however, to watch the effect; and when I saw them still standing, as if spell-bound, in the unfinished act, one of mounting a dromedary, another of arranging the baggage, and all apparently undecided what to do, I reflected that no good could come from the deliberations of such men, and began to repent somewhat of the high tone I had assumed. I only wanted a good excuse to retrace my steps; and after a moment's reflection, I laid hold of something plausible enough for immediate use. The man who wanted to return was rather a favourite with me—the same who had carried me on his shoulders up the stream in the entrance of Petra—and, returning suddenly, as if the thing had just occurred to me, I called him to me, and told him that, although I would not pay him for accompanying me on my journey, as it was not yet ended, still, for his extra services in Petra, I would not let him go destitute; that I loved him—by which I meant that I liked him, an expression that would have been entirely too cold for “the land of the East and the clime of the sun,” or, as I should rather say, for the extravagant and inflated style of the Arabs—that if the same thing had happened with any of the others, I would not have given him a para; and now he must understand that I only paid him for his services in Petra. This seemed natural enough to the other Bedouins, for they all knew that this man and I had returned from the defile the best friends in

the world, calling each other brother, &c.; and in the end, the whole affair turned out rather fortunately; for understanding me literally that I paid only for the day in Petra, although not understanding the rule of three as established in the books of arithmetic, they worked out the problem after their own fashion, “If one day gives so much, what will so many days give?” and were exceedingly satisfied with the result. Indeed, I believe I might at any time have stopped their mouths, and relieved myself from much annoyance, by promising them an extravagant sum on my arrival at Hebron; but this I would not do. I had not, from the first, held out to them any extravagant expectations, nor would I do so then; perhaps, after all, not so much from a stern sense of principle, as from having conceived a feeling of strong though smothered indignation and contempt for the sheik. Indeed, I should not have considered it safe to tell him what I intended to give him; for I soon saw that the amount estimated by Mr Gliddon and myself was very far from being sufficient to satisfy his own and his men's extravagant expectations. My apparent indifference perplexed the sheik, and he was sorely confounded by my valiant declaration, “There is my trunk; all that is in it is yours when we arrive at Hebron; rob me or kill me, and you get no more;” and though he could not conceal his eagerness and rapacity, he felt himself trammelled; and my plan was to prolong his indecision, and postpone our denouement until our arrival at Hebron. Still, it was very unpleasant to be travelling upon these terms with my protectors, and I was exceedingly glad when the journey was over.

We were again journeying along the valley in an oblique direction. In the afternoon we fell in with a caravan for Gaza. It may be that I wronged the sheik; but I had the idea that, whenever we saw strangers, his deep and hurried manner of pronouncing *El Arab*, his fixing himself in his saddle, poising his spear, and getting the caravan in order, frequently accompanying these movements with the cautioning words not to be afraid, that he would fight for me till death, were intended altogether for effect upon me. Whether he had any influence or not with the caravan for Gaza, I cannot say; but I know that I would have been glad to leave the wandering tribes of the land of Idumea, and go with my new companions to the ancient city of the Philistines. While we moved along together, Paul and myself got upon excellent terms with them, and consulted for a good while about asking them to take us under their escort. I have no doubt they would have done it willingly, for they were a fine, manly set of fellows; but we were deterred by the fear of involving them in a quarrel, if not a fight, with our own men.

The valley continued the same as before, presenting sandy hillocks, thorn-bushes, gullies, the dry beds of streams, and furnishing all the way incontestible evidence that it had once been covered with the waters of a river. To one travelling along that dreary road as a geologist, every step opens a new page in the great book of Nature; carrying him back to the time when all was chaos, and darkness covered the face of the earth; the impressions it conveys are of a confused mass of matter settling into “form and substance,” the earth covered with a mighty deluge, the waters retiring, and leaving bare the mountains above him, and a rolling river at his feet; and, by the regular operation of natural causes, the river contracting and disappearing, and for thousands of years leaving its channel-bed dry. And again, he who in the wonders around him seeks the evidences of events recorded in the sacred volume, here finds them in the abundant tokens that the shower of fire and brimstone which descended upon the guilty cities of Sodom and Gomorrah stopped the course of the Jordan, and formed it into a pestilential lake, and left the dry bed of a river in the desolate valley in which he is journeying. This valley is part of the once populous land of Idumea; in the days of Solomon, the great travelled highway by which he received the gold of Ophir for the temple; and by which, in the days of imperial Rome, the wealth of India was brought to her doors.



About the middle of the day, as usual, the sheik rode ahead, and, striking his spear in the sand, he had coffee prepared before we came up. While we were sitting around the spear, two of our camels so far forgot the calm dignity of their nature, and their staid, quiet habits, as to get into a fight; and one of them, finding himself likely to come off second best, took to his heels, and the other after him; they were baggage camels, one being charged with my boxes of provisions and housekeeping apparatus, and his movements indicated death to crockery. I will not go into particulars, for eggs, rice, macaroni, and lamp-oil, make a bad mixture; and although the race and fight between the loaded camels were rather ludicrous, the consequence was by no means a pleasant thing in the desert.

The next morning we had another camel scene, for one of the combatants was stretched upon the sand, his bed of death. The Bedouins had examined him, and, satisfied that the hand of death was upon him, they left him to breathe his last alone. The camel is to the Arab a treasure above all price. He is the only animal by nature and constitution framed for the desert, for he alone can travel several days without eating or drinking. Every part of him is useful; his milk is their drink, his flesh their food, and his hair supplies materials for their rude garments and tents. Besides this, the creature is domesticated with the Bedouin; grows up in his tent, feeds from his hand, kneels down to receive his burden, and rises as if glad to carry his master; and, in short, is so much a part of a Bedouin's family, that often, in speaking of himself, the Bedouin will say that he has so many wives, so many children, and so many camels. All these things considered, when this morning they knew that the camel must die, I expected, in a rough way, something like Sterne's picture of the old man and his ass. But I saw nothing of the kind; they left him in the last stages of his struggle with the great enemy with as much indifference, I was going to say, as if he had been a brute; and he was a brute; but it was almost worth a passing tear to leave even a brute to die alone in the desert—one that we knew, that had travelled with us, and formed part of our little world; but the only lament the sheik made was, that they had lost twenty dollars, and we left him to die in the sand. I could almost have remained myself to close his eyes. The vultures were already hovering over him, and once I went back and drove them away; but I have no doubt that before the poor beast was dead, the horrid birds had picked out his eyes, and thrust their murderous beaks into his brain.

It was, as usual, a fine day. Since we left Akaba we had a continued succession of the most delightful weather I had ever experienced. I was, no doubt, peculiarly susceptible to the influence of weather. With a malady constantly hanging about me, if I drooped, a bright sun and an unclouded sky could at any time revive me; and more than once, when I have risen flushed and feverish, and but little refreshed with sleep, the clear pure air of the morning has given me a new life. From dragging one leg slowly after the other, I have fairly jumped into the saddle, and my noble Arabian, in such cases, always completed what the fresh air of the morning had begun. Indeed, I felt then that I could not be too thankful for those two things, uncommonly fine weather and an uncommonly fine horse; and I considered that it was almost solely those two that sustained me on that journey. It is part of the historical account of the Bedouins' horses, that the mares are never sold. My sheik would have sold his soul for a price; and as soon as he saw that I was pleased with my mare, he wanted to sell her to me; and it was singular and amusing, in chaffering for this animal, to mark how one of the habits of bargain-making peculiar to the horse-jockey with us, existed in full force among the Arabs. He said that he did not want to sell her; that at Cairo he had been offered two hundred and fifty dollars, a new dress, and arms complete, and he would not sell her; but if I wanted her, there being nothing he would not do for me, &c., I might have her.

The sheik's was an extraordinary animal. The saddle had not been off her back for thirty days; and the sheik, himself a most restless creature, would dash off suddenly a dozen times a-day, on a full run across the valley, up the sides of a mountain, round and round our caravan, with his long spear poised in the air, and his dress streaming in the wind; and when he returned and brought her to a walk at my side, the beautiful animal would snort and paw the ground, as if proud of what she had done, and anxious for another course. I could almost imagine I saw the ancient war-horse of Idumea, so finely described by Job—"his neck clothed with thunder. Canst thou make him afraid as a grasshopper? the glory of his nostrils is terrible. He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength; he goeth on to meet the armed men. He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted; neither turneth he back from the sword. The quiver rattleth against him, the glittering spear and the shield. He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage; neither believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet. He saith among the trumpets, ha, ha; and he smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the shouting."

Nothing showed the hardness of these horses more than their drinking. Several times we came to deposits of rain water left in the hollow of a rock, so foul and dirty that I would not have given it to a dog; and while their sides were white with foam, the sheik would take the bits out of their mouths, and sit down with the bridle in his hands, and let them drink their fill; and I could not help thinking that a regular-bred English groom, accustomed to insinuate a wet sponge in the mouth of a heated horse, would have been amazed and horrified at such a barbarian usage. These two horses were twelve and twenty years old respectively; and the former was more like a colt in playfulness and spirit, and the other like a horse of ten with us; and the sheik told me that he could count upon the services of both until they were thirty-five. Among all the recommendations of the Arabian horse, I know none greater than this: I have known a man, from long habit, conceive a liking for a vicious jade that no one else would mount; and one can imagine how warm must be the feeling, when, year after year, the best of his race is the companion of the wandering Arab, and the same animal may bear him from the time when he can first poise a spear until his aged frame can scarcely sustain itself in the saddle.

Before leaving the valley, we found in one of the gullies a large stone veined in that peculiar manner which I had noticed at Petra; it had been washed down from the mountains of Wady Moussa, and the Arab told me that stone of the same kind was found nowhere else. Towards evening we had crossed the valley, and were at the foot of the mountains of Judea, in the direction of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. That evening, I remember, I noticed a circumstance which called to my mind the wonderful accounts handed down to us by Strabo and other ancient historians, of large cities built of salt having stood at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea and the valley beyond. In the escape of our runaway camels, bringing about the catastrophe which one of them had since expiated with his life, they had mingled together in horrible confusion, contrary to all the rules of art, so many discordant ingredients, that a great portion of my larder was spoiled; and, among other things, salt, almost as necessary to man as bread, had completely lost its savour. But the Bedouins, habituated to wanting almost every thing, knew where to find all that their barren country could give; and one of them leaving the tents for a few moments, returned with a small quantity that he had picked up for immediate use, being a cake or encrustation about as large as the head of a barrel; and I afterwards saw regular strata of it, and in large quantities, in the sides of the mountains.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

The Road to Gaza.—Unknown Ruins.—A Misadventure.—Pastoral Bedouins.—A Flower of the Wilderness.—The Ravages of War.—Testimony of an Eyewitness.

WE started at six o'clock the next day, the morning rather cool, though clear and bracing; we were again among the mountains, and at about eleven, a track scarcely distinguishable to my eye, turned off to Gaza. To a traveller from such a country as ours, few of the little every-day wonders he is constantly noticing strike him more forcibly than the character of the great public roads in the East. He makes allowance for the natural wildness of the country, the impossibility of using wheel-carriages on the mountains, or horses in the desert as beasts of burden, but still he is surprised and disappointed. Here, for instance, was a road leading to the ancient city of Gaza, a regular caravan route for 4000 years, and yet so perfect in the wildness of nature, so undistinguishable in its appearance from other portions of the wilderness around, that a stranger would have passed the little opening in the rocks probably without noticing it, and certainly without imagining that the wild track, of which it formed the entrance, would conduct him to the birthplace and ancient capital of David, and the holy city of Jerusalem. The solitary trail of the Indian over our prairies and forests is more perfectly marked as a road than either of the great routes to Gaza or Jerusalem, and yet, near the spot where these two roads diverge, are the ruins of an ancient city.

Little, if any thing, has been known in modern days concerning the existence and distinguishing features of this road; and it is completely a terra incognita to modern travellers. All the knowledge possessed of it is that derived from the records of ancient history; and from these we learn that in the time of David and Solomon, and the later days of the Roman empire, a great public road existed from Jerusalem to Akaba, the ancient Eloth or Ezion-geber; that several cities existed upon it between these terminating points, and that their ruins should still be visible. Believing that I am the first traveller who has ever seen those ruins, none can regret more than myself my inability to add to the scanty stock of knowledge already in possession of geographers. If my health had permitted, I might have investigated and explored, noted observations, and treasured up facts and circumstances, to place them in the hands of wiser men for their conclusions; but I was not equal to the task. The ruins which I saw were a confused and shapeless mass, and I rode among them without dismounting; there were no columns, no blocks of marble, or large stones which indicated any architectural greatness, and the appearance of the ruins would answer the historical description of a third or fourth-rate city.

About three hours farther on, and half a mile from our path, on the right, was a quadrangular arch with a dome; and near it was a low stone building, also arched, which might have been a small temple. The Bedouins, as usual, referred it to the times of the Christians. For about a mile, in different places on each side of us, were mounds of crumbling ruins; and directly on the caravan-track we came to a little elevation, where were two remarkable wells, of the very best Roman workmanship, about fifty feet deep, lined with large hard stones, as firm and perfect as on the day in which they were laid. The uppermost layer, round the top of the well, which was on a level with the pavement, was of marble, and had many grooves cut in it, apparently worn by the long-continued use of ropes in drawing water. Around each of the wells were circular ranges of columns, which, when the city existed, and the inhabitants came there to drink, might and probably did support a roof similar to those now seen over the fountains in Constantinople. No remains of such roof, however, are existing; and the columns are broken, several of them standing not more than three or four feet high, and the tops scooped out to serve as troughs

for thirsty camels. On the other side, a little in the rear of the wells, is a hill overlooking the scattered ruins below, which may, some hundred years ago, have been the Acropolis of the city. A strong wall seems to have extended around the whole summit level of the hill. I remember that I rode up to the summit, winding around the hill, and leaped my horse over the broken wall; but there was nothing to reward me for the exertion of the undertaking. The enclosure formed by the wall was filled with ruins, but I could give form or feature to none of them; here, too, I rode among them without dismounting; and from here I could see the whole extent of the ruins below. As in the ruined city I had just passed, there was not a solitary inhabitant, and not a living being was to be seen but my companions watering their camels at the ancient wells. This, no doubt, was another of the Roman cities; and although it was probably never celebrated for architectural or monumental beauty, it must have contained a large population.

We were now coming into another country, and leaving the desert behind us; a scanty verdure was beginning to cover the mountains; but the smiling prospect before me was for a moment overclouded by an unfortunate accident. Paul had lent his dromedary to one of the men; and riding carelessly on a baggage camel, in ascending a rough hill the girths of the saddle gave way, and Paul, boxes, and baggage, all came down together, the unlucky dragoon completely buried under the burden. I was the first at his side; and when I raised him up he was senseless. I untied his sash, and tore open his clothes. The Bedouins gathered around, all talking together, pulling and hauling, and one of them drew his sword, and was bending over my prostrate interpreter, with its point but a few inches from his throat. Poor Paul! with his mortal antipathy to cold steel, if he could have opened his eyes at that moment, and seen the fiery orbs of the Bedouins, and the point of a sharp sword apparently just ready to be plunged into his body, he would have uttered one groan and given up the ghost. It was a startling movement to me; and for a moment I thought they were going to employ in his behalf that mercy which is sometimes shown to a dying brute, that of killing him to put him out of misery. I pressed forward to shield him with my own body; and in the confusion of the moment, and my inability to understand what they meant, the selfish feeling came over me of the entire and absolute helplessness of my own condition if Paul should die. But Paul was too good a Catholic to die out of the pale of the church; he could never have rested quietly in his grave, unless he had been laid there amid the wafting of incense and the chanting of priests. "The safety of the patient often consists in the quarrels of the physicians," says Sancho Panza, or some other equally great authority, and perhaps this saved Paul; the Arabs wanted to cut open his clothes and bleed him; but I, not liking the looks of their lancets, would not suffer it; and, between us both, Paul was let alone and came to himself. But it was a trying moment, while I was kneeling on the sand supporting his senseless head upon my knee. No parent could have waited with more anxiety the return to life of an only child, or lover watched the beautiful face of his adored and swooning mistress with more earnestness than I did the ghastly and grisled face of my faithful follower; and when he first opened his eyes, and stared wildly at me, the brightest emanations from the face of beauty could not at that moment have kindled warmer emotions in my heart. I never thought I should look on his ugly face with so much pleasure. I put him on my horse, and took his dromedary; and in half an hour we came to a Bedouin encampment, in one of the most singular and interesting spots I ever saw.

We should have gone on two hours longer, but Paul's accident made it necessary to stop as soon as we found a proper place; and I should have regretted exceedingly to pass by this without a halt. There was something interesting even in our manner of approaching it. Wo

were climbing up the side of a mountain, and we saw on a little point on the very summit the figure of an Arab, with his face towards the tomb of the prophet, kneeling and prostrating himself in evening prayer. He had finished his devotions, and was sitting upon the rock when we approached, and found that he had literally been praying on his house top, for his habitation was in the rock beneath. Like almost every old man one meets in the East, he looked exactly the patriarch of the imagination, and precisely as we would paint Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob. He rose as we approached, and gave us the usual Bedouin invitation to stop and pass the night with him; and, leading us a few paces to the brink of the mountain, he showed us in the valley below the village of his tribe.

The valley began at the foot of the elevation on which we stood, and lay between ranges of broken and overhanging rocks, a smooth and beautiful table of green, for perhaps a quarter of a mile, and beyond that distance broke off and expanded into an extensive meadow. The whole of this valley, down to the meadow, was filled with flocks of sheep and goats; and for the first time since I left the banks of the Nile, I saw a herd of cows. I did not think I should ever be guilty of a sentiment at beholding a cow, but so it was; after my long journey in the desert, my feelings were actually excited to tenderness by the sight of these old acquaintances.

But where were the dwellings of the pastors, the tents in which dwelt the shepherds of these flocks and herds? In Egypt I had seen the Arabs living in tombs, and among the ruins of temples; in the desert I have seen them dwelling in tents; but I had never yet seen them making their habitations in the rude crevices of the rocks. Such, however, were their habitations here. The rocks in many places were overhanging; in others there were chasms or fissures; and wherever there was any thing that could afford a partial protection from the weather on one side, a low, rough, circular wall of stone was built in front of it, and formed the abode of a large family. Within the small enclosure in front, the women were sitting winnowing or grinding grain, or rather pounding and rubbing it between two stones, in the same primitive manner practised of old, in the days of the patriarchs. We descended and pitched our tents in the middle of the valley; and my first business was to make some hot tea for Paul, roll him up in blankets and coverlets, and thus repeat the sweating operation that had done him so much good before. He was badly hurt, and very much frightened. The boxes had fallen upon him, and the butt of a heavy gun, which he held in his left hand, had struck with all the momentum of its fall against his breast. He thought his ribs were all broken; and when I persuaded him that they were as good as ever, he was sure there was some inward bruise, that would be followed by mortification; and until we separated, especially when we had any hard work before us, he continued to complain of his hurts by this unlucky misadventure.

Having disposed of Paul, I strode out to examine more particularly the strange and interesting scene in the midst of which we were. The habitations in the crevices of the rocks, had as they would be considered any where else, I found much more comfortable than most of the huts of the Egyptians on the banks of the Nile, or the rude tents of the Bedouins. It was not sheer poverty that drove these shepherds to take shelter in the rocks, for they were a tribe more than 300 strong, and had flocks and herds such as are seldom seen among the Bedouins; and they were far better clad, and had the appearance of being better fed, than my worthy companions. Indeed, they were a different race from mine; and here, on the borders of the desert, I was again struck with what had so forcibly impressed me in crossing the borders of Ethiopia, the strong and marked difference of races in the East. The Bedouins among whom we were encamped were taller, stouter, and had longer faces than the El Alouins; and sometimes I thought I saw in them strong marks of the Jewish

physiognomy. Above all, they were whiter; and this, with the circumstance of the women being less particular in keeping their faces covered, enabled me to pass an hour before dark with much satisfaction. The change from the swarthy and bearded visages of my travelling companions to the comparatively fair and feminine countenances of these pastoral women, was striking and agreeable, and they looked more like home than any thing I had seen for a long time, except the cows. I cannot help thinking what a delight it would have been to meet, in that distant land, one of those beautiful fairies, lovely in all the bewitching attractions of frocks, shoes, stockings, clean faces, &c., of whom I now meet dozens every day, with the calm indifference of a stoic, since, even in spite of bare feet and dirty faces, my heart warmed towards the women of the desert. I could have taken them all to my arms; but there was one among them who might be accounted beautiful even among the beautiful women of my own distant home. She was tall, and fairer than the most of her tribe; and with the shepherd's crook in her hand, she was driving her flock of goats up the valley to the little enclosure before the door of her rocky dwelling. There was no colour in her cheek, but there was gentleness in her eye, and delicacy in every feature; and, moving among us, she would be cherished and cared for as a tender plant, and served with all respect and love; but here she was a servant; her days were spent in guarding her flock, and at night her tender limbs were stretched upon the rude floor of her rocky dwelling. I thought of her much, and she made a deep impression upon me; but I was prevented from attempting to excite a correspondent feeling in her gentle bosom by the crushed state of Paul's ribs, and my own inability to speak her language.

In the evening the men and women, or, to speak more pastorally, the shepherds and shepherdesses, came up one after another, with their crooks in their hands and their well-trained dogs, driving before them their several flocks. Some entered the little enclosures before their rude habitations; but many, destitute even of this miserable shelter, slept outside in the open valley, with their flocks around them, and their dogs by their side, presenting the same pastoral scenes which I had so often looked upon among the mountains of Greece; but unhappily, here, as there, the shepherds and shepherdesses do not in the least resemble the Chloes and Phillises of poetic dreams. In the evening we seated ourselves round a large bowl of cracked corn and milk, so thick as to be taken with the hands, unaided by a spoon or ladle, followed by a smoking marmite of stewed kid; and after this exercise of hospitality to the strangers, some withdrew to their rocky dwellings, others laid themselves down around the fire, and I retired to my tent. All night I heard from every part of the valley the lowing of cattle, the bleating of lambs and goats, and the loud barking of the watch-dog.

Early in the morning, while the stars were yet in the sky, I was up and out of my tent. The flocks were still quiet, and the shepherds and shepherdesses were still sleeping with the bare earth for their bed, and the canopy of heaven their only covering. One after the other they awoke; and as the day was breaking, they were milking the cows and goats, and at broad daylight they were again moving, with their crooks and dogs, to the pasture-ground at the foot of the valley.

We set off at an early hour, Paul again on my horse, and I on his dromedary; the patriarchal figure who had welcomed being the last to speed me on my way. At every step we were now putting the desert behind us, and advancing into a better country. We had spent our last night in the wilderness, and were now approaching the Holy Land; and no pilgrim ever approached its borders with a more joyous and thankful heart than mine.

At nine o'clock we came to another field of ruins, where the relics of an Arab village were mingled with those of a Roman city. The hands of the different builders and residents were visible among them; two

square buildings of large Roman stone were still standing like towers, while all the rest had fallen to pieces, and the stones which once formed the foundations of palaces were now worked up into fences around holes in the rocks, the burrowing-places of the miserable Arabs.

And here, too, we saw the tokens of man's inhumanity to man; the thunder of war had been levelled against the wretched village, the habitations were in ruins, and the inhabitants whom the sword had spared were driven out and scattered no one knew whither. On the borders of the Holy Land we saw that Ibrahim Pacha, the great Egyptian soldier, whose terrible war-cry had been heard on the plains of Egypt and among the mountains of Greece, in the deserts of Syria and under the walls of Constantinople, was ruling the conquered country with the same rod of iron which his father swayed in Egypt. He had lately been to this frontier village with the brand of war, and burning and desolation had marked his path.

Soon after, we came to an inhabited village, the first since we left Cairo. Like the ruined and deserted village we had left, it was a mingled exhibition of ancient greatness and modern poverty; and probably it was a continuation of the same ruined Roman city. A large fortress, forming part of a battlement, in good preservation, and fragments of a wall, formed the nucleus of a village, around which the inhabitants had built themselves huts. The rude artisans of the present day knew nothing of the works which their predecessors had built; and the only care they had for them was to pull them down, and with the fragments to build for themselves rude hovels and enclosures; and the sculptured stones which once formed the ornaments of Roman palaces, were now worked up into fences around holes in the ground, the poor dwellings of the miserable Arabs.

The stranger from a more favoured land, in looking at the tenants of these wretched habitations, cannot help thanking his God that his lot is not like theirs. When I rode through, the whole population had crawled out of their holes and hiding-places, and were basking in the warmth of a summer's sun; and I could not help seeing the kindly hand of a benefactor in giving to them what he has denied to us, a climate where, for the greater part of the year, they may spend their whole days in the open air, and even at night hardly need the shelter of a roof. This is probably the last of the cities which once stood on the great Roman road from Jerusalem to Akaba. While riding among the ruins, and stopping for a moment to talk with some of the Arabs, I saw on the left, in the side of a mountain, an open door like those of the tombs in Egypt; a simple orifice, without any ornament or sculpture. A woman was coming out with a child in her arms, a palpable indication that here, too, the abodes of the dead were used as habitations by the living. In Paul's disabled state I could ask no questions, and I did not stop to explore.

I cannot leave this interesting region without again expressing my regret at being able to add so little to the stock of useful knowledge. I can only testify to the existence of the ruins of cities which have been known only in the books of historians, and I can bear witness to the desolation that reigns in Edom. I can do more, not with the spirit of scoffing at prophecy, but of one who, in the strong evidence of the fulfilment of predictions uttered by the voice of inspiration, has seen and felt the evidences of the sure foundation of the Christian faith; and having regard to what I have already said in reference to the interpretation of the prophecy, "None shall pass through it for ever and ever," I can say that I have passed through the land of Idumea. My route was not open to the objection made to that of Burckhardt, the traveller who came nearest to passing through the land; for he entered from Damascus, on the east side of the Dead Sea, and struck the borders of Edom at such a point that literally he cannot be said to have passed through it. My route, therefore, is not open to the critical objections made to his; and beyond all peradventure I did pass directly through the land of Idumea lengthwise, and crossing its northern and

southern border; and unless the two Englishmen and Italian before referred to passed on this same route, I am the only person, except the wandering Arabs, who ever did pass through the doomed and forbidden Edom, beholding with his own eyes the fearful fulfilment of the terrible denunciations of an offended God. And though I did pass through and yet was not cut off, God forbid that I should count the prophecy a lie. No; even though I had been a confirmed sceptic, I had seen enough in wandering with the Bible in my hand in that unpeopled desert to tear up the very foundations of unbelief, and scatter its fragments to the winds. In my judgment, the words of the prophet are abundantly fulfilled in the destruction and desolation of the ancient Edom, and the complete and eternal breaking up of a great public highway; and it is neither necessary nor useful to extend the denunciation against a passing traveller.\*

## CHAPTER XXV.

Approach to Hebron.—A Sick Governor.—A Prescription at Random.—Hospitality of the Jews.—Finnale with the Bedouins.—A Storm.—A Calm after the Storm.—Venality of the Arabs.—Hebron.—A Coptic Christian.—Story of the Rabbi.—Professional Employment.

I HAD followed the wandering path of the children of Israel from the land of Egypt and the house of bondage, to the borders of the promised land; had tracked them in their miraculous passage across the Red Sea to the mountains of Sinai, through "the great and terrible wilderness that leadeth to Kadesh Barnea;" and among the stony mountains through which I was now journeying must have been the Kadesh, in the wilderness of Paran, from which Moses sent the ten chosen men to spy out the land of Canaan, who went "unto the brook of Eshcol, and cut down from thence a branch with one cluster of grapes, and bare it between two upon a staff; and though they brought of the pomegranates and figs, and said that surely the land flowed with milk and honey, and these were the fruits thereof, yet brought up such an evil report of the land that it ate up the inhabitants thereof, and of the sons of Anak, the giants that dwell therein, that the hearts of the Israelites sank within them; they murmured against Moses; and for their murmurings they were sent back into the wilderness; and their carcases, from twenty years old and upward, were doomed to fall in the wilderness, and the children of the murmurers to wander forty years before they should enter the land of promise."—Numbers, xiii. 23. I followed in the track of the spies; and though I saw not the Vale of Eshcol with its grapes and pomegranates, neither did I see the sons of Anak, the giants of the land. Indeed, the men of Anak could not have made

\* Keith's celebrated treatise on the Prophecies has passed through fourteen editions, differing in some few particulars. In the sixth edition he says that Sir Frederick Henniker, in his notes dated from Mount Sinai, states that Seetzen, on a vessel of paper pasted against the wall, notifies his having penetrated the country in a direct line between the Dead Sea and Mount Sinai (through Idumea), a route never before accomplished. In a note to the same edition, the learned divine says—"Not even the cases of two individuals, Seetzen and Burckhardt, can be stated as at all opposed to the literal interpretation of the prophecies. Seetzen did indeed pass through Idumea, and Burckhardt traversed a considerable part of it; but the former met his death not long after the completion of his journey through Idumea (he died at Akaba, supposed to have been poisoned); the latter never recovered from the effects of the hardships and privations which he suffered there; and without even commencing the exclusive design which he had in view, namely, to explore the interior of Africa, to which all his journeyings in Asia were merely intended as preparatory, he died at Cairo. Neither of them lived to return to Europe. \* I will cut off from Mount Seir him that passeth out and him that returneth." In the edition which I saw on the Nile, and which first turned my attention to the route through Idumea, I have no recollection of having seen any reference to Seetzen. It may have been there, however, without my particularly noticing it; as, when I read it, I had but little expectation of being able myself to undertake the route.

me turn back from the land of promise. I was so heartily tired of the desert and my Bedouin companions, that I would have thrown myself into the arms of the giants themselves for relief. And though the mountains were as yet stony and barren, they were so green and beautiful by comparison with the desert I had left, that the conviction even of much greater dangers than I had yet encountered could hardly have driven me back. The Bedouins and the Fellahs about Hebron are regarded as the worst, most turbulent, and desperate Arabs under the government of the pacha; but as I met little parties of them coming out towards the frontier, they looked, if such a character can be conceived of Arabs, like quiet, respectable, orderly citizens, when compared with my wild protectors; and they greeted us kindly and cordially as we passed them, and seemed to welcome us once more to the abodes of men.

As we approached Hebron, the sheik became more and more civil and obsequious; and before we came in sight of the city, he seemed to have some misgivings about entering it, and asked me to secure protection from the governor for that night for himself and men, which I did not hesitate to promise. I was glad to be approaching again a place under the established government of the pacha, where, capricious and despotic as was the exercise of power, I was sure of protection against the exactions of my Bedouins; and the reader may judge of the different degrees of security existing in these regions, from being told that I looked to the protection of a Turk as a guarantee against the rapacity of an Arab. After clambering over a rocky mountain, we came down into a valley, bounded on all sides, and apparently shut in by stony mountains. We followed the valley for more than an hour, finding the land good and well cultivated, with abundance of grapes, vines, and olives, as in the day when the spies sent by Moses entered it; and I can only wonder that, to a hardy and warlike people like the Israelites, after a long journey in the desert, the rich products of Hebron did not present more powerful considerations than the cunity of the men of Anak. We turned a point of the mountain to the left; and at the extreme end of the valley, on the side of a hill, bounding it, stands the little city of Hebron, the ancient capital of the kingdom of David. But it bears no traces of the glory of its Jewish king. Thunder and lightning, and earthquakes, wars, pestilence, and famine, have passed over it; and a small town of white houses, compactly built on the side of the mountain, a mosque and two minarets, are all that mark the ancient city of Hebron.

As soon as we came in sight of the city, the sheik dismounted; and arranging his saddle, made Paul take back his dromedary and give me my horse; and placing me on his right hand, and drawing up the caravan with the order and precision of a troop of "regulars," we made a dashing entry. It was on Friday, the Mussulman's Sabbath; and several hundred women, in long white dresses, were sitting among the tombs of the Turkish burying-ground, outside the walls. We passed this burying-ground and a large square fountain connected with the ancient city, being regarded at this day as one of the works of Solomon; and leaving the baggage camels at the gate, with our horses and dromedaries on full gallop, we dashed through the narrow streets up to the door of the citadel, and, in no very modest tone, demanded an audience of the governor. The Turks and Arabs are proverbial for the indifference with which they look upon every thing; and though I knew that a stranger coming from the desert was a rare object, and ought to excite some attention, I was amused and somewhat surprised at the extraordinary sensation our appearance created. Men stopped in the midst of their business; the lazy groups in the cafs sprang up, and workmen threw down their tools to run out and stare at us. I was surprised at this; but I afterwards learned that, since the pacha had disarmed all Syria, and his subjects in that part of his dominions wore arms only by stealth, it was a strange and startling occurrence to see a party of lawless Be-

douins coming in from the desert, armed to the teeth, and riding boldly up to the gates of the citadel.

The janizary at the door told us that the governor was sick and asleep, and could not be disturbed. He was, however, a blundering fellow; and after a few moments' parley, without giving his master any notice, he had us all standing over the sleeping invalid. The noise of our entering and the clang of our weapons roused him; and staring round for a moment, leaning on his elbow, he fixed his eyes on the sheik, and with a voice the like of which can only issue from the bottom of a Turk's throat, thundered out, "Who are you?" The sheik was for a moment confounded, and made no answer. "Who are you?" reiterated the governor, in a voice even louder than before. "I am Ibrahim Pacha's man," said the sheik. "I know that," answered the governor; "none but Ibrahim Pacha's men dare come here; but have you no name?" "Sheik El Alouin," said the Arab, with the pride of a chief of Bedouins, and looking for a moment as if he stood in the desert at the head of his lawless tribe. "I conducted the pacha's caravan to Akaba," and pointing to me, "I have conducted safe through all the bad Arabs Abdel Hasis, the friend of the pacha;" and then the governor, like a wild animal balked in his spring, turned his eyes from the sheik to me, as for the first time sensible of my presence. I showed him my firman, and told him that I did not mean to give him much trouble; that all I wanted was that he would send me on immediately to Bethlehem.

I had no wish to stop at Hebron, though the first city in the Holy Land, and hallowed by high and holy associations. The glory of the house of David had for ever departed. I was anxious to put an outpost between myself and the desert; and I had an indefinable longing to sleep my first night in the Holy Land in the city where our Saviour was born. But the governor positively refused to let me go that afternoon; he said that it was a bad road, and that a Jew had been robbed a few days before on his way to Bethlehem; and again lying down, he silenced all objections with the eternal but hateful word, "Bokhara, bokhara"—"to-morrow, to-morrow." Seeing there was no help for me, I made the best of it, and asked him to furnish me with a place to lodge in that night. He immediately gave orders to the janizary; and as I was rising to leave, asked me if I could not give him some medicine. I had some expectation and some fear of this, and would have avoided it if I could. I had often drugged and physicked a common Arab, but had never been called upon to prescribe for such pure porcelain of the earth as a governor. Nevertheless, I ventured my unskilful hand upon him; and having with all due gravity asked his symptoms, and felt his pulse, and made him stick out his tongue till he could hardly get it back again, I looked down his throat, and into his eyes, and covering him up, told him, with as much solemnity as if I was licensed to kill *secundum artem*, that I would send him some medicine, with the necessary directions for taking it. I was quite equal to the governor's case, for I saw that he had merely half killed himself with eating, and wanted clearing out, and I had with me emetics and cathartics that I well knew were capable of clearing out a whole regiment. In the course of the evening he sent his janizary to me; and, expecting to be off before daylight, I gave him a double emetic, with very precise directions for its use; and I afterwards learned that, during its operation, his wrath had waxed warm against me, but in the morning he was so much better that he was ready to do me any kindness.

This over, I followed the janizary, who conducted me around outside the walls and through the burying-ground, where the women were scattered in groups among the tombs, to a distant and separate quarter of the city. I had no idea where he was taking me; but I had not advanced a horse's length in the narrow streets before their peculiar costume and physiognomies told me that I was among the unhappy remnant of a fallen people, the persecuted and despised Israel-

ites. They were removed from the Turkish quarter, as if the slightest contact with this once-favoured people would contaminate the bigoted follower of the prophet. The governor, in the haughty spirit of a Turk, probably thought that the house of a Jew was a fit place for the repose of a Christian; and following the janizary through a low range of narrow, dark, and filthy lanes, mountings, and turnings, of which it is impossible to give any idea, with the whole Jewish population turning out to review us, and the sheik and all his attendants with their long swords clattering at my heels, I was conducted to the house of the chief Rabbi of Hebron.

If I had had my choice, these were the very persons I would have selected for my first acquaintances in the Holy Land. The descendants of Israel were fit persons to welcome a stranger to the ancient city of their fathers; and if they had been then sitting under the shadow of the throne of David, they could not have given me a warmer reception. It may be that, standing in the same relation to the Turks, alike the victims of persecution and contempt, they forgot the great cause which had torn us apart and made us a separate people, and felt only a sympathy for the object of mutual oppression. But whatever was the cause, I shall never forget the kindness with which, as a stranger and Christian, I was received by the Jews in the capital of their ancient kingdom; and I look to my reception here, and by the monks of Mount Sinai, as among the few bright spots in my long and dreary pilgrimage through the desert.

I had seen enough of the desert, and of the wild spirit of freedom which men talk of without knowing, to make me cling more fondly than ever even to the lowest grade of civilisation; and I could have sat down that night, provided it was under a roof, with the fiercest Mussulman, as in a family circle. Judge, then, of my satisfaction at being welcomed from the desert by the friendly and hospitable Israelites. Returned once more to the occupation of our busy, money-making life, floating again upon the stream of business, and carried away by the cares and anxieties which agitate every portion of our stirring community, it is refreshing to turn to the few brief moments when far other thoughts occupied my mind; and my speculating, scheming friends and fellow-citizens would have smiled to see me that night, with a Syrian dress and long beard, sitting cross-legged on a divan, with the chief rabbi of the Jews at Hebron, and half the synagogue around us, talking of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as of old and mutual friends.

With the few moments of daylight that remained, my Jewish friends conducted me around their miserable quarter. They had few lions to show me, but they took me to their synagogue, in which an old white-bearded Israelite was teaching some prattling children to read the laws of Moses in the language of their fathers; and when the sun was setting in the west, and the Muezzin from the top of the minaret was calling the sons of the faithful to evening prayers, the old rabbi and myself, a Jew and a Christian, were sitting on the roof of the little synagogue, looking out as by stealth upon the sacred mosque containing the hallowed ashes of their patriarch fathers. The Turk guards the door, and the Jew and the Christian are not permitted to enter; and the old rabbi was pointing to the different parts of the mosque, where, as he told me, under tombs adorned with carpets of silk and gold, rested the mortal remains of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

But to return to my Bedouin companions. The sheik and his whole suite had been following close at my heels, through the narrow lanes and streets, up to the very doors of the synagogue; and their swarthy figures, their clattering swords, and grim visages, prevented my seeing the face of many a Hebrew maiden. I expected a scene with them at parting, and I was not disappointed. Returning to the rabbi's, they followed me into the room, and, after a few preliminaries, I counted out the price of the camels, and laid down a bucksheesh for each separately. Not one of them

touched it, but all looked at the money and at me alternately, without speaking a word (it was about ten times as much as I would have had to pay for the same services any where else); and the sheik seemed uncertain what to do. The janizary, however, whose presence I had almost forgotten, put himself forward as an actor in the scene; and half drawing his sword, and rattling it back into its scabbard, swore that it was a vile extortion; that the governor ought to know it; and that the firman of the pacha ought to protect a stranger. This brought the sheik to a decision; and taking up his own portion, and directing the rest to do the same, he expressed himself satisfied, and, without moving from his place, betook himself to smoking. It was evident, however, that he was not altogether content; and the janizary leaving us soon after, hardly had the rattling of his steel scabbard died away along the narrow passage, when they all turned upon me, and gave voice to their dissatisfaction. I told them that I had paid them an enormous price, much more than the sheik had spoken of at Cairo; that I had brought with me more money than he had given me to understand would be necessary, and that it was all gone; that it was impossible to give them any more, for I had it not to give. In fact, I had paid them extravagantly, but far below their extravagant expectations. One would not have come for 200 dollars, another for 100, &c.; and from the noise and clamour which they made here, I am well satisfied that, if the denouement had taken place in the desert, they would have searched for themselves whether there was not something left in the bottom of my trunk; and from what happened afterwards, I am very sure that they would have stripped me of my Turkish plumage; but now I was perfectly safe. I considered a Turkish governor good protection against the rapacity of a Bedouin Arab. I did not even fear their future vengeance, for I knew that they did not dare set their feet outside of any gate in Hebron, except that which opened to their own tents in the desert; they seemed to think that they had let me slip through their fingers; and when they pushed me to desperation, I told them that I did not care whether they were satisfied or not. As I rose, the sheik fell; and when I began working myself into a passion at his exorbitant demand, he fell to begging a dollar or two, in such moving terms that I could not resist. I continued yielding to his petty extortions, until, having ascertained the expense, I found that I had not a dollar more than enough to carry me to Jerusalem; and at this moment he consummated his impudence by begging my dress from off my back. The dress was of no great value; it had not cost much when new, and was travel-worn and frayed with hard usage; but it had a value in my eyes from the mere circumstance of having been worn upon this journey. I had given him nearly all my tent equipage, arms, ammunition, &c., and I had borne with all his twopenny extortions; but he urged and insisted, and begged and entreated, with so much pertinacity, that my patience was exhausted, and I told him that I had borne with him long enough, and that he and his whole tribe might go to the d—l. This was not very courteous or dignified between treaty-making powers; but considering that the immediate subject of negotiation was an old silk dress, and the parties were a single individual and a horde of Bedouins, it may perhaps be allowed to pass. All the nice web of diplomacy was now broken; and all springing at the same moment to our feet, the whole group stood fronting me, glaring upon me like so many wild beasts. Now the long-smothered passion broke out; and wild and clamorous as the Arabs always were, I had never seen them so perfectly furious. They raved like so many bedlamites; and the sheik, with torrents of vociferation and reproach, drew from his bosom the money he had accepted as his portion, dashed it on the floor, and, swearing that no Frank should ever pass through his country again, poured out upon me a volley of bitter curses, and, grinding his teeth with rage and disappointment, rushed out of the room. I did not

then know what he was saying; but I could judge, from the almost diabolical expression of his face, that he was not paying me very handsome compliments; and I felt a convulsive movement about the extreme end of my foot, and had advanced a step to help him down stairs, but his troop followed him close; and I do not know how it is, but when one looks long at the ugly figure of a Bedouin, he is apt to forego a purpose of vengeance. There is something particularly truculent and pacifying in their aspect.

A moment after he had gone, I was exceedingly sorry for what had happened, particularly on account of his oath that no European should ever pass through his country. I felt unhappy in the idea that, when I expected to be the pioneer in opening a new and interesting route, I had become the means of more effectually closing it. With a heavy heart, I told Paul that I must have another interview; that the old dress must go, and any thing else I had; and, in short, that I must have peace upon any terms. To dispose of this business without mixing it with other things: in about an hour the sheik returned with his brother, and, walking up to me and kissing my hand, told me that he had just heard of a robbery on the road to Jerusalem, and came to tell me of it; and looking me in the face, added that, when he had got back to his tent, he felt unhappy at having left me in anger; that he had been so used to sitting with me, that he could not remain away, &c. &c. I was not to be outdone; and looking him back again in the face, I introduced him to my Jewish companions as my dearest friend, the chief of the tribe of El Alouins, who had protected me with his life through the dangers of the desert, and to whose bold arm they were indebted for the privilege they then enjoyed of seeing my face. The sheik looked at me as if he thought me in earnest, and himself entitled to all that I had said; and, satisfied so far, he sat down and smoked his pipe, and at parting disclosed the object of his visit, by asking me for a letter of recommendation to the consul at Cairo, and to the friends of whom I had before spoken as intending to follow me to Petra. Glad to patch up a peace, I told him to come to me early the next morning, and I would settle every thing to his satisfaction. Before I was awake, he was shaking me by the shoulder. I jumped up, and roused Paul; and now wishing to redeem my ungraciousness of the day before, I may say literally that "I parted my raiment among them," and gave away pretty much every thing I had except my European clothes, completing my present with a double-barrelled gun, rather given to bursting, which I gave the sheik's brother. The sheik had changed his tone altogether, and now told me that he loved me as a brother; and, pointing to the brother at his side, that he loved me as well as him; and with great warmth assured me, that if I would turn Mussulman, and come and live with him in his tents in the wilderness, he would give me for wives four of the most beautiful girls of his tribe. He did not confine his offers to me, but told me that he would receive, guard, and protect any of my friends as if they were of his own blood; and warming with his own generosity, or perhaps really feeling a certain degree of kindness, he asked me for some symbol or sign which should be perpetual between us. I had just sealed a letter for Mr Giddon, and a stick of sealing-wax and a lighted lamp were on the low table before me. I made a huge plaster with the sealing-wax on a sheet of coarse brown paper, and, stamping it with the stock of my pistol, chased and carved in the Turkish fashion, I gave him a seal with such a device as would have puzzled the professors of heraldry, telling him that, when any one came to him with this seal, he might know he was a friend of mine; and I added, that I would never send any one without plenty of money; so that any one who visits the Sheik El Alouin with my recommendation, must expect to make up for my deficiencies. This over, we bade each other farewell, the sheik and the whole of his swarthy companions kissing me on both sides of my face. I looked after them as long as they continued in sight,

listened till I heard the last clattering of their armour, and I never saw nor do I ever wish to see them again. I am sorry to entertain such a feeling towards any who have been the companions of my wanderings, and I hardly know another instance, from the English nobleman down to a muleteer or boatman, at parting with whom I have not felt a certain degree of regret. But when I parted with the Bedouin chief, though he kissed me on both cheeks, though he gave me his signet and has mine in return, and though four Arabian girls are ready for me whenever I choose to put my trust in Mohammed and Sheik El Alouin, it was delightful to think that I should never see his face again.

One by one I had seen the many illusions of my waking dreams fade away; the gorgeous pictures of oriental scenes melt into nothing; but I had still clung to the primitive simplicity and purity of the children of the desert, their temperance and abstinence, their contented poverty and contempt for luxuries, as approaching the true nobility of man's nature, and sustaining the poetry of the "land of the East." But my last dream was broken; and I never saw among the wanderers of the desert any traits of character or any habits of life which did not make me prize and value more the privileges of civilisation. I had been more than a month alone with the Bedouins; and to say nothing of their manners, excluding women from all companionship; dipping their fingers up to the knuckles in the same dish; eating sheep's insides, and sleeping under tents crawling with vermin engendered by their filthy habits, their temperance and frugality are from necessity, not from choice; for in their nature they are gluttonous, and will eat at any time till they are gorged of whatever they can get, and then lie down and sleep like brutes. I have sometimes amused myself with trying the variety of their appetites, and I never knew them refuse any thing that could be eaten. Their stomach was literally their god, and the only chance of doing any thing with them was by first making to it a grateful offering; instead of scorning luxuries, they would eat sugar as boys do sugar-candy; and I am very sure, if they could have got poundcake, they would never have eaten their own coarse bread.

One might expect to find these children of Nature free from the reproach of civilised life, the love of gold. But, fellow-citizens and fellow-worshippers of Mammon, hold up your heads; this reproach must not be confined to you. It would have been a pleasing thing to me to find among the Arabs of the desert a slight similarity of taste and pursuits with the denizens of my native city; and in the early developments of a thirst for acquisition, I would have hailed the embryo spirit which might one day lead to stock and exchange boards, and laying out city lots around the base of Mount Sinai or the excavated city of Petra. But the savage was already far beyond the civilised man in his appetite for gold; and though brought up in a school of hungry and thirsty disciples, and knowing many in my native city who regard it as the one thing needful, I blush for myself, for my city, and for them, when I say that I never saw one among them who could be compared with the Bedouin; I never saw anything like the expression of face with which a Bedouin looks upon silver or gold. When he asks for bucksheesh, and receives the glittering metal, his eyes sparkle with wild delight, his fingers clutch it with eager rapacity, and he skulks away like the miser, to count it over alone, and hide it from all other eyes.

Hebron, one of the oldest cities of Canaan, is now a small Arab town, containing seven or eight hundred Arab families. The present inhabitants are the wildest, most lawless, and desperate people in the Holy Land; and it is a singular fact, that they sustain now the same mutinous character with the rebels of ancient days, who armed with David against Saul, and with Absalom against David. In the late desperate revolution against Mohammed Ali, they were foremost in the strife, the first to draw the sword, and the last to return it to its scabbard. A petty Turk now wields the sceptre of the

son of Jesse, and a small remnant of a despised and persecuted people still hover round the graves of their fathers; and though degraded and trampled under foot, from the very dust in which they lie are still looking to the restoration of their temporal kingdom.

Accompanied by my Jewish friends, I visited the few spots which tradition marks as connected with scenes of Bible history. Passing through the bazaars at the extreme end, and descending a few steps, we entered a vault containing a large monument, intended in memory of Abner, the greatest captain of his age, the favoured and for a long time trusted officer of David, who, as the Jews told me, was killed in battle near Hebron, and his body brought here and buried. The great mosque, the walls of which, the Jews say, are built with the ruins of the temple of Solomon, according to the belief of the Mussulmans and the better authority of the Jews, covers the site of the Cave of Machpelah, which Abraham bought from Ephron the Hittite; and within its sacred precincts are the supposed tombs of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The doors were guarded with jealous care by the bigoted Mussulmans; and when, with my Jewish companion, I stopped for a moment to look up at the long marble staircase leading to the tomb of Abraham, a Turk came out from the bazaars, and, with furious gesticulations, gathered a crowd around us; and a Jew and a Christian were driven with contempt from the sepulchre of the patriarch whom they both revered. A special firman from the pacha, or perhaps a large bribe to the governor, might have procured me a private admission; but death or the Koran would have been the penalty required by the bigoted people of Hebron.

On a rising ground a little beyond the mosque, is a large fountain or reservoir, supported by marble pillars, where my companions told me that Sarah had washed the clothes of Abraham and Isaac. Leaving this, I went once more to the two pools outside the walls, and after examining them as the so-called works of Solomon, I had seen all a stranger could see in Hebron.

I cannot leave this place, however, without a word or two more. I had spent a long evening with my Jewish friends. The old rabbi talked to me of their prospects and condition, and told me how he had left his country in Europe many years before, and come with his wife and children to lay their bones in the Holy Land. He was now eighty years old; and for thirty years, he said, he had lived with the sword suspended over his head—had been reviled, buffeted, and spit upon; and though sometimes enjoying a respite from persecution, he never knew at what moment the bloodhounds might not be let loose upon him; that, since the country had been wrested from the sultan by the Pacha of Egypt, they had been comparatively safe and tranquil; though some idea may be formed of this comparative security from the fact, that during the revolution two years before, when Ibrahim Pacha, after having been pent up several months in Jerusalem, burst out like a roaring lion, the first place upon which his wrath descended was the unhappy Hebron; and while their guilty brethren were sometimes spared, the unhappy Jews, never offending but always suffering, received the full weight of Arab vengeance. Their houses were ransacked and plundered; their gold and silver, and all things valuable, carried away; and their wives and daughters violated before their eyes by a brutal soldiery.

During the evening a fine portly man, in the flowing Syrian dress, came to pay me a visit. His complexion proclaimed him of Coptic origin, a descendant of the ancient lords of Egypt; his inkhorn in his sash told me that he was a writer, and his cordial salutation that he was a Christian. Living among Turks, Arabs, and Jews, he greeted me as if it were a rare thing to meet a professor of the same faith, and a believer in the same God and Saviour. He regretted that he had been away when I arrived, and said that he ought by right to have had me at his house, as he was the only Christian in Hebron; and he, even where proselytes were wanted,

would perhaps not have passed muster according to the strict canons of a Catholic church. My Christian friend, however, was more of a Jew than any of the descendants of Israel around me; for amid professions of friendship and offers of service, he was not forgetting his own interests. The European and American governments had been appointing consular agents in many of the cities of Syria, and this office, under the government of the present pacha, exempted the holder from certain taxes and impositions, to which the fellahs and rayahs were subject. America is known in the Holy Land by her missionaries, by the great ship (the *Dawar*) which a year before touched at the seaport towns, and by the respect and character which she confers on her consular agents. My Coptic Christian knew her on the last account, and told me, in confidence, that he thought America had need of a consular agent in Hebron, to protect her citizens travelling in that region. I was the first American traveller who had ever been there, and years may roll by before another follows me; but I fully concurred with him in the necessity of such an officer: and when he suggested that there was no better man than himself to hold it, I concurred with him again. Little did I think when, years before, I was seeking to climb the slippery rungs of the political ladder, that my political influence would ever be sought for the office of consul in the ancient capital of David; but so it was; and without questioning him too closely about his faith in the principles and usages of the democratic party, the virtue of regular nominations, &c., taking his name written in Arabic, and giving him my card that he might know the name of his political benefactor, I promised to speak to the consul at Beyroot in his favour; and he left me with as much confidence as if he had his commission already in his pocket.

A more interesting business followed with the old rabbi, probably induced by what had just passed between the Christian and myself. He told me that he had lately had occasion to regret exceedingly the loss of a paper, which would now be of great use to him; that he was a Jew of Venice (I can vouch for it that he was no Shylock), and thirty years before had left his native city and come to Hebron with a regular passport; that for many years a European passport was no protection, and, indeed, it had been rather an object with him to lay aside the European character, and identify himself with the Asiatics; that, in consequence, he had been careless of his passport, and had lost it; but that now, since the conquest of Mohammed Ali and the government of Ibrahim Pacha, a European passport was respected, and saved its holder and his family from Turkish impositions. He mourned bitterly over his loss, not, as he said, for himself, for his days were almost ended, and the storms of life could not break over his head more heavily than they had already done; but he mourned for his children and grandchildren, whom his carelessness had deprived of the evidence of his birthright and the protection of their country. I was interested in the old man's story, and particularly in his unobtrusive manner of telling it; and drawing upon the reminiscences of my legal knowledge, I told him that the loss of his passport had not deprived him of his right to the protection of his country, and that, if he could establish the fact of his being a native of Venice, he might still sit down under the wings of the double-headed eagle of Austria. I afterwards went more into detail. Learning that there were in Hebron some of his very old acquaintances who could testify to the fact of his nativity, I told him to bring them to me, and I would take their affidavits, and, on my arrival at Beyroot, would represent the matter to the Austrian consul there; and I thought that with such evidence the consul would not refuse him another passport. He thanked me very warmly, and the next morning early, while I was waiting, all ready for my departure, he brought in his witnesses. It would have been difficult for the old man to produce deponents who could swear positively to his nativity; but of those whom he brought any one could



look back farther than it is usually allowed to man. They were all over sixty, and their long white beards gave them a venerable appearance, which made me attach more importance to the proceedings than I intended. These hoary-headed men, I thought, could not speak with lying lips; and taking my place in the middle of the floor, the witnesses seated themselves before me, and I prepared, with business-like formality, to examine them, and reduce their examination to writing. Since I left home I had rarely thought of any thing connected with my professional pursuits, and I could not but smile as I found myself seated in the middle of a floor, surrounded by a crowd of Israelites in the old city of Hebron, for the first time in more than eighteen months resuming the path of my daily walks at home. I placed the scribe before me, and with a little of the keenness of the hunter returning to a track for some time lost, I examined the witnesses severally, and dictated in good set form the several requisite affidavits; and then reading them over distinctly, like a commissioner authorised to take acknowledgments under the act, &c., I swore the white-bearded old men upon the table of their law, a Hebrew copy of the Old Testament. I then dictated an affidavit for the rabbi himself, and was about administering the oath as before, when the old man rose, and taking the paper in his hand, and telling me to follow him, led the way through a range of narrow lanes and streets, and a crowd of people, to the little synagogue, where, opening the holy of holies, and laying his hand upon the sacred scroll, he read over the affidavit and solemnly swore to its truth. It did not need this additional act of solemnity to convince me of his truth; and when he gave me back the paper, and I saw the earnestness and deep interest depicted in the faces of the crowd that had followed us, I again resolved that I would use my best exertions to gladden once more the old man's heart before he died. I added to the several affidavits a brief statement of the circumstances under which they had been taken, and putting the paper in my pocket, returned to the house of the rabbi; and I may as well mention here, that at Beyroot I called upon the Austrian consul, and before I left had the satisfaction of receiving from him the assurance that the passport should be made out forthwith, and delivered to the agent whom the old rabbi had named to me.

I had nothing now to detain me in Hebron; my mules and a kervash provided by the governor were waiting for me, and I bade farewell to my Jewish friends. I could not offer to pay the old rabbi with money for his hospitality, and would have satisfied my conscience by a compliment to the servants; but the son of the good old man, himself more than sixty, told Paul that they would all feel hurt if I urged it. I did not urge it; and the thought passed rapidly through my mind, that while yesterday the children of the desert would have stripped me of my last farthing, to-day a Jew would not take from me a para. I passed through the dark and narrow lanes of the Jewish quarter, the inhabitants being all arranged before their houses; and all along, even from the lips of maidens, a farewell salutation fell upon my ears. They did not know what I had done, or what I proposed to do; but they knew that I intended a kindness to a father of their tribe, and they thanked me as if that kindness were already done. With the last of their kind greetings still lingering on my ears, I emerged from the Jewish quarter; and it was with a warm feeling of thankfulness I felt, that if yesterday I had had an Arab's curse, to-day I had a Jewish blessing.

#### CHAPTER XXVI.

An Arnaout.—The Pools of Solomon.—Bethlehem.—The Empress Helena.—A Clerical Exquisite.—Miraculous Localities.—A Boon Companion.—The Soldier's Sleep.—The Birthplace of Christ.—Worship in the Grotto.—Moslem Fidelity.

I HAD given away all my superfluous baggage, and commenced my journey in the Holy Land with three mules,

one for myself, another for Paul, and the third for my baggage. The muleteer, who was an uncommonly thriving-looking, well-dressed man, rode upon a donkey, and had an assistant, who accompanied on foot; but by far the most important person of our party was our kervash. He was a wild Arnaout, of a race that had for centuries furnished the bravest, fiercest, and most terrible soldiers in the army of the sultan; and he himself was one of the wildest of that wild tribe. He was now about forty, and had been a warrior from his youth upward, and battles and bloodshed were familiar to him as his food; he had fought under Ibrahim Pacha in his bloody campaign in Greece, and his rebellious war against the sultan; and having been wounded in the great battle in which the Egyptian soldiers defeated the grand vizier with the flower of the sultan's army, he had been removed from the regular service, and placed in an honourable position near the governor of Hebron. He was above the middle height, armed like the bristling porcupine, with pistols, a Damascus sabre, and a Turkish gun slung over his back, all which he carried as lightly and easily as a sportsman does his fowling-piece. His face was red, a burnt or baked red; his mustaches seemed to curl spontaneously, as if in contempt of dangers; and he rode his high-mettled horse as if he were himself a part of the noble animal. Altogether, he was the boldest, most dashing, and martial-looking figure I ever saw; and had a frankness and openness in his countenance which, after the dark and sinister looks of my Bedouins, made me take to him the moment I saw him. I do not think I made as favourable an impression upon him at first; for almost the first words he spoke to Paul after starting were to express his astonishment at my not drinking wine. The janizary must have told him this as he sat by me at supper, though I did not think he was watching me so closely. I soon succeeded, however, in establishing myself on a good footing with my kervash, and learned that his reading of the Koran did not forbid the wine-cup to the followers of the prophet. He admitted that the sultan, as being of the blood of the prophet, and the vicegerent of God upon earth, ought not to taste it; but as to the Pacha of Egypt, he drank good wine whenever he could get it, and this gave his subjects a right to drink as often as they pleased.

We were interrupted by an Arab, who told us that a party of soldiers had just caught two robbers. The kervash pricked up his ears at this, and telling us that he would meet us at a place some distance farther on, he drove his heavy stirrups into his horse's sides, and, dashing up the hill at full gallop, was out of sight in an instant. I did not think it exactly the thing to leave us the first moment we heard of robbers; but I saw that his fiery impatience to be present at a scene could not be controlled; and I felt well assured, that if danger should arrive, we would soon find him at our side. Soon after we found him waiting with the party he had sought; the two robbers chained together, and, probably, long before this, they have expiated their crime with their lives. He told us that from Hebron to Jerusalem was the most unsafe road in the Holy Land; and that Ibrahim Pacha, who hated the Arabs in that vicinity, was determined to clear it of rebels and robbers, if he cut off every man in the country.

About half an hour from Hebron we came to a valley, supposed to be the Vale of Esheol, where the spies sent out by Moses found the grapes so heavy, that to carry one bunch it was necessary to suspend it on a pole. On the right we passed a ruined wall, by some called the Cave of Machpelah, or sepulchre of the patriarchs, but which the Jews at Hebron had called the House of Abraham.

We were on our way to Bethlehem. I had hired my mules for Jerusalem, expecting merely to stop at Bethlehem and push on to Jerusalem that night. The road between these oldest cities was simply a mule-path over rocky mountains, descending occasionally into rich valleys. We had already, on this our first journey in the Holy Land, found that the character given of it in

the Bible is true at this day; and that the Land of Promise is not like the land of Egypt, watered by the dews of heaven, but by copious and abundant rains. Indeed, the rain was falling in torrents; our clothes were already dripping wet, but we did not mind it, for we were too full of thankfulness that continued sunshine and clear and unclouded skies had been our portion, when we most needed them, in the desert.

The heavy fall of rain made the track slippery and precarious; and it was four hours before we reached the celebrated reservoirs, known to modern travellers under the name of the Pools of Solomon. These large, strong, noble structures, in a land where every work of art has been hurried to destruction, remain now almost as perfect as when they were built. There are three of them, about 480, 600, and 660 feet in length, and 280 in breadth, and of different altitudes, the water from the first running into the second, and from the second into the third. At about a hundred yards' distance is the spring which supplies the reservoirs, as the monks say, the sealed fountain referred to in Canticles, iv. 12. The water from these reservoirs is conveyed to Jerusalem by a small aqueduct, a round earthen pipe about ten inches in diameter, which follows all the sinuosities of the ground, being sometimes above the surface, and sometimes under. It is easily broken; and while I was in Jerusalem, an accident happened which entirely cut off the water from the pools.

There is every reason to believe that these pools have existed from the date assigned to them; and that this was the site of one of King Solomon's houses of pleasure, where he made himself "gardens, and orchards, and pools of water." The rain here ceased for a few moments, and enabled me to view them at my leisure; and as I walked along the bank, or stood on the margin, or descended the steps to the water's edge, it seemed almost the wild suggestion of a dream, to imagine that the wisest of men had looked into the same pool, had strolled along the same bank, and stood on the very same steps. It was like annihilating all the intervals of time and space. Solomon and all his glory are departed, and little could even his wisdom have foreseen, that long after he should be laid in the dust, and his kingdom had passed into the hands of strangers, a traveller from a land he never dreamed of would be looking upon his works, and murmuring to himself the words of the preacher, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity."

A little to the right of the pools, towards the region of the Dead Sea, is a very large grotto, supported by great pillars of the natural rock, perfectly dry, without petrification or stalactites; it is a perfect labyrinth within, and, as in many of the ancient catacombs, a man might easily lose himself for ever in its windings. It lies in the mountainous wilderness of Engaddi, and is supposed to be the Cave of Adullam, where David received the mutinous and discontented spirits of his days, and where, when Saul was in pursuit of him, he cut off the skirts of his garment, and suffered him to go away unharmed.

In an hour more we came in sight of Bethlehem, seated on an elevation, a confused and irregular pile of white buildings. The star of the east no longer hovers over it to mark the spot where the Saviour was born; and the mosque and the minaret proclaim the birthplace of Christ under the dominion of a people who reject and despise him.

Heaps of ruins and houses blackened with smoke show that the hand of war has been there. Ibrahim Pacha, on his sortie from Jerusalem, and on his way to Hebron, had lingered on his path of destruction long enough to lay in ruins half the little city of Bethlehem. It is a singular fact, and exhibits a liberality elsewhere unknown in the history of the Turks or the Mussulman religion, that the height of his indignation fell upon the Arabs. He spared the Christians for a reason that never before operated with a Turk—because they had not offended. He did, too, another liberal thing; saying that Christians and Mussulmans could not live together in unity, he drove out from Bethlehem the Arabs whom

the sword had spared, and left the place consecrated by the birth of Christ in the exclusive possession of his followers. True, he stained this act of clemency or policy by arbitrarily taking away thirty Christian boys, whom he sent to work at the factories in Cairo; and the simple-hearted parents, hearing that I had come from that city, asked me if I had seen their children.

It is a happy thing for the traveller in the Holy Land, that in almost all the principal places there is a Christian convent, whose doors are always open to him; and one of the largest and finest of these is in Bethlehem. Riding through the whole extent of the little town, greeted by Christians, who, however, with their white turbans and fierce mustaches and beards, had in my eyes a most unchristian appearance, and stopping for a moment on the high plain in front, overlooking the valley, and the sides of the hill all cultivated in terraces, we dismounted at the door of the convent.

Beginning my tour in the Holy Land at the birthplace of our Saviour, and about to follow him in his wanderings through Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, over the ground consecrated by his preaching, his sufferings, and miracles, to his crucifixion on Calvary, I must prepare my readers for a disappointment which I experienced myself. The immediate followers of our Saviour, who personally knew the localities which are now guarded and revered as holy places, engrossed by the more important business of their Master's mission, never marked these places for the knowledge of their descendants. Neglected for several centuries, many of them were probably entirely unknown, when a new spirit arose in the East, and the minds of the Christians were inflamed with a passion for collecting holy relics, and for making pilgrimages to the places consecrated by the acts and sufferings of our Redeemer and his disciples; and the Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine, the first Christian empress, came as a crusader into the Holy Land, to search for and determine the then unknown localities. And the traveller is often astonished that with so little to guide her, she was so successful; for she not only found all the holy places mentioned in the Bible, but many more; and the piety of Christians will never forget that it was through her indefatigable exertions the true cross was drawn from the bottom of a dark pit, and is now scattered in pieces all over the world, to gladden the hearts of believers. It may be that the earnest piety of the empress sometimes deceived her; but then she always covered a doubtful place with a handsomer monument, upon much the same principle that a jockey praises a bad horse and says nothing of a good one, because the bad one wants praising and the good one can speak for himself. Besides, the worthy empress seemed to think that a little marble could not hurt a holy place, and a good deal might help to make holy what was not so without it; and so think most of the Christian pilgrims, for I have observed that they always kiss with more devotion the polished marble than the rude stone.

But the Christian who goes animated by the fresh, I may almost say virgin feeling, awakened by the perusal of his Bible, expecting to see in Bethlehem the stable in which our Saviour was born, and the manger in which he was cradled, or in Jerusalem the tomb hewn out of the rock wherein his crucified body was buried, will feel another added to the many grievous disappointments of a traveller, when he finds these hallowed objects, or at least what are pointed out as these, covered and enclosed with party-coloured marble, and bedecked with gaudy and inappropriate ornaments, as if intentionally and impiously to destroy all resemblance to the descriptions given in the sacred book.

I had intended going on to Jerusalem that afternoon; but the rain had retarded me so much, that as soon as I saw the interior of the convent, I determined to remain all night. My muleteer insisted upon proceeding, as I had arranged with him when I engaged him; but my kerwash silenced him by a rap over the back with the flat of his sword, and he went off on his donkey alone, leaving behind him his companion and his mules.

Entering by the small door of the convent, I heard in the distance the loud pealing of an organ and the solemn chant of the monks; the sound transported me at once to scenes that were familiar and almost home-like, the churches and cathedrals in Italy; and the appearance of one of the brothers, in the long brown habit of the Capuchins, with his shaved head and sandals on his feet, made me feel for the moment as if I were in Europe. The monks were then at prayers; and following him through the great church, down a marble staircase, and along a subterranean corridor, in five minutes after my arrival in Bethlehem I was standing on the spot where the Saviour of mankind was born.

The superior was a young man, not more than thirty, with a face and figure of uncommon beauty; though not unhealthy, his face was thin and pale, and his high, projecting forehead indicated more than talent. Genius flashed from his eyes, though, so far as I could judge from his conversation, he did not sustain the character his features and expression promised. He was not insensible to the advantages of his personal appearance. The rope around his waist, with the cross dangling at the end, was laid as neatly as a soldier's sword-belt; the top of his head was shaved, his beard combed, and the folds of his long coarse dress, his cowl, and the sandals on his feet, all were arranged with a precision that, under other circumstances, would have made him a Brummel. There was something, too, in the display of a small hand and long taper fingers that savoured more of the exquisite than of the reclusive; but I ought not to have noted him too critically, for he was young, handsome, and gentlemanly, and fit for better things than the dronish life of a convent. I am inclined to believe, too, that he sometimes thought of other things than his breviary and his missal; at all events, he was not particularly familiar with Bible history; for in answer to his question as to the route by which I had come, I told him that I had passed through the land of Idumea; and when I expected to see him open his eyes with wonder, I found that he did not know where the land of Idumea was. I remember that he got down a huge volume in Latin, written by saint Somebody, and we pored over it together until our attention was drawn off by something else, and we forgot what we were looking for.

The walls of the convent contain all that is most interesting in Bethlehem; but outside the walls also are places consecrated in Bible history, and which the pilgrim to Bethlehem, in spite of doubts and confusion, will look upon with exceeding interest. Standing on the high table of ground in front of the convent, one of the monks pointed out the fountain where, when David was thirsting, his young men procured him water; and in the rear of the convent is a beautiful valley, having in the midst of it a ruined village, marking the place where the shepherds were watching their flocks at night when the angel came down and announced to them the birth of the Saviour. The scene was as pastoral as it had been 1800 years before; the sun was going down, the shepherds were gathering their flocks together, and one could almost imagine that, with the approach of evening, they were preparing to receive another visitor from on high. In the distance beyond the valley is a long range of mountains enclosing the Dead Sea, and among them was the wilderness of Engaddi; and the monk pointed out a small opening as leading to the shores of the sea, at the precise spot where Lot's wife was turned into a pillar of salt.

Mixed with these references to Bible history were idle legends of later days, connected with places to which the monk conducted me with as much solemnity as he had displayed when indicating the holy places of Scripture. In a grotto cut out of the rock is a chapel dedicated to the Virgin; and he told me that the mother of Christ had here concealed herself from Herod, and nursed the infant Jesus forty days, before she escaped into Egypt. Near this is another grotto, in which the Virgin, going to visit a neighbour with the child in her

arms, took refuge from a shower, and her milk overflowed; and now, said the monk, there is a faith among all people, Turks, Greeks, and Armenians, that if a woman to whom Nature has denied the power of nursing her child, comes to this grotto and prays before the altar, the fountain of life will be opened to her. Nor was the virtue of the place confined to those who should resort to it in person; for the monks had prayed for and had obtained a delegation of the Virgin's power, and a small portion of powder from the porous rock, swallowed in a little water, would be equally efficacious to women having faith. A huge chamber had been cut away in the back of the grotto by pilgrims, who had taken with them to their distant homes some of this beautiful provision for a want of nature, and Paul and myself each took a pilgrim's share.

It was dark when I returned to the convent, followed by my wild Arnaout, whom, by the way, I have neglected for some time. I had told him on my arrival that I should not need his escort any farther; but he swore that he had his orders, and would not leave me until he saw me safe within the walls of Jerusalem; and so far he had been as good as his word; for, wherever I went, he was close at my heels, following with invincible gravity, but never intruding, and the continual rattling of his steel scabbard being the only intimation I had of his presence. He was now following me through the stone court of the convent, into the room fitted up for the reception of pilgrims and travellers. I liked him, and I liked to hear the clanking of his sword at my heels; I would have staked my life upon his faith; and such confidence did he inspire by his bold, frank bearing, his manly, muscular figure, and his excellent weapons, that with a dozen such I would not have feared a whole tribe of Bedouins. In another country and a former age he would have been the *beau idéal* of a dashing cavalier, and an unfinching companion at the winecup or in the battle-field. I bore in mind our conversation in the morning about wine, and was determined that my liberal expounder of the Koran should not suffer from my abstinence. The superior, apologising for the want of animal food, had told me to call for any thing in the convent, and I used the privilege for the benefit of my thirsty Mussulman. The first thing I called for was wine; and while supper was preparing, we were tasting its quality. He was no stickler for trifles, and accepted, without any difficulty, my apology for not being able to pledge him in full bumpers; and although most of this time Paul was away, and we could not exchange a word, the more he drank the better I liked him. It was so long since I had had with me a companion I liked, that I "cottoned" to him more and more, and resolved to make the most of him. I had a plate for him at table by the side of me; and when Paul, who did not altogether enter into my feelings, asked him if he would not rather eat alone, on the floor, he half drew his sword, and driving it back into its scabbard, swore that he would eat with me if it was on the top of a minaret. We sat down to table, and I did the honours with an unsparring hand. He attempted for a moment the use of the knife and fork, but threw them down in disgust, and trusted to the means with which nature had provided him. The wine he knew how to manage, and for the rest he trusted to me; and I gave him bread, olives, fish, milk, honey, sugar, figs, grapes, dates, &c. &c., about as fast as I could hand them over, one after the other, all together, pell-mell, and with such an utter contempt of all rules of science as would have made a Frenchman go mad. Paul by this time entered into the spirit of the thing; and when my bold guest held up for a moment, he stood by with a raw egg, the shell broken, and turning back his head, poured it down his throat. I followed with a plate of brown sugar, into which he thrust his hand to the knuckles, sent down a huge mouthful to sweeten the egg, and, nearly kicking over the table with an ejaculation about equivalent to our emphatic "enough," threw himself upon the divan. I wound him up with coffee and pipes; and when the superior

came to me in the evening, to the scandal of the holy brotherhood, my wild companion was lying asleep, as drunk as a lord, upon the divan.

Several of the monks came in to see me, and all loved to talk of the world they had left. They were all Italians; and in the dreariness and desolation of Judea, in spite of monastic vows, their hearts turned to the sunny skies of their beautiful native land. They left me at an early hour; and I trust the reader will forgive me, if, in the holy city of Bethlehem, I forgot for a moment the high and holy associations connected with the place, in the sense of enjoyment awakened by the extraordinary luxury of a pair of sheets, a luxury I had not known since my last night in Cairo.

Tempted as I was to yield myself at once to the enjoyment, I paused a while to look at the sleeping figure of my kervash. He lay extended at full length on his back, with his arms folded across his breast, his right hand clutching the hilt of his sword, and his left the handle of a pistol; his broad chest rose and fell with his long and heavy respirations; and he slept like a man who expected to be roused by a cry to battle. His youth and manhood had been spent in scenes of violence; his hands were red with blood; murder and rapine had been familiar to him; and when his blood was up in battle, the shrieks and groans of the dying were music in his ears; yet he slept, and his sleep was calm and sound as that of childhood. I stood over him with the candle in my hand, and flashed the light across his face; his rugged features contracted, and his sword rattled in his convulsive grasp. I blew out the light, and jumped into bed. Once during the night I was awakened by his noise; by the dim light of a small lamp that hung from the ceiling, I saw him stumble to the table, seize a huge jar of water, and apply it to his lips; I saw him throw back his head, and heard his long, regular, and continued swallows; and when he had finished the jar, he drew a long breath, went to the window, came to my bedside, looked at me for a moment, probably thinking what a deal of useless trouble I took in pulling off my clothes; and, throwing himself upon the divan, in a few moments he was again asleep.

In the morning, immediately after breakfast, one of the monks came to conduct me through the convent. The building covered a great extent of ground; and for strength and solidity, as well as size, resembled a fortress. It was built by the Empress Helena, over the spot consecrated as the birthplace of our Saviour, and was intended, so far as human handiwork could do so, to honour and reverence the holy spot. The insufficient means of the pious empress, however, or some other cause, prevented its being finished according to the plan she had designed; and the charity of subsequent Christians has barely sufficed to keep it from falling to ruin. The great church would have been a magnificent building if finished according to her plan; but now, in its incomplete state, it is a melancholy monument of defeated ambition. On each side is a range of noble columns, supporting a frieze of wood, which the monk told me was cedar from Lebanon, and still remaining almost as sound as the solid stone. The whole building is divided among the Catholics, Greeks, and Armenians, the three great bodies who represent, or rather misrepresent, Christianity in the East. Each has its limits, beyond which the others must not pass; and again there are certain parts which are common to all. The Turkish government exercises a control over it; and taking advantage of the dissensions between these different professors, sells the privileges to the highest bidder. In the great church the Greeks, happening to have been the richest, are the largest proprietors, to the great scandal of the Catholics, who hate the Greeks with a most orthodox virulence.

The Grotto of the Nativity is under the floor of the church; the Greeks having an entrance directly by its side, and the Catholics by a longer and more distant passage. I descended by the latter. My Arnaut was close at my heels, grave and sober as if he had never known the taste of wine, and following with a respect that

might have satisfied the most bigoted Christian. Indeed, it was a thing to be noted, with what respect and reverence this wild and lawless Mussulman regarded the holy places, consecrated by a religion he believed false, and the worship of a people he despised. Nevertheless, Paul was scandalised at the eyes of an unbeliever being permitted to see the holy places, and stopped at the top of the staircase, to urge upon me the propriety of making him stay behind. The kervash seemed to understand what he was saying, and to intimate by his looks that it would not be an easy matter to turn him back. I did not think, however, that the feet of a Mussulman would be in themselves a profanation, and the monk making no objection, I silenced Paul's.

Passing through the chapel of the Catholic convent, where the monks were teaching the children of the Arab Christians the principles of the Catholic faith, I was conducted to the room of the superior, where, among other relics which I now forget, he showed me the withered hand of an infant, preserved among the treasures of the convent as having belonged to one of the innocents massacred by the order of Herod. Near the door of the chapel we descended a flight of stone steps, and then a second, until we came to an excavation in the solid rock; and following a passage to the right, came to a little chapel, with an altar, dedicated to Joseph the husband of Mary. At the end of this passage was a large chamber, called the school of St Jerome, where that great Catholic saint wrote his version of the Bible, the celebrated Vulgate. Passing out through the door of this chamber, on the right is the tomb of the saint; and directly opposite are the tombs of Santa Paula, and another whose name I have forgotten—very good ladies, no doubt; but who they were, or why they were buried in that holy place, I did not understand; although they must have died in the odour of sanctity, as their bodies have since been removed to the papal city. Returning into the first passage, and advancing a few steps, on the left is an altar over the pit into which the bodies of the murdered innocents were thrown. Under the altar is a recess with an iron grating, opening into the pit, or rather vault below. By the light of a torch I gazed long and earnestly within, but could see nothing that gave confirmation to the story. Over the altar was a rude painting, representing the massacred infants held up by their heels, with their throats cut, and their bowels gushing out; the anguish of the mothers, and all the necessary and fearful accompaniments of such a scene. A few paces farther is an altar, over the spot where Joseph sat during the birth of the divine infant, meditating upon the great event; and farther on, to the left, is the entrance to the Grotto of the Nativity.

It was the hour assigned for the use of the Armenians, and the monks were all there chanting the praises of the Redeemer. The chamber of the grotto is thirty-seven feet long and eleven wide, with a marble floor and walls, the latter adorned with tapestry and paintings. Directly in front of the door by which we entered, at the other end of the Grotto, is a semicircular recess, lined and floored with small blocks of marble; and in the centre a single star, with the inscription, "Hic natus est Jesus Christus de Virga"—here Christ was born of the Virgin. The star in the east which went before the wise men, says the tradition, rested over this spot; and fourteen lamps, the gifts of Christian princes, burning night and day, constantly illumine the birth-place of salvation to a ruined world. On the right, descending two steps, is a chamber paved and lined with marble, having at one end a block polished and hollowed out; and this is the manger in which our Saviour was laid. Over the altar is a picture representing a stable with horses and cattle, and behind a little iron wickerwork are five lamps constantly burning. Directly opposite is the altar of the magi, where the three kings sat when they came to offer presents to the Son of God. Over it is a picture representing them in the act of making their offerings; and one of the kings is represented as an Ethiopian.

All this has but little conformity with the rude scene

of the stable and the manger as described in the Bible; and in all probability, most of the holy places pointed out in Bethlehem, and adorned and transformed by the false but well-meaning piety of Christians, have no better claim to authenticity than the credulity of a weak and pious old woman. But amid all the doubts that present themselves when we stop to ponder and reflect, it is sufficient for our enjoyment of these scenes to know that we are in "Bethlehem of Judea," consecrated by the greatest event in the history of the world, the birth of the Son of God. We know that, within the atmosphere we breathe, Christ first appeared on earth; that one of the stars of heaven left its place among the constellations, and hovered over the spot on which we stand; that the kings of the earth came here to offer gifts to the holy child; and beholding multitudes of pilgrims from far-distant lands constantly prostrating themselves before the altar, in the earnestness and sincerity of undoubting faith, we give ourselves up to the illusion, if illusion it be, and are ready to believe that we are indeed standing where Christ was born.

My Arnaout behaved remarkably well, though once he broke the stillness of the grotto by an involuntary exclamation; his loud harsh voice, and the rattling of his armour, startled for a moment the monks and praying pilgrims. On coming out, I told him that the Christians were much more liberal than the Mussulmans; for we had permitted him to see all the holy places in the church, while I had been violently driven from the door of the mosque in Hebron. He railed at the ignorance and prejudices of his countrymen, and swore, if I would go back to Hebron, he would carry me through the mosque on the point of his sword. I did not much relish this method of entering a mosque, but took it, as it was meant, for a warm expression of his willingness to serve me; and we returned to the apartment of the superior to bid him farewell. The superior accompanied us to the door of the convent; and, without meaning to be scandalous, or insinuate that there was any thing wrong in it, although he was a young and handsome man, I left him talking with a woman.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

The Tomb of Rachel.—First View of Jerusalem.—Falling among Thieves.—Potent Sway of the Pacha.—A Turkish Dignitary.—A Missionary.—Easter in Jerusalem.—A Little Congregation.

GIVING a last look to the Valley of the Shepherds, we were soon on the mountain's side; and very soon all the interest with which I had regarded Bethlehem was lost, in the more absorbing feeling with which I looked forward to Jerusalem. My muleteer had gone on the night before; my Arnaout knew nothing of the holy places on the road, and we took with us a Christian boy to point them out. The first was the tomb of Rachel, a large building, with a whitened dome, and having within it a high oblong monument, built of brick, and stuccoed over. I dismounted and walked round the tomb, inside and out, and again resumed my journey. All that we know in regard to this tomb is, that Rachel died when journeying with Jacob from Sychem to Hebron, and that Jacob buried her near Bethlehem; and whether it be her tomb or not, I could not but remark that, while youth and beauty have faded away, and the queens of the East have died and been forgotten, and Zenobia and Cleopatra sleep in unknown graves, year after year thousands of pilgrims are thronging to the supposed last resting-place of a poor Hebrew woman.

The boy next conducted us to a stony field, by which, as he said, the Virgin once passed and asked for beans; the owner of the field told her there were none; and, to punish him for his falsehood and lack of charity, the beans were all changed into stones, and the country had remained barren ever since. Paul had been twice to Bethlehem without seeing this field; and he immediately dismounted and joined the boy in searching for the holy petrifications. "It was wonderful," said Paul,

as he picked up some little stones as much like beans as anything else; "and see too," said he, "how barren the country is!" In about an hour we came to the Greek monastery of St Elias; a large stone building, standing on an eminence, and commanding a fine view of Bethlehem. Stopping to water my horse at a fountain in front of the monastery, I turned to take a last look at Bethlehem; and my horse moving a few paces, when I turned again I saw in full view the holy city of Jerusalem. I did not expect it, and was startled by its proximity. It looked so small, and yet lay spread out before me so distinctly, that it seemed as if I ought to perceive the inhabitants moving through the streets, and hear their voices humming in my ears. I saw that it was walled all around, and that it stood alone in an extensive waste of mountains, without suburbs, or even a solitary habitation beyond its walls. There were no domes, steeples, or turrets, to break the monotony of its aspect, and even the mosques and minarets made no show. It would have been a relief, and afforded something to excite the feelings, to behold it in ruins, or dreary and desolate like Petra, or with the banner of the Prophet, the blood-red Mussulman flag, waving high above its walls. But all was tame and vacant. There was nothing in its appearance that afforded me a sensation; it did not even inspire me with melancholy; and I probably convict myself when I say that the only image it presented to my mind was that of a city larger and in better condition than the usual smaller class of those within the Turkish dominion. I was obliged to rouse myself by recalling to mind the long train of extraordinary incidents of which that little city had been the theatre, and which made it, in the eyes of the Christian at least, the most hallowed spot on earth. One thing only particularly struck me—it's exceeding stillness. It was about mid-day; but there was no throng of people entering or departing from its gates, no movement of living creatures to be seen beneath its walls. All was as quiet as if the inhabitants were, like the Spaniards, taking their noonday sleep. We passed the Pools of Hezekiah, and came in sight of the Mount of Olives; and now, for the first signs of life, we saw streaming from the gate a long procession of men, women, and children, on dromedaries, camels, and horses, and on foot; pilgrims who had visited Calvary and the holy sepulchre, and were now bending their steps towards Bethlehem.

At every moment the approach was gaining interest; but in a few minutes, while yet about an hour distant from the walls, my attention was diverted from the city by the sudden appearance of our muleteer, who had left us the day before in a pet, and gone on before us to Jerusalem. He was sitting on the ground alone, so wan and wo-begone, so changed from the spruce and well-dressed muleteer who had accompanied us from Hebron, that I scarcely recognised him. Every article of his former dress was gone, from his gay turban to his long boots; and in their stead he displayed an old yellow striped shawl, doing duty as a turban, and a ragged Bedouin gown. Late in the afternoon, while hurrying on to get in before the gates should be closed, he was hailed by four Arabs; and when he attempted to escape by pushing his donkey, he was brought to by a musket-ball passing through the folds of his dress and grazing his side. A hole in his coat, however, did not save it; and according to the Arab mode of robbery, they stripped him to his skin, and left him stark naked in the road. From his manner of telling the story, I am inclined to think that the poor fellow had not conducted himself very valiantly; for though he did not regard the scratch on his side or the risk he had run of his life, he mourned bitterly over the loss of his garments. Arrived in the Holy Land, I had thought danger of all kinds at an end; and I could not help recognising the singular good fortune which had accompanied me thus far, and congratulating myself upon the accident which had detained me at Bethlehem.

We were soon approaching the walls of Jerusalem, and seemed to be almost at their foot; but we were on

one of the mountains that encompass the city, and the deep Valley of Jehoshaphat was yet between us and the holy city—the sacred burying-ground of the Jews, the “gathering-place of nations.” Crossing this valley, we descended on the other side; and in a few moments were on one of the seven hills on which the city is built, and entering at the Bethlehem gate. It was guarded by a Turkish soldier, and half a dozen more lay basking in the sun outside, who raised their heads as I approached, their long mustaches curling as they looked at me; and though they gave me no greeting, they let me pass without any molestation. On the right was the citadel; a soldier was on the walls, and a small red flag, the standard of Mohammed, was drooping against its staff. In front was an open place, irregular, and apparently formed by clearing away the ruins of fallen houses. As in all Turkish cities, the stillness was unbroken; there was no rattling of wheels over the pavements, nor even the tramp of horses.

We wound around the walls, and dismounted at the only asylum for strangers, the Latin Convent. I presented myself to the superior; and after receiving from him a kind and cordial welcome, with the usual apologies for meagre fare on account of its being Lent, went to the room assigned me; and had just sat down to dinner, when my poor muleteer entered in greater distress than ever.

Afraid of the very thing that happened, he had started immediately on his return to Hebron, and at the gate his mules were seized by a soldier for the use of the government. It was in a spirit of perfect wretchedness that the poor fellow, still smarting under the loss of his clothes, almost threw himself at my feet, and begged me to intercede for him. I was, of course, anxious to help him if I could, and immediately rose to go with him; but Paul told me to remain quiet, and he would settle the matter in five minutes. Paul was a great admirer of the pacha. Wherever his government was established, he had made it safe for the traveller; and Paul's courage always rose and fell according to the subdued or unsubdued state of the population. In the city of Jerusalem the wind could scarcely blow without the leave of Ibrahim Pacha; and Paul had mounted on stilts almost as soon as we crossed the threshold of the gate. He had already been at his old tricks of pushing the unresisting Arabs about, and kicking them out of the way, as in the miserable villages on the Nile; and, strong in the omnipotence of the firman, he now hurried to the gate; but he came back faster than he went. I have no doubt that he was very presuming and impudent, and richly deserved more than he got; but at all events he returned on a full run, and in a towering passion. The soldier had given him the usual Mussulman abuse, showering upon him the accustomed “dog” and “Christian;” and, moreover, had driven him to the verge of madness by calling him a “Jew,” and threatening to whip both him and his master. Paul ran away from what I am inclined to believe would have been his share, as the Arabs had taken part against him; and, burning with the indignity of being called a Jew, begged me to seek redress of the governor. I was roused myself, not so much by the particular insult to Paul, as by the general intention of the thing, and the disconsolate figure of my poor muleteer; and leaving my unfinished meal, with my firman in my hand, and Paul and the muleteer at my heels, I started for the palace of the governor.

Old things and new are strangely blended in Jerusalem; and the residence of the Turkish governor is in the large building which to this day bears the name of Pontius Pilate. Paul told me its history as we were ascending the steps; and it passed through my mind as a strange thing, that almost the first moment after entering the city, I was making a complaint, perhaps in the same hall where the Jews had complained of Christ before Pontius Pilate, having with me a follower of that Christ whom the Jews reviled and buffeted, burning under the indignity of being called a Jew.

The governor, as is the custom of governors in the

East, and probably as Pontius Pilate did in the time of our Saviour, sat in a large room, ready to receive every body who had any complaint to make; his divan was raised platform, on an iron camp-bedstead, covered with rich Turkey rugs, and over them a splendid lion-skin. His face was noble, and his long black beard the finest I ever saw; a pair of large pistols and a Damascus sabre were lying by his side, and a rich fur cloak, thrown back over his shoulders, displayed a form that might have served as a model for a Hercules. Altogether, he reminded me of Richard in his tent on the plains of Acre. At the moment of my entry, he was breathing on a brilliant diamond, and I noticed on his finger an uncommonly beautiful emerald. He received me with great politeness; and when I handed him the pacha's firman, with a delicacy and courtesy I never saw surpassed, he returned it to me unopened and unread, telling me that my dress and appearance were sufficient recommendation to the best services in his power. If the reader would know what dress and appearance are a sufficient recommendation to the best offices of a Turkish governor, I will merely mention that, having thrown off, or rather having been stripped of, most of my Turkish dress at Hebron, I stood before the governor in a red toubouch, with a long black silk tassel, a blue roundabout jacket buttoned up to the throat, grey pantaloons, boots splashed with mud, a red sash, a pair of large Turkish pistols, sword, and my Nubian club in my hand; and the only decided mark of aristocracy about me was my beard, which, though not so long as the governor's, far exceeded it in brilliancy of complexion.

The few moments I had had for observation, and the courteous demeanour of the governor, disarmed me of my anger; and coffee and the first pipe over, I stated my grievances very dispassionately. Paul's wrath was still dominant, and I have no doubt he represented the conduct of the soldier as much worse than it was; for the governor, turning to me without any further inquiries, asked if he should have him bastinadoed. This summary justice startled even Paul; and feeling a little ashamed of my own precipitation, I was now more anxious to prevent punishment than I had before been to procure it; and begged him to spare the soldier, and merely order him to release the mules. Without another word he called a janizary, and requesting me to wait, ordered him to accompany Paul to the gate where the scene took place; and when Paul returned, the muleteer, with a thankful heart, was already on his way to Hebron. I had the satisfaction of learning, too, that the officers were on the track of the robbers who had stripped him, and before morning the governor expected to have them in custody.

Several times afterwards I called upon the governor, and was always treated with the same politeness. Once, when I was walking alone outside the walls, I met him sitting on the grass, with his janizaries and slaves standing up around him; and the whole Turkish population being out wandering among the tombs, he procured for me a respect and consideration which I think were useful to me afterwards, by calling me to a seat beside him, and giving me the pipe from his own mouth. Some months afterwards, at Genoa, I saw a brief article in an Italian paper, referring to a previous article, giving an account of a then late revolution there, in which the governor was on the point of falling into the hands of the insurgents. I have never seen any account of the particulars of this revolution, and do not know whether he is now living or dead. In the East, life hangs by so brittle a thread, that when you part from a man in power, in all probability you will never see him again. I can only hope that the Governor of Jerusalem still lives, and that his condition in life is as happy as when I saw him.

It was Saturday afternoon when I arrived at Jerusalem. I had a letter of introduction to Mr Thompson, an American missionary, and the first thing I did was to look for him. One of the monks of the convent gave me the direction to the American priest, not knowing his name; and instead of Mr Thompson, I found Mr

Whiting, who had been there about a year in his place. Like the governor, Mr Whiting did not want any credentials; but here, being among judges, it was not my dress and appearance that recommended me. I was an American, and at that distance from home the name of countryman was enough. In the city of Jerusalem such a meeting was to him a rare and most welcome incident; while to me, who had so long been debarred all conversation except with Paul and the Arabs, it was a pleasure which few can ever know, to sit down with a compatriot, and once more, in my native tongue, hold converse of my native land.

Each of us soon learned to look upon the other as a friend; for we found that an old friend and schoolmate of mine had been also a friend and schoolmate of his own. He would have had me stay at his house; but I returned to the convent, and with my thoughts far away, and full of the home of which we had been talking, I slept for the first night in the city of Jerusalem.

The first and most interesting object within the walls of the holy city, the spot to which every pilgrim first directs his steps, is the Holy Sepulchre. The traveller who has never read the descriptions of those who have preceded him in a pilgrimage through the Holy Land, finds his expectations strangely disappointed, when, approaching this hallowed tomb, he sees around him the tottering houses of a ruined city, and is conducted to the door of a gigantic church.

This edifice is another, and perhaps the principal, monument of the Empress Helena's piety. What authority she had for fixing here the site of the Redeemer's burial-place, I will not stop to inquire. Doubtless she had her reasons; and there is more pleasure in believing, than in raising doubts which cannot be confirmed. In the front of the church is a large courtyard, filled with dealers in beads, crucifixes, and relics; among the most conspicuous of whom are the Christians of Bethlehem, with figures of the Saviour, the Virgin, and a host of saints, carved from mother-of-pearl, in all kinds of fantastic shapes. It was precisely the time at which I had wished and expected to be in Jerusalem—the season of Easter—and thousands of pilgrims, from every part of the Eastern world, had already arrived for the great ceremonies of the holy week. The court was thronged with them, crowded together, so that it was almost impossible to move, and waiting, like myself, till the door of the church should be opened.

The Holy Sepulchre, as in the days when all the chivalry of Europe armed to wrest it from them, is still in the hands of the infidels; and it would have made the sword of an old crusader leap from its scabbard to behold a haughty Turk, with the air of a lord and master, standing sentinel at the door, and with his long mace beating and driving back the crowd of struggling Christians. As soon as the door was opened, a rush was made for entrance; and as I was in the front rank, before the impetus ceased, amid a perfect storm of pushing, yelling, and shouting, I was carried almost headlong into the body of the church. The press continued behind, hurrying me along, and kicking off my shoes; and in a state of desperate excitement both of mind and body, utterly unsuited to the place and time, I found myself standing over the so-called tomb of Christ; where, to enhance the incongruity of the scene, at the head of the sepulchre stood a long-bearded monk, with a plate in his hand, receiving the paras of the pilgrims. My dress marked me as a different person from the miserable, beggarly crowd before me; and expecting a better contribution from me, at the tomb of him who had pronounced that all men are equal in the sight of God, with an expression of contempt like the "canaille" of a Frenchman, and with kicks, cuffs, and blows, he drove back those before me, and gave me a place at the head of the sepulchre. My feelings were painfully disturbed, as well by the manner of my entrance as by the irroverent demeanour of the monk; and disappointed, disgusted, and sick at heart, while hundreds were still struggling for admission, I turned away and left the church. A warmer imagination than

mine could perhaps have seen, in a white marble sarcophagus, "the sepulchre hewn out of a rock," and in the fierce struggling of these barefooted pilgrims the devotion of sincere and earnest piety, burning to do homage in the holiest of places; but I could not.

It was refreshing to turn from this painful exhibition of a deformed and degraded Christianity to a simpler and purer scene. The evening before, Mr Whiting had told me that religious exercises would be performed at his house the next day, and I hastened from the church to join in the grateful service. I found him sitting at a table, with a large family Bible open before him. His wife was present, with two little Armenian girls, whom she was educating to assist her in her school; and I was not a little surprised to find that, when I had taken my seat, the congregation was assembled. In fact, Mr Whiting had only been waiting for me; and as soon as I came in, he commenced the service to which I had been so long a stranger. It was long since I had heard the words of truth from the lips of a preacher; and as I sat with my eyes fixed upon the Garden of Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives, I could not help thinking of it as a strangely-interesting fact, that here, in the holy city of Jerusalem, where Christ preached and died, though thousands were calling upon his name, the only persons who were praising him in simplicity and truth were a missionary and his wife, and a passing traveller, all from a far-distant land. I had, moreover, another subject of reflection. In Greece I had been struck with the fact that the only schools of instruction were those established by American missionaries, and supported by the liberality of American citizens; that our young republic was thus, in part, discharging the debt which the world owes to the ancient mistress of science and the arts, by sending forth her sons to bestow the elements of knowledge upon the descendants of Homer and Pericles, Plato and Aristotle; and here, on the very spot whence the apostles had gone forth to preach the glad tidings of salvation to a ruined world, a missionary from the same distant land was standing as an apostle over the grave of Christianity, a solitary labourer striving to re-establish the pure faith and worship that were founded on this spot eighteen centuries ago.

#### CHAPTER XXVIII.

Church of the Holy Sepulchre.—An unexpected Discovery.—Mount Calvary.—The Sepulchre.—The Valley of Jehoshaphat.—The Garden of Gethsemane.—Place of the Temple.—The four Great Tombs.—Siloa's Brook.

DURING my stay in Jerusalem, a day seldom passed in which I did not visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but my occupation was chiefly to observe the conduct of the pilgrims; and if the reader will accompany me into the interior, he will see what I was in the habit of seeing every day.

The key of the church is kept by the governor of the city; the door is guarded by a Turk, and opened only at fixed hours, and then only with the consent of the three convents, and in the presence of their several dragomen; an arrangement which often causes great and vexatious delays to such as desire admittance. This formality was probably intended for solemnity and effect, but its consequence is exactly the reverse; for as soon as the door is opened, the pilgrims, who have almost always been kept waiting for some time, and have naturally become impatient, rush in, struggling with each other, overturning the dragomen, and thumped by the Turkish doorkeeper, and are driven like a herd of wild animals into the body of the church. I do not mean to exaggerate a picture, the lightest of whose shades is already too dark. I describe only what I saw, and with this assurance the reader must believe me when I say that I frequently considered it putting life and limb in peril to mingle in that crowd. Probably it is not always so; but there were at that time within the walls of Jerusalem from ten to twenty thousand pilgrims, and all had come to visit the Holy Sepulchre.

Supposing, then, the rush to be over, and the traveller to have recovered from its effects, he will find himself in a large apartment, forming a sort of vestibule; on the left, in a recess of the wall, is a large divan, cushioned and carpeted, where the Turkish doorkeeper is usually sitting, with half a dozen of his friends, smoking the long pipe and drinking coffee, and always conducting himself with great dignity and propriety. Directly in front, surmounted by an iron railing, having at each end three enormous wax candles more than twenty feet high, and suspended above it a number of silver lamps of different sizes and fashions, gifts from the Catholic, Greek, and Armenian convents, is a long flat stone, called the "stone of unction;" and on this, it is said, the body of our Lord was laid when taken down from the cross, and washed and anointed in preparation for sepulture. This is the first object that arrests the pilgrims on their entrance; and here they prostrate themselves in succession, the old and the young, women and children, the rich man and the beggar, and all kiss the sacred stone. It is a slab of polished white marble; and one of the monks, whom I questioned on the subject as he rose from his knees, after kissing it most devoutly, told me that it was not the genuine stone, which he said was under it, the marble having been placed there as an ornamental covering, and to protect the hallowed relic from the abuses of the Greeks.

On the left is an iron circular railing, in the shape of a large parrot's cage, having within it a lamp, and marking the spot where the women sat while the body was anointed for the tomb. In front of this is an open area, surrounded by high square columns, supporting a gallery above. The area is covered by a dome, imposing in appearance and effect; and directly under, in the centre of the area, is an oblong building, about twenty feet long and twelve feet high, circular at the back, but square and finished with a platform in front; and within this building is the holy sepulchre.

Leaving for a moment the throng that is constantly pressing at the door of the sepulchre, let us make the tour of the church. Around the open space under the dome are small chapels for the Syrians, Copts, Maronites, and other sects of Christians who have not, like the Catholics, the Greeks and Armenians, large chapels in the body of the church. Between two of the pillars is a small door, opening to a dark gallery, which leads, as the monks told me, to the tombs of Joseph and Nicodemus, between which and that of the Saviour there is a subterranean communication. These tombs are excavated in the rock, which here forms the floor of the chamber. Without any expectation of making a discovery, I remember that once, in prying about this part of the building alone, I took the little taper that lighted the chamber, and stepped down into the tomb; and I had just time to see that one of the excavations never could have been intended for a tomb, being not more than three feet long, when I heard the footsteps of pilgrim visitors, and scrambled out with such haste that I let the taper fall, put out the light, and had to grope my way back in the dark.

Farther on, and nearly in range of the front of the sepulchre, is a large opening, forming a sort of court to the entrance of the Latin chapel. On one side is a gallery, containing a fine organ; and the chapel itself is neat enough, and differs but little from those in the churches of Italy. This is called the chapel of apparition, where Christ appeared to the Virgin. Within the door, on the right, in an enclosure, completely hidden from view, is the pillar of flagellation, to which our Saviour was tied when he was scourged, before being taken into the presence of Pontius Pilate. A long stick is passed through a hole in the enclosure, the handle being outside, and the pilgrim thrusts it in till it strikes against the pillar, when he draws it out and kisses the point. Only one half of the pillar is here; the other half is in one of the churches at Rome, where may also be seen the table on which our Saviour ate his last supper with his disciples, and the stone on which the cock crowed when Peter denied his master!

Going back again from the door of the chapel of apparition, and turning to the left, on the right is the outside of the Greek chapel, which occupies the largest space in the body of the church; and on the left is a range of chapels and doors, the first of which leads to the prison where, they say, our Saviour was confined before he was led to crucifixion. In front of the door is an unintelligible machine, described as the stone on which our Saviour was placed when put in the stocks. I had never heard of this incident in the story of man's redemption, nor, in all probability, has the reader; but the Christians in Jerusalem have a great deal more of such knowledge than they gain from the Bible. Even Paul knew much that is not recorded in the sacred volume; for he had a book, written by a priest in Malta, and giving many particulars in the life of our Saviour which all the evangelists never knew, or, knowing, have entirely omitted.

Next is the chapel where the soldier who struck his spear into the side of the Redeemer, as he hung upon the cross, retired and wept over his transgression. Beyond this is the chapel where the Jews divided Christ's raiment, and "cast lots for his vesture." The next is one of the most holy places in the church, the chapel of the cross. Descending twenty-eight broad marble steps, the visitor comes to a large chamber eighteen paces square, dimly lighted by a few distant lamps; the roof is supported by four short columns with enormous capitals. In front of the steps is the altar, and on the right a seat on which the Empress Helena, advised by a dream where the true cross was to be found, sat and watched the workmen who were digging below. Descending again fourteen steps, another chamber is reached, darker and more dimly lighted than the first, and hung with faded red tapestry; a marble slab, having on it a figure of the cross, covers the mouth of the pit in which the true cross was found. The next chapel is over the spot where our Saviour was crowned with thorns; and under the altar, protected by an iron grating, is the very stone on which he sat. Then the visitor arrives at Mount Calvary.

A narrow marble staircase of eighteen steps leads to a chapel about fifteen feet square, paved with marble in mosaic, and hung on all sides with silken tapestry and lamps dimly burning; the chapel is divided by two short pillars, hung also with silk, and supporting quadrangular arches. At the extremity is a large altar, ornamented with paintings and figures; and under the altar a circular silver plate, with a hole in the centre, indicating the spot in which rested the step of the cross. On each side of the hole is another, the two designating the places where the crosses of the two thieves were erected; and near by, on the same marble platform, is a crevice about three feet long and three inches wide, having brass bars over it and a covering of silk. Removing the covering, by the aid of a lamp I saw beneath a fissure in a rock; and this, say the monks, is the rock which was rent asunder when our Saviour, in the agonies of death, cried out from the cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Descending to the floor of the church, underneath is an iron grating which shows more distinctly the fissure in the rock; and directly opposite is a large monument over the head of —Adam.

The reader will probably think that all these things are enough to be comprised under one roof; and having finished the tour of the church, I returned to the great object of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem—the Holy Sepulchre. Taking off the shoes on the marble platform in front, the visitor is admitted by a low door, on entering which the proudest head must needs do reverence. In the centre of the first chamber is the stone which was rolled away from the mouth of the sepulchre—a square block of marble, cut and polished; and though the Armenians have lately succeeded in establishing the genuineness of the stone in their chapel on Mount Sion (the admission by the other monks, however, being always accompanied by the assertion that they stole it), yet the infatuated Greek still kisses and



adores this block of marble as the very stone on which the angel sat when he announced to the women, "He is not dead; he is risen; come see the place where the Lord lay." Again bending the head, and lower than before, the visitor enters the inner chamber, the holiest of holy places. The sepulchre "hewn out of the rock" is a marble sarcophagus, somewhat resembling a common marble bathing-tub, with a lid of the same material. Over it hang forty-three lamps, which burn without ceasing night and day. The sarcophagus is six feet one inch long, and occupies about one half of the chamber; and one of the monks being always present to receive the gifts or tribute of the pilgrims, there is only room for three or four at a time to enter. The walls are of a greenish marble, usually called verd antique, and this is all. And it will be borne in mind that all this is in a building above ground, standing on the floor of the church.

If I can form any judgment from my own feelings, every man other than a blind and determined enthusiast, when he stands by the side of that marble sarcophagus, must be ready to exclaim, "This is not the place where the Lord lay;" and yet I must be wrong, for sensible men have thought otherwise; and Dr Richardson, the most cautious traveller in the Holy Land, speaks of it as the "Mansion of victory, where Christ triumphed over the grave, and disarmed death of all its terrors." The feelings of a man are to be envied who can so believe. I cannot imagine a higher and holier enthusiasm; and it would be far more agreeable to sustain than to dissolve such illusions; but although I might be deceived by my own imagination and the glowing descriptions of travellers, I would at least have the merit of not deceiving others. The sepulchre of Christ is too holy a thing to be made the subject of trickery and deception; and I am persuaded that it would be far better for the interests of Christianity that it had remained for ever locked up in the hands of the Turks, and all access to it been denied to Christian feet.

But I was not disposed to cavil. It was far easier, and suited my humour far better, to take things as I found them; and in this spirit, under the guidance of a monk, and accompanied by a procession of pilgrims, I wandered through the streets of Jerusalem; visited the Pool of Bethesda, where David saw Bethsheba bathing; the five porches where the sick were brought to be healed; the house of Simon the Pharisee, where Mary Magdalene confessed her sins; the prison of St Peter; the house of Mary the mother of Mark; the mansion of Dives and the house of Lazarus (which, by the way, not to be sceptical again, did not look as if its tenant had ever lain at its neighbour's gate, and begged for the "crumbs which fell from the rich man's table"); and entering the Via Dolorosa, the way by which the Saviour passed from the judgment-hall of Pilate to Calvary, saw the spot where the people laid hold of Simon the Cyrene, and compelled him to bear the cross; three different stones on which Christ, fainting, sat down to rest; passed under the arch called *Ecce Homo*, and looked up at the window from which the Roman judge exclaimed to the persecuting Jews, "Behold the man!"

But if the stranger leaves the walls of the city, his faith is not so severely tested; and for my own part, disposed to indemnify myself for my unwilling scepticism, the third day after my arrival at Jerusalem, on a bright and beautiful morning, with my Nubian club in my hand, which soon became the terror of all the cowardly dogs in Jerusalem, I stood on the threshold of St Stephen's Gate. Paul was with me; and stopping for a moment among the tombs in the Turkish burying-ground, we descended towards the bridge across the brook Kedron, and the mysterious valley of Jehoshaphat. Here I was indeed among the hallowed places of the Bible. Here all was as nature had left it, and spared by the desecrating hand of man; and as I gazed upon the vast sepulchral monuments, the tombs of Absalom, of Zachariah, and Jehoshaphat, and the thousands and tens of thousands of Hebrew tombstones covering the

declivity of the mountain, I had no doubt I was looking upon that great gathering-place, where, three thousand years ago, the Jew buried his dead under the shadow of the Temple of Solomon; and where, even at this day, in every country where his race is known, it is the dearest wish of his heart that his bones may be laid to rest among those of his long-buried ancestors.

Near the bridge is a small table-rock, revered as the spot where Stephen the Martyr was stoned to death; but even here one cannot go far without finding the handiwork of the Lady Helena. A little to the left is the tomb of Joseph and Mary. Descending a few steps to a large marble door, opening to a subterraneous church, excavated from the solid rock, and thence by a flight of fifty marble steps, each twenty feet long, we come to the floor of the chamber. On the right, in a large recess, is the tomb of the Virgin, having over it an altar, and over the altar a painting representing her death-bed, with the Son standing over her, to comfort her and receive her blessing. This is an interesting domestic relation in which to exhibit a mother and her son, but rather inconsistent with the Bible account of the Virgin Mother being present at the crucifixion of our Lord. Indeed, it is a singular fact, that with all the pious homage which they pay to the Son of God, adoring him as equal with the Father in power and goodness, and worshipping the very ground on which he is supposed to have trodden, there is still among the Christians of the East a constant tendency to look upon him as a man of flesh. In a community like ours, governed by an universal sentiment of the spiritual character of our Saviour, it would be regarded as setting at defiance the religious impressions of the people even to repeat what is talked of familiarly by the people of the East; but at the risk of incurring this reproach, it is necessary to illustrate their character, to say that I have heard them talk of the Saviour, and of every incident in his history, as a man with whom they had been familiar in his life; of the Virgin nursing the "little Jesus" of his stature, strength, age, the colour of his hair, his complexion, and of every incident in his life, real or supposed, from his ascension into heaven down to the "washing of his linen."

At the foot of the hill on the borders of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, beneath the Mount of Olives, we came to the Garden of Gethsemane. Like the great battle-grounds where kingdoms have been lost and won, the stubborn earth bears no traces of the scenes that have passed upon its surface; and a stranger might easily pass the Garden of Gethsemane without knowing it as the place where, on the night on which he was betrayed, the Saviour watched with his disciples. It was enclosed by a low, broken stone fence, and an Arab Fellow was quietly turning up the ground with his spade. According to my measurement, the garden is forty-seven paces long, and forty-four wide. It contains eight olive-trees, which the monks believe to have been standing in the days of our Saviour, and to which a gentleman, in whose knowledge I have confidence, ascribed an age of more than eight hundred years. One of these, the largest, barked and scarified by the knives of pilgrims, is revered as the identical tree under which Christ was betrayed; and its enormous roots, growing high out of the earth, could induce a belief of almost any degree of antiquity. A little outside the fence of the garden is a stone, revered as marking the hallowed place where Christ, in the agony of his spirit, prayed that the cup might pass from him; a little farther, where he "swate great drops of blood;" and a little farther is the spot to which he returned, and found the disciples sleeping; and no good pilgrim ever passes from the Garden of Gethsemane to the Mount of Olives without doing reverence in these holy places.

In company with a long procession of pilgrims, who had been assembling in the garden, we ascended the Mount of Olives. The mount consists of a range of four mountains, with summits of unequal altitudes. The highest rises from the Garden of Gethsemane, and is the one fixed upon as the place of our Saviour's ascen-

sion. About half way up is a ruined monastery, built, according to the monks, over the spot where Jesus sat down and wept over the city, and uttered that prediction which has since been so fearfully verified. The olive still maintains its place on its native mountain, and now grows spontaneously upon its top and sides, as in the days of David and our Saviour. In a few moments we reached the summit, the view from which embraces, perhaps, more interesting objects than any other in the world; the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the Garden of Gethsemane, and the city of Jerusalem, the Plains of Jericho, the Valley of the Jordan, and the Dead Sea.

On the top of the mountain is a miserable Arab village, in the centre of which is a small octagonal building, erected, it is said, over the spot from which our Saviour ascended into heaven; and the print of his foot, say the monks, is still to be seen. This print is in the rock, enclosed by an oblong border of marble; and pilgrims may at any time be seen taking, in wax, impressions of the holy footprint; and for this, too, they are indebted to the research and bounty of the Empress Helena.

Descending again to the ruined monastery, at the place where our Saviour, more than 1800 years ago, wept over the city and predicted its eternal ruin, I sat down on a rough stone to survey and muse over the favoured and fallen Jerusalem. The whole city lay extended before me like a map. I could see and distinguish the streets, and the whole interior to the inner side of the farther wall; and oh! how different from the city of our Saviour's love! Though even then but a mere appendage of imperial Rome, it retained the magnificent wonders of its Jewish kings, and, pre-eminent even among the splendid fanes of heathen worship, rose the proud temple of the great King Solomon. Solomon and all his glory have departed; centuries ago the great temple which he built, "the glory of the whole earth," was a heap of ruins; in the prophetic words of our Saviour, not one stone was left upon another; and, in the wanton spirit of triumph, a conquering general drove his plough over its site. For years its very site lay buried in ruins, till the Saracen came with his terrible war-cry, "The Koran or the sword;" and the great Mosque of Omar, the holy of holies in the eyes of all true believers, now rears its lofty dome upon the foundations of the Temple of Solomon.

From the place where I sat, the Mosque of Omar was the only object that relieved the general dullness of the city, and all the rest was dark, monotonous, and gloomy; no spires reared their tapering points to the skies, nor domes nor minarets, the pride and ornament of other Turkish cities. All was as still as death; and the only apparent sign of life was the straggling figure of a Mussulman, with his slippers in his hand, stealing up the long courtyard to the threshold of the mosque. The Mosque of Omar, like the great mosque at Mecca, the birthplace of the Prophet, is regarded with far more veneration than even that of St Sophia, or any other edifice of the Mohammedan worship; and to this day the Koran or the sword is the doom of any bold intruder within its sacred precincts. At the northern extremity of the mosque is the Golden Gate, for many years closed, and flanked with a tower, in which a Mussulman soldier is constantly on guard; for the Turks believe that, by that gate, the Christians will one day enter and obtain possession of the city—city of mystery and wonder, and still to be the scene of miracles! "It shall be trodden down by the Gentiles until the time of the Gentiles be fulfilled;" and the time shall come when the crescent shall no longer glitter over its battlements, nor the banner of the Prophet wave over its walls.

Returning to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and passing along its eastern side, we came to the great burying-ground of the Jews. Among its monuments are four, unique in their appearance and construction, and known from time immemorial as the tombs of Absalom, Jehoshaphat, St James, and the prophet Zachariah. All are cut out of the solid rock; the tomb of Absalom is a single stone, as large as an ordinary two-story house, and ornamented with twenty-four semi-columns of the

Doric order, supporting a triangular pyramidal top. The top is battered and defaced; and no pilgrim, whether Jew or Christian, ever passes through the Valley of Jehoshaphat without casting a stone at the sepulchre of the rebellious son. No entrance to this sepulchre has ever been discovered; and the only way of getting into the interior is by a hole broken for the purpose in one of the sides.

Behind the tomb of Absalom is that of Jehoshaphat, "the King of Judah, who walked in the ways of the Lord." It is an excavation in the rock, the door being its only ornament. The interior was damp, the water trickling from the walls, and nearly filled with sand and crumbling stones. The next is the tomb of St James, standing out boldly in the side of the mountain, with a handsome portico of four columns in front, an entrance at the side, and many chambers within. After this is the tomb of Zachariah, like that of Absalom hewn out of the solid rock; and like that, too, having no known entrance. Notwithstanding the specific names given to these tombs, it is altogether uncertain to what age they belong; and it is generally considered that the style of architecture precludes the supposition that they are the work of Jewish builders.

Leaving them after a cursory examination, we descended the valley; and following the now dry bed of the Kedron, we came to "Siloa's brook, that flowed fast by the oracle of God," which, coming from the foot of Mount Zion, here presents itself as a beautiful stream, and runs winding and murmuring through the valley. Hundreds of pilgrims were stretched on its bank; and a little above is the sacred pool issuing from the rock, enclosed by stone walls, with a descent by two flights of steps. "Go wash in the pool of Siloam," said Christ to the man who was born blind; and, like myself, a number of pilgrims were now bending over the pool, and washing in its hallowed waters. Passing by the great tree under which the Prophet Isaiah was sawed asunder, I turned up towards the city, and in a few minutes was standing on Mount Zion.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

The Field of Blood.—A Traveller's Compliment.—Singular Ceremony.—A Ragged Rascal.—Ostentatious Humility.—Pride must have a Fall.—An Ancient Relic.—Summary Legislation.

ALL that is interesting about Jerusalem may be seen in a few days. My health compelled me to remain there more than three weeks, during which I made two excursions, one to the ancient city of Joppa, and the other to the Dead Sea. As soon as I could do so, however, I visited all the places, to see which is the business of a pilgrim to the holy city. The fourth morning after my arrival, I went out at the Bethlehem Gate, and, crossing the valley of the sons of Hinmon, on the side of the opposite mountain I came to the Acladama, or field of blood, the field bought with "the thirty pieces of silver," which to this day remains a public burying-place or potter's field. A large chamber excavated in the rock is still the charnel-house of the poor and unhonoured dead of Jerusalem. The fabulous account is, that the earth of that field will in forty-eight hours consume the flesh from off the bones committed to it.

Leaving this resting-place of poverty, and perhaps of crime, I wandered among the tombs on the sides of the mountain—tombs ornamented with sculpture, and divided into chambers, the last abodes of the great and rich of Jerusalem; but the beggar, rudely thrown into the common pit in the potter's field, and the rich man laid by pious hands in the sculptured sepulchre of his ancestors, are alike nothing.

Outside the Damascus Gate, and about half a mile distant, is what is called the Sepulchre of the Kings of Judah. This sepulchre is hewn out of the rock, and has in front a large square excavation, the entrance to which is under a small arch. To the left, on entering, is a large portico, nine paces long, and four wide, with an architrave, on which are sculptured fruit and flowers,

much defaced; and at the end, on the left, a hole, filled up with stones and rubbish, barely large enough to enable one to crawl through on hands and knees, leads to a chamber eight paces square; and from this chamber there are three doors, two directly opposite, and one to the right. Entering that to the right, we found ourselves in another chamber, on each of the three sides of which was a large door, with smaller ones on either side, opening to small receptacles, in each of which were places for three bodies. The door of this chamber, now lying on the floor, was a curious work. It had been cut from the solid rock, and made to turn on its hinges or sockets without having ever been removed from its place. On the right, a single door leads down several steps into a dark chamber, where we found the lid of a sarcophagus elegantly carved. The other doors opening from the great chamber lead to others inferior in size and workmanship. On coming out of one of them, at the very moment when I extinguished my light, the hole of entrance was suddenly darkened and stopped up. I had left a strange Arab at the door; and remembering the fearful thought that had often come over me while creeping among the tombs in Egypt, of being shut up and entombed alive, my first impulse was to curse my folly in coming into such a place, and leaving myself so completely in the power of a stranger. But I was taking the alarm too soon. It was only the Arab himself coming in. He, too, had his apprehensions; and, from my remaining so long within, began to fear that I had crawled out some back way, and given his bucksheesh the slip.

But enough of the tombs. I leave the abodes of the dead, and turn to the living; and among the living in Jerusalem, there are few who live better than the monks. Chateaubriand, in his poetical description of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, gives an exceeding interest to the character of these monks. "Here reside," said he, "communities of Christian monks whom nothing can compel to forsake the tomb of Christ; neither plunder, nor personal ill treatment, nor menaces of death itself. Night and day they chant their hymns around the holy sepulchre. Driven by the edgel and the sabre, women, children, flocks, and herds, seek refuge in the cloisters of these recluses. What prevents the armed oppressor from pursuing his prey, and overthrowing such feeble ramparts? the charity of the monks. They deprive themselves of the last resources of life to ransom their suppliants," &c.

The first glance at the well-fed superior of the convent of Jerusalem dispelled in my mind all such poetic illusions, though the beautiful rhapsody was fully appreciated by those of whom it was uttered. On my first interview with the superior, an old monk entered the room, who was in the convent at the time of the visit of Chateaubriand, and both said that they had read the accounts of several travellers in the Holy Land, and none could be compared with his. I do not mean to speak harshly of them personally, for they were my hosts, and every Eastern traveller knows the comfort of a cell in a convent compared with any other shelter he can find in the Holy Land. Particularly I would not speak harshly of the superior of the convent at Jerusalem, towards whom I have an exceedingly kind feeling, and with whom I was on terms of rather jocular intimacy. The second time I saw him he railed at me with much good-natured indignation for having taken off two or three inches of my beard, and, during the whole time I was in Jerusalem, I was in the habit of calling upon him almost every day. I owe him something, too, on Paul's account, for he did that worthy man-of-all-work a most especial honour.

Since our arrival at the convent, Paul had returned to the essence of his Catholic faith, to wit, the strict observance of its forms. In the desert he had often grumbled at being obliged to go without animal food; but no sooner did he come within the odour of burning incense, than he felt the enormity of ever having entertained so impious a thought, and set himself down like a martyr to the table of the convent. He was, in his

way, an epicure; and it used to amuse me, while placing before him the breast of a chicken, to see him turn his eyes wistfully towards me, and choke himself upon pulse and beans. He went through it all, however, though with a bad grace; and his piety was not lost upon the superior, who sent for him a few mornings after our arrival, and told him that a grand ceremony of washing the feet of the disciples was to take place in the chapel, and desired him to officiate as one of them. It was amusing to see Paul's altered manner on his return. With a dignity, and at the same time a respect, which he seemed all at once to have acquired from his clear understanding of his relative duties, he asked me whether I could spare him the next afternoon, stating the reason, and the honour the superior had done him. I told him, of course, that I would not interfere with his playing such an important part; and as it would be a new character for him to appear in, I should like to be present at the representation. The next day he came to me with his coat buttoned tight across his breast, his boots polished, and hat smoothed to a hair, and told me, with great gravity, that the superior had sent me his particular compliments, and an invitation to be present at the ceremony; and turning away, he remarked, with an air of nonchalance, that a Sicilian priest, who had just left me, and who was arranging to accompany me to the Dead Sea, was to be one of his associates in the ceremony.

Paul was evidently very much lifted up; he was constantly telling Elias, the cook of the convent, that he wanted such and such a thing for to-morrow afternoon; begging me not to make any engagement for to-morrow afternoon; and, in due season, to-morrow afternoon came. I entered my room a little before the time, and found him at rehearsal, with a large tub of water before him, prudently washing his feet beforehand. I was a good deal disposed to bring down his dignity, and told him that it was well enough to rehearse his part, but that he ought to leave at least one foot unwashed, as a sort of bonus for his friend the superior. Paul was a good deal scandalised at my levity of manner, and got out of my reach as soon as he could. Afterwards, however, I saw him in one of the corridors, talking with the Sicilian with a greater accession of dignity than ever. I saw him again in the chapel of the convent, standing in line with his associates; and excepting him, the Sicilian priest, and one monk, who was put in to fill up, I never saw a set of harder-looking scoundrels.

This ceremony of washing the feet of the disciples, intended by our Saviour as a beautiful lesson of humility, is performed from year to year, ostensibly to teach the same lesson; and in this case the humility of the superior was exalted shamefully at the expense of the disciples. Most of the twelve would have come under the meaning, though inexplicable, term of "loafer;" but one, a vagrant Pole, was, beyond all peradventure, the greatest blackguard I ever saw. A black muslin frock coat, dirty and glossy from long use, buttoned tight across the breast, and reaching down to his ankles, and an old foxy, low-crowned hat, too big for him, and almost covering his eyes and ears, formed his entire dress, for he had no trousers, shoes, or shirt; he was snub-nosed, peck-marked, and sore-eyed; wore a long beard, and probably could not remember the last time he had washed his face; thick, then, of his feet. If Paul had been dignified, he was puffed up almost to bursting; and the self-complacency with which he looked upon himself and all around him was admirable beyond description. By great good fortune for my designs against Paul, the Pole stood next, and before him in the line of the *quasi* disciples; and it was refreshing to turn from the consequential and complacent air of the one to the crestfallen look of the other; and to see him, the moment he caught my eye, with a suddenness that made me laugh, turn his head to the other side; but he had hardly got it there before he found me on that side too; and so I kept him watching and dodging, and in a perpetual fidget. To add to his mor-

tification, the Pole seemed to take particularly to him; and as he was before him in the line, was constantly turning round and speaking to him with a patronising air; and I capped the climax of his agony by going up in a quiet way, and asking him who was the gentleman before him. I could see him wince, and for a moment I thought of letting him alone; but he was often on stilts, and I seldom had such an opportunity of pulling him down. Besides, it was so ludicrous, I could not help it. If I had had any one with me to share the joke, it would have been exquisite. As it was, when I saw his determination to dodge me, I neglected every thing else, and devoted myself entirely to him; and, let the poor fellow turn where he would, he was sure to find me leaning against a pillar, with a smile on my face and my eyes intently fixed upon him; occasionally I would go up and ask him some question about his friend before him; and finally, as if I could not joke about it any more, and felt on my own account the indignity offered to him, I told him that, if I were he, I would not stand it any longer; that I was ashamed to see him with such a pack of rascals; that they had made a cat's-paw of him, and advised him to run for it, saying that I would stand by him against a bull from the pope. He now spoke for the first time, and told me that he had been thinking of the same thing; and, by degrees, actually worked himself up to the desperate pitch of incurring the hazard of excommunication, if it must needs be so, and had his shoes and stockings in his hands ready for a start, when I brought him down again by telling him it would soon be over; and, although he had been most shamefully treated, that he might cut the gentleman next to him whenever he pleased.

After goading him as long as he could possibly bear, I left him to observe the ceremony. At the upper end of the chapel, placed there for the occasion, was a large chair, with a gilded frame and velvet back and cushion, intended as the seat of the nominal disciple. Before it was a large copper vase, filled with water, and a plentiful sprinkling of rose-leaves; and before that, a large red velvet cushion, on which the superior kneeled to perform the office of lavation. I need not suggest how inconsistent was this display of gold, rose-water, and velvet, with the humble scene it was intended to represent; but the tinsel and show imposed upon the eyes for which they were intended.

One after the other the disciples came up, seated themselves in the chair, and put their feet in the copper vase. The superior kneeled upon the cushion, with both his hands washed the right foot, wiped it with a clean towel, kissed it, and then held it in his hands to receive the kisses of the monks, and of all volunteers that offered. All went on well enough until it came to the turn of Paul's friend and forerunner, the doughty Pole. There was a general titter as he took his place in the chair; and I saw the superior and the monk who assisted him hold down their heads and laugh almost convulsively. The Pole seemed to be conscious that he was creating a sensation, and that all eyes were upon him, and sat with his arms folded, with an ease and self-complacency altogether indescribable, looking down in the vase, and turning his foot in the superior's hands, heel up, toe up, so as to facilitate the process; and when the superior had washed and kissed it, and was holding it up for others to kiss, he looked about him with all the grandeur of a monarch in the act of coronation. Keeping his arms folded, he fairly threw himself back into the huge chair, looking from his foot to the monks, and from the monks to his foot again, as one to whom the world had nothing more to offer. It was more than a minute before any one would venture upon the perilous task of kissing those very suspicious toes, and the monk who was assisting the superior had to go round and drum them up; though he had already kissed it once in the way of his particular duty, to set an example he kissed it a second time; and now, as if ashamed of their backwardness, two or three rushed forward at once; and, the ice once broken, the effect seemed electric, and

there was a greater rush to kiss his foot than there had been to any of the others.

It was almost too hard to follow Paul after this display. I ought to have spared him, but I could not. His mortification was in proportion to his predecessor's pride. He was sneaking up to the chair, when, startled by some noise, he raised his head, and caught the eye which, above all others, he would have avoided. A broad laugh was on my face; and poor Paul was so discomfited that he stumbled, and came near pitching headlong into the vase. I could not catch his eye again; he seemed to have resigned himself to the worst. I followed him round in the procession, as he thrice made the tour of the chapel and corridors, with a long lighted candle in his hand; and then we went down to the superior's room, where the monks, the superior, the twelve, and myself, were entertained with coffee. As the Pole, who had lagged behind, entered after we were all seated, the superior, with the humour of a good fellow, cried out, "Viva Polacca;" all broke out into a loud laugh, and Paul escaped in the midst of it. About an hour afterwards I met him outside the Damascus Gate. Even then he would have shunned me; but I called him, and, to his great relief, neither then nor at any other time referred to the washing of the feet of the disciples.

The reader may remember the kindness with which I had been received by the chief rabbi at Hebron. His kindness did not end there; a few days after my arrival, the chief rabbi of Jerusalem, the high-priest of the Jews in the city of their ancient kings, called upon me, accompanied by a Gibraltar Jew who spoke English, and who told me that they had come at the request of my friend in Hebron, to receive and welcome me in the city of their fathers. I had already seen a great deal of the Jews. I had seen them in the cities of Italy, every where more or less oppressed; at Rome, shut up every night in their miserable quarters as if they were noxious beasts; in Turkey, persecuted and oppressed; along the shores of the Black Sea and in the heart of Russia, looked down upon by the serfs of that great empire of vassalage; and, for the climax of misery, I had seen them contemned and spit upon even by the ignorant and enslaved boors of Poland. I had seen them scattered abroad among all nations, as if had been foretold they would be, every where a separate and peculiar people; and every where, under all poverty, wretchedness, and oppression, waiting for, and anxiously expecting, the coming of a Messiah, to call together their scattered tribes, and restore them to the kingdom of their fathers; and all this the better fitted me for the more interesting spectacle of the Jews in the holy city. In all changes and revolutions, from the day when the kingdom of Solomon passed into the hands of strangers, under the Assyrian, the Roman, the Arab, and the Turk, a remnant of that once-favoured people has always hovered around the holy city; and now, as in the days of David, old men may be seen at the foot of Mount Zion, teaching their children to read from that mysterious book on which they have ever fondly built their hopes of a temporal and eternal kingdom.

The friends made for me by the rabbi at Hebron were the very friends above all others whom I would have selected for myself. While the Christians were preparing for the religious ceremonies of Easter, the Jews were making ready for the great feast of the Passover; and one of the first offers of kindness they made me, was an invitation to wait and partake of it with them. The rabbi was an old man, nearly seventy, with a long white beard, and Aaron himself need not have been ashamed of such a representative. I would have preferred to attach myself particularly to him; but as I could speak neither Arabic nor Hebrew, and the English Jew was not willing to play second, and serve merely as interpreter, I had but little benefit of the old man's society.

The Jews are the best topographers in Jerusalem, although their authority ends where the great interest

of the city begins; for, as their fathers did before them, they deny the name of Christ, and know nothing of the holy places so anxiously sought for by the Christians. That same morning they took me to what they call a part of the wall of Solomon's temple. It forms part of the southern wall of the Mosque of Omar, and is evidently older than the rest, the stones being much larger, measuring nine or ten feet long; and I saw that day, as other travellers may still see every Friday in the year, all the Jews in Jerusalem clothed in their best raiment, winding through the narrow streets of their quarter; and under this hallowed wall, with the sacred volume in their hands, singing, in the language in which they were written, the Songs of Solomon and the Psalms of David. White-bearded old men and smooth-cheeked boys were leaning over the same book; and Jewish maidens, in their long white robes, were standing with their faces against the wall, and praying through cracks and crevices. The tradition which leads them to pray *through* this wall is, that during the building of the temple a cloud rested over it so as to prevent any entrance; and Solomon stood at the door, and prayed that the cloud might be removed, and promised that the temple should be always open to men of every nation desiring to offer up prayers; whereupon the Lord removed the cloud, and promised that the prayers of all people offered up in that place should find acceptance in his sight; and now, as the Mussulman lords it over the place where the temple stood, and the Jews are not permitted to enter, they endeavour to insinuate their prayers through the crevices in the wall, that thus they may rise from the interior to the Throne of Grace. The tradition is characteristic, and serves to illustrate the devoted constancy with which the Israelites adhere to the externals of their faith.

Returning to the convent, and passing through one of the bazaars, we saw an Arab mounted on a bench, and making a proclamation to the crowd around him; and my friend, the Gibraltar Jew, was immediately among them, listening earnestly. The subject was one that touched his tenderest sensibilities as a dealer in money; for the edict proclaimed was one changing the value of the current coin, reducing the tallahree or dollar from twenty-one to twenty piasters, commanding all the subjects of Mohammed Ali to take it at that value, and concluding with the usual finale of a Turkish proclamation, "Death to the offender." My Jew, as he had already told me several times, was the richest Israelite in Jerusalem, and consequently took a great interest in every thing that related to money. He told me that he always cultivated an intimacy with the officer of the mint; and by giving him an occasional present, he always got intimation of any intended change in time to save himself. We parted at the door of the convent, having arranged that I should go with him the next day to the synagogue, and afterwards dine at his house.

### CHAPTER XXX.

The Synagogue.—Ideal Speculation.—A Ride in the Rain.—An Ex-official.—Joppa.—A Moral Phenomenon.—Reverence for the Grave.

ABOUT nine o'clock the next morning I was with him, and in a few moments we were sitting in the highest seats in the synagogue, at the foot of Mount Zion. My old friend the rabbi was in the desk, reading to a small remnant of the Israelites the same law which had been read to their fathers on the same spot ever since they came up out of the land of Egypt. And there they sat, where their fathers had sat before them, with high, black, square-topped caps, with shawls wound around, crossed in front, and laid very neatly; long gowns fastened with a sash, and long beards, the feeble remnant of a mighty people; there was sternness in their faces, but in their hearts a spirit of patient endurance, and a firm and settled resolution to die and be buried under the shadow of their fallen temple.

By the Jewish law the men and women sit apart in the synagogues; and as I could not understand the words of exhortation which fell from the lips of the preacher, it was not altogether unnatural that I should turn from the rough-bearded sons of Abraham to the smooth faces of their wives and daughters. Since I left Europe, I had not been in an apartment where the women sat with their faces uncovered; and, under these circumstances, it is not surprising that I saw many a dark-eyed Jewess who appeared well worthy of my gaze; and it is not a vain boast to say, that while singing the songs of Solomon, many a Hebrew maiden turned her bright black orbs upon me; for, in the first place, on entering we had disturbed more than a hundred sitting on the steps; secondly, my original dress, half Turk, half Frank, attracted the eyes even of the men; and, thirdly, the alleged universal failing of the sex is not wanting among the daughters of Judah.

The service over, we stopped a moment to look at the synagogue, which was a new building, with nothing about it that was peculiar or interesting. It had no gold or silver ornaments; and the sacred scroll, the table of the Law, contained in the holy of holies, was all that the pride of the Jew could show. My friend, however, did not put his own light under a bushel; for, telling me the amount he had himself contributed to the building, he conducted me to a room built at his own expense for a schoolroom, with a stone in the front wall recording his name and generosity.

We then returned to his house; and being about to sit down to dinner with him, I ought to introduce him more particularly to the reader. He was a man about fifty-five, born in Gibraltar to the same abject poverty which is the lot of most of his nation. In his youth he had been fortunate in his little dealings, and had been what we call an enterprising man; for he had twice made a voyage to England, and was so successful, and liked the country so much, that he always called himself an Englishman. Having accumulated a little property, or, as he expressed it, having become very rich, he gratified the darling wish of his heart by coming to Jerusalem, to die and be buried with his fathers in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. But this holy purpose in regard to his death and burial did not make him undervalue the importance of life, and the advantages of being a great man now. He told me that he was rich, very rich; that he was the richest, and in fact, the only rich Jew in Jerusalem. He took me through his house, and showed me his gold and silver ornaments, and talked of his money and the uses he made of it; that he lent to the Latin Convent on *interest*, without any security, whenever they wanted; but as for the Greeks—he laughed, laid his finger on his nose, and said he had in pledge jewels belonging to them of the value of more than 20,000 dollars. He had had his losses, too; and while we were enjoying the luxuries of his table, the leaven of his nature broke out, and he endeavoured to sell me a note for £1500, of the Lady Esther Stanhope, which he offered at a discount of fifty per cent.—a bargain which I declined, as being out of the line of my business.

I remember once the American fever came upon me in Athens; when, sitting among the ruins of the Acropolis, upon a broken column of the Parthenon, I speculated upon the growth of the city. I bought, in imagination, a piece of ground, and laid it out in lots, lithographed, and handsomely painted red, blue, and white, like the maps of Chicago, Dunkirk, and Hinsdale; built up the ancient harbour of the Piræus, and ran a railroad to the foot of the Acropolis; and I leaned my head upon my hand, and calculated the immense increase in value that must attend the building of the king's new palace, and the erection of a royal residence on the site of Plato's academy. I have since regretted that I did not "go in" for some up-town lots in Athens; but I have never regretted not having shaved the note of the Queen of the East, in the hands of the richest Jew in Jerusalem.

It was Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath. The command

to do no work on the Sabbath day is observed by every Jew, as strictly as when the commandment was given to his fathers; and to such an extent was it obeyed in the house of my friend, that it was not considered allowable to extinguish a lamp which had been lighted the night before, and was now burning in broad daylight over our table. This extremely strict observance of the law at first gave me some uneasiness about my dinner; but my host, with great self-complacency, relieved me from all apprehensions, by describing the admirable contrivance he had invented for reconciling appetite and duty—an oven, heated the night before to such a degree that the process of cooking was continued during the night, and the dishes were ready when wanted the next day. I must not forget the Jew's family, which consisted of a second wife, about sixteen, already the mother of two children, and his son and son's wife, the husband twelve, and the wife ten years old. The little gentleman was at the table, and behaved very well, except that his father had to check him in eating sweetmeats. The lady was playing on the floor with other children, and I did with her what I could not have done with a bigger man's wife—I took her on my knees and kissed her. Among the Jews, matches are made by the parents; and immediately upon the marriage, the wife is brought into the household of the husband. A young gentleman was tumbling about the floor who was engaged to the daughter of the chief rabbi. I did not ask the age of the lady, of course; but the gentleman bore the heavy burden of three years. He had not yet learned to whisper the story of his love to his blushing mistress, for, in fact, he could not talk at all; he was a great bawling boy, and cared much more for his bread and butter than a wife; but his prudent father had already provided him.

On the morning of the 21st I departed for Jaffa, the ancient Joppa. It was a bright and beautiful morning when I left the Bethlehem Gate; but before I had been an hour on my way, it began to rain, and continued nearly the whole day. About three hours from Jerusalem we came to the village of Abougos, the chief of the most powerful families of Fellahs in the Holy Land. Nearly all his life he had been more or less in arms against the government; and his name was known among all the Christians in the East as the robber of the pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre. I had met and spoken with him outside of the walls of Jerusalem, and during the rain, as I approached his village, I determined to stop and throw myself upon his hospitality for the night; but the returning sunshine deceived me, and I passed on, admiring the appearance of his village, which had much the best of any I had seen in the Holy Land. About an hour afterwards I was repenting, under a merciless rain, that I had not fulfilled my purpose. Riding three hours longer, stopping from time to time under a rock or tree, I was ascending the last range of mountains; before me were the fertile plains of Sharon; and across the plain, still at a great distance, was Ramla, the ancient Arimathea, the city of "Joseph the counsellor, the good man, and just." To the right, bordering the sea, was the range of Mount Carmel; but the rain was pelting in my eyes so that I could see nothing of it. I had been eight hours on the back of one of the most stubborn mules that ever persisted in having their own way; toiling with all my might, with blows and kicks, but finding it impossible to make him move one step faster than he pleased; and when the tower, the mosque, and the minaret of Ramla, were before me, at the other side of a level plain, and an hour's smart riding would have carried me there, I was completely worn out with urging the obstinate brute; and with muttered threats of future vengeance, wound my clerk around me, and hauling my umbrella close down, and grinding my teeth, I tried to think myself resigned to my fate. A strong wind was driving the rain directly in my face, and my mule, my cursed mule, stopped moving when I stopped heating; and in the very hardest of the storm, when I would have rushed like a bird on the wing, turned off from the path, and fell quietly to brows-

ing on the grass. Afraid to disarrange my umbrella and cloak, I sat for a moment irresolute; but the brute turned his face round, and looked at me with such perfect nonchalance, that I could not stand it. I raised my club for a blow; the wind opened my cloak in front, puffing it out like a sail; caught under my umbrella, and turned it inside out; and the mule suddenly starting, under a deluge of rain, I found myself planted in the mud on the plains of Sharon. An hour afterwards I was drying my clothes in the house of our consular agent at Ramla. There was no fire-place in the room; but I was hovering over a brazier of burning charcoal. I spent that night and all the next day in Ramla, although a quarter of an hour would have been sufficient to see all that it contained, which was simply nothing more than is to be found in any other village. The consul gave me a dry coverlet; and while some of his friends came in to look at and welcome the stranger, I laid myself down upon the divan and went to sleep.

The next morning I was unable to move; the fatigue, and particularly the rain of the preceding day, had been too much for me, and I remained all the morning in an up-stairs room, with a high ceiling and a stone floor, lying on a rug in one corner, cold, desponding, and miserable. In the afternoon I went down into the large room, to talk with the consular agent. But a year before he had flourished in all the pomp and pride of office. The arms of our country were blazoned over his door, and the stars and stripes had protected his dwelling; but a change had come over him. The Viceroy of Syria had ordered the flags of the consuls to be taken down at Ramla, and forbidden any of his subjects to hold the office except in the seaport towns. I could not help thinking that he was perfectly right, as it was merely allowing them the benefit of a foreign protection, to save them and their families, with two or three janizaries, from their duties to himself; but I listened attentively to the complaints of the poor agent. His dignity had been touched, and his pride humbled in the eyes of his townsmen; for the governor had demanded the usual duty from his sons, and had sent his executive officers with the summary order, the duty or the bastinado. The agent owed his appointment to Commodore Patterson, and talked of him and Captain Nicholson as friends who would see justice done him if he could communicate with them. I was afterwards struck with a display of delicacy and a sense of propriety that I had not expected from him; for although he charged me with many messages to Commodore Patterson, he requested me not to mention his difficulties in the matter of the agency, as he had already made representations to the consul at Beyroot, who had laid them before Commodore Porter at Constantinople; and an application in another quarter would look like distrusting their ability, or their willingness to resent what he called an indignity offered to the American flag. Annoyed at seeing the women dodging by, with their faces covered, and always avoiding me, I told him, that being a Christian and holding an appointment under our government, he ought to conform to our customs, and treat his women more as companions; or, at least, to let them come into the same room, and sit at the same table with him. He listened, but could not see any reason in my proposition. He said it might do for us; for with us the wives always brought their husbands money (the ignorant, uninformed barbarian), but in Syria (he sighed as he said it) they never added a para to the riches of their lords.

The next morning I set out again for Jaffa. The road lies through a rich plain; and in three hours, passing a large detachment of Turkish soldiers encamped outside, and waiting a transport to carry them to Alexandria, I was entering the gate of the ancient city of Joppa. Believed to have existed before the deluge, the city where Noah dwelt and built his ark; whence Jonah embarked for Tarshish, when he was thrown overboard and swallowed by a whale; the port used by Solomon to receive timber from Tyro for the building of the temple, and by all the kings of Judah to

connect the city of Jerusalem with foreign people, Jaffa is now a small Turkish town on the shores of the Mediterranean, but on a little eminence projecting into the sea, and containing a population of from 10,000 to 15,000 Turks, Arabs, Jews, and Christians. It has a fine climate, and a fine country around it; and the orange gardens are the finest on the shores of the Mediterranean. Although the seaport of Jerusalem, its harbour has always been bad; and when I was there, the wreck of a Turkish man-of-war was lying on the beach; and that same night, there being a severe storm, the little Greek pilgrim vessels were considered in great danger.

There is nothing of interest in the modern city of Jaffa. Its history is connected with the past. The traveller must stand on the shore, and fill the little harbour with the ships of Tarshish, or imagine Noah entering the ark with his family, by whom the earth was to be repopled; or wander through the narrow streets and ask himself, Where is the house of Tabitha, whom Peter "raised from the dead?" or that of Simon the tanner, where Peter "tarried many days?" and he may feel a less holy, but hardly less powerful interest, in standing by the gate where, for many years, a large pyramid of skulls attested the desperate struggle of Napoleon; or, in walking through the chambers of the Greek convent, then used as an hospital for the French, and the monks will show him an apartment where, when all hearts were sinking within them for fear, he visited and touched the sick of the plague, restored the drooping courage of his soldiers, and almost raised the dying from their bed of death.

Besides the interest attached to this place by reason of its great antiquity, and the many important events of which it has been the scene, I remember it with much kindness on account of the American consular agent, and the cordial manner in which he received me. He was not at home when I arrived; but in a few moments he came in, and, taking both my hands in his, pointed to the American arms on the wall, ordered the stars and stripes to be hoisted on the top of his house, and, with all the extravagance of the East, told me that all he had was mine. I had a great mind to take him at his word, and begin by appropriating a beautiful emerald that I saw on his finger; but, for the present, I contented myself with asking merely for a dinner, which was soon prepared; and I sat down to dine in the ancient city of Joppa, with my country's arms before me, and my country's banner waving above.

The agent was an Armenian, and a strict observer of all the requisitions of his exacting creed; he was rich, and had no children; and, what I never before heard from the lips of man, he said that he was perfectly happy. I was the first American who had visited him since he had received his appointment, and it seemed as if he could not do enough for me. He had repaired and reconstructed the whole road from Jaffa to Jerusalem; and when I asked him what reward he promised himself for this, he answered that he had done it for God, the pilgrims, and his own honour. I remained with him that night, and would have gone early the next morning, but he would not part with me so soon. I dined with him again; and in the afternoon, escorted to the gate by two janizaries, each with a large silver-headed mace in his hand, I left, probably for ever, my Armenian friend and the ancient city of Joppa. I do not know when I parted from a man with more regret.\*

I slept that night at Ramla; and the next day, about four o'clock, in company with several hundred pilgrims, I was again entering the Bethlehem Gate. Notwithstanding the misfortune of my Armenian friend, the road from Jerusalem to Jaffa, a road travelled from the time when Jonas went thither to embark for Tarshish, is now a mere mule-path, on which I was several times obliged to stop and turn aside to let a loaded mule pass by.

I had seen every thing in Jerusalem that it was the duty of a traveller to see. My time was now my own, for idling, lounging, or strolling, in the luxurious consciousness of having nothing to do. In this humour I used to set forth from the convent, never knowing where I should go, or what I should do; and whenever I went out with the deliberate intention of doing nothing, I was always sure of finding enough to occupy me. My favourite amusement in the morning was to go out by St Stephen's Gate, and watch the pilgrims as they began their daily round of visits to the holy places. Frequently, if I saw a group that interested me, I followed them to the Garden of Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives; sometimes I stopped in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and, sitting down on the grave of an Israelite, watched the Jewish pilgrims. One morning, I remember, Paul and I were together; and we saw a young girl kissing the tomb of Zachariah, and weeping as if her heart would break. Paul asked her rather roughly what she was crying about; and the poor girl, looking at him for a moment, burst into a flood of tears, and told him that she was weeping over the tomb of the blessed prophet.

But there are few things connected with my journeying in the Holy Land which I look back upon with a more quiet satisfaction than my often repeated and almost daily walk around the walls of Jerusalem. It was a walk of between three and four miles; and I always contrived, about half an hour before the gates were closed, to be sitting on a favourite tombstone near St Stephen's Gate. The great Turkish burying-ground is outside the wall, near this gate; and regularly, on a fine afternoon, towards sunset, the whole Turkish population, in all their gay and striking costumes, might be seen wandering among the tombs. Few things strike a traveller in the East more than this, and few are to us more inexplicable. We seldom go into a graveyard except to pay the last offices to a departed friend, and for years afterwards we never find ourselves in the same place again without a shade of melancholy coming over us. Not so in the East; to-day they bury a friend, to-morrow they plant flowers over his grave, and the next day, and the next, they tend and water them, and once-a-week, regularly, they sit by the grave. On every holiday it is a religious duty to go there; and as often as they walk out for health or pleasure, they habitually turn their footsteps to the burial-ground. To them the grave is not clothed with the same terrors. It is not so dark and gloomy as to us. They are firmer believers than we are, though, as we think, in a false and fatal creed; and to them there is a light beyond the grave, which we of a better faith can seldom see. It was a beautiful picture to behold the graveyard thronged with Turkish women, in their long white veils. It would, perhaps, be too poetical to look upon them all as mourners. Perhaps, indeed, it would not be too much to say, that of the immense multitude who, day after day, are seen flitting among the tombs, many a widowed fair one, over the tomb of a dead lord, is dreaming of a living lover.

But there was one whom I noticed every day; she was always sitting by the same stone, and I always noticed her as one of the first to come out, and one of the last to return. She was a young Sciote girl, mourning over the tomb of her young lord; and well she might, for he had been to her a friend and protector, and she had been his only bride. When her father's house was laid in ruins, and her grey-headed sire and her manly brothers were slain before her eyes, he had saved her from the bloody scimeter, or from a fate worse than death; and he had wooed her, not as a Turk and master, but as a lover. He had won her young heart; and she had forgotten her kindred and her country; he had died with his bloody scimeter in his hand, and she thought only of the dead when she stood beside his grave.

\* The town of Jaffa has since been destroyed by an earthquake; and of 15,000 inhabitants, 13,000 were buried in the ruins. Has my Armenian friend escaped?

## CHAPTER XXXI.

Desert of St John.—A Midnight Procession.—Road to Jericho.  
—A Community of Women.—A Navigator of the Dead Sea.—A  
Dance by Moonlight.—A rude Lodging.

In company with Mr Whiting, I started for the Desert of St John the Baptist. Passing the Pool of Gihon, where Saul was anointed king by Zadoc and Nathan, we came to the Convent of the Holy Cross, the great altar of the chapel being erected, as the monks pretend, over the spot where grew the tree from which the cross was made. Moving on among hills and valleys, on our right was a distant view of Ramah, the country of Samuel the seer; and before us, crowning the very top of a high hill, were the ruins of the palace and the burial-place of the warlike Maccabees. The Convent of St John is built on the spot where John the Baptist was born. There is no doubt of this, say the monks; for beneath the great altar of the church is a circular slab of marble, with an inscription almost effaced: "Hic natus est precursor Dei"—here the forerunner of the Lord was born. This convent is in a fine situation; a small Christian village is attached to it; the top commands a beautiful view of the mountains, cultivated in terraces; and directly in front is the great Valley of Turpentine, or Elah, the battle-ground of the Israelites and Philistines, of David and Goliath. Taking a Christian boy with us as guide, we entered the valley; and following the stream to its source, in about two hours we came to the place where, it is said, Saul and the men of Israel pitched by the valley of Elah, and set the battle in array against the Philistines. It was precisely the spot where the scene so graphically recorded in Scripture might have taken place. "And the Philistines stood on a mountain on the one side, and Israel stood on a mountain on the other side, and there was a valley between them." On each side of me was a mountain, and the brook was still running near from which the shepherd-boy gathered the five smooth stones. The boy who accompanied us told me that the precise stones had never yet been found, though the monks had often searched for them.

At the extreme end of the valley is the Desert of St John, where was heard, for the first time, the voice of one crying in the wilderness, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord; make his paths straight." Directly in front, at the top of the mountain bounding the valley, is an open door in the rock leading to the grotto in which the prophet lived. There is no appearance of a desert in this place, except solitude; and if it be merely a locality fixed upon by the monks, they could not have selected one more inappropriate. It is one of the prettiest and best cultivated spots in the Holy Land; and sitting in the door of the grotto, with an Armenian pilgrim by my side, and looking out upon the valley and the mountains, all around terraced and cultivated to the very summits, all still and beautiful, I thought I had never seen a place better qualified to inspire a pious, philosophic, and happy state of mind, than this Desert of St John. We returned by a different road, searching on our way for the pool where Philip baptised the eunuch of Queen Candace; but after losing ourselves once or twice, and fearing a threatening shower, we returned to the city unsuccessful.

At about ten o'clock that evening, the monks, under a guard of soldiers and a crowd of pilgrims, each with a candle in his hand, left St Stephen's Gate in solemn procession. With a loud chant they crossed the Valley of Jehoshaphat, wound around the foot of the Mount of Olives to Bethpage and Bethany, said mass in the tomb of Lazarus, and returning, prayed and chanted on the Mount of Olives and in the Garden of Gethsemane; and at about daylight the next morning returned to the convent.

For several days I had been preparing for a journey to the Dead Sea, but a mysterious influence seemed still to hang about the borders of that water; and now, when all the rest of the Holy Land was perfectly tran-

quil, the Fellahs were in commotion among the barren mountains around it. I had waited two or three days at the request of the governor; but hearing of nothing in particular to prevent me, I determined to set out. The Sicilian priest who had proposed to accompany me could not go; and at about eight o'clock I was sitting on my horse alone, outside St Stephen's Gate, waiting for Paul, who had gone to the governor for a letter which he had promised me to the aga of Jericho. Attracted by the uncommon beauty of the morning, half the population of Jerusalem had already gathered without the walls. Joining a party of pilgrims, I followed once more the path I had so often trodden across the Brook Kedron and the Valley of Jehoshaphat; and, parting with them at the foot of the Mount of Olives, I wound around its base, and fell into the road to Jericho and the Jordan. We must have passed Bethpage, though there is nothing to mark where it stood; and in about an hour we came to Bethany, now a ruined Arab village, though the monks still show the house of Martha and Mary, the tomb of Lazarus, and even the barren fig-tree which was cursed by our Lord. The tomb of Lazarus is a large excavation in the rock; and the sepulchral chamber is at the foot of a staircase of ten or twelve steps.

Not far from Bethany we came to a fountain enclosed with marble, and soon after to a valley, where, the monks say, our Saviour, in coming from beyond the Jordan, at the prayer of the sisters of Lazarus, reposed with the disciples. In about two hours we were among the mountains. The scene every moment became wilder and more rugged; and except in the wilderness of Sinai and among the wastes of Idumea, I never travelled so dreary a road as "in going down to Jericho." It is on this desolate route that our Saviour lays the scene of the parable of the good Samaritan; and nowhere could a more forcible illustration be given of the heartlessness of the priest and the Levite, in "passing by on the other side." Ascending for some distance by the precipitous side of a yawning chasm, where a false movement of my horse might have dashed me to atoms, from the top of the Mountains of Desolation I looked to the left upon a higher and still wilder and more dreary range; and, towering above all the rest in gloomy grandeur, its naked sides pierced with doors for the cells of hermits, was the mountain of our Saviour's fasting and temptation; before me were the plains of Jericho, the Valley of the Jordan, the Mountains of Arabia, and the Dead Sea. A high, square building, like a tower, marked the site of Jericho, and a small stream, running between two banks of sand, was the hallowed Jordan.

Descending the mountain, on our left, directly at the foot, were the remains of an aqueduct and other ruins, which, in all probability, were part of the ancient city of Jericho. The plain commences at the foot of the mountains; the land is fertile, and well watered with streams emptying into the Jordan, but for the most part wild and uncultivated. About half way across we passed the edge of a stagnant pool, nearly covering a Mussulman burying-ground; the tombstones were washed from their places, and here and there the ghastly skeletons were visible above the muddy water. In one place, crossing a stream, we met three Abyssinians, who had come from the remotest point in the interior of Africa where the name of Christian is known, to bathe in the sacred Jordan. Two or three times we were obstructed by brick fences, intended as ramparts to protect the inhabitants and their flocks against the incursions of wolves; and at about four o'clock we arrived at the ruined village of Jericho.

I have observed that travellers generally, when they arrive at any place of extraordinary interest, find the right glow of feeling coming over them precisely at the proper moment. I never had any difficulty in Italy; for there, in the useful guidebook of Madame Starke, beautifully interspersed with valuable information about hotels, post-horses, and the price of washing linen, the reader may find prepared for him an appropriate cata-



logue of sensations for almost every possible situation and object, from a walk in the Coliseum by moonlight to a puppet-show at San Carlino in Naples; but in a country like this, a man is thrown upon his own resources; and notwithstanding the interest attached to the name of Jericho, I found it a hard matter to feel duly excited.

Jericho was the first city in Canaan which fell into the hands of the Israelites. It was long the second city of Judea, and, according to the Jewish Talmud, contained twelve thousand priests. It had its hippodrome and amphitheatre, and in its royal palace Herod the Tetrarch died. But the curse of Joshua seems to rest upon it now: "Cursed be the man before the Lord who shall rebuild Jericho." It consists of fifty or sixty miserable Arab houses, the walls of which on three sides are of stones, piled up like the stone fences of our farmers, most of them not so high as a man's head, and the front and top either entirely open or covered with brush.

The old fortress in which I expected to sleep, I found entirely abandoned, and the apartments used as a shelter for sheep and goats. I expected to find there the aga, quietly smoking his pipe, and glad to receive and gossip with a stranger; but I had mounted to the top, and looked out upon the extensive plains of Jericho and the Valley of the Jordan, without meeting a single person; and it was not until I had gone out of the gate, and with the bride in my hand was walking back into the village, that I noticed the remarkable circumstance, so different from the usual course of matters in Arab villages, that no throng of idlers had gathered around me. In fact, I had passed through the village, gone to the fortress, and come back, without seeing a man; and soon found that there was not a male in the village above ten years old, except the aga, and one passing Arab. It had numbered sixty men, of whom Ibrahim Paeha had ordered a levy of twenty-four for his army. The miserable inhabitants had decided among themselves upon nineteen who could best be spared; and, unable to supply the rest, in a spirit of desperation had abandoned their village; and, taking with them all the boys above ten years old, fled to the mountains around the Dead Sea, where they were now in arms, ripe for rebellion, robbery, and murder.

I found myself very much at a loss; the aga was a stranger there, and knew nothing of the localities; and I could not find a boy old enough to conduct me to the Well of Elisha. Some of the women knew where it was, but they would not go with me, though I asked them in all courtesy; and, taking my direction from them, and fixing my eyes on the naked top of the mountain of our Saviour's temptation, in about half an hour I reached the miraculous fountain where, at the request of the men of Jericho, Elisha, "cast salt into the spring and healed the water." It is enclosed in a large marble basin, and several streams, constantly running from it, refresh and fertilise the plains of Jericho. Riding on a short distance farther, I came to an aqueduct and the ruins of a Greek convent, at the base of the "exceeding high mountain" from whose top the devil showed our Saviour all the kingdoms of the world. The naked sides of the mountain are studded with doors, opening to the cells of anchorites and hermits, who there turned their backs upon temptation, and, amid desolation and solitude, passed their days in penance and prayer.

It was dark when I returned to Jericho. Before going away, the aga had taken me to his hut, and wished me to pass the night with him; but as two horses had already taken their places before me, and the hut was perfectly open, having merely a roof of branches, and nothing at all in front, I had looked round and selected another for my lodging-place, chiefly from the circumstance of its having a small boat set up on its side before it, so as to form a front wall.

That boat told a melancholy tale. It was the only one that had ever floated on the Dead Sea. About eight months before, Mr Costigan, an Irish traveller, who had been some years in the East, had projected a most in-

teresting journey, and, most unhappily for himself and the interests of science, died almost in the moment of its successful accomplishment. He had purchased his boat at Beyroot, and, with a Maltese sailor for his servant, in spite of many difficulties and impediments from the Arabs, had carried it across the country on a dromedary, and launched it on the Sea of Galilee; he had explored this most interesting water, and entering the Jordan, followed it down until he narrowly escaped with his life among the rocks and rapids of that ancient but unknown river; and then constantly obstructed by the Arabs, even the governor of Damascus refusing him any facilities, with great difficulty he succeeded in bringing his boat by land to the Dead Sea. In the middle of July he had embarked with his servant to make the tour of the sea, and eight days afterwards the old woman in whose tent I lodged had found him lying on the shore alone, gasping for breath. She had him carried to her hut, where he lay till the Rev. Mr Nicolaissen, the English missionary at Jerusalem, came for him, and the second day after his arrival in Jerusalem he died. With his dying breath he bore the same testimony to the kindness of woman under the burning sun of Syria that our countryman Ledyard did in the wilds of Siberia; for while lying upon the shores of the Dead Sea, the Arabs gathered round him only to gaze, and would have left him to die there if this old woman had not prevailed upon two of her sons to carry him to her hut.

That boat was interesting to me for another reason. Nothing, not even the thought of visiting Petra and the land of Idumea, affected me so strangely as the idea of making the tour of this sea; and notwithstanding the miserable state of my health, shattered by my journey in the desert, as soon as I heard, after my arrival at Jerusalem, that there was a boat at Jericho, I began to think of taking advantage of it. If I had succeeded in this, I should consider my tour the most perfect and complete ever made by any oriental traveller. I had hunted up the oars, sail, &c.; but on my return from Jaffa I was compelled to abandon all thoughts of making the attempt. Still, when I saw the boat, all my ardour revived; and never, in my lonely journeyings in the East, did I wish so earnestly for the comfort and support of a friend. With a companion, or even with a servant, who would encourage and support me, in spite of my health I should certainly have undertaken it; but Paul was particularly averse to the attempt; the boat was barely large enough for two; and I was compelled to give up the thought.

That evening I saw at Jericho what I never saw before. It was a beautiful moonlight night, and all the women were out of doors singing and dancing. The dance was altogether indescribable; consisting not of wanton movements, like those of the dancing girls in Egypt, but merely in joining hands and moving round in a circle, keeping time to the music of their own voices. I had never seen so gay and joyous a scene among the women in the East; and though their fathers, and brothers, and husbands, and lovers, were away among the mountains, I did not feel disposed to judge them harshly. It was so rare, in that unhappy country, to see any thing like gaiety of heart, that if they had been dancing over the graves of their husbands, I should have been inclined to join them. And they did not shun us as the Moslem women generally do; they talked with us with their faces uncovered; and I remember a young Arab girl, not more than sixteen, who had a child in her arms, and who told me that its father had fled to the mountains; and she put the child in my arms while she joined in the dance. In fact, my situation began to be peculiar; the aga had gone off to look for some one who would accompany me to the Dead Sea; and among perhaps more than a hundred women, that night Paul, and I, and my muleteers, were the only men in Jericho. In justice to the poor Arab women, however, I would remove from them any imputation of want of feeling or hardness of heart; for I have no doubt the young girl who left her child in my arms loved its father

as warmly as if they were all clad in purple and fine raiment every day.

I would have been better satisfied, however, if that night they had ceased their merriment at an earlier hour; for long after I had lain down on my stony bed, their song and laugh prevented my sleeping; and when they had retired, other noises followed: the lowing of cattle, the bleating of sheep and goats, the stamping of horses, the crying of children, and the loud barking of the watch-dog; and, finally, the fierce assault of the voracious insects that always swarm in an Arab's hut, drove me from my bed and out of doors. The cool air refreshed and revived me, and I walked by the light of a splendid moon among the miserable huts of the village, hunted and barked at by the watching wolf-dog, and perhaps exciting the apprehensions of the unprotected women.

I leaned against a high fence of brush enclosing some of the huts, and mused upon the wonderful events of which this miserable place had been the scene, until my eyes began to close; when, opening a place among the bushes, I drew my cloak around me and crawled in, and soon fell fast asleep. Once during the night I was worried and almost dragged out of my burrowing-place by the dogs, but I kicked them away, and slept on. At daylight the aga was pulling me by the shoulder, armed to the teeth, and ready to escort me. I shook myself and my toilet was made; and before the laughers, and singers, and dancers of the previous night, had waked from their slumbers, we were mounted and on our way to the Jordan.

#### CHAPTER XXXII.

The River Jordan.—The Dead Sea.—Force of Example.—Buoyancy of the Dead Sea.—A Perilous Ascent.—A Navigator of the Dead Sea.—Story of the Voyage.—The Convent of Santa Saba.

Moving directly from the ruined village, we soon left the fertile plains of Jericho, and entered the barren valley of the Jordan. It was washed and torn by the mountain torrents, full of gullies and large sand-hills; and in about an hour and a half we were standing on the banks of the river, at the most hallowed spot on the margin of that sacred stream, where, 1800 years ago, John baptised the Redeemer of the world; and where, year after year, thousands of pilgrims throw themselves into the river, with the blind belief that, by bathing in its waters, they wash away their sins. As a pious pilgrim, it would have been my duty, perhaps, to do the same; but the reader will please remember that it was the last day of March; that I had slept in a bush; that my limbs were stiff; and that it was not yet six o'clock in the morning, and that I had not breakfasted. Sitting down, then, on the bank, I made my morning meal, and drank as devoutly of its water as any pilgrim who ever stood by Jordan.

I afterwards followed the river close along its bank till it emptied into the Dead Sea, and nowhere found any spot that, for beauty of scenery, could be compared with this consecrated bathing-place of the pilgrims. The bank here is about ten or twelve feet high; a clear, level table of land, covered with rich grass, and large bushes on the edge overhanging the river. Judging by the eye, the river is here about thirty paces broad; the current is very rapid, and the pilgrim, in bathing, is obliged to hold on by the bushes, in order to prevent himself being carried away. Here, it is said, the wild beast still has his haunt; and the traveller sometimes, when the river is rising, may realise the expression, "He shall come up like a lion out of the swelling of Jordan." Opposite, the bank is low, and the bushes grow down to the water's edge. Immediately below this, the river narrows to ten paces; and there is not another spot on the line of the Jordan which can attract the eye of the traveller. It is a small, broken, and muddy stream, running between banks of barren sand, without bloom or verdure; and if it were not for the associations connected with it, a man would turn from it as the most uninteresting of rivers. In one

place I saw an Arab wading across; and the river there, so far as I could judge, had not fallen more than two feet. I followed it as closely as the cracks and gullies would allow, cutting off none of the bends. For the last two or three miles it runs between perpendicular banks of sand, from five to ten feet high, and its pure waters are already corrupted by the pestiferous influence of the bituminous lake. On the left it stops even with the shore; but on the right the bank runs out to a low, sandy point, round which a quantity of driftwood is collected; and here, with a gentle ripple of its waters, the Jordan is lost in the Dead Sea.

I followed it almost to the very point, until my horse's feet sank above his fetlocks in the wet sand. It was the old opinion, and was counted among the wonders of the lake Asphaltites, that the river passed through without mingling with the waters of the lake; and Pococke says, "I thought I saw the stream of a different colour;" but Pococke did not follow the river down to the extreme point. I did; and could see most distinctly the very spot where the waters mingled. Instead of the river keeping its way through, its current was rather stopped at once by the denser water of the lake; and, in fact, for two or three miles above its mouth, the Jordan is impregnated with the salt and bituminous matter of the lake.

Almost at the moment of my turning from the Jordan to the Dead Sea, notwithstanding the long-credited accounts that no bird could fly over without dropping dead upon its surface, I saw a flock of gulls floating quietly on its bosom; and when I roused them with a stone, they flew down the lake, skimming its surface until they had carried themselves out of sight. From the point on which I stood, near its eastern shore, the sea was spread out before me, motionless as a lake of molten lead, bounded on either side by ranges of high and barren mountains, and on its southern extremity by the great desert valley of El Ghor; constantly receiving the waters of the Jordan, but, unlike other waters, sending no tribute to the sea. Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, and Josephus, describe it as more than sixty miles long; but Mr Banks and his companions, by observation from elevated heights, make it not more than thirty; and as the ancients were better acquainted with it than modern geographers, it has been supposed that the lake has contracted in its dimensions, and that part of the valley of El Ghor was once covered by its waters.

Moving on slowly from the point of the Jordan, the shores low and sandy, strewed with brush and driftwood, and rising in a slope to the sandy plain above, I rode along nearly the whole head of the lake with my horse's feet in the water, and twice picked up a large piece of bitumen, almost like common pitch, supposed to be thrown up from the bottom of the lake. The sand is not bright like that of an Atlantic or Mediterranean beach, but of a dirty, dark brown. The water is exceedingly clear and transparent, but its taste and smell are a compound of all that is bad.

It was now the last day of March, and even before we left the plains of the Jordan the sun had been intensely hot; without a branch or leaf to break its force, it poured upon the dreary waste around the Dead Sea with a scorching and withering heat. It was on this shore that the Knight of the Leopard encountered the Saracen Emir; and in the sandy plain above is the beautiful scene of the Diamond of the Desert, in the opening of Scott's Crusaders. The general features of the scenery along the northern shore of the Dead Sea are admirably described. The Diamond of the Desert is, of course, the creation of the author's fancy; and the only actual error is in placing the wilderness of Engaddi, which Scott has confounded with the mountains of Quarantania, but which is really half way down the borders of the sea.

It was two o'clock when my guards, having conducted me along the head of the sea, proposed returning to Jericho. I had already had some difficulty with them. Twice disappointed in my purposed exploration of this sea; once in my wish, conceived on the top of Mount

Hor, to strike it at its southern extremity, and coast along its borders; and then in the still more attractive project of exploring it in a boat. Instead of returning to Jericho, my desire was to go down the borders of the sea, and turn up among the mountains to the convent of Santa Saba. At Jerusalem I could not hire horses for this convent, because, as they said, it was a dangerous route; and I took them for Jericho, hoping in some way or other still to accomplish my object. By accident, an Arab from Santa Saba had come to Jericho during the night; and in the morning I told the aga and his companion that I would not have them as my escort at all, unless they would go with me to the convent. They at first objected, but afterwards promised to go as far as I wanted them; and now they again made objections. I thought it was merely to enhance the value of their services; but in a few moments they told me they would not go any farther; that the order of the governor was to protect me to the Dead Sea, and back to Jericho. The worst of it was, that my muleteers refused to go without the guard; and although we had a guide with us who told us there was no danger, though we had not met a single Arab since we left Jericho, and though we could see many miles down the lake, and plainly distinguish the wild track up the bare side of the mountain to the open country above, they were "afraid of the bad Arabs." I was determined, however, not to go back to Jericho. I had no idea of sleeping in the bushes again; and spurring my horse, I told Paul to follow me, and they might do as they pleased. The aga and his companion bade me farewell; and, dashing over the arid plain, were soon hidden from view by hillocks of sand. I continued along the shore; and after a few moments' consultation, my Arabs quietly followed me.

Since early in the morning, I had had the sea constantly before my eyes. While riding along the northern shore, the general aspect was very much the same; but as soon as I turned the head, and began to move along its side, the mountains every moment assumed a different aspect, although every where wild, rugged, and barren. At three o'clock we were approaching a place where the mountain rises precipitously from the lake, leaving no room for a passage at its foot; my eyes were fixed upon the lake, my thoughts upon its mysterious properties. The ancients believed that living bodies, and even heavy metals, would not sink in it; and Pliny and Strabo have written of its extraordinary buoyancy. Before I left Jerusalem, I had resolved not to bathe in it, on account of my health; and I had sustained my resolution during the whole of my day's ride along its shore; but, on the point of turning up among the mountains, I could resist no longer. My clothes seemed to come off of their own accord; and before Paul had time to ask me what I was going to do, I was floating on its waters. Paul and the Arabs followed; and after splashing about for a while, we lay like a parcel of corks upon its surface.

From my own experience, I can almost corroborate the most extravagant accounts of the ancients. I know, in reference to my own specific gravity, that in the Atlantic or Mediterranean I cannot float without some little movement of the hands; and even then my body is almost totally submerged; but here, when I threw myself upon my back, my body was half out of water. It was an exertion even for my lank Arabs to keep themselves under. When I struck out in swimming, it was exceedingly awkward; for my legs were constantly rising to the surface, and even above the water. I could have lain there and read with perfect ease. In fact, I could have slept, and it would have been a much easier bed than the bushes at Jericho. It was ludicrous to see one of the horses. As soon as his body touched the water, he was afloat, and turned over on his side; he struggled with all his force to preserve his equilibrium; but the moment he stopped moving, he turned over on his side again, and almost on his back, kicking his feet out of water, and snorting with terror. The worst of my bath was, after it was over, my skin was

covered with a thick, glutinous substance, which it required another ablution to get rid of; and after I had wiped myself dry, my body burnt and smarted as if I had been turned round before a roasting fire. My face and ears were encrusted with salt; my hairs stood out, "each particular hair on end;" and my eyes were irritated and inflamed, so that I felt the effects of it for several days. In spite of all this, however, revived and refreshed by my bath, I mounted my horse a new man.

Modern science has solved all the mystery about this water. It has been satisfactorily analysed, and its specific gravity ascertained to be 1.211, a degree of density unknown in any other, the specific gravity of fresh water being 1.000; and it has been found to hold in solution the following proportions of salt to 100 grains of water:—

|                            | Grains. |
|----------------------------|---------|
| Muriate of lime, - - -     | 3.920   |
| Muriate of magnesia, - - - | 10.246  |
| Muriate of soda, - - -     | 10.360  |
| Sulphate of lime, - - -    | 0.054   |
|                            | 24.580  |

Except the ruined city of Petra, I never felt so unwilling to leave any place. I was unsatisfied. I had a longing desire to explore every part of that unknown water; to spend days upon its surface; to coast along its shores; to sound its mysterious depths, and search for the ruins of the guilty cities. And why not? If we believe our Bible, that bituminous lake covers the once fertile vale of Siddim, and the ruins of Sodom and Gomorrah; and why may we not see them? The ruins of Thebes still cover for miles the banks of the Nile; the pyramids stand towering as when they were built, and no man knows their builders; and the traveller may still trace, by "the great river, the Euphrates," the ruins of the Tower of Babel. Besides, that water does not destroy; it preserves all that it touches; the wood that falls into it becomes petrified by its action; and I can see no good reason why it should hide for ever from man's eyes the monuments of that fearful anger which the crimes of the guilty had so righteously provoked.

Except to the summit of Mount Hor, I never had so desperate a climb as up the barren mountain on the borders of the Dead Sea. We had not found any water fit to drink since we left the Jordan, and turned up a little before we reached the place we had intended, the guide telling us that here we would find a spring. We were soon obliged to dismount; and even our sure-footed horses, trained as they were to climbing mountains, slipped, faltered, and completely failed. Our guide told us that he had never ascended with horses before; and, looking forward, the attempt seemed utterly impossible; but the noble animals climbed with the intelligence of men, holding on with their fore-feet as if they were hands, and the Arabs above pulling them by the mane, or pushing from below. One of them, in climbing an almost perpendicular height, fell over backward. I thought he was killed; and my Arabs, irritated by toil, thirst, and the danger to their horses, sprang upon the guide, and I believe would have killed him if Paul and I had not interfered. Taking off the enormous saddle, we all joined above and below, and hoisted and pushed him up almost bodily.

It was nearly dark when we reached the top of the mountain, and I sat down for a moment to take a last look at the Dead Sea. From this distance, its aspect fully justified its name. It was calm, motionless, and seemingly dead; there was no wave or ripple on its surface, nor was it hurrying on, like other waters, to pay its tribute to the ocean; the mountains around it were also dead; no trees or shrubs, not a blade of grass, grew on their naked sides; and, as in the days of Moses, "Brimstone and salt, it is not sown, nor beareth, nor any grass growth thereon."

One thing had especially attracted my attention in

ascending the mountain: on attaining a particular point, we had a clear view of the whole sea, and at the extreme end we saw distinctly what Paul and I both at once called an island. M. Seetzen, one of the earliest modern travellers who visited this sea, imagined that he had discovered a large island in the same direction; and though no one believed in its reality, I had then seen no satisfactory explanation of the appearance. I could not be deceived in what I saw. There never was any thing that looked more like an island, and I afterwards received an explanation which to me at least was perfectly satisfactory. It comes from one who ought to know, from the only man who ever made the tour of that sea, and lived to tell of it; and, relying upon the interesting nature of the subject, I make no apology for introducing it here.

When the unhappy Costigan was found by the Arabs on the shore of the Dead Sea, the spirit of the enterprising Irishman was fast fleeing away. He lived two days after he was carried to the convent at Jerusalem, but he never once referred to his unhappy voyage. He had long been a traveller in the East, and long preparing for this voyage; had read every book that treated of the mysterious water, and was thoroughly prepared with all the knowledge necessary for exploring it to advantage. Unfortunately for the interests of science, he had always been in the habit of trusting greatly to his memory; and, after his death, the missionaries in Jerusalem found no regular diary or journal, but merely brief notes written on the margins of books, so irregular and confused that they could make nothing of them; and, either from indifference, or because they had no confidence in him, they allowed Costigan's servant to go without asking him any questions. I took some pains to trace out this man; and afterwards, while lying at Beyroot, suffering from a malady which abruptly put an end to my travels in the East, Paul hunted him out and brought him to me. He was a little, dried-up Maltese sailor; had rowed around that sea without knowing why, except that he was paid for it; and what he told me bore the stamp of truth, for he did not seem to think that he had done any thing extraordinary. He knew as little about it as any man could know who had been over the same water; and yet, after all, perhaps he knew as much as any one else could learn. He seemed, however, to have observed the coast and the soundings with the eye of a sailor. They were eight days in accomplishing the whole tour of the lake, sleeping every night on shore except once, when, afraid of some suspicious Arabs whom they saw on the mountains, they slept on board, beyond the reach of gunshot from the land. He told me that they had moved in a zigzag direction, crossing and recrossing the lake several times; that every day they sounded, frequently with a line of 175 brachia (about six feet each); that they found the bottom rocky and of very unequal depth, sometimes ranging thirty, forty, eighty, twenty brachia, all within a few boats' length; that sometimes the lead brought up sand, like that of the mountains on each side; that they failed in finding bottom but once, and in that place there were large bubbles all around for thirty paces, rising probably from a spring; that in one place they found on the bank a hot sulphur spring; that at the southern extremity Mr Costigan looked for the River of Dogs, but did not find it; that in four different places they found ruins, and could clearly distinguish large hewn stones, which seemed to have been used for buildings; and in one place they saw ruins which Mr Costigan said were the ruins of Gomorrah. Now, I have no doubt that Mr Costigan talked with him as they went along,

\*I would suggest whether this irregularity does not tend to show the fallacy of the opinion, that the cities of the plain were destroyed by a volcanic eruption, and that the lake covers the crater of an extinct volcano. I have seen the craters of Vesuvius, Solfatara, Etna, and Monte Rosso, and all present the same form of a mountain excavated in the form of a cone, without any of the irregularities found in the bottom of this sea.

and told him what he told me; and that Mr Costigan had persuaded himself that he did see the ruins of the guilty city. He may have been deceived, and probably was; but it must have been the most intensely interesting illusion that ever any man had. But of the island, or what Paul and I had imagined to be such:—He said that they too had noticed it particularly; and when they came towards the southern extremity of the lake, found that it was an optical deception, caused by a tongue of high land, that put out for a long distance from the middle of the southern extremity; and, being much higher than the valley beyond it, intercepted the view in the manner we had both noticed. This tongue of land, he said, was composed of solid salt; tending to confirm the assertion of Strabo, to which I referred in my journey through Idumea, that in the great valley south of the Dead Sea there were formerly large cities built entirely of salt. The reader will take this for what it is worth; it is at least new, and it comes from the only man living who has explored the lake.

He told me some other particulars; that the boat, when empty, floated a palm higher out of the water than on the Mediterranean; that Costigan lay on the water, and picked a fowl, and tried to induce him to come in; that it was in the month of July, and from nine to five dreadfully hot, and every night a north wind blew, and the waves were worse than in the Gulf of Lyons; and in reference to their peculiar exposures, and the circumstances that hurried poor Costigan to his unhappy fate, he said that they had suffered exceedingly from the heat, the first five days Costigan taking his turn at the oars; that on the sixth day their water was exhausted, and Costigan gave out; that on the seventh day they were obliged to drink the water of the sea, and on the eighth they were near the head of the lake, and he himself exhausted, and unable any longer to pull an oar. There he made coffee from the water of the sea; and a favourable wind springing up, for the first time they hoisted their sail, and in a few hours reached the head of the lake; that, feeble as he was, he set off for Jericho, and, in the meantime, the unhappy Costigan was found by the Arabs on the shore a dying man, and, by the intercession of the old woman, carried to Jericho. I ought to add, that the next time he came to me, like Goose Gibbie, he had tried whether the money I gave him was good, and recollected a great many things he had forgotten before.

The reader cannot feel the same interest in that sea which I did, and therefore I will not detain him longer. In three hours, crossing a rich and fertile country, where flowers were blooming, and Arab shepherds were pasturing their flocks of sheep and goats, we had descended the bed of a ravine, where the Kedron passes from Jerusalem to the Dead Sea, at the foot of the mountains of Santa Saba. It was night when we arrived; and groping our way by the uncertain light of the moon, we arrived at the door of the convent, a lofty and gigantic structure, rising in stories or terraces, one above the other, against the sides of the mountain, to its very top; and then crowned with turrets, that from the base where I stood, seemed, like the tower at which the wickedness of man was confounded, striving to reach to heaven.

We "knocked and it was opened to us;" ascended two or three flights of steps, climbed up a ladder, crawled through a small door, only large enough to admit one at a time, and found ourselves in an antechamber, surrounded by more than 100 Greek pilgrims. A monk conducted us up two or three flights of steps to the chamber of the superior, where we took coffee. In a few moments we followed him again up two or three more flights of steps to a neat little room, with a divan and a large pile of coverlets.

I thought of the bush in which I had lodged the night before, spread out a few of the coverlets, crawled in among them, and in a few moments the Dead Sea, and the Holy Land, and every other land and sea, were nothing to me.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

Convent of Santa Saba.—A strange Picture.—Celebration of Good Friday.—Palm Sunday.—A Struggle for Life.—The Grave of a Friend.—A Convert.—Burial of a Missionary.

I SLEPT till nine o'clock the next morning. The first thing I did after breakfast was to mount to the tower at the top of the convent. This is the largest Greek convent in the Holy Land; and I remarked that it was in a good state of repair, and that large and expensive improvements were then in progress. The tower commanded a view of the whole convent, built in terraces, in a sort of amphitheatre, in the side of the mountain. All around, particularly in the mountain opposite, were ranges of grottoes, formerly the residences of anchorites and hermits, admirably situated for cherishing pious thoughts, and leading a holy life. An old white-bearded monk, leaning on his staff, was toiling up its sides, leading a long procession of pilgrims, probably to some very holy place; and below me, apparently growing out of the rock, was a large palm-tree, planted, as they say, by Santa Saba himself in the fourth century. The cemetery is about half way down, in a vault under an open area. The flat stone that covered the entrance was fastened down with cement. The monk told me that the bodies of the dead were laid on stone benches, where lime was thrown over them; and as soon as decomposition had taken place, the bones were removed, and thrown upon a pile in another part of the cemetery.

The chapel, like all the other Greek chapels, was full of gaudy and ridiculous ornaments and paintings; and, among the latter, there was one that attracted the particular admiration and reverence of the pilgrims. At the top of the picture sat the father, surrounded by angels, and patriarchs, and good men; and on his right was a range of two-story houses, St Peter standing before them with the keys in his hand. Below the father was a large, powerful man, with a huge pair of scales in his hand, weighing sinners as they came up, and billeting on each the weight of his sins; below him were a number of naked figures, in a sitting posture, with their arms spread out, and their legs enclosed in long boxes extended horizontally. On the left a stream of fire was coming down from the father, and collecting in the mouth of a huge nondescript sea-monster, while in front stood a great half-naked figure, pitching in the sinners just as the fireman on board a steam-boat pitches in the long sticks of wood, and the damned were kicking about in the flames. On the right was Elias doing battle with Antichrist; and below was a representation of the last day, and the graves giving up their dead, in almost every conceivable variety of form and situation.

In another chapel, dedicated to John of Damascus, who formerly lived there, behind an iron grating in a grotto of the rock was a large pile of skulls and bones, the remains of 14,000 hermits who dwelt among the mountains, and were slain by the Turks.

The superior had been waiting some time to accompany me to Jerusalem. Will the reader believe it? This man had lived twenty years in the convent, and had never been to the Dead Sea! I was so disgusted with him that I rode on and left him; and following the Valley of the Kedron, meeting on the way hundreds of Greek pilgrims, in three hours I was again in Jerusalem.

The next night being Good Friday, the monks of the Latin Convent performed the ceremony of the crucifixion. The doors were open at an early hour for a short time, and then closed for the night, so that we were obliged to be there two or three hours before the ceremony began. Most of the pilgrims had prepared against the tediousness of waiting by bringing with them their beds, mats, and coverlets; and all around the floor of the church, men, women, and children, were taking an intermediate nap. The proceedings commenced in the chapel of the Latin Convent, where

priests, monks, pilgrims, Paul, and myself, all assembled, every one holding in his hand a long lighted candle. The superior, with his gold mitre and black velvet cloak trimmed with gold, my friend the Sicilian priest, and some other dignitaries of the church, were present, very richly dressed. On a large cross was the figure of a man, representing the Saviour, the crown of thorns on his head, nails in his hands and feet, blood trickling from them, and a gaping wound in his side. Before setting out on the procession, the lights were extinguished; and, in total darkness, a monk commenced a sermon in Italian. After this the candles were relighted, banners and crucifixes raised, and the procession moved round the church towards Calvary. Stopping at the Pillar of Flagellation, at the prison where they say Christ was confined, where the crown of thorns was put upon his head, where his raiment was divided, &c., and giving a chant, and an address by one of the monks at each place, they wound round the church until they came to the staircase leading to Calvary, and, leaving their shoes below, mounted barefoot to the place of crucifixion. Here they first went to an altar on the right, where, as they have it, Christ was nailed to the cross; and laying the figure down on the floor, although they had been bearing it aloft for more than two hours, they now went through the ceremony of nailing it; and returning to the adjoining altar, passed the foot of the cross through the marble floor, and with the bleeding figure upon it, set it up in the hole in the natural rock, according to the tradition, in the very spot where, 1800 years ago, Christ was crucified. At the foot of the cross a monk preached a sermon in Italian, warm, earnest, and impassioned; frequently turning round, and with both hands extended, apostrophising the bleeding figure above him. In spite of my scepticism and incredulity, and my contempt for monkish tricks, I could not behold this scene unmoved. Every attendant upon the crucifixion was represented; for the Governor of Jerusalem was present, with a smile of scorn upon his handsome features, and Turkish and Mussulman soldiers breaking the stillness of the scene with loud laughs of derision; and I could almost imagine that I heard the unbelieving Jews, with gibes and sneers, crying out, "If he be the King of Israel, let him come down from the cross!"

After the body had remained some time suspended, two friars, personating Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, approached the foot of the cross; and one of them on the right, with a long pair of pincers, took the crown of thorns from the head, waved it around slowly with a theatrically mournful air, kissed it, and laid it down on a table before him; he then drew long spikes from the hands and feet, and moving them around, one by one, slowly as before, kissed them, and laid them also on the table. I never saw any thing more affecting than this representation, bad as it was, of the bloody drama of the crucifixion; and as the monks drew out the long nails from the hands and feet, even the scoffing Mussulmans stopped their laugh of derision. I stood by the table while they laid the body upon it, and wrapped it in a clean linen cloth; followed them when they carried it down from Calvary to the stone of unction; stood by the head of the stone while they washed and anointed it, and prepared it for burial, and followed it to the door of the sepulchre. It was now near two o'clock; the ceremony was ended, the Mussulman soldiers had retired, and Paul and I returned to the convent. We had no lamp; and as, in all the Turkish cities, every one is obliged to carry a lamp at night, and, in fact, it is necessary for his own security, we walked through the narrow streets of Jerusalem bearing the same long candles with which we had figured in the procession of the crucifixion.

On Sunday morning, being Easter, or Palm Sunday, I visited, for the last time, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It was more crowded than I had ever yet seen it. The courtyard literally swarmed with vendors of amulets, crucifixes, and holy ornaments; and within the church were tables of oranges, figs, dates, &c. The

Arab baker was walking about, with a large tray on his head, crying his bread; and in each of the altars was a sort of shop, in which Greeks were making and selling chaplets and wreaths of palm-leaves. It was altogether a lively image of the scene when Christ went into the temple, and "cast out them that bought and sold, and overthrew the tables of the money-changers." The ceremonies of the day were in commemoration of that on which our Saviour entered into Jerusalem, riding upon an ass, when the multitude followed him, strewing their garments and branches of palm-trees in his path, and crying, "Hosannah to the Son of David!" When I entered, the monks of the Latin Convent were celebrating grand mass before the holy sepulchre; and, in the mean time, the Greeks were getting ready for their turn. Their chapel was crowded, and all along the corridors the monks were arranging the people in procession, and distributing banners, for which the young Greeks were scrambling; and in one place a monk, with a standard in his hand, which had just been handed down from above, with his back against the wall, was knocking and kicking away a crowd of young Greeks, struggling to obtain it for the procession.

As soon as the Latins had finished, the Arab soldiers, whom I always found regular attendants at these scenes, as if they knew what was coming when the Greeks began, addressed them with loud shouts of "Yellah, yellah—come on, come on." A large banner was stationed at the door of the sepulchre; and the rush of the pilgrims to prostrate themselves before it, and to touch it with their palm-branches, was tremendous. A tall young Greek, with a large turban on his head, while his left hand supported the banner, was laying about him with his right as if he were really defending the sepulchre itself from the hands of the infidels. The procession advanced under a loud chant, preceded by a body of Turkish officers to clear the way; then came the priests, wearing their richest dresses, their mitres and caps richly ornamented with precious stones, and carrying aloft sacred banners, and one of them sprinkling holy water. Wherever he came, the rush was terrible; the Greeks became excited to a sort of phrensy in their eagerness to catch a drop; and one strapping fellow, bursting through the rear ranks, thrust his face over my shoulder, and bawled out "Papa, papa," in such an agonising voice, that the "papa" aimed at him a copious discharge, of which my face received the principal benefit. When the largest banner came round, the struggle to touch it with the palm-branches was inconceivable. A Turkish officer had, until this time, covered me with his body, and, by dint of shouting, kicking, and striking furiously about him, saved me till the procession passed by; but after this the rush became dreadful. I could feel my ribs yielding under the pressure, and was really alarmed when a sudden and mighty surge of the struggling mass hurried me into the stock in trade of a merchant of dates and oranges. Instead of picking up his goods, the fellow grappled at me; but I got out of his clutches as well as I could; and, setting up for myself, kicked, thumped, and scuffled until I made my way to the door; and that was my last visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

I had regretted that I could not stay for the great Greek jugglery, the drawing down fire from heaven, when every pilgrim considers himself bound to light his taper at the sacred flame; and those who light first are considered the most fortunate and the most favoured in the sight of God. I could imagine the wild and frantic struggling among more than 10,000 bigots and fanatics for the first rays of the heavenly light; but from what I saw that day, I felt that it would be putting life and limb in peril to be among them. Two years before, a horrible catastrophe had happened at the enactment of this ceremony. The air of the church had become so contaminated by the exhalations from the bodies of the thousands crowded within it, that respiration became difficult; terror, confusion, and a rush for the door, ensued; Ibrahim Pacha was carried out senseless, over the heads of the people, by a strong body of his soldiers;

and between 200 and 300 pilgrims were trodden down and trampled to death. Their bodies were laid out next morning in the court of the church; and so degraded is the character of these Christian pilgrims, that, as I was told by Mr Nicolaisen, the English missionary to the Jews, who was looking among them for a servant of his own, the friends and relatives of the slain carried them away in triumph, as martyrs in the cause of Christ.

My last visit in Jerusalem was to Mount Zion. I believe I have not mentioned that on this hill stands the tomb, or the supposed tomb, of David. It is covered by a mosque; the tomb is walled in, and, as the Arab door-keeper told me, even the eyes of the pacha are not permitted to look within the holy place. Here, too, is the conaeulum, or chamber where our Saviour ate his last supper with his disciples; in the Armenian chapel is the real stone that was rolled from the door of the sepulchre; and here also is the house of Caiaphas, the high-priest, with a tree marking the spot where the cock crew when Peter denied his master.

But there was one spot on Mount Zion far more interesting to me than all these, or even than anything in Jerusalem. It was the grave of my early friend, whom I had tracked in his wanderings from the Cataracts of the Nile, through the wilderness of Sinai, to his last resting-place in Jerusalem. Years had rolled away since I bade him farewell in the streets of our native city. I had heard of him in the gay circles of Paris as about to wed with one of the proudest names in France; again, as a wanderer in the East, and then as dead in Palestine. But a few short years had passed away, and what changes! My old school-mates, the companions of my youth and opening manhood, where were they? Gone, scattered, dispersed, and dead; one of them was sleeping in the cold earth under my feet. He had left his home, and become a wanderer in strange lands, and had come to the Holy Land to die, and I was now bending over his grave. Where were the friends that should have gathered around him in the awful hour of death? Who closed his dying eyes? Who received his parting words for his friends at home? Who buried him on Mount Zion? Once I had been present there at a scene which almost made me weep; the burial of an Armenian pilgrim. He was brought for burial in the clothes in which he had died; the grave was too small, and had to be enlarged; the priest stood at the head of the grave under a heavy shower of rain, and, as he offered me his snuff-box, grumbled at being obliged to wait; and when the grave was enlarged, and the body thrown in, and the wet dirt cast upon it, he mumbled a short prayer, and then all hurried away. And this was by the grave of my friend; and I could not but ask myself who had buried him, and who had mourned over his grave. The inscription on his tombstone afforded but vague answers to my questions, and they were of a painful character. It ran thus:—

D. O. M.  
Hic jacet  
B\*\*\*\*\* ex America.

Regionibus  
Lugduni Gallie: Consul Hierosolomis tactus intrinsecus sponte  
Erroribus Lutheri et Calvinii abjectis,  
Catholicam religionem professus svnanche correptus  
E vita decessit IV. nonas Augusti, MDCCCXXX., ætatis sue  
XXV.  
Amici merentes postere  
Orate pro eo.

He had died at the convent, and died alone. His travelling companion had accidentally remained at Jaffa, had not heard of his sickness, and did not arrive in Jerusalem until poor B— was in his grave. It was necessary to be wary in my inquiries; for the Catholics here are ever on the watch for souls, and with great ostentation had blazoned his conversion upon his tomb. The first time I inquired about him, a young monk told me that he remembered him well as on the day of his arrival, a fine, handsome young man, full of health and spirit, and that he immediately commenced talking about religion, and three days afterwards they said

mass, and took the sacrament together in the chapel of the convent. He told me the story so glibly, that I was confident of its falsity, even without referring to its improbability. I had known B—— well. I knew that, like most young men with us, though entertaining the deepest respect and reverence for holy things, in the pride of youth and health he had lived as if there was no grave; and I could imagine that, stretched upon his bed of death in the dreary cell of the convent, with "no eye to pity and no arm to save," surrounded by Catholic monks, and probably enfeebled in mind by disease, he had, perhaps, laid hold of the only hope of salvation offered him; and when I stood over his grave, and thought of the many thorns in his pillow in that awful hour—the distracting thoughts of home, of the mother whose name had been the last on his lips; the shuddering consciousness that, if he died a Protestant, his bones would be denied the rites of burial, I pitied, I grieved for, but I could not blame him. But when suspicion was aroused by the manner of the monk, I resolved to inquire further; and if his tale should prove untrue, to tear with my own hands the libellous stone from my friend's grave, and hurl it down Mount Zion. I afterwards saw the monk who had shrived him, and was told that the young man with whom I had conversed was a prater and a fool; that he himself had never heard B—— speak of religion until after his return from the Dead Sea with the hand of death upon him; that he had administered the sacrament to him but three days before his death, when all hope of life was past, and that even yet it might be a question whether he did really renounce his faith, for the solemn abjuration was made in a language he but imperfectly understood; and he never spoke afterwards, except, in the wildness of delirium, to murmur the name of "mother."

I have said that in his dying moments his feelings were harrowed by the thought that his body would be denied a Christian burial. Mr Whiting, who accompanied me on my first visit to his grave, told me that the Catholics would not have allowed him a resting place in consecrated ground; and, leading me a short distance to the grave of a friend and fellow missionary who had died since he had been at Jerusalem, described to me what he had seen of the unchristian spirit of the Christians of the holy city. Refused by the Latins, the friends of Dr Dodge had asked permission of the Greeks to lay his body for a little while in their burying-ground; and, negotiating with the dragoman of the convent, they thought that permission had been granted; but while they were in the act of performing the funeral service, a messenger came in to tell them that the grave had been filled up. They protracted the service till the delay excited the attention of his unhappy widow, and they were obliged to tell her that they had no place where they could lay the head of her young husband. A reluctant permission was at length granted, and they buried him by the light of torches; and although there had been no graves in that part of the ground before, the Greeks had buried all around, to prevent any application for permission to lay by his side the body of another heretic.

#### CHAPTER XXXIV.

Pilgrimage to the Jordan.—Pilgrim's Certificate.—The Tomb of Samuel.—Departure from Jerusalem.—Last View of the Dead Sea.—Village of Einbroot.—Departure from Judea.—Mounts Gerizim and Ebal.—An Antique Manuscript.—"Paas" in Samaria.

THE next day I left Jerusalem; but before leaving it, I was witness to another striking scene, which I shall never forget; the departure of the pilgrims, fifteen or twenty thousand in number, for the Jordan. At an early hour I was on horseback, outside St Stephen's Gate. It was such a morning as that on which I started for the Dead Sea, clear, bright, and beautiful; the streets of the city were deserted, and the whole popu-

lation were outside the walls, sitting under the shadow of the temple, among the tombs of the Turkish burying-ground; the women in their long white dresses, with their faces covered, and the men in large flowing robes, of gay and varied colours, and turbans of every fashion, many of them green, the proud token of the pilgrimage to Mecca, with pipes, and swords, and glittering arms; the whole Valley of Jehoshaphat was filled with moving beings, in every variety of gay apparel, as if the great day of resurrection had already come, and the tenants of the dreary tombs had burst the fetters of the grave, and come forth into new life and beauty.

I had received an invitation from the governor to ride in his suite; and while waiting for him at the gate, the terrible Abougos, with his retainers, came out and beckoned me to join him. I followed him over the Brook Kedron and the Valley of Jehoshaphat to the Garden of Gethsemane, where I stopped, and, giving my horse to an Arab boy, I stepped over the low fence, and, seating myself on the jutting root of the tree marked by the knives of pilgrims as that under which our Saviour was betrayed, looking over the heads of the Turkish women seated on the fence below, I saw the whole procession streaming from the gate, crossing the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and filing along the foot of the garden. They were on foot and on horseback, on donkeys, mules, dromedaries, and camels; and here and there were well-equipped caravans, with tents and provisions for the monks of the different convents. It would be impossible to give any idea of this strange and extraordinary procession: here might be seen a woman on horseback, with a child on each arm; there a large pannier on each side of a mule, with a man in one and a woman in the other; or a large frame on the high back of a camel, like a diminutive ark, carrying a whole family, with all their quilts, coverlets, cooking utensils, &c. Among them, riding alone on a raw-boned horse, was a beggarly Italian, in a worn and shabby European dress, with a fowling-piece and a game-bag, and every body made way for him; and there was a general laugh wherever he came. And now a body of Turkish horsemen, with drawn scimeters in their hands, rushed out of the gate, dashed down the valley, and up the sides of the mountains at full gallop, clearing the way for the governor; and then came the governor himself, under a salute from the fortress, on a horse of the best blood of Arabia, riding as if he were part of the noble animal, preceded by the music of the Turkish drum, and bowing with a nobility and dignity of manner known only in the East, and which I marked the more particularly, as he stopped opposite to me and beckoned to me to join him. Then came the pilgrims again, and I sat there till the last had gone by. Galloping back to the gate, I turned to look at them for the last time, a living, moving mass of thousands, thousands of miles from their homes, bound for the sacred Jordan, and strong in the faith that, bathing in its hallowed waters, they should wash away their sins.

In a few moments I was at the convent; and, sending Paul before me to the Damascus Gate, I went to take my leave of the superior. He told me that, though I was an American (the only Americans he had seen were missionaries, and he did not like them), he liked me; and bidding me a kind and affectionate farewell, he put into my hands a pilgrim's certificate, which follows in these words.—

#### FR. FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS A MELITA,

Ordinis minorum regularis observantiae S. P. N. Francisci; custodia melitensis lector theologus; ex-definito; sacrae congregationis propagandae fidei responsalis; missionum Aegypti et Cyprae praefectus; in partibus orientis commissarius apostolicus; sacri Montis Sion, et sanctissimi sepulchri D. N. Jesu Christi guardianus; totius Terrae Sanctae custos, visitator, et humilis in domino servus:

Illustrissimo Domino \*\*\*\*\* Americo libenter hoc praesens testimonium damus, et omnibus, ac singulis hoc praesentes nostras litteras lecturis, vel inspecturis notum, fidemque

facimus, Laudatum Illustrissimum Dominum Jerusalem pervenisse, et omnia principaliora loca, que in tota Palestina visitari solent, presertim Ssm. Sepulchrum Dom. N. Jesu Christi, Calvarie Montem, Præsepium Betlehemiticum, etc., visitasse. Et quod ita sit, attestacionem manu nostra subscribimus, et sigillo majori officii nostri munitam expediti mandamus.

Datis Jerusalem, ex hoc Venerabili Conventu Sancti Salvatoris, die 3 Aprilis, Anno Domini 18 trigesimo-sexto.

Fr. Franciscus Xavierus a Melita, Custos Terræ Sanctæ.



SEAL.

De Mandato Rendimi in Xpto Patris,

FR. PERPETUUS A SOLERIO,  
Secretarius Terræ Sanctæ.

Which, being interpreted, is as follows:—

BROTHER FRANCIS XAVIER, OF MALTA,

Brother Francis Xavier, of Malta, of the order of monks of the regular rule of our Father Saint Francis; theological reader of the order of Malta; expounder, missionary of the sacred congregation for propagating the faith; prefect of the missions of Egypt and Cyprus; apostolical commissary in the Eastern world; guardian of the holy Mount Zion, and of the most holy Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ; keeper and visitor of all the Holy Land, and humble servant in the Lord:

To the most illustrious Lord \*\*\*\* \* \*\*\*\*\*, an American, we give this present testimonial; and to all and every one who shall read or inspect these our present letters, we do make known and certify that this celebrated and most illustrious lord has come through Jerusalem, and has visited all the principal places which are accustomed to be visited in all Palestine, especially the most Holy Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Mount of Calvary, the Convent at Bethlehem, &c.; and that it is so we subscribe this attestation with our hand, and cause it to be put forth fortified by the great seal of our office.

Given at Jerusalem, from this venerable convent of the Holy Saviour, on the 3d day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty six.

Brother Francis Xavier, of Malta, Guardian of the Holy Land.



SEAL.

Given by command, in the private office of the Father,

FRANCIS A SOLERIO,  
Perpetual Secretary of the Holy Land.

Whereby the reader will see, that whatever may be his fate hereafter, a pilgrimage to the holy city gives a man temporal honours, and has transformed a republican citizen of America into an "illustrissimus dominus."

With this evidence of my pilgrim character, I mounted my horse for the last time at the door of the convent. I lost my way in going to the Damascus Gate,

but a friendly Jew conducted me to it; a Jew was the first to welcome me to the Holy Land, and a Jew was the last to speed me on my way from the holy city of Jerusalem. Paul was waiting for me; and for half a mile we passed mounds of ruins, the walls of the old city having extended some distance beyond the Damascus Gate. In about three quarters of an hour, a little to the right, we came to what are called the Tombs of the Judges, excavations in the rock, one of them full of water. I have no satisfaction in the recollection of these tombs, for there I lost my old companion, the terror of evil dogs, my Nubian elub; which, since I bought it in Nubia, had seldom been out of my hand. In about three hours we were mounting Djebel Samyel, the highest mountain about Jerusalem, crowned with the ruins of Ramah, the birthplace and tomb of Samuel the seer. A few Arab huts are around the ruins; and a ruined mosque, the minaret of which has fallen, is the most prominent building on the mountain. We entered the mosque; at the farther end was a door locked, but with a key in it. I turned the key, and entered a dark chamber. By the light from the door I could see at the far end a dark, sombre-looking object, and groped my way to the tomb of Samuel; I kept my hands on it, and walked around it; and hearing some of the villagers at the door, I tore off a piece of the pall, as I had done from the tomb of Aaron, and hurried out. I stopped for a moment on the top of the mountain, and, looking back towards the holy city, saw for the last time the Mosque of Omar rising proudly over the ruins of the Temple of Solomon, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the walls of Jerusalem, and the Dead Sea. My first view of this latter had been from the tomb of Aaron; and I considered it a not uninteresting coincidence that I was now looking upon it for the last time from the tomb of Samuel.

In about an hour, riding over a rough road, we came to the village of Beer, supposed to be the Beer to which Jotham fled "for fear of his brother Abimelech." A ruined khan was at the entrance of the village, and near it a large fountain, at which the women were washing. About an hour beyond this, to the right, on a little elevation, are the ruins of Bethel, the ancient Bethel. It was here that the bears came out and tore in pieces the children that mocked the bald-headed prophet Elisha, and it was here that Jacob took "the stones of the place for his pillow, and dreamed, and beheld a ladder reaching to heaven, and the angels of God ascending and descending thereon." Though surrounded by stony mountains, it was prettily situated; I rode among the ruins without dismounting. The place was solitary and deserted, and not a human being appeared to dwell in it. At one end were the ruins of a church, and near it was a large fountain in a stone reservoir; a single cow was drinking at the fountain, and at the moment a boy was driving past a flock of goats to his village home in the mountains. He was a Christian, and called me Christian, and hadji or pilgrim, and gave me a wild flower, which he plucked from under my horse's feet. It was a beautiful afternoon, and all was so still and quiet that I felt strongly tempted to lie down and sleep where Jacob did; but I had given away my tent and camp equipage, and I reflected that while I was sure of the patriarch's pillow of stone, I had but little prospect of being blessed with the promise that softened it, "that the land on which he lay should be given to him and his seed, and that in him all the families of the earth should be blessed."

In about an hour we came to the village of Einbroot, prettily situated on an eminence, and commanding on all sides a view of fertile and well-cultivated valleys. We were looking for Einbroot; and as the village to which we had come lay a little off the road, we were not sure it was the place we wanted. A woman told us it was not, a man assured us that the sheik was not at home, and there seemed clearly a disposition to send us on farther; and this determined us to stop. We rode up to the village, and inquired for the sheik; the villagers gave us evasive answers, one saying that he



was away, and another that he was sick; but a little boy, pointing with his finger, told us that he was there, praying; and looking up, we saw him on the top of the house, on his knees, praying with all his might, and occasionally looking over his shoulder at us. By his not coming to welcome me, I saw that he did not wish me to stay; and after my scenes with the Bedouins in the desert, having a comparative contempt for dwellers in houses, I dismounted and sat down, determined to see who would get tired first. In the mean time the villagers gathered around as spectators of our contest, and the sheik, as if ashamed of himself, at length finished his prayers, and came down to receive me. He told me that he had no place for us, and showed me to a large room, fifty or sixty feet square, which seemed to be the common resort and sleeping-place of all who had no particular home. After the comforts of the convent at Jerusalem, I did not like the look of things in the beginning of my journey; but consoling myself with the reflection that it was only for one night, I spread my mat in a corner, and had just time to stroll around the village before dark.

The houses were built of rough stone, a single story in height, with mud roofs, many of them overgrown with grass, and now presenting, towards sundown, the singularly picturesque spectacle, which I had often noticed in Syria, of the inhabitants sitting out upon the terraces and roofs of their houses, or, perhaps, the still more striking picture of a single old white-bearded, patriarchal figure, sitting alone upon his housetop. One of these venerable personages called me up to his side; and I was well rewarded for my trouble, and could fully appreciate the satisfaction with which the old man, day after day, looked out upon the beautiful and well-cultivated valley, the terraces, and the smiling villages on the mountain side.

Several of the villagers were following us, and among them a fine old man, the brother of the sheik, and formerly sheik himself. He told me that, since the stormy times of Mohammed Ali, he had resigned the sheikdom, and comforted himself for the loss of station in the arms of a young wife; and before we parted we were on such good terms that he told me the reason of their unwillingness to receive us; namely, that they thought we were officers of Mohammed Ali, sent to spy out their condition, and ascertain the number of their men able to bear arms; but satisfied that we were merely travellers, and warned by my honest disclaimer of the imputed character, he invited me to his house, and both he, and the sheik, and all the villagers, seemed striving now to atone for the churlishness of their first reception.

The old man was as kind as a man could be; in fact, his kindness oppressed me; for having but one room in his house, he sent both his wives out of doors to sleep at a neighbour's. In vain I told him not to disarrange himself on my account; to make no stranger of me; to let them stay; and that it was nothing to me if the whole harem of the sultan was there; he was positive and decided. I catechised him about his wives, and he said that he had been a poor man all his life, and could never afford to keep more than one till lately; and now the companion of his youth and the sharer of his poverty was thrust away into a corner, while with all simplicity and honesty he showed me the best place in the house appropriated to his young bride. He talked as if it had been the hardest thing in the world that he had been obliged to content himself so long with his first wife. Thus it seems, that here, as with us, extravagance comes with wealth; and whereas with us, when a man grows rich he adds another pair of horses to his establishment, so the honest Mussulman indulges himself with another helpmate.

Two Turks and an Arab slept in the room with us; and before going to bed, that is, before lying down on the mud floor, and the first thing in the morning, they turned their faces to the tomb of the Prophet, knelt down and prayed. In the evening one of them had complained of a headache, and another, standing over

him and pressing his temples with the palms of his hands, repeated a verse of the Koran, and the headache went away. I asked him whether that was good for a sore throat; he told me that it was, but, after giving me a verse or two, said that his remedy could only have full effect upon true believers.

Early in the morning I set off, my host and the sheik and half the village gathering around me to bid me farewell, and invoke blessings upon me. I did not know the extent of the sacrifice my host had made for me until at the moment of parting, when I got a glimpse of his young wife.

We were now entering the region of Samaria, and, though the mountains were yet stony, a beautiful country was opening before us. We soon came into a smiling valley full of large olive-trees, and rode for some time in a pleasant shade. Every where we were meeting streams of pure water, tempting us perpetually to dismount after the sandy desert through which we had been so long travelling. We passed, too, several villages, among which I remember was the village of Cowara, beautifully situated on the side of the mountain, overlooking a fertile valley, and all the women of the village were in the field picking the tares from the grain.

I was now about entering one of the most interesting countries in the Holy Land, consecrated by the presence of our Saviour in the body, and by the exercise of his divine and miraculous powers. The Bible was again in my hand, and I read there that Jesus Christ had left "Judea and departed into Galilee; that he must needs pass through Samaria, and that he came to a city of Samaria called Sychar, near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph;" And "Jacob's well was there, and Jesus, being weary with his journey, sat down on the well, and it was about the sixth hour. And there cometh a woman of Samaria to draw water; and Jesus saith unto her, Give me to drink." It is with no irreverent feeling that I draw the parallel, but I was following in the very footsteps of the Saviour; I too had left "Judea, and had departed into Galilee;" I too "must needs go through Samaria;" and I too was now coming to the city of Samaria called Sychar, and, before entering the city, I would fain sit down on the well of Jacob, where our Saviour talked with the Samaritan woman.

At Cowara I took a guide to conduct me to this well. In about two hours we were winding along the side of Mount Gerizim, whose summit was covered with the white dome of the tomb of an Arab saint; and passing one well on the declivity of the mountain, going down to the valley at its base, we came to Jacob's well, or the Beer Samarea of the Arabs. I knew that there was a difference of opinion as to the precise site of this interesting monument; but when I found myself at the mouth of this well, I had no wish to look farther; I could feel and realise the whole scene; I could see our Saviour coming out from Judea, and travelling along this valley; I could see him, wearied with his journey, sitting down on this well to rest, and the Samaritan woman, as I saw them at every town in the Holy Land, coming out for water. I could imagine his looking up to Mount Gerizim, and predicting the ruin of the temple, and telling her that the hour was coming when neither on that mountain nor yet in Jerusalem would she worship the God of her fathers. A large column lay across the top of the well, and the mouth was filled up with huge stones. I could see the water through the crevices, but, even with the assistance of Paul and the Arabs, found it impossible to remove them. I plucked a wild flower growing in the mouth of the well, and passed on.

The ground which I was now treading is supposed to be the "parcel of ground" which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor, the father of Shechem, for a hundred pieces of silver, and gave to his son Joseph. Turning the point of the mountain, we came to a rich valley, lying between the mountains of Gerizim and Ebal, Crossing this valley, on the sides of the mountains of Ebal is a long range of grottoes and tombs, and a little

before coming to them, in a large white building like a sheik's tomb, is the sepulchre of Joseph, as it is written, "the bones also of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought up with them out of Egypt, buried they in Shechem." I dismounted and entered the building, and it is not an uninteresting fact that I found there a white-bearded Israelite, kneeling at the tomb of the patriarch, and teaching a rosy-cheeked boy (his descendant of the fourth generation) the beautiful story of Joseph and his brethren.

It was late in the afternoon when I was moving up the valley of Naplous. The mountains of Gerizim and Ebal, the mountains of blessings and curses, were towering like lofty walls on either side of me; Mount Gerizim fertile, and Mount Ebal barren, as when God commanded Joshua to set up the stones in Mount Ebal, and pronounced on Mount Gerizim blessings upon the children of Israel, "if they would hearken diligently unto the voice of the Lord, to observe and do all his commandments,"\* and on Ebal the withering curses of disobedience. A beautiful stream, in two or three places filling large reservoirs, was running through the valley, and a shepherd sat on its bank, playing a reed pipe, with his flock feeding quietly around him. The shades of evening were gathering fast as I approached the town of Naplous, the Shechem or Sychem of the Old Testament, and the Sychar of the New. More than a dozen lepers were sitting outside the gate, their faces shining, pimpled, and bloated, covered with sores and pustules, their nostrils open and filled with ulcers, and their red eyes fixed and staring; with swollen feet they dragged their disgusting bodies towards me, and with hoarse voices extended their deformed and hideous hands for charity.

We rode up the principal street; and at the door of the palace I met the governor just mounting his horse, with a large retinue of officers and slaves around him. We exchanged our greetings on horseback. I showed him my firman, and he sent a janizary to conduct me to the house of a Samaritan, a writer to the government, where I was received, fed, and lodged, better than in any other place in the Holy Land, always excepting the abodes of those suffering martyrs, the Terra Santa monks.

I had just time to visit the Samaritan synagogue. Leaving my shoes at the door, with naked feet I entered a small room, about fifteen feet square, with nothing striking or interesting about it except what the Samaritans say is the oldest manuscript in the world, a copy of the Pentateuch, written by Abishua, the grandson of Aaron, three years after the death of Moses, or about 3500 years ago. The priest was a man of forty-five, and gave me but a poor idea of the character of the Samaritans, for he refused to show me the sacred scroll unless I would pay him first. He then brought down an old manuscript, which, very much to his astonishment, I told him was not the genuine record; giving him very plainly to understand that I was not to be bamboozled in the matter. I had been advised of this trick by the English clergyman whom I met in Jerusalem; and the priest, laughing at my detection of the cheat, while some of his hopeful flock who had followed me joined in the laugh, brought down the other, preserved in a tin case. It was written in some character I did not understand, said to be the Samaritan, tattered and worn, and bearing the marks of extreme age; and though I knew nothing about it, I admitted it to be the genuine manuscript; and they all laughed when I told the priest what a rogue he was for trying to deceive me; and this priest they believe to be of the tribe of Levi, of the seed of Aaron. If I had left Naplous then, I should probably have repeated the words that our Saviour applied to them in his day, "No good thing can come out of Samaria;" but I spent a long evening, and had an interesting conversation with my host and his brother, and in their kindness, sincerity, and honesty, forgot the petty duplicity of the Levite.

Much curiosity has existed in Europe among the

\* Deuteronomy, xxviii. 1.

learned with regard to this singular people, and several of the most eminent men of their day, in London and Paris, have had correspondence with them, but without any satisfactory result. The descendants of the Israelites who remained and were not carried into captivity, on the rebuilding of the second temple were denied the privilege of sharing the labour and expense of its reconstruction at Jerusalem; and in mortification and revenge, they built a temple on Mount Gerizim, and ever since a deadly hatred has existed between their descendants the Samaritans and the Jews. Gibbon, speaking of them in the time of Justinian, says, "The Samaritans of Palestine were a motley race, an ambiguous sect, rejected as Jews by the pagans, by the Jews as schismatics, and by the Christians as idolaters. The abomination of the cross had already been planted on their holy mount of Gerizim, but the persecution of Justinian offered only the alternative of baptism or rebellion. They chose the latter; under the standard of a desperate leader, they rose in arms and retaliated their wrongs on the lives, the property, and the temples of a defenceless people. The Samaritans were finally subdued by the regular forces of the East; 20,000 were slain, 20,000 were sold by the Arabs to the infidels of Persia and India, and the remains of that unhappy nation atoned for the crime of treason by the sin of hypocrisy." About sixty families are all now remaining, and these few relics of a once powerful people still dwell in their ancient capital, at the base of Mount Gerizim, under the shadow of their fallen temple.

The brother of my host was particularly fond of talking about them. He was very old, and the most deformed man I ever saw who lived to attain a great age. His legs were long, and all his limbs were those of a tall man, but he was so hump-backed that in sitting he rested upon his hump. He asked me many questions about the Samaritans in England (of America he had no knowledge), and seemed determined to believe that there were many in that country, and told me that I might say to them, wherever I found them, that there they believed in one omnipotent and eternal God, the five Books of Moses and a future Messiah, and the day of the Messiah's coming to be near at hand; that they practised circumcision, went three times a-year up to Mount Gerizim, "the everlasting mountain," to worship and offer sacrifice, and once a-year pitched their tents and left their virgins alone on the mount for seven days, expecting that one of them would conceive and bring forth a son, who should be the Messiah; that they allowed two wives, and in case of barrenness four; that the women were not permitted to enter the synagogue, except once a-year during fast, but on no account were they permitted to touch the sacred scroll; and that although the Jews and Samaritans had dealings in the market-places, &c., they hated each other now as much as their fathers did before them.

I asked him about Jacob's well; he said he knew the place, and that he knew our Saviour, or Jesus Christ, as he familiarly called him, very well; he was Joseph the carpenter's son, of Nazareth; but that the story which the Christians had about the woman at the well was all a fiction; that Christ did not convert her; but that, on the contrary, she laughed at him, and even refused to give him water to drink.

The information I received from these old men is more than I have ever seen in print about this reduced and singular people, and I give it for what it may be worth. I cannot help mentioning a little circumstance, which serves to illustrate the proverb that boys will be boys all the world over. While I was exploring the mysteries of the Samaritan creed, it being the season of Easter, a fine chubby little fellow came to me with a couple of eggs dyed yellow, and trying them on his teeth, just as we used to do in my boyish days (did we learn it from them or they from us?) gave me a choice; and, though it may seem a trifling incident to the reader, it was not an uninteresting circumstance to me, this celebration of my "paas" in the ancient Sychem, cracking eggs with a Samaritan boy.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Sebaste.—Ruins of the Palace of Herod.—Mount Tabor.—Nazareth.—Scriptural Localities.—Tiberias.—An English Sportsman.—Bethsaida and Chorazin.—Capernaum.—Zaffad.—Arrival at Acre.

At about eight o'clock in the morning we left Naplous; the lepers were lying at the gate as before; not permitted to enter the walls of the city, but living apart and perpetuating among themselves their loathsome race. The valley of Naplous was, if possible, more beautiful by morning than by evening light, shaded by groves of figs, olives, almonds, and apricots in full bloom, and bounded by lofty mountains, with a clear and beautiful stream winding and murmuring through its centre. Until I came to this place, I had frequently said to myself that I would not give the estate of a wealthy gentleman in Genesee for the whole kingdom of David; but there was a rare and extraordinary beauty here, even in the hands of the Arab Fellahs. Men and women were stealing among the trees, in gaily-coloured apparel, and, instead of the turban or toubouch, the men wore a long red cap, with the tassel hanging jauntily like that of a Neapolitan. For more than an hour we followed the course of the stream, and nothing could be more beautifully picturesque than the little mills on its banks; low, completely embosomed among trees, and with their roofs covered with grass, and sometimes the agreeable sound of a waterfall was the first intimation we had of their presence. There was something exceedingly rural and poetic in their appearance. I went down to one of them, more than usually beautiful, hoping to be greeted by some lovely "maid of the mill;" but, as if it were determined that every thing like illusion in the East should be destroyed for my especial benefit, the sight of one chamber, filled with sacks of grain, sheep and goats, and all kinds of filth, and a young girl sitting in the door, with the head of an old woman in her lap, occupied as is constantly seen in every miserable town in Italy, drove me away perfectly disgusted.

Leaving the valley, we turned up to the right, and, crossing among the mountains, in two hours came in sight of the ruins of Sebaste, the ancient Samaria, standing upon a singularly bold and insulated mountain, crowned with ruins. The capital of the ten tribes of Israel, where Ahab built his palace of ivory; where, in the days of Jereboam, her citizens sat in the lap of luxury, saying to their masters "come and let us drink," destroyed by the Assyrians, but rebuilt and restored to more than its original splendour by Herod, now lies in the state foretold by the prophet Amos: "Her inhabitants and their posterity are taken away." The ancient Samaritans are all gone, and around the ruins of their palaces and temples are gathered the miserable huts of the Arab Fellahs. Climbing up the precipitous ascent of the hill, we came to the ruins of a church, or tower, or something else, built by our old friend the Lady Helena, and seen to great advantage from the valley below. The Lady Helena, however, did not put together all this stone and mortar for the picturesque alone; it was erected over, and in honour of, the prison where John the Baptist was beheaded, and his grave. I knew that this spot was guarded with jealous care by the Arabs, and that none but Mussulmans were permitted to see it; but this did not prevent my asking admission: and when the lame sheik said that none could enter without a special order from the pacha, Paul rated him soundly for thinking we would be such fools as to come without one; and, handing him our travelling firman, the sheik kissed the seal, and, utterly unable to determine for himself whether the order was to furnish me with horses or admit me to mosques, said he knew he was bound to obey that seal, and do whatever the bearer told him, and hobbled off to get the key.

Leaving our shoes at the door, in one corner of the enclosure, we entered a small mosque with whitewashed walls, hung with ostrich eggs, clean mats for the praying Mussulmans, a sort of pulpit, and the usual recess of the Kehla. In the centre of the stone floor was a hole

opening to the prison below, and, going outside, and descending a flight of steps, we came to the prison chamber, about eight paces square; the door, now broken and leaning against the wall, like the doors in the sepulchres of the kings at Jerusalem, was a slab cut from the solid stone, and turning on a pivot. On the opposite side were three small holes, opening to another chamber, which was the tomb of the Baptist. I looked in, but all was dark; the Mussulman told me that the body only was there; that the prophet was beheaded at the request of the wife of a king, and I forget where he said the head was. This may be the prison where the great forerunner of the Lord was beheaded, at least no man can say that it is not; and leaving it with the best disposition to believe, I ascended to the ruined palace of Herod, his persecutor and murderer. Thirty or forty columns were still standing, the monuments of the departed greatness of its former tenant. On one side, towards the north-east, where are the ruins of a gate, there is a double range of Ionic columns. I counted more than sixty, and, from the fragments I was constantly meeting, it would seem as if a double colonnade had extended all around.

The palace of Herod stands on a table of land, on the very summit of the hill, overlooking every part of the surrounding country; and such were the exceeding softness and beauty of the scene, even under the wildness and waste of Arab cultivation, that the city seemed smiling in the midst of her desolation. All around was a beautiful valley, watered by running streams, and covered by a rich carpet of grass, sprinkled with wild flowers of every hue, and beyond, stretched like an open book before me, a boundary of fruitful mountains, the vine and the olive rising in terraces to their very summits. There, day after day, the haughty Herod had sat in his royal palace; and looking out upon all these beauties, his heart had become hardened with prosperity; here, among these still towering columns, the proud monarch had made a supper "to his lords, and high captains, and chief estates of Galilee;" here the daughter of Herodias, Herod's brother's wife, "danced before him, and the proud king promised with an oath to give her whatever she should ask, even to the half of his kingdom." And while the feast and dance went on, the "head of John the Baptist was brought in a charger, and given to the damsel." And Herod has gone, and Herodias, Herod's brother's wife, has gone, and "the lords, and the high captains, and the chief estates of Galilee," are gone; but the ruins of the palace in which they feasted are still here; the mountains and valleys which beheld their revels are here; and oh! what a comment upon the vanity of worldly greatness, a Fellah was turning his plough around one of the columns. I was sitting on a broken capital under a fig-tree by its side, and I asked him what were the ruins that we saw; and while his oxen were quietly cropping the grass that grew among the fragments of the marble floor, he told me that they were the ruins of the palace of a king—he believed, of the Christians; and while pilgrims from every quarter of the world turn aside from their path to do homage in the prison of his beheaded victim, the Arab who was driving his plough among the columns of his palace, knew not the name of the haughty Herod. Even at this distance of time I look back with a feeling of uncommon interest upon my ramble among those ruins, talking with the Arab ploughman of the king who built it, leaning against a column which perhaps had often supported the haughty Herod, and looking out from this scene of desolation and ruin upon the most beautiful country in the Holy Land.

Descending from the ruined city, we continued our way along the valley. In about an hour we came to the village of Beteen, standing on the side of a mountain, overlooking a fertile valley: the women were in the fields, as I had seen them before, picking the tares from the wheat. Riding along through a succession of beautiful valleys, nearly all the way close to the banks of a running stream, and stopping under a fine shade of olives for our noonday meal, we came to Sanpoor,

standing on an insulated hill, commanding an extensive view of the country, and once a strongly fortified place, with a tower and walls, supposed to have been built during the time of the crusades, but now totally demolished and in ruins. About three years ago it was taken, after a six months' siege, by Abdallah Pacha, the great soldier of the sultan; the insurgent inhabitants were put to the sword, and their houses burnt and razed to the ground. A little beyond this, the continued falls of rain have formed a small lake. In an hour and a half we passed the village of Abattia; and late in the afternoon we fell in with a party of Turkish travellers, one of whom was the "biggest in the round" of all the men I had seen in the East. His noble horse seemed to complain of his extraordinary burden. At about six o'clock we had left the beautiful country of Samaria, and were entering the little town of Jennin, or Janeen, standing on the borders of Galilee, at the commencement of the great plain of Jezreel.

Early in the morning, leaving the village of Janeen, we entered almost immediately the great plain of Jezreel. The holy places were now crowding upon me in rapid succession. I was on my way to Nazareth, the city of Joseph and Mary, where Christ spent nearly all his life; but I turned off the direct road to do homage on Mount Tabor, recognised as the scene of our Saviour's transfiguration. We passed two miserable villages, looking at a distance like little mounds or excrescences on the surface of the great plain; and, turning to the right, around the mountains of Samaria, saw afar off the lofty summit of Hermon, crowned with a sheik's tomb. On the right, towards the Sea of Galilee, was the village of Bisan, the Bethshan of the Bible, where the Philistines fastened the bodies of Saul and his three sons to the walls after they had fallen in Mount Gilboa.\*

Before us, and the most striking and imposing object on the whole of the great plain of Esdrael, was Mount Tabor. It stands perfectly isolated; rising alone from the plain in a rounded tapering form, like a truncated cone, to the height of 3000 feet, covered with trees, grass, and wild flowers, from the base to its summit, and presenting the combination so rarely found in natural scenery of the bold and the beautiful. At twelve o'clock we were at the miserable village of Deborah, at the foot of the mountain, supposed to be the place where Deborah the prophetess, who then judged Israel, and Barak and "10,000 men after him, descended upon Sisera, and discomfited him and all his chariots, even 900 chariots of iron, and all the people that were with him." The men and boys had all gone out to their daily labour, and we tried to persuade a woman to guide us to the top of the mountain, but she turned away with contempt; and having had some practice in climbing, we moved around its sides until we found a regular path, and ascended nearly to the top without dismounting. The path wound around the mountain, and gave us a view from all its different sides, every step presenting something new, and more and more beautiful, until all was completely forgotten and lost in the exceeding loveliness of the view from the summit. Stripped of every association, and considered merely as an elevation commanding a view of unknown valleys and mountains, I never saw a mountain which, for beauty of scene, better repaid the toil of ascending it; and I need not say what an interest was given to every feature when we saw in the valley beneath the large plain of Jezreel, the great battle-ground of nations; on the south the supposed range of Hermon, with whose dews the psalmist compares the "pleasantness of brethren dwelling together in unity;" beyond, the ruined village of Endor, where dwelt the witch who raised up the prophet Samuel; and near it the little city of Nain, where our Saviour raised from the dead the widow's son; on the east, the mountains of Gilboa, "where Saul, and his armour-bearer, and his three sons, fell upon their swords, to save themselves

from falling into the hands of the Philistines; beyond, the Sea of Galilee, or Lake of Genesareth, the theatre of our Saviour's miracles, where in the fourth watch of the night he appeared to his terrified disciples, walking on the face of the waters; and to the north, on a lofty eminence, high above the top of Tabor, the city of Saphet, supposed to be the ancient Bethulia, alluded to in the words "a city that is set on a hill cannot be hid."

But if the tradition be true, we need not go beyond the mountain itself, for it was on this high mountain that "Jesus Christ took Peter, and James, and John his brother, apart," and gave them a glimpse of his glory before his death, when "his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light; and a voice out of the cloud was heard, saying, This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased." I stood on the very spot where this holy scene was enacted. Within the walls of an old fortress is a ruined grotto, with three altars built as Peter had proposed, one for Christ, one for Moses, and one for Elias; where, once a year, the monks of the convent, and all the Christians of Nazareth, ascending in solemn procession, offer adoration and praise to the Saviour of the world. The top of the mountain is an oval, about half a mile long, and encompassed by a wall built by Josephus when he was governor of Galilee; within this enclosure is a table of luxuriant grass and wild flowers, sending forth such an odour, and looking so clean and refreshing, that, when my horse lay down and rolled in it, I felt the spirit of boyhood coming over me again, and was strongly tempted to follow his example.

We descended and hurried on towards Nazareth. Winding along the valley, an accidental turn brought the mountain again full before me, alone, and strongly defined against the sky; the figure of a man could have been seen standing on the top as on a pedestal. I know not whether, in the splendid effort of Raphael that now adorns the Vatican, he had any idea of this particular mountain; but I remember that, looking back upon it at this time, it struck me that it was exactly the scene which the daring genius of the painter might have selected for the transfiguration of the Son of God.

In two hours and a half we were in the vale of Nazera, and approaching the city of Nazareth. The valley is fertile, surrounded by hills, and the city stands at the extreme end on the side of an elevation. The houses are white, and in the place of Christ's residence, as of his birth, the mosque with its minaret is the most conspicuous object, and next to that the convent. A little on this side is a Greek church, built, as the Greeks say, over the spot where the angel Gabriel appeared to the Virgin Mary, and announced to her the birth of a son, "of whose kingdom there should be no end." A little farther is a fountain, where the Virgin is said to have been in the habit of going for water; a procession of women, with large jars on their heads, was coming out from the city, and one of them, a Christian woman, gave us to drink; a comfortable-looking monk, taking his afternoon's promenade in the suburbs, was the first to greet us, and following him, we dismounted at the door of the convent—one of the largest in the Holy Land.

In the city where Joseph and Mary lived, and where our Saviour passed thirty years of his life, there is of course no lack of holy places; and as in the case of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, as many of these places as possible have, with admirable economy, been brought under one roof. The Church of the Annunciation, within the walls of the convent, next to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, is the finest in the Holy Land. There are two organs, and the walls and pillars are hung with red damask. Under the principal altar is the house of Joseph and Mary, consisting of several grottoes, kitchen, parlour, and bedroom. In front of the same altar are two granite columns, designating the spots where the angel and the Virgin stood at the time of the annunciation. One of them is broken off

\* Joshua, xvii. 11; 1 Samuel, xxxi. 12; Kings, iv. 12.

below, and the upper part hangs from the roof—the monks say by a miracle, but others by mortar; and all over Galilee the miraculous pillar is celebrated for its virtue in curing diseases. Outside the convent are the workshop where Joseph wrought at his carpenter's trade, and the synagogue, where Christ, by reading the book of Isaiah, and applying to himself the words of the prophet, so exasperated the Jews that they rose up and thrust him out of the city. A lamp was burning dimly at the altar, and an Arab Christian prostrating himself before it; and, lastly, I saw the table on which, say the monks, our Lord dined with his disciples both before and after the resurrection—a large flat stone about three feet high, and fifteen paces in circumference. I was about knocking off a piece as a memorial, when the friar checked me, and turning round a nail in one of the many holes in the surface, he worked off a little powder, laid it carefully in a paper, and gave it me.

In my humour there was no great interest in visiting these so-called holy places; but here was the city in which our Saviour had been brought up. I could walk in the same streets where he had walked, and look out upon the same hills and valleys; and a man of warm and impassioned piety might imagine that, in breathing the same atmosphere, he was drawing nearer to the person of the Saviour. I went back to the convent, joined the monks at vespers, listened to the solemn chant and the majestic tones of the organ, and went to bed.

Early in the morning, changing for the first time the horses with which I had come from Jerusalem, I took a Christian of Nazareth for my guide, and started for Tiberias and the Sea of Galilee. In about an hour we came to Cana of Galilee, where our Saviour performed his first miracle by turning water into wine. At the entrance of the village is a fountain, where the women were drawing water in large jars, and near it a Greek church, built over the house of the young man at whose wedding the miracle was performed. Here, too, are large stone jars, being, as the monks say, the identical vessels in which the water was changed. War, bloody and relentless war, has swept over the little Cana of Galilee; fire and sword have laid waste and destroyed the peaceful village in which Christ met the rejoicing wedding-party.

In about two hours, leaving Mount Hermon and Mount Tabor on our right, we passed through the field where the disciples plucked the corn on the Sabbath day; about half an hour farther on is the mountain of the Beatitude, where Christ preached the sermon on the mount. Whether the tradition be true or no, it was just the place where, in these primitive days, or even in the state of society which exists now in the Holy Land, such an event might have taken place; the preacher standing a little distance up the hill, and the multitude sitting down below him. Indeed, so strikingly similar in all its details is the state of society existing here now to that which existed in the time of our Saviour, that I remember, when standing on the ruins of a small church supposed to cover the precise spot where Christ preached that compendium of goodness and wisdom, it struck me that if I or any other man should preach new and strange things, the people would come out from the cities and villages to listen and dispute, as they did under the preaching of our Lord.

Half an hour farther on we came to a large stone, on which, tradition says, our Saviour sat when he blessed the five loaves and two fishes, and the immense multitude ate and were filled. These localities may be, and probably are, mere monkish conjectures; but one thing we know, that our Saviour and his disciples journeyed on this road; that he looked upon the same scenes, and that, in all probability, somewhere within the range of my eye these deeds and miracles were actually performed. At all events, before me, in full view, was the hallowed Lake of Genesareth. Here we cannot be wrong; Christ walked upon that sea, and stilled the raging of its waters, and preached the tidings of salvation to the cities on its banks. But where are those

cities now? Chorazin and Bethsaida, and thou, too, Capernaum, that was exalted unto heaven! The whole lake is spread out before me, almost from where the Jordan enters unto where that hallowed stream passes on to discharge its waters in the bituminous lake which covers the guilty cities; but there is no city, no habitation of man—all is still and quiet as the grave. But I am wrong; towards the southern extremity of the lake I see the city of Tabbereeah, the miserable relic of the ancient Tiberias, another of the proud cities of Herod, standing on the very shore of the sea, a mere speck in the distance, its walls and turrets, its mosques and minarets, telling that it is possessed by the persecutors and oppressors of the followers of Christ.

We descended the mountains, and passing under the walls of the city, continued on about half an hour to a large bath erected by Ibrahim Pacha over the hot springs of Emmaus, celebrated for their medicinal properties; and finding that we could pass the night there, left our baggage and returned to the city. The walls and circular towers, Moorish in their construction, gave it an imposing appearance; outside the gate was the tent of a harlot, that unhappy class of women not being permitted, by the Mussulman law, to enter the walls; within, all was in a most ruined and desolate condition; a great part being entirely vacant, and, where the space was occupied, the houses or huts were built far apart.

Tiberias was the third of the holy cities of the Jews; and here, as at Jerusalem and Hebron, the unhappy remnant of a fallen people still hover around the graves of their fathers, and, though degraded and trampled under foot, are still looking for the restoration of their temporal kingdom. There were two classes of Jews, Eastern and European, the latter being Muscovites, Poles, and Germans; all had come merely to lay their bones in the Holy Land, and were now supported by the charity of their brethren in Europe. There were two synagogues, and two schools or colleges; and it was an interesting sight to see them, old men tottering on the verge of the grave, and beardless boys studying in the same mysterious book what they believed to be the road to heaven.

I inquired for their rabbi, and they asked me whether I meant the Asiatic or European. I told them the greater of the two, and was conducted by a crowd to his house. I had no diffidence in those days, and invited myself to sit down and talk with him. He was an old man, and told me that they were all poor, living upon precarious charity; and that their brethren in America were so far off that they had forgotten the land of their fathers. Every thing looked so comfortable in his house, that I tried to get an invitation to stay all night; but the old rabbi was too cunning for me. It was a fête day, but my notes are so imperfect that I cannot make out whether it was their Sabbath. All were dressed in their best apparel, the women sitting in the doors or on the terraces, their heads adorned with large gold and silver ornaments, and their eyes sparkling like diamonds.

Returning, I noticed more particularly the ruins beyond the southern wall. They extend for more than a mile, and there is no doubt that this ground was covered by the ancient city. The plain runs back about half a mile to the foot of the mountain, and in the sides of the mountain are long ranges of tombs. It was from one of these tombs, said our guide, that the man possessed of devils rushed forth when our Saviour rebuked the unclean spirits, and made them enter into a herd of swine, which ran violently down a steep place into the sea, and were drowned.

Passing the bath, I walked on to a point where I could see the extreme end of the lake, forming near the other side into the Jordan. It was a beautiful evening, still and quiet as the most troubled spirit could wish. The sides of the mountains were green and verdant, but there were no trees, and no rustling of the wind among the branches; not a boat was upon the lake; and, except the city of Tiberias, which, enclosed within its walls, gave no signs of life, I was

the only living being on its shores; I almost felt myself alone in the world; and surely, if ever there was a spot where a man might be willing to live alone, it would be there. There was no desolation, but rather beauty in the loneliness; and when the sun was setting, I was bathing my feet in the waters of the hallowed lake, and fast falling into the belief that I could sit me down on its banks, "the world forgetting, by the world forgot;" but just then I saw filing under the walls of Tiberias a long procession of men. They were coming to the baths of Emmaus; and, in a few moments, I, that was musing as if I were alone in the world, was struggling with naked Arabs for a place in the bathing apartment.

A large bathing-house has been built over the hot springs by Ibrahim Pacha—a circular building, with a dome like the baths at Constantinople; and under the dome a large marble reservoir, twenty feet in diameter, and nearly six feet deep, into which the Arabs slipped off from the sides like turtles, darkening the white marble and the clear water with their swarthy skins. I could not bear the heat, which seemed to me scalding. A separate room, with a single bath, had been built expressly for the precious body of Ibrahim Pacha; and as he was not at hand to use it, I had it prepared for myself. Here was a theme for moulting! I had stood on the top of the pyramids, on Mount Sinai, and the shores of the Dead Sea; I had been in close contact with greatness in the tombs of Augustus, Agamemnon, and the Scipios; but what were these compared with bathing in the same tub with the great bulldog warrior of the East, the terrible Ibrahim Pacha? I spread my rug in an adjoining chamber; the long window opened directly upon the Sea of Galilee; for more than an hour my eyes were fixed upon its calm and silvery surface; and the last sounds that broke upon my ears were the murmurs of its waters.

Early in the morning we started. Stopping again at Tiberias, the soldier at the gate told us that a European had arrived during the night. I hunted him out, and found him to be an Englishman, as I afterwards learned, a merchant of Damascus, and a sportsman, equipped with shooting-jacket, gun, dog, &c. He was in a miserable hovel, and, having just risen, was sitting apart from the Arab family; his rug and coverlet were lying on the mud floor not yet rolled up; and he seemed in a most rueful mood, objurating all travel for pleasure, and whistling earnestly "There's no place like home." I knew his humour, for I had often felt it myself, and could hardly keep from laughing. He was not more than half dressed, and reminded me of the caricature of an Englishman standing in his nether garment, with a piece of cloth in one hand and a pair of scissors in the other, as not being resolved after what fashion to have his coat cut.

"I am an English gentleman, and naked I stand here,

Musing in my mind what raiment I shall wear;

For now I will wear this, and now I will wear that,

And now I will wear—I cannot tell what."

We spent half an hour together, and parted. He was an old stager, and did not travel for scenery, associations, and all that, but he could tell every place where he had bagged a bird, from Damascus to the Sea of Galilee.

Stopping for a moment at the only monument of antiquity, the church of St Peter, a long building, with a vaulted stone roof, built, as the monks say, over the place where the house of St Peter stood, and the corner stone laid by our Saviour; a burly monk was in the confessional, and a young Christian girl pouring into his greedy ears perhaps a story of unhappy love; we left for the last time the gate\* of the city, the tent of the harlot standing there still, and commenced our journey along the shore of the sea.

A short distance from Tiberias we crossed the point of a mountain running down into the lake, and in about

\*About six months after, this gate was swallowed up by an earthquake; the wall and the whole of that quarter of the city were thrown down and demolished, and a great portion of the inhabitants buried under the ruins.

an hour came to a small Mohammedan village, called Magdol, supposed to be the Magdala into which our Saviour came when he had sent away the multitude, after feeding them with the seven loaves and two fishes. It was along this shore that Jesus Christ began to preach the glad tidings of salvation to a ruined world; 1800 years ago, walking by this sea, he saw two brethren, "Simon Peter, and Andrew his brother, casting their nets into the sea, toiling all day and catching no fish; and he told them to thrust forth from the land; and their nets brake, and their ships sank with the multitude of fish; and he said unto them, Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men; and they forsook all and followed him."

We were now crossing a rich valley, through which several streams were running and emptying into the lake; and towards the other end, at some distance from the sea, we came to a small mound of crumbling bricks and stones, almost overgrown with grass; and this is all that remains of the city of Bethsaida, the city of Peter, and Andrew, and Philip. If we had diverged a hundred yards one way or the other, I should have passed without seeing it. A short distance off, among the hills that border the plain, alike in ruins, is her sister city Chorazin. Leaving the valley, and crossing a rude point of the mountain, which runs boldly to the lake, the road being so narrow that we were obliged to unload the baggage-horse, we descended to the plains of Genesareth, the richest and most fertile plain on the shores of the lake, and, perhaps, for a combination of natural advantages, soil, beauty of scenery, climate, and temperature, exceeded by no place in the world. A short distance across the plain we came to a little mill, set in motion by a large, clear, and beautiful stream, conveyed in two stone aqueducts. Four or five Arab families lived there, in huts made with palm leaves; the men lay stretched on the ground, lulled to sleep by the murmur of the falling waters.

From here to Talhoun, the supposed site of Capernaum, the rich plain of Genesareth was lying a wild and luxuriant waste, entirely uncultivated and neglected, except in one place, where an Arab was ploughing a small plot for tobacco. Approaching, the single Arab foot-path becomes lost, and the road which our Saviour had often followed upon his great errand of redemption was so overgrown with long grass, bushes, and weeds, that they rose above the back of my horse, and I found it easier to dismount and pick my way on foot.

The ruins of Capernaum extend more than a mile along the shore and back towards the mountain, but they were so overgrown with grass and bushes that it was difficult to move among them. Climbing upon a high wall, which, though ruined itself, seemed proud of its pre-eminence above the rest, I had a full view of the ruins of the city, of the plains of Genesareth, and the whole extent of the Sea of Galilee, from where the Jordan comes down from the mountains until it passes out and rolls on to the Dead Sea. It is about sixteen miles long, and six wide; at each end is the narrow valley of the Jordan; on the east a range of mountains, rising, not precipitously, but rolling back from the shore, green and verdant, but destitute of trees; on the west are mountains, in two places coming down to the lake; and the rest is a rich and beautiful, but wild and uncultivated, plain. It was by far the most imposing view I had enjoyed, and I am not sure that in all my journeying in the East I had a more interesting moment than when I sat among the ruins of Capernaum, looking out upon the Lake of Genesareth.

Travellers have often compared this lake with the Lake of Geneva. I could see very little resemblance; it is not so large, and wants the variety of scenery of the Lake of Geneva, and, above all, the lofty summit of Mont Blanc. The banks of the Lake of Geneva are crowded from one end to the other with villages and villas, and its surface is covered with boats, and all the hurry and bustle of a travelling population; this is, in the wildness of nature, all neglected and uncultivated; and, except the little town of Tiberias, not a habitation, not

even an Arab's hut, is seen upon its banks, not a solitary boat upon its waters. A single pelican was floating at my feet, and, like myself, he was alone. He was so near me that I could have hit him with a stone; he was the only thing I saw that had life, and he seemed looking at me with wonder, and asking me why I still lingered in the desolate city. I was looking upon the theatre of mighty miracles; it was here that, when a great tempest arose, and the ship was covered with waves, and his disciples cried out, "Save us, or we perish," Christ rose from his sleep, and rebuked the wind and the sea, "and there was a great calm;" and here too it was that in the fourth watch of the night he appeared to his terrified disciples, walking on the face of the sea, and crying out to them, "It is I, be not afraid;" and again the wind ceased, and there was a calm.

But this scene was not always so desolate. The shores of this lake were once covered with cities, in which Christ preached on the Sabbath day, healed the sick, gave sight to the blind, cleansed the lepers, cast out devils, and raised the dead. Bethsaida and Chorazin I had passed, and I was standing among the ruins of Capernaum, the city that was exalted to heaven in our Saviour's love; where Christ first raised his warning voice, saying, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand;" and I could feel the fulfilment of his prophetic words, "Wo unto thee, Chorazin, wo unto thee, Bethsaida; it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment than for you. And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shall be brought down to hell, and it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for thee." I am aware that lately there has been some dispute whether this be the site of Capernaum, but I had now passed along the whole western shore of the lake, and, if this be not Capernaum, my horse's hoofs must have trampled upon the city of our Saviour's love without my knowing where that city stood.

I thought to enhance the interest of this day's journey by making my noonday meal from the fish of the Lake of Genesareth; obliged to go back by the mills, and having on my way up seen a net drying on the shore, I had roused the sleeping Arabs, and they had promised to throw it for me; but when I returned, I found that like Simon Peter and the sons of Zebedee, "they had toiled all day, and had caught no fish."

Here we turned away from the consecrated lake, and fixed our eyes on the end of my day's journey, the towering city of Zaffad. But the interest of the day was not yet over. Ascending for about an hour from the shore of the lake, we came to the great caravan road from Jerusalem to Damascus, and a little off from this to a large khan; and within this khan, according to tradition, is the pit into which Joseph was thrown by his brethren before they sold him to the Ishmaelites. The khan, like all other caravanserais, is a large stone building, enclosing a hollow square, with small chambers around it for the accommodation of caravan travellers. The pit is a solid piece of mason-work, like a well; and, when I saw it, was nearly full of water. Both Mussulmans and Christians reverence this as a holy place; near it are a Mussulman mosque and a Christian chapel; and few travellers pass this way, whether Mussulmans or Christians, without prostrating themselves before the altar of Joseph the Just.

In all probability, the legend establishing this locality has no better foundation than most of the others in the Holy Land; but I cannot help remarking that I do not attach the importance assigned by others to the circumstance of its distance from Hebron, at that time Jacob's dwelling-place. We know that Joseph's brethren were feeding their father's flock at Shechem; and when Joseph came thither "wandering in the field, he inquired after his brethren, and a man told him, They are departed hence, for I heard them say, let us go to Dothan; and Joseph went after his brethren, and found them in Dothan." If there be any good reason for calling this place Dothan, to me it does not seem at all strange, that, in the pastoral state of society which existed then,

and still exists unchanged, Jacob's sons had driven their flocks to a pasture-ground two days farther on; and affording a striking illustration of the scene supposed to have taken place here, while we were loitering around the khan, a caravan of merchants from Damascus came up, on their way to Egypt; and the buying or selling of slaves, white or black, being still a part of the trade between these places, I have no doubt that, if I had offered Paul for sale, they would have bought him and carried him to Egypt, where, perhaps, he might have risen to be a grand vizier. From hence we continued mounting again, the city of Zaffad seeming to detach itself more and more, and to rise higher and higher above surrounding objects, and the atmosphere growing perceptibly colder; and at four o'clock we had reached the city.

Zaffad is the last of the four holy cities of the Jews. My intercourse with the Jews in the Holy Land had been so interesting, that I determined to prolong it to the last, and having heard a favourable report of a Jew, the English consular agent at Zaffad, I rode directly to his house. He was a very poor and a very amiable man. I went with him to the governor, showed my firman, and demanded permission to see the grotto of Jacob. The governor was sick, and told me that God had sent me there expressly to cure him. Since my successful experiment upon the governor of Hebron, I began to think doctoring governors was my forte, and, after feeling his pulse, and making him stick out his tongue, upon the principle that a governor was a governor, and what was good for one was good for another, I gave him an emetic which almost turned him inside out, and completely cured him. One thing I cannot help observing, not with a view of impeaching any thing that is written, but as illustrating the state of society in the East, that if a skillful physician, by the application of his medical science, should raise an Arab from what, without such application, would be his bed of death, the ignorant people would be very likely to believe it a miracle, and to follow him with that degree of faith which would give credence to the saving virtue of touching the "hem of his garment."

From the palace of the governor we ascended to the ruined fortress crowning the very top of the hill, and from one of the windows of the tower I looked down upon an extensive prospect of hills and valleys; the Lake of Genesareth seemed almost at my feet; the stately and majestic Tabor was far below me, and beyond was the great plain of Jezreel, stretching off to the mountains of Carmel and the shores of the Mediterranean. In all my wanderings in the most remote places, I had been constantly seeing what I may call the handwriting of Napoleon. In Italy, Poland, Germany, and the burnt and rebuilt capital of the czars, at the pyramids and cataracts of the Nile, and now, on this almost inaccessible height, the turrets of the fortress were battered by the French cannon.

We descended again to the Jews' quarter. Their houses were on the side of the hill, overlooking a beautiful valley. It was the last day of eating unleavened bread, and the whole Jewish population, in their best attire, were sitting on the terraces and on the tops of their houses, in gay, striking, and beautiful costumes, the women with their gold and silver ornaments on their heads and around their necks, enjoying the balmy mildness of a Syrian sunset; and when the shades of evening had driven them to their houses, I heard all around me, and for the last time in the Holy Land, rising in loud and solemn chants, the Songs of Solomon and the Psalms of David.

There are about 200 families of Israelites in Zaffad; they come there only to lay their bones in the land of their fathers; have no occupation or means of livelihood; spend all their time in reading the Bible and Talmud, and live upon the charity of their European brethren. The agent told me that during the late revolution they had been stripped of every thing; that, as at Hebron, they had suffered robbery, murder, and rapine; that the governor had allowed them to take

refuge in the fortress, where they remained, 3000 in number, without a mat to lie on or bread to put in their mouths; many of them had died of starvation, and the living remained beside the bodies of the dead till the whirlwind passed by: that, thinking himself save under his foreign protection, he had remained below, but that his hat with the consular cockade had been torn off and trampled under foot; and his wife, a lovely young woman sitting by our side, then not more than nineteen, had been thrown down, whipped, and he did not tell me so, but I inferred that far worse had befallen her; and the brutal Turk who committed the outrage still lived, and he met him in the streets every day.

During the evening a Christian from Nazareth came in, and it struck me as an interesting circumstance that I was introduced to him as a brother Nazarene.

A Jew welcomed me to the first of the holy cities, and a Jew accompanied me on my exit from the last. Both received me into their houses, and gave me the best that they had, and both refused to accept a price for their hospitality. I had a hard day's journey before me. My Jewish friend had told me that it would be necessary to make a very early start to arrive at Acre that night, but it so happened that I set off late. We had a ravine to cross, the worst I had met in Syria. Paul and I were some distance ahead, when we heard the shouting of our muleteer; our baggage mule had fallen, and caught on the brink of a precipice, where he was afraid to move until we came to his help; and this and the exceeding roughness of the road detained us so much, that when we reached the other side of the ravine, my guide told me that it would be utterly impossible to reach Acre that day. I would have returned, but I did not want to throw myself again upon the hospitality of my Jew friend. I was in a bad condition for roughing it; but at the risk of being obliged to sleep in some miserable Arab hut, or perhaps under the walls of Acre, I pushed on.

For two or three hours there was no improvement in the road; we were obliged to dismount several times, and could not do more than pick our way on a walk. We then came to the village of Rinah, situated in a fine olive-grove. The villagers told us it would be impossible to reach Acre before night, but a bribe to my guide induced him to lead off on a brisk trot. Of every man we met we asked the distance; at length we came to one who told us he thought we might do it. I could almost always tell beforehand the answer we should get; when we came to a lazy fellow, sprawling on the ground and basking in the sun, he invariably said no; and when we met an Arab, riding nimbly on his mule, or striding over the ground as if he had something to do and meant to do it, his answer was always yes; and so we were alternately cheered and discouraged. We watered our horses at the stream without dismounting. About mid-day Paul handed me a boiled fowl, holding on by one leg while I pulled at the other; the fowl came apart, and so we dined on horseback without stopping. I am not sure, but I do not think there was any thing particularly interesting on the road; once, riding over a fine, well-cultivated valley, we saw at a distance on the right two handsome villages, and standing alone, something which appeared to be a large white mosque or sheik's tomb.

At about four o'clock we came in sight of the Mediterranean, the great plain of Acre, the low circular shore extending to Caïpha and Mount Carmel; and before us, at a great distance, on an extreme point in the sea, the ancient Ptolemais, the St Jean d'Acre of Richard and the crusaders. Still we were not safe. The sun was settling away towards my distant home, when we reached the shore of the sea. I shall never forget my sensations at the moment when I gained that shore; after the Red Sea and the Dead Sea, and the Sea of Galilee, it seemed an old acquaintance, and I spurred my horse into the waters to greet it. But I had no time to dally, for as yet I was not secure. I joined the last of the loungers outside the walls; the heavy gates were swung to as I entered; and when I

pushed my jaded horse over the threshold of the gate, I felt as happy as the gallant leader of the crusaders when he planted the banner of England upon the walls of Acre. Soon in the peaceful cell of the convent, I forgot my toil and anxiety, as well as Richard and the holy wars. The night before I had slept by the quiet waters of Galilee, and now the last sounds that I heard were the rolling waves of the Mediterranean.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

A Ride on Donkeyback.—Caïpha.—Adventure with a Consul.—Mount Carmel.—The Plain of Jezreel.—Convent of Mount Carmel.—Kindness of the Monks.—Curiosity Gratified.

I ROSE next morning much fatigued. My strength had been greatly impaired by sickness and exposure, and I intended to give myself a day of rest, instead of which I committed an act of folly. The night before I left Jerusalem, I had seen, at the house of my friend Mr Whiting, the poetical pilgrimage of M. de Lamartine; I had not time to read it through, and by chance opened it at the chapter containing the particulars of his visit to Caïpha; and the glowing account which he gave of the two sisters of the Sardinian consul had inflamed in some degree my imagination. I had found it one of the most annoying circumstances attendant upon travelling in the East, that, in spite of the poetical accounts of Eastern beauty, though I had seen Georgian and Circassian women, I had never yet met with any thing that to my mind was equal to the beauty of the European and American women. I had passed Caïpha, and it was a direct retrograde movement to go there; but early in the morning, as I was walking on the ramparts of Acre, I looked back towards the little city, and the beautiful creations of the poet rose before me in most ravishing colours. I was worn down. There was no physician in Acre; and, perhaps, to bask an hour in the sunshine of beauty might revive and restore me. Paul, too, was under the weather; ever since his fall from the dromedary he had wanted bleeding, and it might do him good. In short, I had been rambling for months among ruins and old cities, working as hard as if I were to be paid for it by the day; I had had enough of these things, and one glimpse of a beautiful girl was worth more to me at that moment than all the ruins of the Holy Land; but I would not admit to myself, much less to Paul, that I was making this retrograde movement merely to see a couple of pretty faces, and I ordered horses for Caïpha and Mount Carmel. Horses, however, were not to be had, and we were obliged to take donkeys, which I considered unlucky. For the first time since I left Jerusalem I brushed my tarbouch, my blue jacket, and grey pantaloons.

I started on donkeyback. Caïpha is distant a ride of about three hours and a half from Acre, all the way along the shore of the sea. About half an hour from Acre, we crossed the river Belus in a boat. It was on the banks of this stream that Elijah killed the 400 prophets of Baal, gathered unto Mount Carmel by the orders of Ahab. A dead level plain, fertile but uncultivated, stretched back for many miles into the interior, and in the front to the foot of Mount Carmel. We rode close along the shore, where the sand was every moment washed and hardened by the waves. The sea was calm, but the wrecks on the shore, of which we counted seventeen on our way to Caïpha, told us that the elements of storm and tempest might lurk under a fair and beautiful face; all which was apropos to my intemperate visit. On the way I thought it necessary to let Paul into part of my plans, and told him that I wanted to stop at the house of the Sardinian consul. Paul asked me whether I had any letter to him; I told him no; and by degrees disclosed to him the reason of my wanting to go there; and he surprised me by telling me that he knew the young ladies very well; and when I asked him how and when, he told me that he had assisted them in their cooking when he stopped there three years before with Mr Wellesley.



This was rather a damper ; but I reflected that Haidee, on her beautiful little island, prepared with her own hands the food for the shipwrecked, and revived at the thought.

We were now approaching Caïpha. The city was walled all around; without the walls was a Mohammedan burying-ground; and the gate, like the shields of Homer's heroes, was covered with a tough bull's hide. I rode directly to the consul's house; it was a miserable-looking place, and on the platform directly before the door stood a most unpoetical heap of dirt and rubbish; but I didn't mind that; the door was open, and I went in. The table was set for dinner, and I could not help remarking a few rather questionable spots on the table-cloth; but I didn't mind that; knives, forks, and plates were a spectacle to which I had long been unaccustomed, and my heart warmed even to the empty platters. I thought I had come at the witching moment, and I felt as sure of my dinner as if I had it already under my jacket. The consul was sitting on a settee, and I began the acquaintance by asking him if there was an American consul there. He told me no; at which I was very much surprised, as we had one at Jaffa, not so much of a place as Caïpha; and I invited myself to a seat beside the consul, and made myself agreeable. I soon found, however, that I was not so pleasant a fellow as I thought. The consul answered my questions, but his manner might be interpreted, "Don't you see you are keeping the dinner waiting?" I didn't mind that, however, but talked about the necessity of my government having a consul there to entertain American travellers, and suggested that at Jaffa the government had given the appointment to the then acting Sardinian consul; still my friend was impenetrable. I tried him upon several other topics, but with no great success. During this time the mother entered, evidently in dishabille, and occasionally I got a glimpse of a pair of fine black eyes peeping at me through the door. At last, when I found that he was bent on not asking me to dine, I rose suddenly, made a hundred apologies for my haste, shook him cordially by the hand, and, with most consummate impudence, told him that I would call again on my return from Mount Carmel. Paul rather crowed over me, for he had met and spoken to the young ladies, and in the same place where he had seen them before.

In about an hour we had reached the top of Mount Carmel; this celebrated mountain is the only great promontory upon the low coast of Palestine, and it is, beyond all comparison, the finest mountain in the Holy Land. The traveller at this day may realise fully the poetical description by the inspired writers, of the "excellency" of Mount Carmel. The pine, oak, olive, and laurel, grew above a beautiful carpet of grass and wild flowers, and from amid this luxuriance I looked out upon the plains of Acre, the little city stretching out on a low point, like a mere speck in the water, and beyond, the mountains of Lebanon; on the left, along the shore of the Mediterranean to the ruins of Cesarea, the once proud city of Herod and of Cornelius the centurion, where Paul made Felix tremble; in front, the dark blue sea, on whose bosom two transports, with Egyptian soldiers on board, were at that time stretching under easy sail from Acre to Alexandria; and behind, the great plain of Jezreel.

One word with regard to this great plain. I had travelled around, and about, and across it; had looked at it from hills and mountains, and I was now on the point of leaving it for ever. This plain, computed to be about fifteen miles square, is the "mighty plain," as it is called, of the ancients, and celebrated for more than 3000 years as the "great battle-ground of nations." From here Elijah girded up his loins, and ran before Ahab to the entrance of Jezreel; it was on this plain that Barak went down, and 10,000 men after him, and discomfited Sisera and all his chariots; it was here that Josiah, king of Judah, disguised himself, that he might fight with Necho, king of Egypt, and fell by the arrows of the Egyptian archers. The Assyrian and the Per-

sian, Jews and Gentiles, crusaders and Saracens, Egyptians and Turks, Arabs and Frenchmen, warriors of every nation, have poured out their blood on the plains of Esdraelon; and here, said a gentleman whom I met in Palestine skilled in the reading and interpretation of the prophecies, will be fought the great final battle with antichrist, when circumstances which are now supposed to be rapidly developing themselves shall bring together a mighty army of the followers of Christ, under the banner of the cross, to do battle in his name, and sweep from the earth his contemners and opposers.

The convent on Mount Carmel is worthy of the place where it stands, and, like the mountain itself, is the best in the Holy Land. The church, which is unfinished, is intended to be a very fine building, and the interior of the convent is really beautiful. I could hardly believe my own eyes when I saw, in rooms provided for travellers, French bedsteads with curtains, and French dressing-tables. The rules of their order forbid the Carmelite friars to eat meat; but they set me down to such a dinner, to say nothing of the wines of Mount Lebanon, that, so far as regarded the eating and drinking merely, I was glad I had not invited myself to dine with my friend the consul at Caïpha. From my seat at the table I looked out upon the distant sea; the monks were all gathered around me, kind, good men, happy to receive and talk with a stranger; and it is no extravagance to say, that, after having been buffeted about for months, I felt at the moment that I could be almost willing to remain with them for ever. I ought not to tell it, but the fact is, the extraordinary comfort of the convent, and the extraordinary beauty of the scene, drove away all the associations connected with this gathering-place of the prophets. I wanted nothing but what I saw before me. The monks told me that there was fine shooting on the mountain. I could throw myself into the clearest of waters, and bathe, or, with my little boat, could glide over to Caïpha or Acre. For an invalid in search of retirement, with every beauty that climate and natural scenery can offer, I know no place superior to the convent at Mount Carmel. It is one of the few places I ever saw where a man could be cheerful and happy in perfect seclusion. Books, the mountain, the sky, and the sea, would be companions enough. It would be the sweetest spot on earth for a very young couple to test the strength of their poetic dreams; and knocked about and buffeted as I had been, when the superior told me that, in spite of the inscription over the doors of their convents, "Clausura per le donna," I might build a house on the spot where I stood, and bring whom I pleased there, it instantly brought to my mind the beautiful birds of paradise of De Lamartine, and my engagements with my friend the consul at Caïpha. The whole of the fraternity accompanied me down the side of the mountain; and I beg to except them all, including the cook, from any thing I may have said bearing harshly upon the monastic character. The recollection of my engagement, however, began to hurry me. The friars were puffy and shortwinded; one by one they bade me good bye; and the cook, a most deserving brother, and unnaturally lean for his profession and position in the convent, was the only one who held out to the foot of the mountain. I crossed his hand with a piece of money; Paul kissed it; and, after we had started, turned his head and cried out to the holy cook, "Orate pro mihi!"—"Pray for me."

At Caïpha we found the consul in the street. I do not know whether he was expecting us or not; but, whether or no, I considered it my duty to apologise for having staid so long on the mountain, and accompanied him to his house. Unluckily, it was so late, that Paul said if we stopped we should be shut out from Acre; and when I looked at the sun and the distant city, I had great misgivings, but it was only for a moment. The sisters were now dressed up, and standing in a door as I passed. Their dresses were Asiatic, consisting, from the waist downward, of a variety of wrappers, the outermost of which was silk, hiding the most beautiful figures under a mere bundle of habits. I went into the

room, and took a glass of lemonade with my watch in my hand. I would not speak of her in the morning, but now, in full dress, the interesting mother, so glowingly described by M. de Lamartine, appeared in a costume a great deal beyond what is usually called low in the neck. I do not mention it as a reproach to her, for she was an Arab woman, and it was the custom of her country; and as to the young ladies—M. de Lamartine had never been in America.

I had intended this for a day of rest; but I had, if possible, a harder task than on the preceding day to reach the city before the gates were closed. We pushed our donkeys till they broke down, and then got off and whipped them on before us. It was like the Irishman working his passage by hauling the tow-line of the canal boat; if it was not for the name of the thing, we might as well have walked; and when I lay down that night in my cell in the convent, I prayed that age might temper enthusiasm; that even the imagination of M. de Lamartine might grow cool; and that old men would pay respect to their lawful wives, and not go in ecstasies about young girls.

#### CHAPTER XXXVII.

St Jean d'Acra.—Extortions of the Pacha.—Tyra.—Questionable Company.—Lady Esther Stanhope.—Departure from the Holy Land.—Conclusion.

I SHALL say but little of Acra. The age of chivalry is gone for ever, but there is a green spot in every man's memory, a feeble but undying spark of romance in every heart; and that man's feelings are not to be envied who could walk on the ramparts of St Jean d'Acra without calling up Richard and Saladin, the crusaders and the Saracens; and when the interval of centuries is forgotten, and the imagination is revelling in the scenes of days long passed away, his illusion rises to the vividness of reality as he sees dashing by him a gallant array of Turkish horsemen, with turbans and glittering sabres, as when they sallied forth to drive back from the walls the chivalry of Europe. Near the city is a mount which is still called Richard Cœur de Lion, and from which Napoleon, pointing to the city, said to Murat, "The fate of the East depends upon yonder petty town." Constantinople and the Indies, a new empire in the East, and a change in the face of the whole world! Eight times he led his veteran soldiers to the assault; eleven times he stood the desperate sallies of the Mameluke sabres. British soldiers under Sir Sydney Smith came to the aid of the besieged; the ruins of a breached wall served as a breastwork, the muzzles of British and French muskets touched each other, and the spearheads of their standards were locked together. The bravest of his officers were killed, and the bodies of the dead soldiers lying around putrid under the burning sun. The pacha (Djezzar the Butcher) sat on the floor of his palace, surrounded by a heap of gory heads, distributing money to all who brought in the heads of Frenchmen; and he who was destined to overturn every throne in Europe was foiled under the walls of Acra. Three years ago it sustained, under Abdallah Pacha, a long and bloody siege from Ibrahim Pacha, and when it fell into his hands, was given up to pillage and the flames. It has since been rebuilt, fortified with skill and science, and is now almost impregnable; full of the elite of the Egyptian army, under Colonel Sève (formerly aid to Marshal Ney), now Suliman Pacha, and constantly stored with five years' provisions. The pacha has lately been building fine hospitals for his soldiers, and an Italian apothecary, licensed to kill *secundum artem*, is let loose upon the sick at the low rate of a hundred dollars per annum.

I was so much pleased with the old Arab muleteer who went with me to Mount Carmel, that I hired his donkeys again for another journey. He was an old Egyptian from Damietta; four of his children had been taken for soldiers, and he and his old wife and three donkeys followed them about wherever they went. He

had had two wives and sixteen children, and these were all that were left. They were all now stationed at Acra, and when we started, two of them, not on duty at the time, were with the old man at the convent, arranging the baggage while he was taking his coffee and pipe; they accompanied us to the gate, received the old man's benediction, and returned.

A short distance from the gate we met a Turkish grandee, with his officers, slaves, and attendants. He had formerly been a collector of taxes under Abdallah Pacha, and would have done well as an office-holder under a civilised government, for he had abandoned the falling fortunes of his master in time to slip into the same office under his successor.

Looking back, Acra appeared to much better advantage than from the other side, and the mosque and minaret of Abdallah Pacha were particularly conspicuous. We rode for some distance by the side of an aqueduct, which conveys water from the mountains twenty miles distant to the city of Acra. In the plain towards Acra two upright pillars, in which the water rose and descended, formed part of the aqueduct. Our road lay across a plain, and several times we picked up musket balls and fragments of bombs, left there by the French and Napoleon. We passed two palaces of Abdallah Pacha, where the haughty Turk had revelled with his fifty or a hundred wives in all the luxuries of the East. The plain was very extensive, naturally rich, but almost entirely uncultivated. Over an extent of several miles we would perhaps see a single Arab turning up what on the great plain appeared to be merely a few yards; and the oppressive nature of the government is manifest from the fact that, while the whole of this rich plain lies open to any one who chooses to till it, hundreds prefer to drag out a half-starved existence within the walls of Acra; for the fruit of their labour is not their own, and another will reap where they sow; the tax-gatherer comes and looks at the products, and takes not a fifth, or a sixth, nor any other fixed proportion, but as much as the pacha needs; and the question is not how much he shall take, but how little he shall leave. Taxation, or rather extortion, for it is wrong to call it by so mild a name, from cantars of olives down to single eggs, grinds the Arab to the dust; and yet, said the old man, even this is better than our lot under the sultan; even this we could bear, if the pacha would only spare us our children.

Along this plain we passed a large house, in a garden of oranges, lemons, almonds, and figs, with a row of cypress-trees along the road, formerly the residence of the treasurer of Abdallah Pacha. He himself had been a great tyrant and oppressor, and had fallen into the hands of a greater, and now wanders, with both his eyes out, a beggar in the streets of Cairo.

In about five hours we came upon the sea, on a bold point projecting out like Carmel, the white promontory of Pliny, the ancient Scala of the Syrians. On this point stood an old khan, and we sat down under the shadow of the wall for our noonday lunch. From here, too, the view was exceedingly fine. On the left were Acra and Mount Carmel; on the right the Turkish city of Sour, the ancient Tyre; and, in front, the horizon was darkened by the island of Cyprus. Almost at my feet was the wreck of a schooner, driven on the rocks only the night before, her shivered sails still flying from the masts, and the luckless mariners were alongside in a small boat bringing ashore the remnant of the cargo. Near me, and, like me, looking out upon the movements of the shipwrecked sailors, and apparently bemoaning his own unhappy lot, was a long, awkward, dangling young man, on his way to Acra; sent by the sheik of his village to work in Ibrahim Pacha's factory for three rolls of bread a-day. I asked him why he did not run away, but where could he go? If he went to a strange village, he would immediately be delivered up on the never-failing demand for soldiers. There was no help for him. He did not know that there were other lands, where men were free; and if he had known it, the curse of poverty rested upon him, and bound him where

he was. I had seen misery in Italy, Greece, Turkey, Russia, and gallant, but conquered and enslaved Poland, but I saw it refined and perfected under the iron despotism of Mohammed Ali.

From hence the road continued, for about two hours, over a rocky precipice overhanging the sea, and so narrow that as I sat on my horse, I could look down the steep and naked sides into the clear water below. In one place were the ruins of an old wall, probably, when the city before me was in its glory, defending the precipice. In the narrowest place we met a caravan of camels, and from here descended into a sandy plain, and passing small rivulets and ruins of castles or fortresses, came to a fine stream, on the banks of which were soldiers' barracks; the horses, with their gay accoutrements, were tied near the doors of the tents, constantly saddled and bridled, and strains of military music were swelling from a band among the trees.

Near this are what are called Solomon's cisterns, supposed to have been built by King Solomon in payment for the materials furnished by Hiram, king of Tyre, towards the building of the temple. Circumstances, however, abundantly prove that these cisterns, and the aqueduct connecting them with Tyre, have been built since the time of Alexander the Great.

On the extreme end of a long, low, sandy isthmus, which seems to have crawled out as far as it could, stands the fallen city of Tyre, seeming, at a distance, to rest on the bosom of the sea. A Turkish soldier was stationed at the gate. I entered under an arch, so low that it was necessary to stoop on the back of my horse, and passed through dark and narrow streets, sheltered by mats stretched over the bazaars from the scorching heat of a Syrian sun. A single fishing-boat was lying in the harbour of "the crowning city, whose merchants were princes, whose traffickers were the honourable of the earth!"

I left the gate of Tyre between as honest a man and as great a rogue as the sun ever shone upon. The honest man was my old Arab, whom I kept with me in spite of his bad donkey; and the rogue was a limping, sore-eyed Arab, in an old and ragged suit of regimentals, whom I hired for two days to relieve the old man in whipping the donkeys. He was a dismissed soldier, turned out of Ibrahim Pacha's army as of no use whatever, than which there could not be a stronger certificate of worthlessness. He told me, however, that he had once been a man of property, and, like honest Dogberry, had had his losses; he had been worth sixty piasters (nearly three dollars), with which he had come to live in the city; and been induced to embark in enterprises that had turned out unfortunately, and he had lost his all.

On my arrival at Sidon I drove immediately to the Arab consular agent, to consult him about paying a visit to Lady Esther Stanhope. He told me that I must send a note to her ladyship, requesting permission to present myself, and wait her pleasure for an answer; that sometimes she was rather capricious, and that the English consul from Beyroot had been obliged to wait two days. The state of my health would not permit my waiting any where upon an uncertainty. I was but one day from Beyroot, where I looked for rest and medical attendance; but I did not like to go past, and I made my application perhaps with more regard to my own convenience and feelings than the respect due

to those of the lady. My baggage, with my writing materials, had not yet arrived. I had no time to lose; the Arab agent gave me the best he had; and writing a note about as "big as a book" on a piece of coarse Arab paper with a reed pen, and sealing it with a huge Arab wafer, I gave it to a messenger, and, tumbling him out of the house, told him he must bring me an answer before daylight the next morning. He probably reached Lady Stanhope's residence about nine or ten o'clock in the evening; and I have no doubt he tumbled in, just as he had been tumbled out at Sidon, and, demanding an immediate answer, he got one forthwith, "Her ladyship's compliments," &c.; in short, somewhat like that which a city lady gives from the head of the stairs, "I'm not at home." I have since read M. de Lamartine's account of his visit to her ladyship, by which it appears that her ladyship had regard to the phraseology of a note. Mine, as near as I can recollect it, was as follows:—"Mr S., a young American, on the point of leaving the Holy Land, would regret exceedingly being obliged to do so without first having paid his respects to the Lady Esther Stanhope. If the Lady Esther Stanhope will allow him that honour, Mr S. will present himself to-morrow, at any hour her ladyship will name." If the reader will compare this note with the letter of M. de Lamartine, he will almost wonder that my poor messenger, demanding, too, an immediate answer, was not kicked out of doors. My horses were at the door, either for Beyroot or her ladyship's residence; and when obliged to turn away from the latter, I comforted myself with a good gallop to the former. Her ladyship was exceedingly lucky, by the way, in not having received me; for that night I broke down at Beyroot; my travels in the East were abruptly terminated; and after lying ten days under the attendance of an old Italian quack, with a blue frock coat and great frog buttons, who frightened me to death every time he approached my bedside, I got on board the first vessel bound for sea, and sailed for Alexandria. At Beyroot I received a letter from the friend who had taken me on board his boat at Thebes, advising me of the sickness of his lady, and that he had prevailed upon the English doctor at Beyroot to accompany him to Damascus and Baalbeck; here, too, I heard of the death of Mr Lowell, a gentleman from Boston, who had preceded me in many parts of my tour in the East; and who had every where left behind him such a name that it was a pleasure for an American to follow in his steps; and here, too, I heard of the great fire, which, by the time it reached this distant land, had laid the whole of my native city in ruins. In the midst of my troubles, however, I had three things that gave me pleasure. I met here my two friends with whom I had mounted the cataracts of the Nile, one of whom I hope one day to see in my own country; I received from the Austrian consul an assurance that the passport of my Jew friend at Hebron should be made out, and delivered forthwith to his friend there. For ten days I lay on the deck of a little Austrian schooner, watching the movements of a pair of turtle doves; and on the morning of the eleventh I was again off the coast of Egypt, and entering the harbour of Alexandria. Here I introduced myself to the reader; and here, if he have not fallen from me by the way, I take my leave of him, with thanks for his patient courtesies.

## NOTE.

By the arrival in America of my friend Mr Gliddon of Cairo, of whom mention has been several times made in the foregoing pages, the author has received the following notice of the Egyptian Society. The objects of the society are sufficiently explained in the notice; and they are such as cannot fail to recommend themselves to all who feel any interest in Egypt, and the East generally. The author is personally acquainted with many of the members, particularly with Mr Walne, Hon. Sec., who, besides being a gentleman of high literary and professional attainments, has devoted much attention, and with great success, to the study of hieroglyphics and Egyptian antiquities; and the author feels great satisfaction in being permitted to say that any individual, or literary or scientific institution, may, without further introduction, correspond with Dr Walne in relation to any of the objects set forth in the notice.

## NOTICE OF THE EGYPTIAN SOCIETY.

The impulse of modern discovery has excited a general and increasing interest respecting the antiquities of Egypt, while the unusual facilities of access both from India and Europe, coupled with the internal tranquillity of the country, are more than ever calculated to induce travellers to visit the Valley of the Nile, and examine personally the extraordinary monuments with which its banks abound.

By the munificence of his highness the viceroy, Cairo will, it is presumed, possess, at no distant period, a museum that, in Egyptian antiquities, may be expected to rival all existing collections. But the stranger visiting the capital, removed from those conveniences to which he has been accustomed in European cities, has particularly to regret the absence of a public library of reference, so essential to his researches.

The want of an institution that should at once offer this desirable resource, serve as a point of union for social intercourse, and be a medium for obtaining additional information relative to Egypt and the adjacent countries, has long been felt: and it is a desire of supplying this deficiency that has suggested the formation of the Egyptian Society.

The objections of the association are:—

*First*, To form a rendezvous for travellers, with the view of associating literary and scientific men who may from time to time visit Egypt.

*Second*, To collect and record information relative to Egypt, and to those parts of Africa and Asia which are connected with or tributary to this country.

*Third*, To facilitate research, by enabling travellers to avail themselves of such information as may be in the power of the society to obtain, and by offering them the advantage of a library of reference containing the most valuable works on the East. The Egyptian Society is open to gentlemen of all nations, and is composed of Members, Honorary Members, and associate Members.

*Members*.—The Members (the number of whom is at present limited to twenty) are the trustees of the institution, direct the disposal of the funds, and have the general government of the society. To be eligible as a Member, a gentleman must have been at least one year an Associate Member, and be recommended in writing by three Members. The election must take place at a general meeting, and be by ballot, one black ball to exclude.

Members pay an annual subscription of one guinea; but those elected after the 25th March, 1837, will pay in addition an admission fee of one guinea.

The contribution of ten guineas at once constitutes a Life Member.

*Honorary Members*.—Honorary Members will be elected only

from literary and scientific men, who have particularly distinguished themselves in relation to Egypt, or from gentlemen who have especially promoted the objects and interests of the society.

*Associate Members*.—With the exception of taking a part in the government of the society, Associate Members enjoy the same privileges as the Members.

To be eligible as an Associate Member, a gentleman, if not usually resident in, must at least have visited Egypt, and have passed two months either in this country, or in those parts of Africa and Asia which are immediately connected with or tributary to it. It is necessary that he be recommended in writing by two Members: the election must take place at a general meeting, and be by ballot, two black balls to exclude. Associate Members pay an annual subscription of one guinea. The contribution of five guineas at once constitutes a Life Associate Member.

*Honorary Officers*.—The President, Treasurer, Secretary, and council of management, are annually elected from the Members.

The funds arising from subscriptions and donations will be applied, as far as possible, to the formation of a library, to which the Members and Associate Members can always have free access, and to which travellers can be introduced, till such time as they become eligible to join the society. Rooms have been opened, the association possesses the nucleus of a library, and the members have every reason to hope that, by their own exertions, and with the assistance of those who take an interest in the institution, they will soon succeed in forming a collection that, while it includes many interesting volumes on the East in general, may contain the works of all the ancient and modern authors who have made Egypt the subject of their observations.

ALFRED T. WALNE, Hon. Sec.

Cairo, July 9, 1836.

Since the above was in type, the author has been favoured with a communication from the Egyptian Society, by which it appears that the objects of the society have been duly appreciated, and that it is now established upon a foundation calculated to render it eminently useful to those who may visit Egypt for the purpose of antiquarian, literary, or scientific research; but the particular favour which the author has to acknowledge now, is the interesting information that Colonel Vyse (before referred to as engaged in exploring the pyramids) has discovered no less than three new chambers over the king's chamber in the great pyramid, which he calls by the names of Wellington, Nelson, and Lady —. The last is remarkable as containing the following cartouche.



Rossellini, a learned Italian, now editing a second edition of Champollion's works, who found this cartouche in one of the tombs, reads it "Seamphis." This establishes the fact that the pyramids were not built anterior to the use of hieroglyphics, and also that Suphis or Saophis, was the builder, as stated by Manetho, according to Mr Wilkinson's table, about 2120 years B. C. The particulars of this interesting discovery, and the details connected with the present exploring of the pyramids, will probably soon be given to the public through Mr Wilkinson.

END OF INCIDENTS OF TRAVEL IN EGYPT, &c.

PEOPLE'S EDITION.

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THE LIFE

AND

TRAVELS OF MUNGO PARK.

COMPRISING AN ORIGINAL MEMOIR OF HIS EARLY LIFE,  
A REPRINT OF THE "TRAVELS IN THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA,"  
WRITTEN BY HIMSELF, AND PUBLISHED  
IN QUARTO IN 1798,  
AND AN ORIGINAL NARRATIVE OF HIS SECOND JOURNEY.

ALSO,

AN ORIGINAL ACCOUNT OF THE PROGRESS OF

AFRICAN DISCOVERY

FROM THE DEATH OF PARK TILL THE YEAR 1838.

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AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1838.

EDINBURGH: Printed by W. and R. CHAMBERS,  
19, WATERLOO PLACE.

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# LIFE AND TRAVELS OF MUNGO PARK.

## EARLY LIFE.

MUNGO PARK was born, on the 10th September 1771, at Fowlshiels, a farm held by his father on the estate of the Duke of Buccleugh in Selkirkshire, and situated not far from Selkirk, a small burgh town in the south of Scotland. The elder Park, who bore the same name which his son afterwards rendered so illustrious, had a family of thirteen children, of whom the subject of this memoir was the seventh in order of birth. The mother of this numerous offspring was named Hislop, and was a woman of remarkable sense and prudence. Her husband died, after a long and exemplary career, in the year 1792.

The early education of Mungo Park was received in his father's house of Fowlshiels, where a private tutor was for some years employed. The legends of border daring and chivalry, with which his ear was in these juvenile days familiar, and of which he retained in after times a vivid impression, may have had some influence in instilling into his young mind that love of adventure which modified so strongly the tenor of his life. After acquiring the ordinary rudiments of education at home, mingled with the traditional lore alluded to, Mungo was removed to the grammar school of Selkirk, at which he remained for several years, and distinguished himself above all his boyish compeers by his application and success in his studies. At this, as at every other period of his life, he was noted for the modest gravity, and even reserve, of his manners and disposition. He was fond of reading and solitude, and used to indulge these propensities conjointly, by long companionless rambles on the banks of his native Yarrow. In Mungo Park's reserve of temperament, however, no suspiciousness or hauteur was ever observed to mingle; and, with all his quiet thoughtfulness, occasional gleams of spirit and ambition were seen to burst forth, indicative of the latent fire that burned beneath his cold and composed exterior.

Though intended originally for the church, Mungo, on reaching the age of fifteen, showed a decided preference for the medical profession, and was apprenticed, in consequence, to Mr Thomas Anderson, a respectable surgeon in Selkirk. After spending three years under this gentleman's charge, Park, in the autumn of 1789, went to Edinburgh, and began the usual course of professional study at the University of that city.\* Upon the whole, little is known respecting his college life, excepting that he showed, during his three years' attendance on the medical classes, a marked predilection for botanical pursuits. Fortunately, his brother-in-law, Mr James Dickson, was a person peculiarly qualified to assist Park in his prosecution of the science in question, the knowledge of which proved afterwards so useful. Though filling originally the situation of a labouring

\* He not only proved a diligent student in the way of his profession, but evinced, at various times, a very considerable degree of literary taste. We have been informed that on one occasion he was a candidate for a medal, offered for the best poem on the comparative merits of Allan Ramsay and Robert Fergusson. The prize was awarded by the votes of a society, and Mungo stood second by the decision. But the winner's personal popularity, it was very generally admitted, was the cause of his success—Park's being much the better poem, in the estimation of those most capable of judging. Such a circumstance as this is scarcely worthy of notice, except in so far as it testifies to the general ability displayed in youth by the subject of this memoir.

gardener, Mr Dickson had raised himself into considerable distinction as a botanist, both in Edinburgh and London, to which latter city he had gone in the humble capacity alluded to. When resident there, his professional skill and enthusiasm had procured for him the notice of Sir Joseph Banks; and this circumstance enabled Mr Dickson to do his young relative a still greater favour than even the furtherance given to his studies in natural history. After Park had completed his term of attendance at the University, and had procured his surgical diploma, he went to London, in the hope of obtaining some employment either at home or abroad. A recommendation which he bore with him from Mr Dickson to Sir Joseph Banks, procured the young surgeon the object of his wish. By Sir Joseph's interest, Park received, shortly after his application, the appointment of assistant medical officer on board of the Worcester East Indiaman—in which vessel he sailed for the East Indies in the month of February 1792. Having made a voyage to Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra, he returned to England in the following year. Park brought with him many proofs of the ardour with which he had pursued, during his absence, his favourite scientific studies. To Sir Joseph Banks he presented some rare and valuable specimens of plants which he had discovered abroad; and he communicated to the Linnean Society a paper, describing several hitherto unobserved fishes of the Indian seas. This contribution was afterwards published in the society's Transactions. These, and various other observations of importance, made by Park on his voyage, confirmed him in the favour and friendship of Sir Joseph Banks, and led to habits of frequent intercourse between them, as well as to the introduction of the young Scotsman into the society of all the eminent scientific men of the day in the metropolis. This was, doubtless, of great influence in arousing Park's thirst for distinction, and directing his mind to loftier objects than any within the scope of his professional pursuits. Nor did any length of time elapse, after his return to England in 1793, ere these ambitious views assumed a definite form and aim; and this was brought about chiefly by certain circumstances which had taken place in the scientific world shortly before this period.

A number of distinguished individuals in Britain, some years prior to Mungo Park's Indian voyage, had formed themselves into an association for the purpose of promoting discoveries in Africa, the interior of which remained almost entirely a blank in modern geography. Indeed, the knowledge of the civilised world upon the subject of the African continent, was actually more extended and more accurate two thousand years back, than it was towards the close of the eighteenth century. This stigma the founders of the African Association proposed to wipe away; and, as it proved, the hour, and the man for the task, soon came. Under the auspices of the society, Mungo Park undertook the task of penetrating into the interior of Africa. The great light which he threw upon this long obscure subject, will best appear from the records of his travels. Full justice, however, cannot be done to his exertions, unless some explanation be given of the actual state of our knowledge respecting African geography, previous to his entrance on the field of discovery.

Herodotus, the oldest historian of ancient Greece, and who flourished between two and three thousand

years ago, describes a large inland river of Africa, named the Niger, which flowed, according to his account, from *west to east*—that is, from the western coast into the centre of the country. Of the existence of this stream, Herodotus was made aware by the personal communications of some travellers belonging to the northern regions of the African continent, and who stated themselves to have seen the river in question. Several succeeding writers confirmed the relation of Herodotus; but the geographers of the middle ages, and particularly certain Arab writers, denied the existence of any large river in the interior of Africa, with such a course as that ascribed to the Niger. They admitted that a river of that name existed, but described it as flowing from *east to west*. As two large streams, the Gambia and Senegal, do really flow from the interior into the sea in this direction, at the part of Africa in question, it appeared an easy solution of the matter to regard the course, and even the existence, of the Niger as altogether a mistake, springing out of some confused notions relative to one or other of the two streams alluded to. This conclusion was, in reality, the one adopted by the majority of the geographers of the eighteenth century, though some of the most distinguished, such as D'Anville and Rennel, were inclined to put faith in the statement of Herodotus. The vast breadth of the African continent from west to east, more especially in its central latitudes, together with the absence of any visible outlet on the eastern coast, constituted the main argument against admitting the existence of a large inland river, with the course attributed to the Niger. The Nile was the only stream issuing from the interior of the continent, with such a mass of waters, and with such a course, as to permit the possibility of some one of its upper streams being regarded as the river called the Niger. Herodotus himself was of opinion that the Niger was identical with the Nile; and, upon the whole, this was the belief most generally entertained by those of the moderns who allowed the Niger's existence. But so many difficulties opposed this identification of the two rivers, that the greater number of the geographers of the eighteenth century preferred, as has been said, to regard the story of the Niger as altogether fabulous, or, at the least, as founded in mistake. Such was the uncertainty in which this matter was involved; and the same ignorance prevailed with respect to other particulars connected with the African continent. The character of the interior, its products, and its people, were all points wrapt in the profoundest mystery, and were the subject of frequent and earnest disputations.

Nor are these questions to be viewed in the light of mere objects of scientific curiosity; they were questions of the deepest general interest to humanity, and their solution of the highest consequence to the ultimate spread of civilisation over the earth. How much Mungo Park did to solve them, the sequel of this work will sufficiently show. The enlightened society under whose auspices he entered on the enterprise of African discovery, had sent out several travellers on the same mission, previous to their employment of him. John Ledyard, a man with some oddities in his character, but with high physical and mental endowments for the task, undertook, at the society's request, to penetrate into the interior of Africa, by way of Egypt. He died, however, at Cairo, ere his journey was well begun. Shortly after, Mr Lucas made a similar attempt, in a more westerly quarter of the north of Africa, but succeeded only in entering the interior to the distance of five days' journey southward of Tripoli. Another adventurer, Major Houghton, made the endeavour to accomplish the same enterprise by ascending the Gambia. After suffering severely from the natives (Moors), he died at Jarra, a town in the district of Ludamar, about half way between the coast and Lake Dabbie. His fate was unknown, until ascertained by Park.

All has now been said that seems necessary to explain the position of matters at the time when Mungo Park presented himself to the African Association, and offered his services to promote the great objects the body

had in view. No ordinary degree of boldness and ardour of spirit was necessary to prompt such an offer, after the unhappy end of Ledyard, and the disappearance of Major Houghton only two years before. Park's motives for making the offer are affectingly described by himself, in the first chapter of his travels. After some inquiries into his qualifications, the association readily agreed to make use of his services. From the strength, vigour, and hardihood of his frame, as well as from his mental qualities (though these were, as yet, but partially known), he was, indeed, as fit a man for their purpose as probably ever breathed.

It was not, however, until the summer of 1795, that all things were in readiness for Park's departure. With the exception of a brief sojourn with his relatives in Scotland, the interval was spent by him in London, chiefly in acquiring the knowledge, and making the preparations, necessary for the prosecution of his perilous enterprise. The association had determined upon the same route for him as that which Major Houghton had attempted—the ascent, to wit, of the Gambia, which seemed, undoubtedly, the shortest path to the regions to be explored. All instructions being received, and every preparation completed, in May 1795, Park took his leave of England. His own narrative, which follows in an entire form, will give the history of his adventures up to the period of his return from this his first journey.

## TRAVELS IN THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA.

### CHAPTER I.

The Author's Motives for undertaking the Voyage—His Instructions and Departure—Arrives at Jillifree, on the Gambia River—Proceeds to Vintain.—Some Account of the Feloops.—Proceeds up the River for Jonkakonda.—Arrives at Dr Laidley's.—Some Account of Pisanía, and the British Factory established at that place.—The Author's Employment during his stay at Pisanía—His Sickness and Recovery—The Country described—Prepares to set out for the Interior.

SOON after my return from the East Indies in 1793, having learned that the noblemen and gentlemen associated for the purpose of prosecuting discoveries in the interior of Africa, were desirous of engaging a person to explore that continent, by the way of the Gambia river, I took occasion, through means of the President of the Royal Society, to whom I had the honour to be known, of offering myself for that service. I had been informed, that a gentleman of the name of Houghton, a captain in the army, and formerly fort-major at Goree, had already sailed to the Gambia, under the direction of the association, and that there was reason to apprehend he had fallen a sacrifice to the climate, or perished in some contest with the natives. But this intelligence, instead of deterring me from my purpose, animated me to persist in the offer of my services with the greater solicitude. I had a passionate desire to examine into the productions of a country so little known, and to become experimentally acquainted with the modes of life, and character of the natives. I knew that I was able to bear fatigue; and I relied on my youth, and the strength of my constitution, to preserve me from the effects of the climate. The salary which the committee allowed was sufficiently large, and I made no stipulation for future reward. If I should perish in my journey, I was willing that my hopes and expectations should perish with me; and if I should succeed in rendering the geography of Africa more familiar to my countrymen, and in opening to their ambition and industry new sources of wealth, and new channels of commerce, I knew that I was in the hands of men of honour, who would not fail to bestow that remuneration which my successful services should appear to them to merit. The committee of the association having made such inquiries as they thought necessary, declared themselves satisfied with the qualifications that I possessed, and accepted me for the service; and, with that liberality which on all occasions distinguishes their conduct, gave me every encourage-

ment which it was in their power to grant, or which I could with propriety ask.

It was at first proposed that I should accompany Mr James Willis, who was then recently appointed consul at Senegambia, and whose countenance in that capacity, it was thought, might have served and protected me; but government afterwards rescinded his appointment, and I lost that advantage. The kindness of the committee, however, supplied all that was necessary. Being favoured by the secretary of the association, the late Henry Beaufoy, Esq., with a recommendation to Dr John Laidley (a gentleman who had resided many years at an English factory on the banks of the Gambia), and furnished with a letter of credit on him for £200, I took my passage in the brig Endeavour—a small vessel trading to the Gambia for bees' wax and ivory, commanded by Captain Richard Wyatt—and I became impatient for my departure.

My instructions were very plain and concise. I was directed, on my arrival in Africa, "to pass on to the river Niger, either by the way of Bambouk, or by such other route as should be found most convenient—that I should ascertain the course, and, if possible, the rise and termination, of that river—that I should use my utmost exertions to visit the principal towns or cities in its neighbourhood, particularly Tombuctoo and Houssa—and that I should be afterwards at liberty to return to Europe, either by the way of the Gambia, or by such other route, as under all the then existing circumstances of my situation and prospects should appear to me to be most advisable."

We sailed from Portsmouth on the 22d day of May 1795. On the 4th of June, we saw the mountains over Mogadore, on the coast of Africa; and on the 21st of the same month, after a pleasant voyage of thirty days, we anchored at Jillifree, a town on the northern bank of the river Gambia, opposite to James's Island, where the English had formerly a small fort.

The kingdom of Barra, in which the town of Jillifree is situated, produces great plenty of the necessaries of life; but the chief trade of the inhabitants is in salt—which commodity they carry up the river in canoes as high as Barraconda, and bring down in return Indian corn, cotton cloths, elephants' teeth, small quantities of gold dust, &c. The number of canoes and people constantly employed in this trade, makes the king of Barra more formidable to Europeans than any other chieftain on the river; and this circumstance probably encouraged him to establish those exorbitant duties, which traders of all nations are obliged to pay at entry, amounting to nearly £20 on every vessel, great and small. These duties, or customs, are generally collected in person by the Alkaid, or Governor of Jillifree, and he is attended on these occasions by a numerous train of dependents, among whom are found many who, by their frequent intercourse with the English, have acquired a smattering of our language: but they are commonly very noisy, and very troublesome—begging for every thing they fancy with such earnestness and importunity, that traders, in order to get quit of them, are frequently obliged to grant their requests.

On the 23d we departed from Jillifree, and proceeded to Vintain, a town situated about two miles up a creek on the southern side of the river. This place is much resorted to by Europeans, on account of the great quantities of bees' wax which are brought hither for sale: the wax is collected in the woods by the Feloops, a wild and unsocial race of people. Their country, which is of considerable extent, abounds in rice; and the natives supply the traders, both on the Gambia and Cassamansa rivers, with that article, and also with goats and poultry, on very reasonable terms. The honey which they collect is chiefly used by themselves in making a strong intoxicating liquor, much the same as the mead which is produced from honey in Great Britain.

In their traffic with Europeans, the Feloops generally employ a factor, or agent of the Mandingo nation, who speaks a little English, and is acquainted with the trade of the river. This broker makes the bargain;

and, with the connivance of the European, receives a certain part only of the payment, which he gives to his employer as the whole; the remainder (which is very truly called the *cheating money*) he receives when the Feloop is gone, and appropriates to himself as a reward for his trouble.

The language of the Feloops is appropriate and peculiar; and as their trade is chiefly conducted, as hath been observed, by Mandingoes, the Europeans have no inducement to learn it.

The numerals are as follow:—

|                            |                         |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| One, Enory.                | Six, Footuck-Enory.     |
| Two, Sிக்கaba, or Cookaba. | Seven, Footuck-Cookaba. |
| Three, Sissaje.            | Eight, Footuck-Sissaje. |
| Four, Sibakeer.            | Nine, Footuck-Sibakeer. |
| Five, Footuck.             | Ten, Sibankonyen.       |

On the 26th we left Vintain, and continued our course up the river, anchoring whenever the tide failed us, and frequently towing the vessel with the boat. The river is deep and muddy; the banks are covered with impenetrable thickets of mangrove; and the whole of the adjacent country appears to be flat and swampy.

The Gambia abounds with fish, some species of which are excellent food; but none of them that I recollect are known in Europe. At the entrance from the sea, sharks are found in great abundance; and, higher up, alligators and the hippopotamus (or river horse) are very numerous. The latter might with more propriety be called the river-elephant, being of an enormous and unwieldy bulk, and his teeth furnish good ivory. This animal is amphibious, with short and thick legs, and cloven hoofs; it feeds on grass, and such shrubs as the banks of the river afford, boughs of trees, &c.—seldom venturing far from the water, in which it seeks refuge on hearing the approach of man. I have seen many, and always found them of a timid and inoffensive disposition.

In six days after leaving Vintain, we reached Jonkakonda, a place of considerable trade, where our vessel was to take in part of her lading. The next morning, the several European traders came from their different factories to receive their letters, and learn the nature and amount of the cargo; and the captain dispatched a messenger to Dr Laidley to inform him of my arrival. He came to Jonkakonda the morning following, when I delivered him Mr Beaufoy's letter, and he gave me a kind invitation to spend my time at his house until an opportunity should offer of prosecuting my journey. This invitation was too acceptable to be refused, and being furnished by the Doctor with a horse and guide, I set out from Jonkakonda at daybreak, on the 5th of July, and at eleven o'clock arrived at Pisanian, where I was accommodated with a room, and other conveniences, in the Doctor's house.

Pisanian is a small village in the king of Yany's dominions, established by British subjects as a factory for trade, and inhabited solely by them and their black servants. It is situated on the banks of the Gambia, sixteen miles above Jonkakonda. The white residents, at the time of my arrival there, consisted only of Dr Laidley, and two gentlemen who were brothers, of the name of Ainsley; but their domestics were numerous. They enjoyed perfect security under the king's protection, and being highly esteemed and respected by the natives at large, wanted no accommodation or comfort which the country could supply; and the greatest part of the trade in slaves, ivory, and gold, was in their hands.

Being now settled for some time at my ease, my first object was to learn the Mandingo tongue, being the language in almost general use throughout this part of Africa, and without which I was fully convinced that I never could acquire an extensive knowledge of the country or its inhabitants. In this pursuit I was greatly assisted by Dr Laidley, who, by a long residence in the country, and constant intercourse with the natives, had made himself completely master of it. Next to the language, my great object was to collect information concerning the countries I intended to visit. On this occasion I was referred to certain traders called slatees. These are free black merchants, of great con-

sideration in this part of Africa, who come down from the interior countries, chiefly with enslaved negroes for sale; but I soon discovered that very little dependence could be placed on the accounts which they gave; for they contradicted each other in the most important particulars, and all of them seemed extremely unwilling that I should prosecute my journey. These circumstances increased my anxiety to ascertain the truth from my own personal observations.

In researches of this kind, and in observing the manners and customs of the natives, in a country so little known to the nations of Europe, and furnished with so many striking and uncommon objects of nature, my time passed not unpleasantly; and I began to flatter myself that I had escaped the fever, or seasoning, to which Europeans, on their first arrival in hot climates, are generally subject. But on the 31st of July I imprudently exposed myself to the night dew, in observing an eclipse of the moon, with a view to determine the longitude of the place: the next day I found myself attacked with a smart fever and delirium; and such an illness followed, as confined me to the house during the greatest part of August. My recovery was very slow; but I embraced every short interval of convalescence to walk out, and make myself acquainted with the productions of the country. In one of those excursions, having rambled farther than usual, in a hot day, I brought on a return of my fever, and on the 10th of September I was again confined to my bed. The fever, however, was not so violent as before; and in the course of three weeks I was able, when the weather would permit, to renew my botanical excursions; and when it rained, I amused myself with drawing plants, &c. in my chamber. The care and attention of Dr Laidley contributed greatly to alleviate my sufferings; his company and conversation beguiled the tedious hours during that gloomy season, when the rain falls in torrents, when suffocating heats oppress by day, and when the night is spent by the terrified traveller in listening to the croaking of frogs (of which the numbers are beyond imagination), the shrill cry of the jackall, and the deep howling of the hyena—a dismal concert, interrupted only by the roar of such tremendous thunder as no persons can form a conception of but those who have heard it.

The country itself being an immense level, and very generally covered with wood, presents a tiresome and gloomy uniformity to the eye; but although nature has denied to the inhabitants the beauties of romantic landscapes, she has bestowed on them, with a liberal hand, the more important blessings of fertility and abundance. A little attention to cultivation procures a sufficiency of corn; the fields afford a rich pasturage for cattle; and the natives are plentifully supplied with excellent fish, both from the Gambia river and the Walli creek.

The grains which are chiefly cultivated are—Indian corn, *sea mays*; two kinds of *holcus spicatus*, called by the natives *soono* and *sanio*; *holcus niger*, and *holcus bicolor*—the former of which they have named *bassi woolma*, and the latter *bassiqui*. These, together with rice, are raised in considerable quantities; besides which, the inhabitants in the vicinity of the towns and villages have gardens which produce onions, calavances, yams, cassavi, ground nuts, pompions, gourds, water melons, and some other esculent plants.

I observed likewise, near the towns, small patches of cotton and indigo. The former of these articles supplies them with clothing, and with the latter they dye their cloth of an excellent blue colour, in a manner that will hereafter be described.

In preparing their corn for food, the natives use a large wooden mortar called a *paloon*, in which they bruise the seed until it parts with the outer covering, or husk, which is then separated from the clean corn by exposing it to the wind, nearly in the same manner as wheat is cleared from the chaff in England. The corn thus freed from the husk, is returned to the mortar, and beaten into meal, which is dressed variously in different countries; but the most common preparation of it among the nations of the Gambia, is a sort of pudding, which

they call *kouskous*. It is made by first moistening the flour with water, and then stirring and shaking it about in a large calabash, or gourd, till it adheres together in small granules, resembling sago. It is then put into an earthen pot, whose bottom is perforated with a number of small holes; and this pot being placed upon another, the two vessels are luted together, either with a paste of meal and water, or with cow's dung, and placed upon the fire. In the lower vessel is commonly some animal food and water, the steam or vapour of which ascends through the perforations in the bottom of the upper vessel, and softens and prepares the *kouskous*, which is very much esteemed throughout all the countries that I visited. I am informed, that the same manner of preparing flour is very generally used on the Barbary coast, and that the dish so prepared is there called by the same name. It is therefore probable, that the negroes borrowed the practice from the Moors.

For gratifying a taste for variety, another sort of pudding, called *nealing*, is sometimes prepared from the meal of corn; and they have also adopted two or three different modes of dressing their rice. Of vegetable food, therefore, the natives have no deficiency; and although the common class of people are but sparingly supplied with animal food, yet this article is not wholly withheld from them.

Their domestic animals are nearly the same as in Europe. Swine are found in the woods, but their flesh is not esteemed: probably the marked abhorrence in which this animal is held by the votaries of Mahomet, has spread itself among the pagans. Poultry of all kinds, the turkey excepted, is every where to be had. The guinea fowl and red partridge abound in the fields; and the woods furnish a small species of antelope, of which the venison is highly and deservedly prized.

Of the other wild animals in the Mandingo countries, the most common are the hyena, the panther, and the elephant. Considering the use that is made of the latter in the East Indies, it may be thought extraordinary that the natives of Africa have not, in any part of this immense continent, acquired the skill of taming this powerful and docile creature, and applying his strength and faculties to the service of man. When I told some of the natives that this was actually done in the countries of the East, my auditors laughed me to scorn, and exclaimed, *tobaufo fonnio!*—"a white man's lie!" The negroes frequently find means to destroy the elephant by fire-arms; they hunt it principally for the sake of the teeth, which they transfer in barter to those who sell them again to the Europeans. The flesh they eat, and consider it as a great delicacy.

The usual beast of burden in all the negro territories, is the ass. The application of animal labour to the purposes of agriculture, is nowhere adopted; the plough, therefore, is wholly unknown. The chief implement used in husbandry is the hoe, which varies in form in different districts; and the labour is universally performed by slaves.

On the 6th of October, the waters of the Gambia were at the greatest height, being fifteen feet above the high water mark of the tide, after which they began to subside—at first slowly, but afterwards very rapidly, sometimes sinking more than a foot in twenty-four hours: by the beginning of November the river had sunk to its former level, and the tide ebbed and flowed as usual. When the river had subsided, and the atmosphere grew dry, I recovered apace, and began to think of my departure—for this is reckoned the most proper season for travelling; the natives had completed their harvest, and provisions were every where cheap and plentiful.

Dr Laidley was at this time employed in a trading voyage at Jonkakonda. I wrote to him to desire that he would use his interest with the slates, or slave merchants, to procure me the company and protection of the first cofle (or caravan) that might leave Gambia for the interior country; and, in the meantime, I requested him to purchase for me a horse and two asses. A few days afterwards the Doctor returned to Pisanía, and informed me that a cofle would certainly go for

the interior in the course of the dry season; but that, as many of the merchants belonging to it had not yet completed their assortment of goods, he could not say at what time they would set out.

As the characters and dispositions of the slatees, and people that composed the caravan, were entirely unknown to me—and as they seemed rather averse to my purpose, and unwilling to enter into any positive engagements on my account—and the time of their departure being withal very uncertain, I resolved, on farther deliberation, to avail myself of the dry season, and proceed without them.

Dr Laidley approved my determination, and promised me every assistance in his power, to enable me to prosecute my journey with comfort and safety.

This resolution having been formed, I made preparations accordingly. And now, being about to take leave of my hospitable friend (whose kindness and solicitude continued to the moment of my departure\*), and to quit, for many months, the countries bordering on the Gambia, it seems proper, before I proceed with my narrative, that I should, in this place, give some account of the negro nations which inhabit the several banks of this celebrated river, and the commercial intercourse that subsists between them and such of the nations of Europe as find their advantage in trading to this part of Africa. The observations which have occurred to me on both these subjects, will be found in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER II.

Description of the Feloops, the Jaloffs, the Foulahs, and Mandingoes.—Some Account of the Trade between the Nations of Europe, and the Natives of Africa, by the way of the Gambia, and between the Native Inhabitants of the Coast and the Nations of the Interior Countries—Their mode of Selling and Buying, &c.

THE natives of the countries bordering on the Gambia, though distributed into a great many distinct governments, may, I think, be divided into four great classes—the Feloops, the Jaloffs, the Foulahs, and the Mandingoes. Among all these nations, the religion of Mahomet has made, and continues to make, considerable progress; but in most of them, the body of the people, both free and enslaved, persevere in maintaining the blind but harmless superstitions of their ancestors, and are called by the Mahomedans *kafirs*, or infidels.

Of the Feloops, I have little to add to what has been observed concerning them in the former chapter. They are of a gloomy disposition, and are supposed never to forgive an injury. They are even said to transmit their quarrels as deadly feuds to their posterity—inso-much that a son considers it as incumbent on him, from a just sense of filial obligation, to become the avenger of his deceased father's wrongs. If a man loses his life in one of those sudden quarrels which perpetually occur at their feasts, when the whole party is intoxicated with mead, his son, or the eldest of his sons (if he has more than one), endeavours to procure his father's sandals, which he wears *once a-year*, on the anniversary of his father's death, until a fit opportunity offers of revenging his fate, when the object of his resentment seldom escapes his pursuit. This fierce and unrelenting disposition is, however, counterbalanced by many good qualities—they display the utmost gratitude and affection towards their benefactors—and the fidelity with which they preserve whatever is entrusted to them is remarkable. During the present war, they have more than once taken up arms to defend our merchant vessels from French privateers; and English property, of considerable value, has frequently been left at Vintain, for a long time, entirely under the care of the Feloops, who have uniformly manifested, on such

\* Dr Laidley, to my infinite regret, has since paid the debt of nature. He left Africa in the latter end of 1797, intending to return to Great Britain by way of the West Indies; and died soon after his arrival at Barbadoes.

occasions, the strictest honesty and punctuality. How greatly is it to be wished, that the minds of a people so determined and faithful, could be softened and civilised by the mild and benevolent spirit of Christianity!

The Jaloffs (or Yaloffs) are an active, powerful, and warlike race, inhabiting great part of that tract which lies between the river Senegal and the Mandingo states on the Gambia; yet they differ from the Mandingoes, not only in language, but likewise in complexion and features. The noses of the Jaloffs are not so much depressed, nor the lips so protuberant, as among the generality of Africans; and although their skin is of the deepest black, they are considered by the white traders as the most slightly negroes in this part of the continent.

They are divided into several independent states or kingdoms, which are frequently at war, either with their neighbours, or with each other. In their manners, superstitions, and government, however, they have a greater resemblance to the Mandingoes (of whom I shall presently speak) than to any other nation; but excel them in the manufacture of cotton cloth—spinning the wool to a finer thread, weaving it in a broader loom, and dyeing it of a better colour.

Their language is said to be copious and significant, and is often learnt by Europeans trading to Senegal. I cannot say much of it from my own knowledge, but have preserved their numerals, which are these:—

|                  |                            |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| One, Wean.       | Seven, Judom Yar.          |
| Two, Yar.        | Eight, Judom Yat.          |
| Three, Yat.      | Nine, Judom Yanet.         |
| Four, Yanef.     | Ten, Fook.                 |
| Five, Judom.     | Eleven, Fook aug Wean, &c. |
| Six, Judom Wean. |                            |

The Foulahs (or Pholeys), such of them at least as reside near the Gambia, are chiefly of a tawny complexion, with soft silky hair, and pleasing features. They are much attached to a pastoral life, and have introduced themselves into all the kingdoms on the windward coast as herdsmen and husbandmen, paying a tribute to the sovereign of the country for the lands which they hold. Not having many opportunities, however, during my residence at Pisania, of improving my acquaintance with these people, I defer entering at large into their character until a fitter occasion occurs, which will present itself when I come to Bondou.

The Mandingoes, of whom it remains to speak, constitute, in truth, the bulk of the inhabitants in all those districts of Africa which I visited; and their language, with a few exceptions, is universally understood, and very generally spoken, in that part of the continent. Their numerals are these:—

|               |                              |
|---------------|------------------------------|
| One, Killin.  | Seven, Oronglo.              |
| Two, Foola.   | Eight, Sie.                  |
| Three, Sabba. | Nine, Conunta.               |
| Four, Nani.   | Ten, Tang.                   |
| Five, Loolo.  | Eleven, Tan ning Killin, &c. |
| Six, Woro.    |                              |

They are called Mandingoes, I conceive, as having originally migrated from the interior state of Manding, of which some account will hereafter be given; but, contrary to the present constitution of their parent country, which is republican, it appeared to me that the government in all the Mandingo states near the Gambia is monarchical. The power of the sovereign is, however, by no means unlimited. In all affairs of importance, the king calls an assembly of the principal men, or elders, by whose councils he is directed, and without whose advice he can neither declare war nor conclude peace.

In every considerable town there is a chief magistrate, called the *alkaid*, whose office is hereditary, and whose business it is to preserve order, to levy duties on travellers, and to preside at all conferences in the exercise of local jurisdiction and the administration of justice. These courts are composed of the elders of the town (of free condition), and are termed *palavers*;

\* In the travels of Francis Moore, the reader will find a pretty copious vocabulary of the Mandingo language, which in general is correct.

and their proceedings are conducted in the open air, with sufficient solemnity. Both sides of a question are freely canvassed, witnesses are publicly examined, and the decisions which follow generally meet with the approbation of the surrounding audience.

As the negroes have no written language of their own, the general rule of decision is an appeal to *ancient custom*; but since the system of Mahomet has made so great progress among them, the converts to that faith have gradually introduced, with the religious tenets, many of the civil institutions of the prophet; and where the Koran is not found sufficiently explicit, recourse is had to a commentary called *Al Sharra*, containing, as I was told, a complete exposition or digest of the Mahomedan laws, both civil and criminal, properly arranged and illustrated.

This frequency of appeal to written laws, with which the pagan natives are necessarily unacquainted, has given rise in their palavers to (what I little expected to find in Africa) professional advocates, or expounders of the law, who are allowed to appear and to plead for plaintiff or defendant, much in the same manner as counsel in the law courts of Great Britain. They are Mahomedan negroes who have made, or affect to have made, the laws of the prophet their peculiar study; and if I may judge from their harangues, which I frequently attended, I believe, that in the forensic qualifications of prostration and cavil, and the arts of confounding and perplexing a cause, they are not always surpassed by the ablest pleaders in Europe. While I was at Pisania, a cause was heard which furnished the Mahomedan lawyers with an admirable opportunity of displaying their professional dexterity. The case was this:—An ass belonging to a Serawoolli negro (a native of an interior country near the river Senegal) had broke into a field of corn belonging to one of the Mandingo inhabitants, and destroyed great part of it. The Mandingo having caught the animal in his field, immediately drew his knife and cut its throat. The Serawoolli thereupon called a *palaver* (or in European terms, *brought an action*) to recover damages for the loss of his beast, on which he set a high value. The defendant confessed he had killed the ass, but pleaded a *set off*; insisting that the loss he had sustained by the ravage in his corn was equal to the sum demanded for the animal. To ascertain this fact was the point at issue, and the learned advocates contrived to puzzle the cause in such a manner, that after a hearing of three days, the court broke up without coming to any determination upon it; and a second palaver was, I suppose, thought necessary.

The Mandingoes, generally speaking, are of a mild, sociable, and obliging disposition. The men are commonly above the middle size, well shaped, strong, and capable of enduring great labour; the women are good natured, sprightly, and agreeable. The dress of both sexes is composed of cotton cloth, of their own manufacture—that of the men is a loose frock, not unlike a surplice, with drawers which reach half way down the leg; and they wear sandals on their feet, and white cotton caps on their heads. The women's dress consists of two pieces of cloth, each of which is about six feet long, and three broad; one of these they wrap round the waist, which, hanging down to the ankles, answers the purpose of a petticoat—the other is thrown negligently over the bosom and shoulders.

This account of their clothing is indeed nearly applicable to the natives of all the different countries in this part of Africa; a peculiar national mode is observable only in the head dresses of the women.

Thus, in the countries of the Gambia, the females wear a sort of bandage, which they call *jalla*. It is a narrow stripe of cotton cloth, wrapped many times round, immediately over the forehead. In Bondou, the head is encircled with strings of white beads, and a small plate of gold is worn in the middle of the forehead. In Kasson, the ladies decorate their heads, in a very tasteful and elegant manner, with white sea-shells. In Kaarta and Ludamar, the women raise their hair to a great height by the addition of a pad

(as the ladies did formerly in Great Britain), which they decorate with a species of coral, brought from the Red Sea by pilgrims returning from Mecca, and sold at a great price.

In the construction of their dwelling-houses, the Mandingoes also conform to the general practice of the African nations on this part of the continent, contenting themselves with small and incommodious hovels. A circular mud wall about four feet high, upon which is placed a conical roof, composed of the bamboo cane, and thatched with grass, forms alike the palace of the king and the hovel of the slave. Their household furniture is equally simple. A hurdle of canes placed upon upright sticks, about two feet from the ground, upon which is spread a mat or bullock's hide, answers the purpose of a bed; a water jar, some earthen pots for dressing their food, a few wooden bowls and calabashes, and one or two low stools, compose the rest.

As every man of free condition has a plurality of wives, it is found necessary (to prevent, I suppose, matrimonial disputes) that each of the ladies should be accommodated with a hut to herself; and all the huts belonging to the same family are surrounded by a fence, constructed of bamboo canes, split and formed into a sort of wicker-work. The whole inclosure is called a *sirk*, or *sork*. A number of these inclosures, with narrow passages between them, form what is called a town; but the huts are generally placed without any regularity, according to the caprice of the owner. The only rule that seems to be attended to, is placing the door towards the south-west, in order to admit the sea breeze.

In each town is a large stage called the *bantang*, which answers the purpose of a public hall or town-house; it is composed of interwoven canes, and is generally sheltered from the sun by being erected in the shade of some large tree. It is here that all public affairs are transacted and trials conducted; and here the lazy and indolent meet to smoke their pipes, and hear the news of the day. In most of the towns the Mahomedans have also a *missura*, or mosque, in which they assemble and offer up their daily prayers, according to the rules of the Koran.

In the account which I have thus given of the natives, the reader must bear in mind, that my observations apply chiefly to persons of *free condition*, who constitute, I suppose, not more than one-fourth part of the inhabitants at large; the other three-fourths are in a state of hopeless and hereditary slavery, and are employed in cultivating the land, in the care of cattle, and in servile offices of all kinds, much in the same manner as the slaves in the West Indies. I was told, however, that the Mandingo master can neither deprive his slave of life, nor sell him to a stranger, without first calling a palaver on his conduct—or, in other words, bringing him to a public trial; but this degree of protection is extended only to the native or domestic slave. Captives taken in war, and those unfortunate victims who are condemned to slavery for crimes or insolvency—and, in short, all those unhappy people who are brought down from the interior countries for sale—have no security whatever, but may be treated and disposed of in all respects as the owner thinks proper. It sometimes happens, indeed, when no ships are on the coast, that a humane and considerate master incorporates his purchased slaves among his domestics; and their offspring at least, if not the parents, become entitled to all the privileges of the native class.

The preceding remarks concerning the several nations that inhabit the banks of the Gambia, are all that I recollect as necessary to be made in this place, at the outset of my journey. With regard to the Mandingoes, however, many particulars are yet to be related, some of which are necessarily interwoven into the narrative of my progress, and others will be given in a summary, at the end of my work, together with all such observations as I have collected on the country and climate, which I could not with propriety insert in the regular detail of occurrences. What remains of the present chapter will therefore relate solely to the trade which

the nations of Christendom have found means to establish with the natives of Africa, by the channel of the Gambia, and the inland traffic which has arisen, in consequence of it, between the inhabitants of the coast and the nations of the interior countries.

The earliest European establishment on this celebrated river was a factory of the Portuguese, and to this must be ascribed the introduction of the numerous words of that language which are still in use among the negroes. The Dutch, French, and English, afterwards successively possessed themselves of settlements on the coast; but the trade of the Gambia became, and continued for many years, a sort of monopoly in the hands of the English. In the travels of Francis Moore is preserved an account of the Royal African Company's establishments in this river in the year 1730; at which time, James's factory alone consisted of a governor, deputy governor, and two other principal officers; eight factors, thirteen writers, twenty inferior attendants and tradesmen; a company of soldiers, and thirty-two negro servants—besides sloops, shallops, and boats, with their crews; and there were no less than eight subordinate factories in other parts of the river.

The trade with Europe, by being afterwards laid open, was almost annihilated—the share which the subjects of England at this time hold in it, supports not more than two or three annual ships; and I am informed that the gross value of British exports is under £20,000. The French and Danes still maintain a small share, and the Americans have lately sent a few vessels to the Gambia by way of experiment.

The commodities exported to the Gambia from Europe consist chiefly of fire-arms and ammunition, iron ware, spirituous liquors, tobacco, cotton caps, a small quantity of broad cloth, and a few articles of the manufacture of Manchester; a small assortment of India goods, with some glass beads, amber, and other trifles: for which are taken in exchange slaves, gold dust, ivory, bees' wax, and hides. Slaves are the chief article, but the whole number which at this time are annually exported from the Gambia by all nations, is supposed to be under one thousand.

Most of these unfortunate victims are brought to the coast in periodical caravans; many of them from very remote inland countries, for the language which they speak is not understood by the inhabitants of the maritime districts. In a subsequent part of my work, I shall give the best information I have been able to collect concerning the manner in which they are obtained.—On their arrival at the coast, if no immediate opportunity offers of selling them to advantage, they are distributed among the neighbouring villages, until a slave ship arrives, or until they can be sold to black traders, who sometimes purchase on speculation. In the meanwhile, the poor wretches are kept constantly fettered, two and two of them being chained together, and employed in the labours of the field; and, I am sorry to add, are very scantily fed, as well as harshly treated. The price of a slave varies according to the number of purchasers from Europe, and the arrival of caravans from the interior; but in general, I reckon that a young and healthy male, from sixteen to twenty-five years of age, may be estimated on the spot from £18 to £20 sterling.

The negro slave-merchants, as I have observed in the former chapter, are called *slates*; who, besides slaves, and the merchandise which they bring for sale to the whites, supply the inhabitants of the maritime districts with native iron, sweet smelling gums and frankincense, and a commodity called *sheatoulou*, which, literally translated, signifies *tree-butter*. This commodity is extracted, by means of boiling water, from the kernel of a nut, as will be more particularly described hereafter: it has the consistence and appearance of butter, and is in truth an admirable substitute for it. It forms an important article in the food of the natives, and serves also for every domestic purpose in which oil would otherwise be used. The demand for it is therefore very great.

In payment of these articles, the maritime states

supply the interior countries with salt—a scarce and valuable commodity, as I frequently and painfully experienced in the course of my journey. Considerable quantities of this article, however, are also supplied to the inland natives by the Moors, who obtain it from the salt-pits in the Great Desert, and receive in return corn, cotton cloth, and slaves.

In thus bartering one commodity for another, many inconveniences must necessarily have arisen at first from the want of coined money, or some other visible and determinate medium to settle the balance, or difference of value, between different articles—to remedy which, the natives of the interior make use of small shells called *koneries*, as will be shown hereafter. On the coast, the inhabitants have adopted a practice which I believe is peculiar to themselves.

In their early intercourse with Europeans, the article that attracted most notice was iron. Its utility, in forming the instruments of war and husbandry, made it preferable to all others, and iron soon became the measure by which the value of all other commodities was ascertained. Thus, a certain quantity of goods, of whatever denomination, appearing to be equal in value to a bar of iron, constituted, in the trader's phraseology, a bar of that particular merchandise. Twenty leaves of tobacco, for instance, were considered as a bar of tobacco; and a gallon of spirits (or rather half spirits and half water) as a bar of rum—a bar of one commodity being reckoned equal in value to a bar of another commodity.

As, however, it must unavoidably happen, that according to the plenty or scarcity of goods at market in proportion to the demand, the relative value would be subject to continual fluctuation, greater precision has been found necessary; and at this time, the current value of a single bar of any kind is fixed by the whites at two shillings sterling. Thus, a slave whose price is £15, is said to be worth 150 bars.

In transactions of this nature, it is obvious that the white trader has infinitely the advantage over the African, whom, therefore, it is difficult to satisfy; for, conscious of his own ignorance, he naturally becomes exceedingly suspicious and wavering; and indeed so very unsettled and jealous are the negroes in their dealings with the whites, that a bargain is never considered by the European as concluded, until the purchase money is paid, and the party has taken leave.

Having now brought together such general observations on the country and its inhabitants, as occurred to me during my residence in the vicinage of the Gambia, I shall detain the reader no longer with introductory matter, but proceed, in the next chapter, to a regular detail of the incidents which happened, and the reflections which arose in my mind, in the course of my painful and perilous journey, from its commencement until my return to the Gambia.

### CHAPTER III.

The Author sets out from Pisanah—His Attendants—Reaches Jindey.—Story related by a Mandingo Negro.—Proceeds to Medina, the capital of Woolli.—Interview with the King.—Saphies or Charms.—Proceeds to Kolor.—Description of Mumbo Jumbo.—Arrives at Koojar—Wrestling Match.—Crosses the Wilderness, and arrives at Tallika, in the Kingdom of Bondou.

On the 2d of December 1795, I took my departure from the hospitable mansion of Dr Laidley. I was fortunately provided with a negro servant, who spoke both the English and Mandingo tongues. His name was Johnson. He was a native of this part of Africa; and having in his youth been conveyed to Jamaica as a slave, he had been made free, and taken to England by his master, where he had resided many years; and at length found his way back to his native country. As he was known to Dr Laidley, the Doctor recommended him to me, and I hired him as my interpreter, at the rate of ten bars monthly, to be paid to himself, and five bars a-month to be paid to his wife during his absence. Dr Laidley furthermore provided me with a

negro boy of his own, named Demba—a sprightly youth, who, besides Mandingo, spoke the language of the Serawoolies, an inland people (of whom mention will hereafter be made), residing on the banks of the Senegal; and to induce him to behave well, the Doctor promised him his freedom on his return, in case I should report favourably of his fidelity and services. I was furnished with a horse for myself (a small, but very hardy and spirited beast, which cost me to the value of £7, 10s.), and two asses for my interpreter and servant. My baggage was light, consisting chiefly of provisions for two days; a small assortment of beads, amber, and tobacco, for the purchase of a fresh supply as I proceeded; a few changes of linen, and other necessary apparel; an umbrella, a pocket sextant, a magnetic compass, and a thermometer; together with two fowling pieces, two pair of pistols, and some other small articles.

A free man (a *bushreen* or Mahomedan), named Madiboo, who was travelling to the kingdom of Bambara, and two satees, or slave merchants, of the Serawooli nation, and of the same sect, who were going to Bondou, offered their services as far as they intended respectively to proceed; as did likewise a negro named Tami (also a Mahomedan), a native of Kasson, who had been employed some years by Dr Laidley as a blacksmith, and was returning to his native country with the savings of his labours. All these men travelled on foot, driving their asses before them.

Thus I had no less than six attendants, all of whom had been taught to regard me with great respect; and to consider that their safe return hereafter, to the countries on the Gambia, would depend on my preservation.

Dr Laidley himself, and Messrs Ainsley, with a number of their domestics, kindly determined to accompany me the two first days; and, I believe, they secretly thought they should never see me afterwards.

We reached Jindey the same day, having crossed the Walli creek, a branch of the Gambia, and rested at the house of a black woman, who had formerly been the paramour of a white trader named Hewett; and who, in consequence thereof, was called, by way of distinction, *seniora*. In the evening we walked out to see an adjoining village, belonging to a satee named Jemaffoo Mamadoo, the richest of all the Gambia traders. We found him at home; and he thought so highly of the honour done him by this visit, that he presented us with a fine bullock, which was immediately killed, and part of it dressed for our evening's repast.

The negroes do not go to supper till late; and in order to amuse ourselves while our beef was preparing, a Mandingo was desired to relate some diverting stories—in listening to which, and smoking tobacco, we spent three hours. These stories bear some resemblance to those in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments; but, in general, are of a more ludicrous cast. I shall here abridge one of them for the reader's amusement.

"Many years ago," said the relator, "the people of Doomasansa (a town on the Gambia) were much annoyed by a lion, that came every night and took away some of their cattle. By continuing his depredations, the people were at length so much enraged that a party of them resolved to go and hunt the monster. They accordingly proceeded in search of the common enemy, which they found concealed in a thicket; and immediately firing at him, were lucky enough to wound him in such a manner, that, in springing from the thicket towards the people, he fell down among the grass, and was unable to rise. The animal, however, manifested such appearance of vigour, that nobody cared to approach him singly; and a consultation was held concerning the most proper means of taking him alive—a circumstance, it was said, which, while it furnished undeniable proof of their prowess, would turn out to great advantage, it being resolved to convey him to the coast, and sell him to the Europeans. While some persons proposed one plan, and some another, an old man offered a scheme. This was to strip the roof of a house of its thatch, and to carry the bamboo frame

(the pieces of which are well secured together by thongs), and throw it over the lion. If, in approaching him, he should attempt to spring upon them, they had nothing to do but to let down the roof upon themselves, and fire at the lion through the rafters.

This proposition was approved and adopted. The thatch was taken from the roof of a hut, and the lion-hunters, supporting the fabric, marched courageously to the field of battle; each person carrying a gun in one hand, and bearing his share of the roof on the opposite shoulder. In this manner they approached the enemy; but the beast had by this time recovered his strength, and such was the fierceness of his countenance, that the hunters, instead of proceeding any farther, thought it prudent to provide for their own safety, by covering themselves with the roof. Unfortunately, the lion was too nimble for them; for, making a spring while the roof was setting down, both the beast and his pursuers were caught in the same cage, and the lion devoured them at his leisure, to the great astonishment and mortification of the people of Doomasansa—at which place it is even dangerous at this day to tell the story; for it is become the subject of laughter and derision in the neighbouring countries, and nothing will enrage an inhabitant of that town so much as desiring him to catch a lion alive."

About one o'clock in the afternoon of the 3d of December, I took my leave of Dr Laidley and Messrs Ainsley, and rode slowly into the woods. I had now before me a boundless forest, and a country, the inhabitants of which were strangers to civilised life, and to most of whom a white man was the object of curiosity or plunder. I reflected that I had parted from the last European I might probably behold, and perhaps quitted for ever the comforts of Christian society. Thoughts like these would necessarily cast a gloom over my mind; and I rode musing along for about three miles, when I was awakened from my reverie by a body of people, who came running up and stopped the asses, giving me to understand that I must go with them to Peckaba, to present myself to the king of Walli, or pay customs to them. I endeavoured to make them comprehend that the object of my journey not being traffic, I ought not to be subjected to a tax like the satees, and other merchants, who travel for gain; but I reasoned to no purpose. They said it was usual for travellers of all descriptions to make a present to the king of Walli, and without doing so I could not be permitted to proceed. As they were more numerous than my attendants, and withal very noisy, I thought it prudent to comply with their demand; and having presented them with four bars of tobacco, for the king's use, I was permitted to continue my journey, and at sunset reached a village near Kootacunda, where we rested for the night.

In the morning of December 4th, I passed Kootacunda, the last town of Walli, and stopped about an hour at a small adjoining village to pay customs to an officer of the king of Woolli; we rested the ensuing night at a village called Tabajang; and at noon the next day (December 5th) we reached Medina, the capital of the king of Woolli's dominions.

The kingdom of Woolli is bounded by Walli on the west, by the Gambia on the south, by the small river Walli on the north-west, by Bondou on the north-east, and on the east by the Simbani wilderness.

The country every where rises into gentle acclivities, which are generally covered with extensive woods, and the towns are situated in the intermediate valleys. Each town is surrounded by a tract of cultivated land, the produce of which, I presume, is found sufficient to supply the wants of the inhabitants; for the soil appeared to me to be every where fertile, except near the tops of the ridges, where the red ironstone and stunted shrubs sufficiently marked the boundaries between fertility and barrenness. The chief productions are cotton, tobacco, and esculent vegetables; all which are raised in the valleys, the rising grounds being appropriated to different sorts of corn.

The inhabitants are Mandingoes; and, like most of



the Mandingo nations, are divided into two great sects—the Mahomedans, who are called *bushreens*, and the pagans, who are called indiscriminately *kajirs* (unbelievers) and *sonakies* (i. e. men who drink strong liquors.) The pagan natives are by far the most numerous, and the government of the country is in their hands; for though the most respectable among the bushreens are frequently consulted in affairs of importance, yet they are never permitted to take any share in the executive government, which rests solely in the hands of the *mansa*, or sovereign, and great officers of the state. Of these, the first in point of rank is the presumptive heir of the crown, who is called the *farbanna*; next to him are the *alkaids*, or provincial governors, who are more frequently called *keamos*. Then follow the two grand divisions of freemen and slaves;\* of the former, the *slatees*, so frequently mentioned in the preceding pages, are considered as the principal: but, in all classes, great respect is paid to the authority of aged men.

On the death of the reigning monarch, his eldest son (if he has attained the age of manhood) succeeds to the regal authority. If there is no son, or if the son is under the age of discretion, a meeting of the great men is held, and the late monarch's nearest relation (commonly his brother) is called to the government, not as regent, or guardian to the infant son, but in full right, and to the exclusion of the minor. The charges of the government are defrayed by occasional tributes from the people, and by duties on goods transported across the country. Travellers, on going from the Gambia towards the interior, pay customs in European merchandise. On returning, they pay in iron and *sheatoulou*. These taxes are paid at every town.

Medina,† the capital of the kingdom, at which I was now arrived, is a place of considerable extent, and may contain from eight hundred to one thousand houses. It is fortified in the common African manner, by a surrounding high wall built of clay, and an outward fence of pointed stakes and prickly bushes; but the walls are neglected, and the outward fence has suffered considerably from the active hands of busy housewives, who pluck up the stakes for firewood. I obtained a lodging at one of the king's near relations, who apprised me, that at my introduction to the king, I must not presume to shake hands with him. "It was not usual," he said, "to allow this liberty to strangers." Thus instructed, I went in the afternoon to pay my respects to the sovereign, and ask permission to pass through his territories to Bondou. The king's name was Jatta. He was the same venerable old man of whom so favourable an account was transmitted by Major Houghton. I found him seated upon a mat before the door of his hut: a number of men and women were arranged on each side, who were singing and clapping their hands. I saluted him respectfully, and informed him of the purport of my visit. The king graciously replied, that he not only gave me leave to pass through his country, but would offer up his prayers for my safety. On this, one of my attendants, seemingly in return for the king's condescension, began to sing, or rather to roar, an Arabic song; at every pause of which, the king himself, and all the people present, struck their hands against their foreheads, and exclaimed, with devout and affecting solemnity, *Amen, amen*! The king told me furthermore, that I should have a guide the day following, who would conduct me safely to the frontier of his kingdom. I then took my leave, and in the evening sent the king an order upon Dr Laidley for three

gallons of rum, and received in return great store of provisions.

December 6th.—Early in the morning I went to the king a second time, to learn if the guide was ready. I found his majesty sitting upon a bullock's hide, warming himself before a large fire; for the Africans are sensible of the smallest variation in the temperature of the air, and frequently complain of cold when a European is oppressed with heat. He received me with a benevolent countenance, and tenderly entreated me to desist from my purpose of travelling into the interior; telling me that Major Houghton had been killed in his route, and that if I followed his footsteps, I should probably meet with his fate. He said that I must not judge of the people of the eastern country by those of Woolli: that the latter were acquainted with white men, and respected them, whereas the people of the east had never seen a white man, and would certainly destroy me. I thanked the king for his affectionate solicitude, but told him that I had considered the matter, and was determined, notwithstanding all dangers, to proceed. The king shook his head, but desisted from farther persuasion, and told me the guide should be ready in the afternoon.

About two o'clock, the guide appearing, I went and took my last farewell of the good old king, and in three hours reached Konjour, a small village, where we determined to rest for the night. Here I purchased a fine sheep for some beads, and my Serawoolli attendants killed it with all the ceremonies prescribed by their religion. Part of it was dressed for supper, after which a dispute arose between one of the Serawoolli negroes, and Johnson, my interpreter, about the sheep's horns. The former claimed the horns as his perquisite, for having acted the part of our butcher, and Johnson contested the claim. I settled the matter by giving a horn to each of them. This trifling incident is mentioned as introductory to what follows: for it appeared on inquiry that these horns were highly valued, as being easily convertible into portable sheaths, or cases, for containing and keeping secure certain charms or amulets called *saphies*, which the negroes constantly wear about them. These saphies are prayers, or rather sentences, from the Koran, which the Mahomedan priests write on scraps of paper, and sell to the simple natives, who consider them to possess very extraordinary virtues. Some of the negroes wear them to guard themselves against the bite of snakes or alligators; and on this occasion the saphie is commonly inclosed in a snake's or alligator's skin, and tied round the ankle. Others have recourse to them in time of war, to protect their persons against hostile weapons; but the common use to which these amulets are applied, is to prevent or cure bodily diseases—to preserve from hunger and thirst—and generally to conciliate the favour of superior powers, under all the circumstances and occurrences of life.\*

In this case, it is impossible not to admire the wonderful contagion of superstition; for, notwithstanding that the majority of the negroes are pagans, and absolutely reject the doctrines of Mahomet, I did not meet with a man, whether a bushreen or kafir, who was not fully persuaded of the powerful efficacy of these amulets. The truth is, that all the natives of this part of Africa consider the art of writing as bordering on magic; and it is not in the doctrines of the prophet, but in the arts of the magician, that their confidence is placed. It will hereafter be seen that I was myself lucky enough, in circumstances of distress, to turn the popular credulity in this respect to good account.

On the 7th I departed from Konjour, and slept at a village called Malla (or Mallaing); and on the 8th about noon I arrived at Kolor, a considerable town—near the entrance into which I observed, hanging upon a tree, a sort of masquerade habit, made of the bark of trees, which I was told, on inquiry, belonged to *Mumbo Jumbo*. This is a strange bugbear, common to all the Mandingo towns, and much employed by the pagan natives in

\* The term which signifies a man of free condition is *horeca*; that of a slave, *jong*.

† Medina in the Arabic signifies a city; the name is not uncommon among the negroes, and has probably been borrowed from the Mahomedans.

‡ It may seem from hence that the king was a Mahomedan; but I was assured to the contrary. He joined in prayer on this occasion probably from the mere dictates of his benevolent mind; considering, perhaps, that prayers to the Almighty, offered up with true devotion and sincerity, were equally acceptable, whether from bushreen or pagan.

\* I believe that similar charms or amulets, under the names of *domini*, *grigri*, *felich*, &c., &c., are common in all parts of Africa.

keeping their women in subjection; for as the kafirs are not restricted in the number of their wives, every one marries as many as he can conveniently maintain—and as it frequently happens that the ladies disagree among themselves, family quarrels sometimes rise to such a height, that the authority of the husband can no longer preserve peace in his household. In such cases, the interposition of Mumbo Jumbo is called in, and is always decisive.

This strange minister of justice (who is supposed to be either the husband himself, or some person instructed by him), disguised in the dress that has been mentioned, and armed with the rod of public authority, announces his coming (whenever his services are required) by loud and dismal screams in the woods near the town. He begins the pantomime at the approach of night; and as soon as it is dark, he enters the town, and proceeds to the bentang, at which all the inhabitants immediately assemble.

It may easily be supposed that this exhibition is not much relished by the women; for as the person in disguise is entirely unknown to them, every married female suspects that the visit may possibly be intended for herself; but they dare not refuse to appear when they are summoned; and the ceremony commences with songs and dances, which continue till midnight, about which time Mumbo fixes on the offender. This unfortunate victim being thereupon immediately seized, is stripped naked, tied to a post, and severely scourged with Mumbo's rod, amidst the shouts and derision of the whole assembly; and it is remarkable, that the rest of the women are the loudest in their exclamations on this occasion against their unhappy sister. Daylight puts an end to this indecent and unmanly revel.

December 9th.—As there was no water to be procured on the road, we travelled with great expedition until we reached Tambacunda; and departing from thence early the next morning, the 10th, we reached in the evening Kooniakary, a town of nearly the same magnitude as Kolor. About noon on the 11th we arrived at Koojar, the frontier town of Woooli, towards Bondou, from which it is separated by an intervening wilderness of two days' journey.

The guide appointed by the king of Woooli being now to return, I presented him with some amber for his trouble; and having been informed that it was not possible at all times to procure water in the wilderness, I made inquiry for men who would serve both as guides and water-bearers during my journey across it. Three negroes, elephant hunters, offered their services for these purposes, which I accepted, and paid them three bars each in advance; and the day being far spent, I determined to pass the night in my present quarters.

The inhabitants of Koojar, though not wholly unaccustomed to the sight of Europeans (most of them having occasionally visited the countries on the Gambia), beheld me with a mixture of curiosity and reverence, and in the evening invited me to see a *neobering*, or wrestling match, at the bentang. This is an exhibition very common in all the Mandingo countries. The spectators arranged themselves in a circle, leaving the intermediate space for the wrestlers, who were strong active young men, full of emulation, and accustomed, I suppose, from their infancy to this sort of exertion. Being stripped of their clothing, except a short pair of drawers, and having their skin anointed with oil, or *shea butter*, the combatants approached each other on all-fours, parrying with, and occasionally extending a hand for some time, till at length one of them sprang forward, and caught his rival by the knee. Great dexterity and judgment were now displayed, but the contest was decided by superior strength; and I think that few Europeans would have been able to cope with the conqueror. It must not be unobserved, that the combatants were animated by the music of a drum, by which their actions were in some measure regulated.

The wrestling was succeeded by a dance, in which many performers assisted, all of whom were provided with little bells, which were fastened to their legs and arms; and here, too, the drum regulated their motions.

It was beaten with a crooked stick, which the drummer held in his right hand, occasionally using his left to deaden the sound, and thus vary the music. The drum is likewise applied on these occasions to keep order among the spectators, by imitating the sound of certain Mandingo sentences: for example, when the wrestling match is about to begin, the drummer strikes what is understood to signify *ali ba see*—sit all down; upon which the spectators immediately seat themselves, and when the combatants are to begin, he strikes *amuta, amuta*—take hold, take hold!

In the course of the evening I was presented, by way of refreshment, with a liquor, which tasted so much like the strong beer of my native country (and very good beer too), as to induce me to inquire into its composition; and I learnt, with some degree of surprise, that it was actually made from corn which had been previously malted, much in the same manner as barley is malted in Great Britain—a root yielding a grateful bitter was used in lieu of hops, the name of which I have forgot; but the corn which yields the wort is the *holcus spicatus* of botanists.

Early in the morning (the 12th), I found that one of the elephant hunters had absconded with the money he had received from me in part of wages; and in order to prevent the other two from following his example, I made them instantly fill their calabashes (or gourds) with water; and as the sun rose, I entered the wilderness that separates the kingdoms of Woooli and Bondou.

We had not travelled more than a mile before my attendants insisted on stopping, that they might prepare a *saphie*, or charm, to insure us a safe journey. This was done by muttering a few sentences, and spitting upon a stone, which was thrown before us on the road. The same ceremony was repeated three times, after which the negroes proceeded with the greatest confidence; every one being firmly persuaded that the stone (like the scape-goat) had carried with it every thing that could induce superior powers to visit us with misfortune.

We continued our journey without stopping any more until noon, when we came to a large tree, called by the natives *neema taba*. It had a very singular appearance, being decorated with innumerable rags or scraps of cloth, which persons travelling across the wilderness had at different times tied to the branches—probably at first to inform the traveller that water was to be found near it; but the custom has been so greatly sanctioned by time, that nobody now presumes to pass without hanging up something. I followed the example, and suspended a handsome piece of cloth on one of the boughs; and being told that either a well, or pool of water, was at no great distance, I ordered the negroes to unload the asses, that we might give them corn, and regale ourselves with the provisions we had brought. In the meantime, I sent one of the elephant hunters to look for the well, intending, if water was to be obtained, to rest here for the night. A pool was found, but the water was thick and muddy, and the negro discovered near it the remains of a fire recently extinguished, and the fragments of provisions, which afforded a proof that it had been lately visited, either by travellers or banditti. The fears of my attendants supposed the latter; and believing that robbers lurked near us, I was persuaded to change my resolution of resting here all night, and proceed to another watering place, which I was assured we might reach early in the evening.

We departed accordingly, but it was eight o'clock at night before we came to the watering place; and being now sufficiently fatigued with so long a day's journey, we kindled a large fire, and lay down, surrounded by our cattle, on the bare ground, more than a gunshot from any bush—the negroes agreeing to keep watch by turns to prevent surprise.

I know not, indeed, that any danger was justly to be dreaded; but the negroes were unaccountably apprehensive of banditti, during the whole of the journey. As soon, therefore, as daylight appeared, we filled our *soofroos* (skins) and calabashes at the pool, and set out

for Tallika, the first town in Bondou, which we reached about eleven o'clock in the forenoon (the 13th of December). I cannot, however, take leave of Woולי, without observing that I was every where well received by the natives, and that the fatigues of the day were generally alleviated by a hearty welcome at night; and although the African mode of living was at first unpleasant to me, yet I found, at length, that custom surmounted trifling inconveniences, and made every thing palatable and easy.

#### CHAPTER IV.

Some Account of the Inhabitants of Tallika.—The Author proceeds for Fatteconda.—Incidents on the Road.—Crosses the Neriko, and arrives at Koorkarany.—Reaches the River Falemé.—Fishes on that River.—Proceeds along its Bank to Naye or Nayemow.—Crosses the Falemé, and arrives at Fatteconda.—Has an Interview with Almami, the Sovereign of Bondou.—Description of the King's Dwelling.—Has a second Interview with the King, who begs the Author's Coat.—Author visits the King's Wives.—Is permitted to depart on friendly terms.—Journey by Night.—Arrives at Joag.—Some Account of Bondou, and its Inhabitants the Foulahs.

TALLIKA, the frontier town of Bondou towards Woולי, is inhabited chiefly by Foulahs of the Mahomedan religion, who live in considerable affluence, partly by furnishing provisions to the coffles, or caravans, that pass through the town, and partly by the sale of ivory, obtained by hunting elephants; in which employment the young men are generally very successful. Here an officer belonging to the king of Bondou constantly resides, whose business it is to give timely information of the arrival of the caravans, which are taxed according to the number of loaded asses that arrive at Tallika.

I took up my residence at this officer's house, and agreed with him to accompany me to Fatteconda, the residence of the king, for which he was to receive five bars; and before my departure I wrote a few lines to Dr Laidley, and gave my letter to the master of a caravan bound for the Gambia. This caravan consisted of nine or ten people, with five asses loaded with ivory. The large teeth are conveyed in nets, two on each side of the ass—the small ones are wrapped up in skins, and secured with ropes.

December 14th.—We left Tallika, and rode on very peacefully for about two miles, when a violent quarrel arose between two of my fellow-travellers, one of whom was the blacksmith, in the course of which they bestowed some opprobrious terms upon each other; and it is worthy of remark, that an African will sooner forgive a blow than a term of reproach applied to his ancestors: "Strike me, but do not curse my mother," is a common expression even among the slaves. This sort of abuse, therefore, so enraged one of the disputants that he drew his cutlass upon the blacksmith, and would certainly have ended the dispute in a very serious manner, if the others had not laid hold of him, and wrested the cutlass from him. I was obliged to interfere, and put an end to this disagreeable business, by desiring the blacksmith to be silent, and telling the other, who I thought was in the wrong, that if he attempted in future to draw his cutlass, or molest any of my attendants, I should look upon him as a robber, and shoot him without farther ceremony. This threat had the desired effect, and we marched sullenly along till the afternoon, when we arrived at a number of small villages scattered over an open and fertile plain; at one of these, called Ganado, we took up our residence for the night: here an exchange of presents and a good supper terminated all animosities among my attendants—and the night was far advanced before any of us thought of going to sleep. We were amused by an itinerant *singing man*,\* who told a number of diverting stories, and played some sweet airs by blowing his breath upon

\* These are a sort of travelling bards and musicians, who sing extempore songs in praise of those who employ them. A fuller account of them will be given hereafter.

a bow-string, and striking it at the same time with a stick.

December 15th.—At day-break my fellow-travellers, the Serawoollies, took leave of me, with many prayers for my safety. About a mile from Ganado, we crossed a considerable branch of the Gambia, called Neriko. The banks were steep and covered with mimosas; and I observed in the mud a number of large muscles, but the natives do not eat them. About noon, the sun being exceedingly hot, we rested two hours in the shade of a tree, and purchased some milk and pounded corn from some Foulah herdsmen, and at sunset reached a town called Koorkarany, where the blacksmith had some relations; and here we rested two days.

Koorkarany is a Mahomedan town, surrounded by a high wall, and is provided with a mosque. Here I was shown a number of Arabic manuscripts, particularly a copy of the book before mentioned called *Al Shara*. The *maraboo*, or priest, in whose possession it was, read and explained to me in Mandingo many of the most remarkable passages; and in return I showed him Richardson's Arabic Grammar, which he very much admired.

On the evening of the second day (December 17th) we departed from Koorkarany. We were joined by a young man who was travelling to Fatteconda for salt; and as night set in we reached Dooggi, a small village about three miles from Koorkarany.

Provisions were here so cheap that I purchased a bullock for six small stones of amber; for I found my company increase or diminish according to the good fare they met with.

December 18th.—Early in the morning we departed from Dooggi, and being joined by a number of Foulahs and other people, made a formidable appearance; and were under no apprehension of being plundered in the woods. About eleven o'clock, one of the asses proving very refractory, the negroes took a curious method to make him tractable. They cut a forked stick, and putting the forked part into the ass's mouth, like the bit of a bridle, tied the two smaller parts together above his head, leaving the lower part of the stick of sufficient length to strike against the ground, if the ass should attempt to put his head down. After this, the ass walked along quietly and gravely enough, taking care, after some practice, to hold his head sufficiently high to prevent the stones or roots of trees from striking against the end of the stick, which experience had taught him would give a severe shock to his teeth. This contrivance produced a ludicrous appearance; but my fellow-travellers told me it was constantly adopted by the slates, and always proved effectual.

In the evening we arrived at a few scattered villages, surrounded with extensive cultivation; at one of which, called Buggil, we passed the night in a miserable hut, having no other bed than a bundle of corn stalks, and no provisions but what we brought with us. The wells here are dug with great ingenuity, and are very deep. I measured one of the bucket ropes, and found the depth of the well to be twenty-eight fathoms.

December 19th.—We departed from Buggil, and travelled along a dry, stoney height, covered with mimosas, till mid-day, when the land sloped towards the east, and we descended into a deep valley, in which I observed abundance of whinstone, and white quartz. Pursuing our course to the eastward, along this valley, in the bed of an exhausted river course, we came to a large village, where we intended to lodge. We found many of the natives, dressed in a thin French gauze, which they called *bygui*; this being a light airy dress, and well calculated to display the shape of their persons, is much esteemed by the ladies. The manners of these females, however, did not correspond with their dress—for they were rude and troublesome in the highest degree; they surrounded me in numbers, begging for amber, beads, &c.; and were so vehement in their solicitations, that I found it impossible to resist them. They tore my cloak, cut the buttons from my boy's clothes; and were proceeding to other outrages, when I mounted my horse and rode off, followed for half a mile by a body of these harpies.

In the evening we reached Soobrudooka, and as my company was numerous (being fourteen), I purchased a sheep and abundance of corn for supper; after which we lay down by the bundles, and passed an uncomfortable night in a heavy dew.

December 20th.—We departed from Soobrudooka, and at two o'clock reached a large village situated on the banks of the Falemé river, which is here rapid and rocky. The natives were employed in fishing in various ways. The large fish were taken in long baskets made of split cane, and placed in a strong current, which was created by walls of stone built across the stream, certain open places being left, through which the water rushed with great force. Some of these baskets were more than twenty feet long, and when once the fish had entered one of them, the force of the stream prevented it from returning. The small fish were taken in great numbers in hand-nets, which the natives weave of cotton, and use with great dexterity. The fish last mentioned are about the size of sprats, and are prepared for sale in different ways; the most common is by pounding them entire as they come from the stream, in a wooden mortar, and exposing them to dry in the sun, in large lumps like sugar loaves. It may be supposed that the smell is not very agreeable; but in the Moorish countries to the north of the Senegal, where fish is scarcely known, this preparation is esteemed as a luxury, and sold to considerable advantage. The manner of using it by the natives is, by dissolving a piece of this black loaf in boiling water, and mixing it with their *kouskous*.

I thought it very singular, at this season of the year, to find the banks of the Falemé every where covered with large and beautiful fields of corn; but, on examination, I found it was not the same species of grain as is commonly cultivated on the Gambia—it is called by the natives *manio*, and grows in the dry season, is very prolific, and is reaped in the month of January. It is the same which, from the depending position of the ear, is called by botanical writers *holcus cernuus*.

On returning to the village, after an excursion to the river side to inspect the fishery, an old Moorish sheereff came to bestow his blessing upon me, and beg some paper to write snaphies upon. This man had seen Major Houghton in the kingdom of Kaarta, and told me that he died in the country of the Moors. I gave him a few sheets of paper, and he levied a similar tribute from the blacksmith; for it is customary for young Mussulmen to make presents to the old ones, in order to obtain their blessing, which is pronounced in Arabic, and received with great humility.

About three in the afternoon we continued our course along the bank of the river to the northward, till eight o'clock, when we reached Nayemow; here the hospitable master of the town received us kindly, and presented us with a bullock. In return, I gave him some amber and beads.

December 21st.—In the morning, having agreed for a canoe to carry over my bundles, I crossed the river, which came up to my knees as I sat on my horse; but the water is so clear, that from the high bank the bottom is visible all the way over.

About noon we entered Fatteconda, the capital of Bondou, and in a little time received an invitation to the house of a respectable sateé: for as there are no public houses in Africa, it is customary for strangers to stand at the bentang, or some other place of public resort, till they are invited to a lodging by some of the inhabitants. We accepted the offer; and in an hour afterwards, a person came and told me that he was sent on purpose to conduct me to the king, who was very desirous of seeing me immediately, if I was not too much fatigued.

I took my interpreter with me, and followed the messenger till we got quite out of the town, and crossed some corn fields; when, suspecting some trick, I stopped, and asked the guide whither he was going. Upon which he pointed to a man sitting under a tree at some little distance, and told me that the king frequently gave audience in that retired manner, in order to avoid

a crowd of people; and that nobody but myself and my interpreter must approach him. When I advanced, the king desired me to come and sit by him upon the mat; and, after hearing my story, on which he made no observation, he asked if I wished to purchase any slaves or gold: being answered in the negative, he seemed rather surprised, but desired me to come to him in the evening, and he would give me some provisions.

This monarch was called Almani—a Moorish name, though I was told that he was not a Mahomedan, but a kafir or pagan. I had heard that he had acted towards Major Houghton with great unkindness, and caused him to be plundered. His behaviour therefore towards myself at this interview, though much more civil than I expected, was far from freeing me from uneasiness. I still apprehended some double dealing; and as I was now entirely in his power, I thought it best to smooth the way by a present: accordingly, I took with me in the evening one canister of gunpowder, some amber, tobacco, and my umbrella; and as I considered that my bundles would inevitably be searched, I concealed some few articles in the roof of the hut where I lodged, and I put on my new blue coat, in order to preserve it.

All the houses belonging to the king and his family are surrounded by a lofty mud wall, which converts the whole into a kind of citadel. The interior is subdivided into different courts. At the first place of entrance, I observed a man standing with a musket on his shoulder; and I found the way to the presence very intricate, leading through many passages, with sentinels placed at the different doors. When we came to the entrance of the court in which the king resides, both my guide and interpreter, according to custom, took off their sandals; and the former pronounced the king's name aloud, repeating it till he was answered from within. We found the monarch sitting upon a mat, and two attendants with him. I repeated what I had before told him concerning the object of my journey, and my reasons for passing through his country. He seemed, however, but half satisfied. The notion of travelling for curiosity was quite new to him. He thought it impossible, he said, that any man in his senses would undertake so dangerous a journey, merely to look at the country and its inhabitants. However, when I offered to show him the contents of my portmanteau, and every thing belonging to me, he was convinced; and it was evident that his suspicion had arisen from a belief that every white man must of necessity be a trader. When I had delivered my presents, he seemed well pleased, and was particularly delighted with the umbrella, which he repeatedly furled and unfurled, to the great admiration of himself and his two attendants, who could not for some time comprehend the use of this wonderful machine. After this I was about to take my leave, when the king, desiring me to stop a while, began a long preamble in favour of the whites, extolling their immense wealth and good dispositions. He next proceeded to an eulogium on my blue coat, of which the yellow buttons seemed particularly to catch his fancy; and he concluded by entreating me to present him with it—assuring me, for my consolation under the loss of it, that he would wear it on all public occasions, and inform every one who saw it of my great liberality towards him. The request of an African prince, in his own dominions, particularly when made to a stranger, comes little short of a command. It is only a way of obtaining by gentle means, what he can, if he pleases, take by force; and as it was against my interest to offend him by a refusal, I very quietly took off my coat, the only good one in my possession, and laid it at his feet.

In return for my compliance, he presented me with great plenty of provisions, and desired to see me again in the morning. I accordingly attended, and found him sitting upon his bed. He told me he was sick, and wished to have a little blood taken from him; but I had no sooner tied up his arm, and displayed the lancet, than his courage failed; and he begged me to postpone the operation till the afternoon, as he felt

himself, he said, much better than he had been, and thanked me kindly for my readiness to serve him. He then observed, that his women were very desirous to see me, and requested that I would favour them with a visit. An attendant was ordered to conduct me—and I had no sooner entered the court appropriated to the ladies, than the whole seraglio surrounded me—some begging for physic, some for amber; and all of them desirous of trying that great African specific, *blood-letting*. They were ten or twelve in number, most of them young and handsome, and wearing on their heads ornaments of gold, and beads of amber.

They rallied me with a good deal of gaiety on different subjects; particularly upon the whiteness of my skin, and the prominence of my nose. They insisted that both were artificial. The first, they said, was produced when I was an infant, by dipping me in milk; and they insisted that my nose had been pinched every day, till it had acquired its present unsightly and unnatural conformation. On my part, without disputing my own deformity, I paid them many compliments on African beauty. I praised the glossy jet of their skins, and the lovely depression of their noses; but they said that flattery, or (as they emphatically termed it) *honey-mouth*, was not esteemed in Bondou. In return, however, for my company or my compliments (to which, by the way, they seemed not so insensible as they affected to be), they presented me with a jar of honey and some fish, which were sent to my lodging; and I was desired to come again to the king a little before sunset.

I carried with me some beads and writing paper, it being usual to present some small offering on taking leave: in return for which, the king gave me five drachms of gold; observing, that it was but a trifle, and given out of pure friendship, but would be of use to me in travelling, for the purchase of provisions. He seconded this act of kindness by one still greater; politely telling me, that though it was customary to examine the baggage of every traveller passing through his country, yet, in the present instance, he would dispense with that ceremony; adding, I was at liberty to depart when I pleased.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 23d, we left Fatteconda, and about eleven o'clock came to a small village, where we determined to stop for the rest of the day.

In the afternoon my fellow-travellers informed me, that as this was the boundary between Bondou and Kajaaga, and dangerous for travellers, it would be necessary to continue our journey by night, until we should reach a more hospitable part of the country. I agreed to the proposal, and hired two people for guides through the woods; and as soon as the people of the village were gone to sleep (the moon shining bright), we set out. The stillness of the air, the howling of the wild beasts, and the deep solitude of the forest, made the scene solemn and impressive. Not a word was uttered by any of us but in a whisper; all were attentive, and every one anxious to show his sagacity by pointing out to me the wolves and hyenas, as they glided, like shadows, from one thicket to another. Towards morning, we arrived at a village called Kimmoo, where our guides awakened one of their acquaintances, and we stopped to give the asses some corn, and roast a few ground nuts for ourselves. At day-light we resumed our journey; and in the afternoon arrived at Joag, in the kingdom of Kajaaga.

Being now in a country, and among a people, differing in many respects from those that have as yet fallen under our observation, I shall, before I proceed farther, give some account of Bondou (the territory we have left), and its inhabitants the Foulahs, the description of whom I purposely reserved for this part of my work.

Bondou is bounded on the east by Bambouk, on the south-east and south by Tenda and the Simbani wilderness, on the south-west by Woolli, on the west by Foota Torra, and on the north by Kajaaga.

The country, like that of Woolli, is very generally covered with woods, but the land is more elevated, and,

towards the Falemé river, rises into considerable hills. In native fertility, the soil is not surpassed, I believe, by any part of Africa.

From the central situation of Bondou, between the Gambia and Senegal rivers, it is become a place of great resort, both for the slaves—who generally pass through it, in going from the coast to the interior countries—and for occasional traders, who frequently come hither from the inland countries to purchase salt.

These different branches of commerce are conducted principally by Mandingoes and Serawoolies who have settled in the country. These merchants likewise carry on a considerable trade with Gedumal, and other Moorish countries, bartering corn and blue cotton cloths for salt; which they again barter in Dentila, and other districts, for iron, shea-butter, and small quantities of gold-dust. They likewise sell a variety of sweet-smelling gums, packed up in small bags, containing each about a pound. These gums, being thrown on hot embers, produce a very pleasant odour, and are used by the Mandingoes for perfuming their huts and clothes.

The customs, or duties on travellers, are very heavy; in almost every town an ass-load pays a bar of European merchandise, and at Fatteconda, the residence of the king, one Indian baft, or a musket, and six bottles of gunpowder, are exacted as the common tribute. By means of these duties, the king of Bondou is well supplied with arms and ammunition—a circumstance which makes him formidable to the neighbouring states.

The inhabitants differ in their complexions and national manners from the Mandingoes and Serawoolies, with whom they are frequently at war. Some years ago the king of Bondou crossed the Falemé river with a numerous army; and, after a short and bloody campaign, totally defeated the forces of Sambou, king of Bambouk, who was obliged to sue for peace, and surrender to him all the towns along the eastern bank of the Falemé.

The Foulahs in general (as has been observed in a former chapter) are of a tawny complexion, with small features and soft silky hair; next to the Mandingoes, they are undoubtedly the most considerable of all the nations in this part of Africa. Their original country is said to be Fooladoo (which signifies the country of the Foulahs); but they possess at present many other kingdoms at a great distance from each other: their complexion, however, is not exactly the same in the different districts; in Bondou, and the other kingdoms which are situated in the vicinity of the Moorish territories, they are of a more yellow complexion than in the southern states.

The Foulahs of Bondou are naturally of a mild and gentle disposition, but the uncharitable maxims of the Koran have made them less hospitable to strangers, and more reserved in their behaviour, than the Mandingoes. They evidently consider all the negro natives as their inferiors; and, when talking of different nations, always rank themselves among the white people.

Their government differs from that of the Mandingoes chiefly in this, that they are more immediately under the influence of the Mahomedan laws; for all the chief men, the king excepted, and a large majority of the inhabitants of Bondou, are Mussulmen, and the authority and laws of the Prophet are every where looked upon as sacred and decisive. In the exercise of their faith, however, they are not very intolerant towards such of their countrymen as still retain their ancient superstitions. Religious persecution is not known among them, nor is it necessary; for the system of Mahomet is made to extend itself by means abundantly more efficacious. By establishing small schools in the different towns, where many of the pagan as well as Mahomedan children are taught to read the Koran, and instructed in the tenets of the Prophet, the Mahomedan priests fix a bias on the minds, and form the character, of their young disciples, which no accidents of life can ever afterwards remove or alter. Many of these little schools I visited in my progress through the country, and observed with pleasure the great docility and submissive deportment of the children, and heartily

wished they had had better instructors, and a purer religion.

With the Mahomedan faith is also introduced the Arabic language, with which most of the Foulahs have a slight acquaintance. Their native tongue abounds very much in liquids, but there is something unpleasant in the manner of pronouncing it. A stranger, on hearing the common conversation of two Foulahs, would imagine that they were scolding each other. Their numerals are these:—

|                |                   |
|----------------|-------------------|
| One, Go.       | Six, Jogo.        |
| Two, Deeddee.  | Seven, Jeedeedee. |
| Three, Tettee. | Eight, Je Tettee. |
| Four, Nee.     | Nine, Je Nee.     |
| Five, Jouee.   | Ten, Sappo.       |

The industry of the Foulahs, in the occupations of pasturage and agriculture, is every where remarkable. Even on the banks of the Gambia, the greater part of the corn is raised by them, and their herds and flocks are more numerous and in better condition than those of the Mandingoes; but in Bondou they are opulent in a high degree, and enjoy all the necessaries of life in the greatest profusion. They display great skill in the management of their cattle, making them extremely gentle by kindness and familiarity. On the approach of night, they are collected from the woods and secured in folds, called *korrees*, which are constructed in the neighbourhood of the different villages. In the middle of each korree is erected a small hut, wherein one or two of the herdsmen keep watch during the night, to prevent the cattle from being stolen, and to keep up the fires which are kindled round the korree to frighten away the wild beasts.

The cattle are milked in the mornings and evenings: the milk is excellent; but the quantity obtained from any one cow is by no means so great as in Europe. The Foulahs use the milk chiefly as an article of diet, and that not until it is quite sour. The cream which it affords is very thick, and is converted into butter by stirring it violently in a large calabash. This butter, when melted over a gentle fire, and freed from impurities, is preserved in small earthen pots, and forms a part in most of their dishes; it serves likewise to anoint their heads, and is bestowed very liberally on their faces and arms.

But although milk is plentiful, it is somewhat remarkable that the Foulahs, and indeed all the inhabitants of this part of Africa, are totally unacquainted with the art of making cheese. A firm attachment to the customs of their ancestors, makes them view with an eye of prejudice every thing that looks like innovation. The heat of the climate, and the great scarcity of salt, are held forth as unanswerable objections; and the whole process appears to them too long and troublesome to be attended with any solid advantage.

Besides the cattle, which constitute the chief wealth of the Foulahs, they possess some excellent horses, the breed of which seems to be a mixture of the Arabian with the original African.

## CHAPTER V.

Account of Kajaaga—Serawoolies—Their Manners and Language.—Account of Joag.—The Author is ill-treated, and robbed of half of his effects, by order of Batcheri, the King.—Charity of a Female Slave.—The Author is visited by Demba Sego, Nephew of the King of Kasson, who offers to conduct him in safety to that Kingdom.—Offer accepted.—The Author and his Protector, with a numerous Retinue, set out and reach Samee, on the Banks of the Senegal.—Proceed to Kayee, and, crossing the Senegal, arrive in the Kingdom of Kasson.

THE kingdom of Kajaaga, in which I was now arrived, is called by the French Gallam; but the name that I have adopted is universally used by the natives. This country is bounded on the south-east and south by Bambouk, on the west by Bondou and Poota-Torra, and on the north by the river Senegal.

The air and climate are, I believe, more pure and salubrious than at any of the settlements towards the coast; the face of the country is every where interspersed with a pleasing variety of hills and vallies; and the windings of the Senegal river, which descends from the rocky hills of the interior, make the scenery on its banks very picturesque and beautiful.

The inhabitants are called Serawoolies, or (as the French write it) *Seracolets*. Their complexion is a jet black: they are not to be distinguished in this respect from the Jaloffs.

The government is monarchical; and the regal authority, from what I experienced of it, seems to be sufficiently formidable. The people themselves, however, complain of no oppression, and seemed all very anxious to support the king in a contest he was going to enter into with the sovereign of Kasson. The Serawoolies are habitually a trading people; they formerly carried on a great commerce with the French in gold and slaves, and still maintain some traffic in slaves with the British factories on the Gambia. They are reckoned tolerably fair and just in their dealings, but are indefatigable in their exertions to acquire wealth, and they derive considerable profits by the sale of salt, and cotton cloth, in distant countries. When a Serawooli merchant returns home from a trading expedition, the neighbours immediately assemble to congratulate him upon his arrival. On these occasions the traveller displays his wealth and liberality, by making a few presents to his friends; but if he has been unsuccessful, his levee is soon over, and every one looks upon him as a man of no understanding, who could perform a long journey and (as they express it) "bring back nothing but the hair upon his head."

Their language abounds much in gutturals, and is not so harmonious as that spoken by the Foulahs: it is, however, well worth acquiring by those who travel through this part of the African continent—it being very generally understood in the kingdoms of Kasson, Kaarta, Ludamar, and the northern parts of Bambarra. In all these countries the Serawoolies are the chief traders. Their numerals are:—

|                |                        |
|----------------|------------------------|
| One, Bani.     | Seven, Nero.           |
| Two, Fillo.    | Eight, Sego.           |
| Three, Sicc.   | Nine, Kabbo.           |
| Four, Narrato. | Ten, Tamo.             |
| Five, Karrago. | Twenty, Tamo di Fillo. |
| Six, Toomo.    |                        |

We arrived at Joag, the frontier town of this kingdom, on the 24th of December, and took up our residence at the house of the chief man, who is here no longer known by the title of *alkaid*, but is called the *dooty*. He was a rigid Mahomedan, but distinguished for his hospitality. This town may be supposed, on a gross computation, to contain two thousand inhabitants. It is surrounded by a high wall, in which are a number of port-holes for musketry to fire through, in case of an attack. Every man's possession is likewise surrounded by a wall—the whole forming so many distinct citadels; and amongst a people unacquainted with the use of artillery, these walls answer all the purposes of stronger fortifications. To the westward of the town is a small river, on the banks of which the natives raise great plenty of tobacco and onions.

The same evening Madiboo the bushreen, who had accompanied me from Pisania, went to pay a visit to his father and mother, who dwelt at a neighbouring town, called Dramanet. He was joined by my other attendant the blacksmith; and as soon as it was dark, I was invited to see the sports of the inhabitants, it being their custom, on the arrival of strangers, to welcome them by diversions of different kinds. I found a great crowd surrounding a party who were dancing, by the light of some large fires, to the music of four drums, which were beat with great exactness and uniformity. The dances, however, consisted more in wanton gestures than in muscular exertion or graceful attitudes. The ladies vied with each other in displaying the most voluptuous movements imaginable.

December 25th.—About two o'clock in the morning

a number of horsemen came into the town, and, having awakened my landlord, talked to him for some time in the Serawoolli tongue; after which they dismounted, and came to the bentang, on which I had made my bed. One of them, thinking that I was asleep, attempted to steal the musket that lay by me on the mat; but, finding that he could not effect his purpose undiscovered, he desisted; and the strangers sat down by me till daylight.

I could now easily perceive, by the countenance of my interpreter, Johnson, that something very unpleasant was in agitation. I was likewise surprised to see Madiboo and the blacksmith so soon returned. On inquiring the reason, Madiboo informed me, that as they were dancing at Dramanet, ten horsemen belonging to Batcheri, king of the country, with his second son at their head, had arrived there, inquiring if the white man had passed; and on being told that I was at Joag, they rode off without stopping. Madiboo added, that on hearing this, he and the blacksmith hastened back to give me notice of their coming. Whilst I was listening to this narrative, the ten horsemen mentioned by Madiboo arrived; and, coming to the bentang, dismounted and seated themselves with those who had come before—the whole being about twenty in number, forming a circle round me, and each man holding his musket in his hand. I took this opportunity to observe to my landlord, that as I did not understand the Serawoolli tongue, I hoped, whatever the men had to say, they would speak in Mandingo. To this they agreed; and a short man, loaded with a remarkable number of saphies, opened the business in a very long harangue, informing me that I had entered the king's town without having first paid the duties, or giving any present to the king, and that, according to the laws of the country, my people, cattle, and baggage, were forfeited. He added, that they had received orders from the king to conduct me to Maana,\* the place of his residence; and if I refused to come with them, their orders were to bring me by force—upon his saying which, all of them rose up and asked me if I was ready. It would have been equally vain and imprudent in me to have resisted or irritated such a body of men; I therefore affected to comply with their commands, and begged them only to stop a little until I had given my horse a feed of corn, and settled matters with my landlord. The poor blacksmith, who was a native of Kasson, mistook this feigned compliance for a real intention, and, taking me away from the company, told me, that he had always behaved towards me as if I had been his father and master, and he hoped I would not entirely ruin him by going to Maana; adding, that as there was every reason to believe a war would soon take place between Kasson and Kajaaga, he should not only lose his little property, the savings of four years' industry, but should certainly be detained and sold as a slave, unless his friends had an opportunity of paying two slaves for his redemption. I saw this reasoning in its full force, and determined to do my utmost to preserve the blacksmith from so dreadful a fate. I therefore told the king's son that I was ready to go with him, upon condition that the blacksmith, who was an inhabitant of a distant kingdom, and entirely unconnected with me, should be allowed to stay at Joag till my return; to this they all objected, and insisted that as we had all acted contrary to the laws, we were all equally answerable for our conduct.

I now took my landlord aside, and giving him a small present of gunpowder, asked his advice in so critical a situation. He was decidedly of opinion that I ought not to go to the king: he was fully convinced, he said, that if the king should discover any thing valuable in my possession, he would not be over scrupulous about the means of obtaining it. This made me the more solicitous to conciliate matters with the king's people; and I began by observing, that what I had done did not proceed from any want of respect towards the king,

\* Maana is within a short distance of the ruins of Fort St Joseph, on the Senegal river, formerly a French factory.

nor from any wish to violate his laws, but wholly from my own inexperience and ignorance, being a stranger, totally unacquainted with the laws and customs of their country: I had indeed entered the king's frontier, without knowing that I was to pay the duties beforehand, but I was ready to pay them now; which I thought was all they could reasonably demand. I then tendered them, as a present to the king, the five drachms of gold which the king of Bondou had given me; this they accepted, but insisted on examining my baggage, which I opposed in vain. The bundles were opened; but the men were much disappointed in not finding in them so much gold and amber as they expected: they made up the deficiency, however, by taking whatever things they fancied; and after wrangling and debating with me till sunset, they departed, having first robbed me of half my goods. These proceedings dispirited my people, and our fortune was not strengthened by a very indifferent supper, after a long fast. Madiboo begged me to turn back; Johnson laughed at the thought of proceeding without money; and the blacksmith was afraid to be seen, or even to speak, lest any one should discover him to be a native of Kasson. In this disposition, we passed the night by the side of a dim fire, and our situation the next day was very perplexing: it was impossible to procure provisions without money, and I knew that if I produced any beads or amber, the king would immediately hear of it, and I should probably lose the few effects I had concealed. We therefore resolved to combat hunger for the day, and wait some favourable opportunity of purchasing or begging provisions.

Towards the evening, as I was sitting upon the bentang chewing straws, an old female slave, passing by with a basket upon her head, asked me if I had got my dinner. As I thought she only laughed at me, I gave her no answer; but my boy, who was sitting close by, answered for me, and told her that the king's people had robbed me of all my money. On hearing this, the good old woman, with a look of unaffected benevolence, immediately took the basket from her head, and showing me that it contained ground nuts, asked me if I could eat them; being answered in the affirmative, she presented me with a few handfuls, and walked away, before I had time to thank her for this seasonable supply. This trifling circumstance gave me peculiar satisfaction. I reflected with pleasure on the conduct of this poor untutored slave, who, without examining into my character or circumstances, listened implicitly to the dictates of her own heart. Experience had taught her that hunger was painful, and her own distresses made her commiserate those of others.

The old woman had scarcely left me, when I received information that a nephew of Demba Sego Jalla, the Mandingo king of Kasson, was coming to pay me a visit. He had been sent on an embassy to Batcheri, king of Kajaaga, to endeavour to settle the disputes which had arisen between his uncle and the latter; but, after debating the matter four days without success, he was now on his return—and hearing that a white man was at Joag, on his way to Kasson, curiosity brought him to see me. I represented to him my situation and distresses, when he frankly offered me his protection, and said he would be my guide to Kasson (provided I would set out the next morning), and be answerable for my safety. I readily and gratefully accepted his offer, and was ready, with my attendants, by daylight on the morning of the 27th of December.

My protector, whose name was Demba Sego, probably after his uncle, had a numerous retinue. Our company, at leaving Joag, consisted of thirty persons and six loaded asses; and we rode on cheerfully enough for some hours, without any remarkable occurrence, until we came to a species of tree, for which my interpreter, Johnson, had made frequent inquiry. On finding it, he desired us to stop; and, producing a white chicken, which he had purchased at Joag for the purpose, he tied it by the leg to one of the branches, and then told us we might now safely proceed, for that our journey would be prosperous. This circumstance is

mentioned merely to illustrate the disposition of the negroes, and to show the power of superstition over their minds; for although this man had resided seven years in England, it was evident that he still retained the prejudices and notions he had imbibed in his youth. He meant this ceremony, he told me, as an offering, or sacrifice, to the spirits of the woods, who were, he said, a powerful race of beings, of a white colour, with long flowing hair. I laughed at his folly, but could not condemn the piety of his motives.

At noon we had reached Gungadi, a large town, where we stopped about an hour, until some of the asses that had fallen behind came up. Here I observed a number of date trees, and a mosque built of clay, with six turrets, on the pinnacles of which were placed six ostrich eggs. A little before sunset we arrived at the town of Samee, on the banks of the Senegal, which is here a beautiful but shallow river, moving slowly over a bed of sand and gravel. The banks are high, and covered with verdure—the country is open and cultivated—and the rocky hills of Fellow and Bambouk add much to the beauty of the landscape.

December 28th.—We departed from Samee, and arrived in the afternoon at Kayee, a large village, part of which is situated on the north, and part on the south side of the river. A little above this place is a considerable cataract, where the river flows over a ledge of whinstone rock with great force: below this the river is remarkably black and deep; and here it was proposed to make our cattle swim over. After hallooing, and firing some muskets, the people on the Kasson side observed us, and brought over a canoe to carry our baggage. I did not, however, think it possible to get the cattle down the bank, which is here more than forty feet above the water; but the negroes seized the horses, and launched them, one at a time, down a sort of trench or gully, that was almost perpendicular, and seemed to have been worn smooth by this sort of use. After the terrified cattle had been plunged in this manner to the water's edge, every man got down as well as he could. The ferryman then taking hold of the most steady of the horses by a rope, led him into the water, and paddled the canoe a little from the brink; upon which a general attack commenced upon the other horses, who, finding themselves pelted and kicked on all sides, unanimously plunged into the river, and followed their companion. A few boys swam in after them; and, by laving water upon them when they attempted to return, urged them onwards; and we had the satisfaction, in about fifteen minutes, to see them all safe on the other side. It was a matter of greater difficulty to manage the asses; their natural stubbornness of disposition made them endure a great deal of pelting and shoving before they would venture into the water; and when they had reached the middle of the stream, four of them turned back, in spite of every exertion to get them forwards. Two hours were spent in getting the whole of them over; an hour more was employed in transporting the baggage; and it was near sunset before the canoe returned, when Demba Segó and myself embarked in this dangerous passage-boat, which the least motion was like to overset. The king's nephew thought this a proper time to have a peep into a tin box of mine, that stood in the fore part of the canoe; and in stretching out his hand for it, he unfortunately destroyed the equilibrium, and overset the canoe. Luckily we were not far advanced, and got back to the shore without much difficulty; from whence, after wringing the water from our clothes, we took a fresh departure, and were soon afterwards safely landed in Kasson.

CHAPTER VI.

Arrival at Teesee.—Interview with Tiggity Segó, the King's Brother.—The Author's Detention at Teesee.—Sets out for Koonlakary, the Capital of the Kingdom.—Arrival there.

We no sooner found ourselves safe in Kasson, than Demba Segó told me that we were now in his uncle's

dominions, and he hoped I would consider, being now out of danger, the obligation I owed to him, and make him a suitable return for the trouble he had taken on my account by a handsome present. This, as he knew how much had been pilfered from me at Joag, was rather an unexpected proposition, and I began to fear that I had not much improved my condition by crossing the water; but as it would have been folly to complain, I made no observation upon his conduct, and gave him seven bars of amber and some tobacco, with which he seemed to be content.

After a long day's journey, in the course of which I discovered a number of large loose nodules of white granite, we arrived at Teesee on the evening of December 29th, and were accommodated in Demba Segó's hut. The next morning he introduced me to his father, Tiggity Segó, brother to the king of Kasson, chief of Teesee. The old man viewed me with great earnestness, having never, he said, beheld but one white man before, whom by his description I immediately knew to be Major Houghton. I related to him, in answer to his inquiries, the motives that induced me to explore the country. But he seemed to doubt the truth of what I asserted, thinking, I believe, that I secretly meditated some project which I was afraid to avow. He told me, it would be necessary I should go to Kooniakary, the residence of the king, to pay my respects to that prince, but desired me to come to him again before I left Teesee.

In the afternoon one of his slaves eloped; and a general alarm being given, every person that had a horse rode into the woods, in the hopes of apprehending him, and Demba Segó begged the use of my horse for the same purpose. I readily consented; and in about an hour they all returned with the slave, who was severely flogged, and afterwards put in irons. On the day following (December 31st), Demba Segó was ordered to go with twenty horsemen to a town in Gedumah, to adjust some dispute with the Moors, a party of whom were supposed to have stolen three horses from Teesee. Demba Segó begged a second time the use of my horse, adding, that the sight of my bridle and saddle would give him consequence among the Moors. This request also I readily granted, and he promised to return at the end of three days. During his absence I amused myself with walking about the town, and conversing with the natives, who attended me every where with great kindness and curiosity, and supplied me with milk, eggs, and what other provisions I wanted, on very easy terms.

Teesee is a large unwall'd town, having no security against the attack of an enemy except a sort of citadel, in which Tiggity and his family constantly reside. This town, according to the report of the natives, was formerly inhabited only by a few Foulah shepherds, who lived in considerable affluence by means of the excellent meadows in the neighbourhood, in which they reared great herds of cattle. But their prosperity attracting the envy of some Mandingoes, the latter drove out the shepherds, and took possession of their lands.

The present inhabitants, though they possess both cattle and corn in abundance, are not over nice in articles of diet; rats, moles, squirrels, snakes, locusts, &c. are eaten without scruple by the highest and lowest. My people were one evening invited to a feast given by some of the townsmen, where, after making a hearty meal of what they thought fish and kouskous, one of them found a piece of hard skin in the dish, and brought it along with him, to show me what sort of fish they had been eating. On examining the skin, I found they had been feasting on a large snake. Another custom still more extraordinary, is, that no woman is allowed to eat an egg. This prohibition, whether arising from ancient superstition, or from the craftiness of some old bushreen who loved eggs himself, is rigidly adhered to, and nothing will more affront a woman of Teesee than to offer her an egg. The custom is the more singular, as the men eat eggs without scruple in the presence of their wives, and I never observed the same prohibition in any other of the Mandingo countries.



The third day after his son's departure, Tiggity Segó held a palaver on a very extraordinary occasion, which I attended; and the debates on both sides of the question displayed much ingenuity. The case was this:—A young man, a kafir, of considerable affluence, who had recently married a young and handsome wife, applied to a very devout bushreen, or Mussulman priest, of his acquaintance, to procure him saphies for his protection during the approaching war. The bushreen complied with the request; and in order, as he pretended, to render the saphies more efficacious, enjoined the young man to avoid any nuptial intercourse with his bride for the space of six weeks. Severe as the injunction was, the kafir strictly obeyed; and, without telling his wife the real cause, absented himself from her company. In the mean time it began to be whispered at Teesee that the bushreen, who always performed his evening devotions at the door of the kafir's hut, was more intimate with the young wife than he ought to be. At first, the good husband was unwilling to suspect the honour of his sanctified friend, and one whole month elapsed before any jealousy rose in his mind; but hearing the charge repeated, he at last interrogated his wife on the subject, who frankly confessed that the bushreen had seduced her. Hereupon the kafir put her into confinement, and called a palaver upon the bushreen's conduct. The fact was clearly proved against him; and he was sentenced to be sold into slavery, or to find two slaves for his redemption, according to the pleasure of the complainant. The injured husband, however, was unwilling to proceed against his friend to such extremity, and desired rather to have him publicly flogged before Tiggity Segó's gate. This was agreed to, and the sentence was immediately executed. The culprit was tied by the hands to a strong stake; and a long black rod being brought forth, the executioner, after flourishing it round his head for some time, applied it with such force and dexterity to the bushreen's back, as to make him roar until the woods resounded with his screams. The surrounding multitude, by their hooting and laughing, manifested how much they enjoyed the punishment of this old gallant; and it is worthy of remark, that the number of stripes was precisely the same as are enjoined by the Mosaic law, *forty, save one*.

As there appeared great probability that Teesee, from its being a frontier town, would be much exposed during the war to the predatory excursions of the Moors of Gedumah, Tiggity Segó had, before my arrival, sent round to the neighbouring villages, to beg or to purchase as much provisions as would afford subsistence to the inhabitants for one whole year, independently of the crop on the ground, which the Moors might destroy. This project was well received by the country people, and they fixed a day on which to bring all the provisions they could spare to Teesee; and as my horse was not yet returned, I went, in the afternoon of January 4th, 1796, to meet the escort with the provisions.

It was composed of about 400 men, marching in good order, with corn and ground nuts in large calabashes upon their heads. They were preceded by a strong guard of bowmen, and followed by eight musicians or singing men. As soon as they approached the town, the latter began a song, every verse of which was answered by the company, and succeeded by a few strokes on the large drums. In this manner they proceeded, amidst the acclamations of the populace, till they reached the house of Tiggity Segó, where the loads were deposited; and in the evening they all assembled under the bentang tree, and spent the night in dancing and merriment. Many of these strangers remained at Teesee for three days, during which time I was constantly attended by as many of them as could conveniently see me; one party giving way to another, as soon as curiosity was gratified.

On the 5th of January, an embassy of ten people belonging to Almami Abdulkader, king of Foota-Torra, a country to the west of Bondou, arrived at Teesee; and, desiring Tiggity Segó to call an assembly of the inhabitants, announced publicly their king's determination

to this effect:—"That unless all the people of Kasson would embrace the Mahomedan religion, and evince their conversion by saying eleven public prayers, he, the king of Foota-Torra, could not possibly stand neuter in the present contest, but would certainly join his arms to those of Kajaga." A message of this nature, from so powerful a prince, could not fail to create great alarm; and the inhabitants of Teesee, after a long consultation, agreed to conform to his good pleasure, humiliating as it was to them. Accordingly, one and all publicly offered up eleven prayers, which were considered a sufficient testimony of their having renounced paganism, and embraced the doctrines of the Prophet.

It was the 8th of January before Demba Segó returned with my horse; and being quite wearied out with the delay, I went immediately to inform his father that I should set out for Kooniakary early the next day. The old man made many frivolous objections; and at length gave me to understand, that I must not think of departing without first paying him the same duties he was entitled to receive from all travellers; besides which he expected, he said, some acknowledgment for his kindness towards me. Accordingly, on the morning of the 9th, my friend Demba, with a number of people, came to me, and said that they were sent by Tiggity Segó for my present, and wished to see what goods I had appropriated for that purpose. I knew that resistance was hopeless, and complaint unavailing; and being in some measure prepared, by the intimation I had received the night before, I quietly offered him seven bars of amber, and five of tobacco. After surveying these articles for some time very coolly, Demba laid them down, and told me, that this was not a present for a man of Tiggity Segó's consequence, who had it in his power to take whatever he pleased from me. He added, that if I did not consent to make him a larger offering, he would carry all my baggage to his father, and let him choose for himself. I had no time for reply; for Demba and his attendants immediately began to open my bundles, and spread the different articles upon the floor, where they underwent a more strict examination than they had done at Joag. Every thing that pleased them they took without scruple; and amongst other things, Demba seized the tin box which had so much attracted his attention in crossing the river. Upon collecting the scattered remains of my little fortune after these people had left me, I found that, as at Joag I had been plundered of half, so here, without even the shadow of accusation, I was deprived of half the remainder. The blacksmith himself, though a native of Kasson, had also been compelled to open his bundles, and take an oath that the different articles they contained were his own exclusive property. There was, however, no remedy—and having been under some obligation to Demba Segó for his attention towards me in the journey from Joag, I did not reproach him for his rapacity, but determined to quit Teesee, at all events, the next morning. In the meanwhile, in order to raise the drooping spirits of my attendants, I purchased a fat sheep, and had it dressed for our dinner.

Early in the morning of January 10th, therefore, I left Teesee, and about mid-day ascended a ridge, from whence we had a distant view of the hills round Kooniakary. In the evening we reached a small village, where we slept, and, departing from thence the next morning, crossed in a few hours a narrow but deep stream called Krieko, a branch of the Senegal. About two miles farther to the eastward, we passed a large town called Madina; and at two o'clock came in sight of Jumbo, the blacksmith's native town, from whence he had been absent more than four years. Soon after this, his brother, who had by some means been apprised of his coming, came out to meet him, accompanied by a singing man: he brought a horse for the blacksmith, that he might enter his native town in a dignified manner; and he desired each of us to put a good charge of powder into our guns. The singing man now led the way, followed by the two brothers; and we were presently joined by a number of people from the town, all of whom demonstrated great joy at seeing their old

acquaintance the blacksmith, by the most extravagant jumping and singing. On entering the town, the singing man began an extempore song in praise of the blacksmith, extolling his courage in having overcome so many difficulties; and concluding with a strict injunction to his friends to dress him plenty of victuals.

When we arrived at the blacksmith's place of residence, we dismounted, and fired our muskets. The meeting between him and his relations was very tender; for these rude children of nature, free from restraint, display their emotions in the strongest and most expressive manner. Amidst these transports, the blacksmith's aged mother was led forth, leaning upon a staff. Every one made way for her; and she stretched out her hand to bid her son welcome. Being totally blind, she stroked his hands, arms, and face, with great care, and seemed highly delighted that her latter days were blessed by his return, and that her ears once more heard the music of his voice. From this interview I was fully convinced, that whatever difference there is between the negro and European in the conformation of the nose and the colour of the skin, there is none in the genuine sympathies and characteristic feelings of our common nature.

During the tumult of these congratulations, I had seated myself apart by the side of one of the huts, being unwilling to interrupt the flow of filial and parental tenderness; and the attention of the company was so entirely taken up with the blacksmith, that I believe none of his friends had observed me. When all the people present had seated themselves, the blacksmith was desired by his father to give them some account of his adventures; and silence being commanded, he began—and, after repeatedly thanking God for the success that had attended him, related every material occurrence that had happened to him from his leaving Kasson to his arrival at the Gambia—his employment and success in those parts—and the dangers he had escaped in returning to his native country. In the latter part of his narration, he had frequently occasion to mention me; and after many strong expressions concerning my kindness to him, he pointed to the place where I sat, and exclaimed, *Afille ibi siring!* ("See him sitting there!") In a moment all eyes were turned upon me—I appeared like a being dropped from the clouds—every one was surprised that they had not observed me before; and a few women and children expressed great uneasiness at being so near a man of such an uncommon appearance. By degrees, however, their apprehensions subsided; and when the blacksmith assured them that I was perfectly inoffensive, and would hurt nobody, some of them ventured so far as to examine the texture of my clothes; but many of them were still very suspicious—and when by accident I happened to move myself, or look at the young children, their mothers would scamper off with them with the greatest precipitation. In a few hours, however, they all became reconciled to me.

With these worthy people I spent the remainder of that, and the whole of the ensuing day, in feasting and merriment—and the blacksmith declared he would not quit me during my stay at Kooniakary; for which place we set out early on the morning of the 14th of January, and arrived about the middle of the day at Soolo, a small village three miles to the south of it.

As this place was somewhat out of the direct road, it is necessary to observe, that I went thither to visit a slatee, or Gambia trader, of great note and reputation, named Salim Dauhari. He was well known to Dr Laidley, who had trusted him with effects to the value of five slaves, and had given me an order for the whole of the debt. We luckily found him at home, and he received me with great kindness and attention.

It is remarkable, however, that the king of Kasson was, by some means, immediately apprised of my motions; for I had been at Soolo but a few hours, before Sambo Sego, his second son, came thither with a party of horse, to inquire what had prevented me from proceeding to Kooniakary, and waiting immediately upon

the king, who, he said, was impatient to see me. Salim Dauhari made my apology, and promised to accompany me to Kooniakary the same evening. We accordingly departed from Soolo at sunset, and in about an hour entered Kooniakary. But as the king had gone to sleep, we deferred the interview till next morning, and slept at the hut of Sambo Sego.

My interview with the king, and the incidents which occurred to me in the kingdoms of Kasson and Kaarta, will be the subject of the ensuing chapter.

## CHAPTER VII.

The Author admitted to an Audience of the King of Kasson, whom he finds well disposed towards him.—Incidents during the Author's stay at Kooniakary.—Departs thence for Kemmo, the Capital of Kaarta.—Is received with great kindness by the King of Kaarta, who dissuades him from prosecuting his Journey, on Account of approaching Hostilities with the King of Bambarra.—The Author determines, notwithstanding, to proceed; and the usual Routes being obstructed, takes the Path to Ludamar, a Moorish Kingdom.—Is accommodated by the King with a Guide to Jarra, the Frontier Town of the Moorish Territories; and sets out for that Place, accompanied by three of the King's Sons, and two hundred Horsemen.

ABOUT eight o'clock in the morning of January 15th, 1796, we went to an audience of the king (Demba Sego Jalla); but the crowd of people to see me was so great, that I could scarcely get admittance. A passage being at length obtained, I made my bow to the monarch, whom we found sitting upon a mat, in a large hut. He appeared to be a man of about sixty years of age: his success in war, and the mildness of his behaviour in time of peace, had much endeared him to all his subjects. He surveyed me with great attention; and when Salim Dauhari explained to him the object of my journey, and my reasons for passing through his country, the good old king appeared not only perfectly satisfied, but promised me every assistance in his power. He informed me that he had seen Major Houghton, and presented him with a white horse; but that, after crossing the kingdom of Kaarta, he had lost his life among the Moors, in what manner he could not inform me. When this audience was ended, we returned to our lodging, and I made up a small present for the king out of the few effects that were left me; for I had not yet received any thing from Salim Dauhari. This present, though inconsiderable in itself, was well received by the king, who sent me in return a large white bullock. The sight of this animal quite delighted my attendants; not so much on account of its bulk, as from its being of a white colour, which is considered as a particular mark of favour. But although the king himself was well disposed towards me, and readily granted me permission to pass through his territories, I soon discovered that very great and unexpected obstacles were likely to impede my progress. Besides the war which was on the point of breaking out between Kasson and Kajaga, I was told that the next kingdom of Kaarta, through which my route lay, was involved in the issue; and was furthermore threatened with hostilities on the part of Bambarra. The king himself informed me of these circumstances, and advised me to stay in the neighbourhood of Kooniakary, till such time as he could procure proper information respecting Bambarra, which he expected to do in the course of four or five days, as he had already, he said, sent four messengers into Kaarta for that purpose. I readily submitted to this proposal, and went to Soolo, to stay there till the return of one of those messengers. This afforded me a favourable opportunity of receiving what money Salim Dauhari could spare me on Dr Laidley's account. I succeeded in receiving the value of three slaves, chiefly in gold dust; and being anxious to proceed as quickly as possible, I begged Dauhari to use his interest with the king to allow me a guide by the

way of Fooladoo, as I was informed that the war had already commenced between the kings of Bambarra and Kaarta. Daucari accordingly set out for Kooniakary on the morning of the 20th, and the same evening returned with the king's answer, which was to this purpose—that the king had, many years ago, made an agreement with Daisy, king of Kaarta, to send all merchants and travellers through his dominions; but that if I wished to take the route through Fooladoo, I had his permission so to do; though he could not, consistently with his agreement, lend me a guide. Having felt the want of regal protection in a former part of my journey, I was unwilling to hazard a repetition of the hardships I had then experienced, especially as the money I had received was probably the last supply that I should obtain; I therefore determined to wait for the return of the messengers from Kaarta.

In the interim, it began to be whispered abroad that I had received plenty of gold from Salim Daucari, and on the morning of the 23d Sambo Sege paid me a visit, with a party of horsemen. He insisted upon knowing the exact amount of the money I had obtained, declaring, that whatever the sum was, one-half of it must go to the king; besides which, he intimated that he expected a handsome present for himself, as being the king's son, and for his attendants, as being the king's relations. The reader will easily perceive, that if all these demands had been satisfied, I should not have been overburdened with money; but though it was very mortifying to me to comply with the demands of injustice, and so arbitrary an exaction, yet, thinking that it was highly dangerous to make a foolish resistance, and irritate the lion when within the reach of his paw, I prepared to submit; and if Salim Daucari had not interposed, all my endeavours to mitigate this oppressive claim would have been of no avail. Salim at last prevailed upon Sambo to accept sixteen bars of European merchandise, and some powder and ball, as a complete payment of every demand that could be made upon me in the kingdom of Kasson.

January 26th.—In the forenoon, I went to the top of a high hill to the southward of Soolo, where I had a most enchanting prospect of the country. The number of towns and villages, and the extensive cultivation around them, surpassed every thing I had yet seen in Africa. A gross calculation may be formed of the number of inhabitants in this delightful plain, by considering that the king of Kasson can raise four thousand fighting men by the sound of his war drum. In traversing the rocky eminences of this hill, which are almost destitute of vegetation, I observed a number of large holes in the crevices and fissures of the rocks, where the wolves and hyænas take refuge during the day. Some of these animals paid us a visit on the evening of the 27th; their approach was discovered by the dogs of the village; and on this occasion it is remarkable that the dogs did not bark, but howl in the most dismal manner. The inhabitants of the village no sooner heard them, than, knowing the cause, they armed themselves; and, providing bunches of dry grass, went in a body to the inclosure in the middle of the village where the cattle were kept. Here they lighted the bunches of grass, and, waving them to and fro, ran hooping and hallooing towards the hills. This manoeuvre had the desired effect of frightening the wolves away from the village; but, on examination, we found that they had killed five of the cattle, and torn and wounded many others.

February 1st.—The messengers arrived from Kaarta, and brought intelligence that the war had not yet commenced between Bambarra and Kaarta, and that I might probably pass through Kaarta before the Bambarra army invaded that country.

February 3d.—Early in the morning, two guides on horseback came from Kooniakary to conduct me to the frontiers of Kaarta. I accordingly took leave of Salim Daucari, and parted for the last time from my fellow-traveller the blacksmith, whose kind solicitude for my welfare had been so conspicuous, and about ten o'clock departed from Soolo. We travelled this day through a rocky and hilly country, along the banks of the river

Krieko; and at sunset came to the village of Soomo, where we slept.

February 4th.—We departed from Soomo, and continued our route along the banks of the Krieko, which are every where well cultivated, and swarm with inhabitants. At this time they were increased by the number of people that had flown thither from Kaarta, on account of the Bambarra war. In the afternoon we reached Kimo, a large village, the residence of Madi Konko, governor of the hilly country of Kasson, which is called Sorroma. From hence the guides appointed by the king of Kasson returned, to join in the expedition against Kajaaga; and I waited until the 6th, before I could prevail on Madi Konko to appoint me a guide to Kaarta.

February 7th.—Departing from Kimo, with Madi Konko's son as a guide, we continued our course along the banks of the Krieko until the afternoon, when we arrived at Kangee, a considerable town. The Krieko is here but a small rivulet; this beautiful stream takes its rise a little to the eastward of this town, and descends with a rapid and noisy current, until it reaches the bottom of the high hill called Tappa, where it becomes more placid, and winds gently through the lovely plains of Kooniakary; after which, having received an additional branch from the north, it is lost in the Senegal, somewhere near the falls of Felow.

February 8th.—This day we travelled over a rough stony country; and having passed Seimpo and a number of other villages, arrived in the afternoon at Lackarago, a small village which stands upon the ridge of hills that separates the kingdoms of Kasson and Kaarta. In the course of the day, we passed many hundreds of people flying from Kaarta with their families and effects.

February 9th.—Early in the morning, we departed from Lackarago, and a little to the eastward came to the brow of a hill, from whence we had an extensive view of the country. Towards the south-east were perceived some very distant hills, which our guide told us were the mountains of Fooladoo. We travelled with great difficulty down a stony and abrupt precipice, and continued our way in the bed of a dry river course, where the trees, meeting over head, made the place dark and cool. In a little time we reached the bottom of this romantic glen, and about ten o'clock emerged from between two rocky hills, and found ourselves on the level and sandy plains of Kaarta. At noon we arrived at a *korree*, or watering place, where, for a few strings of beads, I purchased as much milk and cornmeal as we could eat; indeed, provisions are here so cheap, and the shepherds live in such affluence, that they seldom ask any return for what refreshments a traveller receives from them. From this *korree*, we reached Feesurah at sunset, where we took up our lodging for the night.

February 10th.—We continued at Feesurah all this day, to have a few clothes washed, and learn more exactly the situation of affairs before we ventured towards the capital.

February 11th.—Our landlord, taking advantage of the unsettled state of the country, demanded so extravagant a sum for our lodging, that, suspecting he wished for an opportunity to quarrel with us, I refused to submit to his exorbitant demand; but my attendants were so much frightened at the reports of approaching war, that they refused to proceed any farther, unless I could settle matters with him, and induce him to accompany us to Kemmo, for our protection on the road. This I accomplished with some difficulty; and by a present of a blanket which I had brought with me to sleep in, and for which our landlord had conceived a very great liking, matters were at length amicably adjusted, and he mounted his horse and led the way. He was one of those negroes who, together with the ceremonial part of the Mahomedan religion, retain all their ancient superstitions, and even drink strong liquors. They are called Johars, or Jowars, and in this kingdom form a very numerous and powerful tribe. We had no sooner got into a dark and lonely part of the first wood, than he made a sign for us to stop, and, taking hold of a hollow piece of bamboo, that hung as an amulet round his neck,

whistled very loud three times. I confess I was somewhat startled, thinking it was a signal for some of his companions to come and attack us; but he assured me that it was done merely with a view to ascertain what success we were likely to meet with on our present journey. He then dismounted, laid his spear across the road, and having said a number of short prayers, concluded with three loud whistles; after which he listened for some time, as if in expectation of an answer, and receiving none, told us we might proceed without fear, for there was no danger. About noon we passed a number of large villages quite deserted, the inhabitants having fled into Kasson to avoid the horrors of war. We reached Karankalla at sunset: this formerly was a large town, but having been plundered by the Bambarans about four years ago, nearly one half of it is still in ruins.

February 12th.—At daylight we departed from Karankalla, and as it was but a short day's journey to Kemmo, we travelled slower than usual, and amused ourselves by collecting such eatable fruits as grew near the road-side. In this pursuit I had wandered a little from my people; and being uncertain whether they were before or behind me, I hastened to a rising ground to look about me. As I was proceeding towards this eminence, two negro horsemen, armed with muskets, came galloping from among the bushes: on seeing them I made a full stop; the horsemen did the same, and all three of us seemed equally surprised and confounded at this interview. As I approached them, their fears increased, and one of them, after casting upon me a look of horror, rode off at full speed; the other, in a panic of fear, put his hand over his eyes, and continued muttering prayers until his horse, seemingly without the rider's knowledge, conveyed him slowly after his companion. About a mile to the westward, they fell in with my attendants, to whom they related a frightful story: it seems their fears had dressed me in the flowing robes of a tremendous spirit, and one of them affirmed, that when I made my appearance, a cold blast of wind came pouring down upon him from the sky, like so much cold water. About noon we saw at a distance the capital of Kaarta, situated in the middle of an open plain—the country for two miles round being cleared of wood, by the great consumption of that article for building and fuel—and we entered the town about two o'clock in the afternoon.

We proceeded, without stopping, to the court before the king's residence; but I was so completely surrounded by the gazing multitude, that I did not attempt to dismount, but sent in the landlord and Madi Konko's son, to acquaint the king of my arrival. In a little time they returned, accompanied by a messenger from the king, signifying that he would see me in the evening; and in the meantime, the messenger had orders to procure me a lodging, and see that the crowd did not molest me. He conducted me into a court, at the door of which he stationed a man, with a stick in his hand to keep off the mob, and then showed me a large hut in which I was to lodge. I had scarcely seated myself in this spacious apartment, when the mob entered; it was found impossible to keep them out, and I was surrounded by as many as the hut could contain. When the first party, however, had seen me, and asked a few questions, they retired to make room for another company; and in this manner the hut was filled and emptied thirteen different times.

A little before sunset, the king sent to inform me that he was at leisure, and wished to see me. I followed the messenger through a number of courts surrounded with high walls, where I observed plenty of dry grass bundled up like hay, to fodder the horses, in case the town should be invested. On entering the court in which the king was sitting, I was astonished at the number of his attendants, and at the good order that seemed to prevail among them: they were all seated—the fighting men on the king's right hand, and the women and children on the left, leaving a space between them for my passage. The king, whose name was Daisy Koorabarri, was not to be distinguished from his sub-

jects by any superiority in point of dress; a bank of earth, about two feet high, upon which was spread a leopard's skin, constituted the only mark of royal dignity. When I had seated myself upon the ground before him, and related the various circumstances that had induced me to pass through his country, and my reasons for soliciting his protection, he appeared perfectly satisfied; but said it was not in his power at present to afford me much assistance, for that all sort of communication between Kaarta and Bambarra had been interrupted for some time past; and as Mansong, the king of Bambarra, with his army, had entered Fooladoo in his way to Kaarta, there was but little hope of my reaching Bambarra by any of the usual routes, inasmuch as, coming from an enemy's country, I should certainly be plundered, or taken for a spy. If his country had been at peace, he said, I might have remained with him until a more favourable opportunity offered; but, as matters stood at present, he did not wish me to continue in Kaarta, for fear some accident should befall me, in which case my countrymen might say that he had murdered a white man. He would therefore advise me to return into Kasson, and remain there until the war should terminate, which would probably happen in the course of three or four months, after which, if he was alive, he said, he would be glad to see me, and if he was dead, his sons would take care of me.

This advice was certainly well meant on the part of the king, and perhaps I was to blame in not following it; but I reflected that the hot months were approaching, and I dreaded the thoughts of spending the rainy season in the interior of Africa. These considerations, and the aversion I felt at the idea of returning without having made a greater progress in discovery, made me determine to go forwards; and though the king could not give me a guide to Bambarra, I begged that he would allow a man to accompany me as near the frontiers of his kingdom as was consistent with safety. Finding that I was determined to proceed, the king told me that one route still remained, but that, he said, was by no means free from danger—which was to go from Kaarta into the Moorish kingdom of Ludamar, from whence I might pass, by a circuitous route, into Bambarra. If I wished to follow this route, he would appoint people to conduct me to Jarra, the frontier town of Ludamar. He then inquired very particularly how I had been treated since I had left the Gambia, and asked, in a jocular way, how many slaves I expected to carry home with me on my return. He was about to proceed, when a man mounted on a fine Moorish horse, which was covered with sweat and foam, entered the court, and signifying that he had something of importance to communicate, the king immediately took up his sandals, which is the signal to strangers to retire. I accordingly took leave, but desired my boy to stay about the place, in order to learn something of the intelligence that this messenger had brought. In about an hour the boy returned, and informed me that the Bambarra army had left Fooladoo, and was on its march towards Kaarta; that the man I had seen, who had brought this intelligence, was one of the scouts, or watchmen, employed by the king, each of whom has his particular station (commonly on some rising ground), from whence he has the best view of the country, and watches the motions of the enemy.

In the evening the king sent me a fine sheep, which was very acceptable, as none of us had tasted victuals during the day. Whilst we were employed in dressing supper, evening prayers were announced—not by the call of the priest, as usual, but by beating on drums, and blowing through large elephants' teeth, hollowed out in such a manner as to resemble bugle horns. The sound is melodious, and, in my opinion, comes nearer to the human voice than any other artificial sound. As the main body of Daisy's army was, at this juncture, at Kemmo, the mosques were very much crowded; and I observed, that the disciples of Mahomet composed nearly one-half of the army of Kaarta.

February 13th.—At daylight I sent my horse-pistols

and holsters as a present to the king, and being very desirous to get away from a place which was likely soon to become the seat of war, I begged the messenger to inform the king that I wished to depart from Kenmoo as soon as he should find it convenient to appoint me a guide. In about an hour the king sent his messenger to thank me for the present, and eight horsemen to conduct me to Jarra. They told me that the king wished me to proceed to Jarra with all possible expedition, that they might return before any thing decisive should happen between the armies of Bambarra and Kaarta. We accordingly departed forthwith from Kemmo, accompanied by three of Daisy's sons, and about two hundred horsemen, who kindly undertook to see me a little way on my journey.

### CHAPTER VIII.

Journey from Kemmo to Funingkyed. — Some Account of the Lotus — A Youth Murdered by the Moors — Interesting Scene at his Death. — Author passes through Simbing. — Some Particulars concerning Major Houghton. — Author reaches Jarra — Situation of the surrounding States at the period of his Arrival there, and a brief Account of the War between Kaarta and Bambarra.

On the evening of the day of our departure from Kemmo (the king's eldest son and great part of the horsemen having returned), we reached a village called Marina, where we slept. During the night some thieves broke into the hut where I had deposited my baggage, and having cut open one of my bundles, stole a quantity of beads, part of my clothes, and some amber and gold, which happened to be in one of the pockets. I complained to my protectors, but without effect. The next day (February 14th) was far advanced before we departed from Marina, and we travelled slowly, on account of the excessive heat, until four o'clock in the afternoon, when two negroes were observed sitting among some thorny bushes, at a little distance from the road. The king's people, taking it for granted that they were runaway slaves, cocked their muskets, and rode at full speed in different directions through the bushes, in order to surround them, and prevent their escaping. The negroes, however, waited with great composure until we came within bowshot of them, when each of them took from his quiver a handful of arrows, and putting two between his teeth and one in his bow, waved to us with his hand to keep at a distance, upon which one of the king's people called out to the strangers to give some account of themselves. They said that "they were natives of Toorda, a neighbouring village, and had come to that place to gather *tomberongs*." These are small farinaceous berries, of a yellow colour and delicious taste, which I knew to be the fruit of the *rhamnus lotus* of Linnaeus. The negroes showed us two large baskets full, which they had collected in the course of the day. These berries are much esteemed by the natives, who convert them into a sort of bread, by exposing them for some days to the sun, and afterwards pounding them gently in a wooden mortar, until the farinaceous part of the berry is separated from the stone. This meal is then mixed with a little water, and formed into cakes, which, when dried in the sun, resemble in colour and flavour the sweetest gingerbread. The stones are afterwards put into a vessel of water, and shaken about so as to separate the meal which may still adhere to them: this communicates a sweet and agreeable taste to the water, and, with the addition of a little pounded millet, forms a pleasant gruel called *fondi*, which is the common breakfast in many parts of Ludamar, during the months of February and March. The fruit is collected by spreading a cloth upon the ground, and beating the branches with a stick.

The lotus is very common in all the kingdoms which I visited; but is found in the greatest plenty on the sandy soil of Kaarta, Ludamar, and the northern parts

of Bambarra, where it is one of the most common shrubs of the country. I had observed the same species at Gambia.

As this shrub is found in Tunis, and also in the negro kingdoms, and as it furnishes the natives of the latter with a food resembling bread, and also with a sweet liquor, which is much relished by them, there can be little doubt of its being the lotus mentioned by Pliny as the food of the Lybian Lotophagi. An army may very well have been fed with the bread I have tasted, made of the meal of the fruit, as is said by Pliny to have been done in Lybia; and as the taste of the bread is sweet and agreeable, it is not likely that the soldiers would complain of it.

We arrived in the evening at the village of Toorda; when all the rest of the king's people turned back except two, who remained with me as guides to Jarra.

February 15th. — I departed from Toorda, and about two o'clock came to a considerable town, called Funingkyed. As we approached the town, the inhabitants were much alarmed; for, as one of my guides wore a turban, they mistook us for some Moorish banditti. This misapprehension was soon cleared up, and we were well received by a Gambia sateer, who resides at this town, and at whose house we lodged.

February 16th. — We were informed that a number of people would go from this town to Jarra on the day following; and as the road was much infested by the Moors, we resolved to stay and accompany the travellers. In the meantime we were told, that a few days before our arrival, most of the bushreens and people of property in Funingkyed had gone to Jarra, to consult about removing their families and effects to that town, for fear of the approaching war; and that the Moors, in their absence, had stolen some of their cattle.

About two o'clock, as I was lying asleep upon a bullock's hide behind the door of the hut, I was awakened by the screams of women, and a general clamour and confusion among the inhabitants. At first I suspected that the Bambarrans had actually entered the town; but, observing my boy upon the top of one of the huts, I called to him to know what was the matter. He informed me that the Moors were come a second time to steal the cattle, and that they were now close to the town. I mounted the roof of the hut, and observed a large herd of bullocks coming towards the town, followed by five Moors on horseback, who drove the cattle forward with their muskets. When they had reached the wells, which are close to the town, the Moors selected from the herd sixteen of the finest beasts, and drove them off at full gallop. During this transaction, the townspeople, to the number of five hundred, stood collected close to the walls of the town; and when the Moors drove the cattle away, though they passed within pistol-shot of them, the inhabitants scarcely made a show of resistance. I only saw four muskets fired, which, being loaded with gunpowder of the negroes' own manufacture, did no execution. Shortly after this I observed a number of people supporting a young man upon horseback, and conducting him slowly towards the town. This was one of the herdsmen, who, attempting to throw his spear, had been wounded by a shot from one of the Moors. His mother walked on before, quite frantic with grief, clapping her hands, and enumerating the good qualities of her son. *Ee maffo fonio!* ("He never told a lie!") said the disconsolate mother, as her wounded son was carried in at the gate — *Ee maffo fonio abada!* ("He never told a lie; no, never!") When they had conveyed him to his hut, and laid him upon a mat, all the spectators joined in lamenting his fate, by screaming and howling in the most piteous manner.

After their grief had subsided a little, I was desired to examine the wound. I found that the ball had passed quite through his leg, having fractured both bones a little below the knee: the poor boy was faint from the loss of blood, and his situation withal so very precarious, that I could not console his relations with any great hopes of his recovery. However, to give him a possible chance, I observed to them that it was necessary to cut off his leg above the knee: this proposal made every

one start with horror; they had never heard of such a method of cure, and would by no means give their consent to it; indeed, they evidently considered me as a sort of cannibal for proposing so cruel and unheard-of an operation, which, in their opinion, would be attended with more pain and danger than the wound itself. The patient was therefore committed to the care of some old bushreens, who endeavoured to secure him a passage into paradise, by whispering in his ear some Arabic sentences, and desiring him to repeat them. After many unsuccessful attempts, the poor heathen at last pronounced, *La ilah el Allah, Mahomet rasool Allah;* ("There is but one God, and Mahomet is his Prophet?") and the disciples of the Prophet assured his mother that her son had given sufficient evidence of his faith, and would be happy in a future state. He died the same evening.

February 17th.—My guides informed me, that in order to avoid the Moorish banditti, it was necessary to travel in the night; we accordingly departed from Funingky in the afternoon, accompanied by about thirty people, carrying their effects with them into Ludamar, for fear of the war. We travelled with great silence and expedition until midnight, when we stopped in a sort of inclosure, near a small village; but the thermometer being so low as 68 degrees, none of the negroes could sleep on account of the cold.

At daybreak on the 18th, we resumed our journey, and at eight o'clock passed Simbing, the frontier village of Ludamar, situated in a narrow pass between two rocky hills, and surrounded with a high wall. From this village Major Houghton (being deserted by his negro servants, who refused to follow him into the Moorish country) wrote his last letter with a pencil to Dr Laidley. This brave but unfortunate man, having surmounted many difficulties, had taken a northerly direction, and endeavoured to pass through the kingdom of Ludamar, where I afterwards learned the following particulars concerning his melancholy fate:—On his arrival at Jarra, he got acquainted with certain Moorish merchants who were travelling to Tisheet (a place near the salt pits in the Great Desert, ten days' journey to the northward) to purchase salt; and the Major, at the expense of a musket and some tobacco, engaged them to convey him thither. It is impossible to form any other opinion on this determination, than that the Moors intentionally deceived him, either with regard to the route that he wished to pursue, or the state of the intermediate country between Jarra and Tombuc-too. Their intention probably was to rob and leave him in the desert. At the end of two days he suspected their treachery, and insisted on returning to Jarra. Finding him persist in this determination, the Moors robbed him of every thing he possessed, and went off with their camels; the poor Major being thus deserted, returned on foot to a watering-place in possession of the Moors, called Tarra. He had been some days without food, and the unfeeling Moors refusing to give him any, he sank at last under his distresses. Whether he actually perished of hunger, or was murdered outright by the savage Mahomedans, is not certainly known; his body was dragged into the woods—and I was shown at a distance the spot where his remains were left to perish.

About four miles to the north of Simbing, we came to a small stream of water, where we observed a number of wild horses: they were all of one colour, and galloped away from us at an easy rate, frequently stopping and looking back. The negroes hunt them for food, and their flesh is much esteemed.

About noon we arrived at Jarra, a large town situated at the bottom of some rocky hills. But before I proceed to describe the place itself, and relate the various occurrences which befel me there, it will not be improper to give my readers a brief recital of the origin of the war which induced me to take this route—an unfortunate determination, the immediate cause of all the misfortunes and calamities which afterwards befel me. The recital which I propose to give in this place, will prevent interruptions hereafter.

This war which desolated Kaarta, soon after I had left that kingdom, and spread terror into many of the neighbouring states, arose in the following manner:—A few bullocks belonging to a frontier village of Bambarra having been stolen by a party of Moors, were sold to the dooty, or chief man, of a town in Kaarta. The villagers claimed their cattle, and being refused satisfaction, complained of the dooty to their sovereign, Mansong, king of Bambarra, who probably beheld with an eye of jealousy the growing prosperity of Kaarta, and availed himself of this incident to declare hostilities against that kingdom.

With this view he sent a messenger and a party of horsemen to Daisy, king of Kaarta, to inform him that the king of Bambarra, with nine thousand men, would visit Kemmo in the course of the dry season, and to desire that he (Daisy) would direct his slaves to sweep the houses, and have every thing ready for their accommodation. The messenger concluded this insulting notification by presenting the king with a pair of *iron sandals*, at the same time adding, that "until such time as Daisy had worn out these sandals in his flight, he should never be secure from the arrows of Bambarra."

Daisy, having consulted with his chief men about the best means of repelling so formidable an enemy, returned an answer of defiance; and made a bushreen write in Arabic, upon a piece of thin board, a sort of proclamation, which was suspended to a tree in the public square, and a number of aged men were sent to different places to explain it to the common people. This proclamation called upon all the friends of Daisy to join him immediately, but to such as had no arms, or were afraid to enter into the war, permission was given to retire into any of the neighbouring kingdoms; and it was added, that provided they observed a strict neutrality, they should always be welcome to return to their former habitations: if, however, they took any active part against Kaarta, they had then "broken the key of their huts, and could never afterwards enter the door." Such was the expression.

This proclamation was very generally applauded; but many of the Kaartans, and amongst others the powerful tribes of Jower and Kakaroo, availing themselves of the indulgent clause, retired from Daisy's dominions, and took refuge in Ludamar and Kasson. By means of these desertions, Daisy's army was not so numerous as might have been expected; and when I was at Kemmo, the whole number of effective men, according to report, did not exceed four thousand; but they were men of spirit and enterprise, and could be depended on.

On the 22d of February (four days after my arrival at Jarra), Mansong, with his army, advanced towards Kemmo, and Daisy, without hazarding a battle, retired to Joko, a town to the north-west of Kemmo, where he remained three days, and then took refuge in a strong town called Gedingooma, situated in the hilly country, and surrounded with high walls of stone. When Daisy departed from Joko, his sons refused to follow him, alleging that "the singing men would publish their disgrace, as soon as it should be known that Daisy and his family had fled from Joko without firing a gun." They were therefore left behind, with a number of horsemen, to defend Joko; but, after many skirmishes, they were totally defeated, and one of Daisy's sons taken prisoner. The remainder fled to Gedingooma, which Daisy had stored with provisions, and where he determined to make his final stand.

Mansong, finding that Daisy was determined to avoid a pitched battle, placed a strong force at Joko to watch his motions, and, separating the remainder of his army into small detachments, ordered them to overrun the country, and seize upon the inhabitants before they had time to escape. These orders were executed with such promptitude, that in a few days the whole kingdom of Kaarta became a scene of desolation. Most of the poor inhabitants of the different towns and villages, being surprised in the night, fell an easy prey; and their corn, and every thing which could be useful to Daisy, was burnt and destroyed. During these trans-

actions, Daisy was employed in fortifying Gedingooma. This town is built in a narrow pass between two high hills, having only two gates, one towards Kaarta, and the other towards Jaffnoo; the gate towards Kaarta was defended by Daisy in person, and that towards Jaffnoo was committed to the charge of his sons. When the army of Bambarra approached the town, they made some attempts to storm it, but were always driven back with great loss; and Mansong, finding Daisy more formidable than he expected, resolved to cut off his supplies, and starve him into submission. He accordingly sent all the prisoners he had taken into Bambarra; and, having collected a considerable quantity of provisions, remained with his army two whole months in the vicinity of Gedingooma, without doing any thing decisive. During this time, he was much harassed by sallies from the besieged; and his stock of provisions being nearly exhausted, he sent to Ali, the Moorish king of Ludamar, for two hundred horsemen, to enable him to make an attack upon the north gate of the town, and give the Bambarrans an opportunity of storming the place. Ali, though he had made an agreement with Mansong, at the commencement of the war, to afford him assistance, now refused to fulfil his engagement, which so enraged Mansong, that he marched part of his army to Funingkedy, with a view to surprise the camp of Benowm; but the Moors having received intelligence of his design, fled to the northward; and Mansong, without attempting any thing farther, returned to Segó. This happened while I was myself in captivity in Ali's camp, as will hereafter be seen.

As the king of Kaarta had now got quit of his most formidable antagonist, it might have been hoped that peace would have been restored to his dominions; but an extraordinary incident involved him immediately afterwards in hostilities with Kasson, the king of which country dying about that time, the succession was disputed by his two sons. The younger (Sambo Segó, my old acquaintance) prevailed; and drove his brother from the country. He fled to Gedingooma; and being pursued thither, Daisy, who had lived in constant friendship with both the brothers, refused to deliver him up—at the same time declaring that he would not support his claim, nor any way interfere in the quarrel. Sambo Segó, elated with success, and proud of the homage that was paid him as sovereign of Kasson, was much displeas'd with Daisy's conduct, and joined with some disaffected fugitive Kaartans in a plundering expedition against him. Daisy, who little expected such a visit, had sent a number of people to Joko, to plant corn, and collect together such cattle as they might find straying in the woods, in order to supply his army. All these people fell into the hands of Sambo Segó, who carried them to Kooniakary, and afterwards sent them in caravans to be sold to the French at Fort Louis, on the river Senegal.

This attack was soon retaliated; for Daisy, who was now in distress for want of provisions, thought he was justified in supplying himself from the plunder of Kasson. He accordingly took with him eight hundred of his best men, and marching secretly through the woods, surprised in the night three large villages near Kooniakary, in which many of his traitorous subjects who were in Sambo's expedition had taken up their residence; all these, and indeed all the able men that fell into Daisy's hands, were immediately put to death.

After this expedition, Daisy began to indulge the hopes of peace—many of his discontented subjects had returned to their allegiance, and were repairing the towns which had been desolated by the war—the rainy season was approaching—and every thing wore a favourable appearance, when he was suddenly attacked from a different quarter.

The Jowers, Kakarocs, and some other Kaartans, who had deserted from him at the commencement of the war, and had shown a decided preference to Mansong and his army during the whole campaign, were now afraid or ashamed to ask forgiveness of Daisy, and being very powerful in themselves, joined together to make war upon him. They solicited the Moors to assist

them in their rebellion (as will appear hereafter), and having collected a considerable army, they plundered a large village belonging to Daisy, and carried off a number of prisoners.

Daisy immediately prepared to revenge this insult; but the Jowers, and indeed almost all the negro inhabitants of Ludamar, deserted their towns and fled to the eastward; and the rainy season put an end to the war of Kaarta, which had enriched a few individuals, but destroyed the happiness of thousands.

Such was the state of affairs among the nations in the neighbourhood of Jarra, soon after the period of my arrival there. I shall now proceed, after giving some description of that place, with the detail of events as they occurred.

## CHAPTER IX.

Some Account of Jarra, and the Moorish Inhabitants.—The Author applies for and obtains permission from Ali, the Moorish Chief or Sovereign of Ludamar, to pass through his Territories.—Departs from Jarra, and arrives at Deena—Is treated by the Moors.—Proceeds to Sampaka—Finds a Negro who makes Gunpowder.—Continues his Journey to Samee, where he is seized by some Moors, who are sent for that purpose by Ali—Is conveyed a Prisoner to the Moorish Camp at Benowm, on the Borders of the Great Desert.

THE town of Jarra is of considerable extent—the houses are built of clay and stone intermixed—the clay answering the purpose of mortar. It is situated in the Moorish kingdom of Ludamar; but the major part of the inhabitants are negroes, from the borders of the southern states, who prefer a precarious protection under the Moors, which they purchase by a tribute, rather than continue exposed to their predatory hostilities. The tribute they pay is considerable; and they manifest towards their Moorish superiors the most unlimited obedience and submission, and are treated by them with the utmost indignity and contempt. The Moors of this, and the other states adjoining the country of the negroes, resemble in their persons the Mulattoes of the West Indies, to so great a degree as not easily to be distinguished from them; and, in truth, the present generation seem to be a mixed race between the Moors (properly so called) of the north, and the negroes of the south, possessing many of the worst qualities of both nations.

Of the origin of these Moorish tribes, as distinguished from the inhabitants of Barbary, from whom they are divided by the Great Desert, nothing farther seems to be known than what is related by John Leo, the African, whose account may be abridged as follows:—

Before the Arabian conquest, about the middle of the seventh century, all the inhabitants of Africa, whether they were descended from Numidians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, or Goths, were comprehended under the general name of *Mauri*, or Moors. All these nations were converted to the religion of Mahomet, during the Arabian empire under the Kaliphs. About this time many of the Numidian tribes, who led a wandering life in the desert, and supported themselves upon the produce of their cattle, retired southward across the Great Desert to avoid the fury of the Arabians; and by one of those tribes, says Leo (that of *Zanhaga*), were discovered, and conquered, the negro nations on the Niger. By the Niger is here undoubtedly meant the river of Senegal, which in the Mandingo language is called *Bafing*, or the Black River.

To what extent these people are now spread over the African continent, it is difficult to ascertain. There is reason to believe, that their dominion stretches from west to east, in a narrow line or belt, from the mouth of the Senegal (on the northern side of that river) to the confines of Abyssinia. They are a subtle and treacherous race of people, and take every opportunity of cheating and plundering the credulous and unsus-

pecting negroes. But their manners and general habits of life will be best explained, as incidents occur in the course of my narrative.

On my arrival at Jarra, I obtained a lodging at the house of Daman Jumma, a Gambia slatee. This man had formerly borrowed goods from Dr Laidley, who had given me an order for the money, to the amount of six slaves; and though the debt was of five years' standing, he readily acknowledged it, and promised me what money he could raise. He was afraid, he said, in his present situation, he could not pay more than two slaves' value. He gave me his assistance, however, in exchanging my beads and amber for gold, which was a more portable article, and more easily concealed from the Moors.

The difficulties we had already encountered—the unsettled state of the country—and, above all, the savage and overbearing deportment of the Moors—had so completely frightened my attendants, that they declared they would rather relinquish every claim to reward, than proceed one step farther to the eastward. Indeed, the danger they incurred of being seized by the Moors, and sold into slavery, became every day more apparent; and I could not condemn their apprehensions. In this situation, deserted by my attendants, and reflecting that my retreat was cut off by the war behind me, and that a Moorish country of ten days' journey lay before me, I applied to Daman to obtain permission from Ali, the chief or sovereign of Ludamar, that I might pass through his country unmolested into Bambarra; and I hired one of Daman's slaves to accompany me thither, as soon as such permission should be obtained. A messenger was dispatched to Ali, who at this time was encamped near Benowm; and as a present was necessary in order to insure success, I sent him five garments of cotton cloth, which I purchased of Daman for one of my fowling-pieces. Fourteen days elapsed in settling this affair; but on the evening of the 26th of February, one of Ali's slaves arrived with directions, as he pretended, to conduct me in safety as far as Goomba, and told me I was to pay him one garment of blue cotton cloth for his attendance. My faithful boy, observing that I was about to proceed without him, resolved to accompany me; and told me, that though he wished me to turn back, he never entertained any serious thoughts of deserting me, but had been advised to it by Johnson, with a view to induce me to return immediately for Gambia.

February 27th.—I delivered most of my papers to Johnson, to convey them to Gambia as soon as possible, reserving a duplicate for myself in case of accidents. I likewise left in Daman's possession a bundle of clothes, and other things that were not absolutely necessary; for I wished to diminish my baggage as much as possible, that the Moors might have fewer inducements to plunder us.

Things being thus adjusted, we departed from Jarra in the forenoon, and slept at Troomgoomba, a small walled village, inhabited by a mixture of negroes and Moors. On the day following (February 28th) we reached Quira; and on the 29th, after a toilsome journey over a sandy country, we came to Compe, a watering place belonging to the Moors; from whence, on the morning following, we proceeded to Deena, a large town, and, like Jarra, built of stone and clay. The Moors are here in greater proportion to the negroes than at Jarra. They assembled round the hut of the negro where I lodged, and treated me with the greatest insolence: they hissed, shouted, and abused me; they even spit in my face, with a view to irritate me, and afford them a pretext for seizing my baggage. But, finding such insults had not the desired effect, they had recourse to the final and decisive argument, that I was a Christian, and of course that my property was lawful plunder to the followers of Mahomet. They accordingly opened my bundles, and robbed me of every thing they fancied. My attendants, finding that every body could rob me with impunity, insisted on returning to Jarra.

The day following (March 2d) I endeavoured, by all the means in my power, to prevail upon my people to

go on, but they still continued obstinate; and having reason to fear some farther insult from the fanatic Moors, I resolved to proceed alone. Accordingly, the next morning, about two o'clock, I departed from Deena. It was moonlight; but the roaring of the wild beasts made it necessary to proceed with caution.

When I had reached a piece of rising ground about half a mile from the town, I heard somebody halloo, and, looking back, saw my faithful boy running after me. He informed me that Ali's man had gone back to Benowm, and that Daman's negro was about to depart for Jarra; but he said he had no doubt, if I would stop a little, that he could persuade the latter to accompany us. I waited accordingly, and in about an hour the boy returned with the negro; and we continued travelling over a sandy country, covered chiefly with the *asclepias gigantea*, until mid-day, when we came to a number of deserted huts; and seeing some appearances of water at a little distance, I sent the boy to fill a soofroo; but as he was examining the place for water, the roaring of a lion, that was probably on the same pursuit, induced the frightened boy to return in haste, and we submitted patiently to the disappointment. In the afternoon we reached a town inhabited chiefly by Foulahs, called Samaming-kooos.

Next morning (March 4th) we set out for Sampaka; which place we reached about two o'clock. On the road we observed immense quantities of locusts: the trees were quite black with them. These insects devour every vegetable that comes in their way, and in a short time completely strip a tree of its leaves. The noise of their excrement falling upon the leaves and withered grass, very much resembles a shower of rain. When a tree is shaken or struck, it is astonishing to see what a cloud of them will fly off. In their flight they yield to the current of the wind, which, at this season of the year, is always from the north-east. Should the wind shift, it is difficult to conceive where they could collect food, as the whole of their course was marked with desolation.

Sampaka is a large town, and when the Moors and Bambarans were at war, was thrice attacked by the former; but they were driven off with great loss, though the king of Bambarra was afterwards obliged to give up this, and all the other towns as far as Goomba, in order to obtain a peace. Here I lodged at the house of a negro who practised the art of making gunpowder. He showed me a bag of nitre, very white, but the crystals were much smaller than common. They procure it in considerable quantities from the ponds, which are filled in the rainy season, and to which the cattle resort for coolness during the heat of the day. When the water is evaporated, a white efflorescence is observed on the mud, which the natives collect and purify in such a manner as to answer their purpose. The Moors supply them with sulphur from the Mediterranean; and the process is completed by pounding the different articles together in a wooden mortar. The grains are very unequal, and the sound of its explosion is by no means so sharp as that produced by European gunpowder.

March 5th.—We departed from Sampaka at daylight. About noon we stopped a little at a village called Dangali; and in the evening arrived at Dalli. We saw upon the road two large herds of camels feeding. When the Moors turn their camels to feed, they tie up one of their fore legs to prevent their straying. This happened to be a feast-day at Dalli, and the people were dancing before the dooty's house. But when they were informed that a white man was come into the town, they left off dancing, and came to the place where I lodged, walking in regular order, two and two, with the music before them. They play upon a sort of flute; but instead of blowing into a hole in the side, they blow obliquely over the end, which is half shut by a thin piece of wood; they govern the holes on the side with their fingers, and play some simple and very plaintive airs. They continued to dance and sing until midnight: during which time I was surrounded by so great a crowd, as made it necessary for me to satisfy their curiosity by sitting still.



March 6th.—We stopt here this morning, because some of the townspeople, who were going for Goomba on the day following, wished to accompany us; but in order to avoid the crowd of people which usually assembled in the evening, we went to a negro village to the east of Dalli, called Samee, where we were kindly received by the hospitable dooty, who on this occasion killed two fine sheep, and invited his friends to come and feast with him.

March 7th.—Our landlord was so proud of the honour of entertaining a white man, that he insisted on my staying with him and his friends until the cool of the evening, when he said he would conduct me to the next village. As I was now within two days' journey of Goomba, I had no apprehensions from the Moors, and readily accepted the invitation. I spent the forenoon very pleasantly with these poor negroes: their company was the more acceptable, as the gentleness of their manners presented a striking contrast to the rudeness and barbarity of the Moors. They enlivened their conversation by drinking a fermented liquor made from corn—the same sort of beer that I have described in a former chapter; and better I never tasted in Great Britain.

In the midst of this harmless festivity, I flattered myself that all danger from the Moors was over. Fancy had already placed me on the banks of the Niger, and presented to my imagination a thousand delightful scenes in my future progress, when a party of Moors unexpectedly entered the hut, and dispelled the golden dream. They came, they said, by Ali's orders, to convey me to his camp at Benowm. If I went peaceably, they told me, I had nothing to fear; but if I refused, they had orders to bring me by force. I was struck dumb by surprise and terror, which the Moors observing, endeavoured to calm my apprehensions, by repeating the assurance that I had nothing to fear. Their visit, they added, was occasioned by the curiosity of Ali's wife Fatima, who had heard so much about Christians, that she was very anxious to see one: as soon as her curiosity should be satisfied, they had no doubt, they said, that Ali would give me a handsome present, and send a person to conduct me to Bambarra. Finding entreaty and resistance equally fruitless, I prepared to follow the messengers, and took leave of my landlord and his company with great reluctance. Accompanied by my faithful boy—for Daman's slave made his escape on seeing the Moors—we reached Dalli in the evening; where we were strictly watched by the Moors during the night.

March 8th.—We were conducted by a circuitous path through the woods to Dangali, where we slept.

March 9th.—We continued our journey, and in the afternoon arrived at Sampaka. On the road we saw a party of Moors well armed, who told us that they were hunting for a runaway slave; but the townspeople informed us, that a party of Moors had attempted to steal some cattle from the town in the morning, but were repulsed—and, on their describing the persons, we were satisfied that they were the same banditti that we had seen in the woods.

Next morning (March 10th) we set out for Samaming-kooos. On the road we overtook a woman and two boys, with an ass; she informed us that she was going for Bambarra, but had been stopped on the road by a party of Moors, who had taken most of her clothes, and some gold from her; and that she would be under the necessity of returning to Deena till the fast moon was over. The same evening the new moon was seen, which ushered in the month Rhamadan. Large fires were made in different parts of the town, and a greater quantity of victuals than usual dressed upon the occasion.

March 11th.—By daylight the Moors were in readiness; but as I had suffered much from thirst on the road, I made my boy fill a soofroo of water for my own use, for the Moors assured me that they should not taste either meat or drink until sunset. However, I found that the excessive heat of the sun, and the dust we raised in travelling, overcame their scruples, and made my soofroo a very useful part of our baggage. On our

arrival at Deena, I went to pay my respects to one of Ali's sons. I found him sitting in a low hut, with five or six more of his companions, washing their hands and feet, and frequently taking water into their mouths, gargling, and spitting it out again. I was no sooner seated, than he handed me a double-barrelled gun, and told me to dye the stock of a blue colour, and repair one of the locks. I found great difficulty in persuading him that I knew nothing about the matter. However, says he, if you cannot repair the gun, you shall give me some knives and scissors immediately; and when my boy, who acted as interpreter, assured him that I had no such articles, he hastily snatched up a musket that stood by him, cocked it, and putting the muzzle close to the boy's ear, would certainly have shot him dead upon the spot, had not the Moors wrested the musket from him, and made signs for us to retreat. The boy, being terrified at this treatment, attempted to make his escape in the night, but was prevented by the vigilance of the Moors, who guarded us with strict attention—and at night always went to sleep by the door of the hut, in such a situation that it was almost impossible to pass without stepping upon them.

March 12th.—We departed from Deena towards Benowm, and about nine o'clock came to a korree, whence the Moors were preparing to depart to the southward, on account of the scarcity of water; here we filled our soofroo, and continued our journey over a hot sandy country, covered with small stunted shrubs, until about one o'clock, when the heat of the sun obliged us to stop. But our water being expended, we could not prudently remain longer than a few minutes to collect a little gum, which is an excellent succedaneum for water, as it keeps the mouth moist, and allays, for a time, the pain in the throat.

About five o'clock we came in sight of Benowm, the residence of Ali. It presented to the eye a great number of dirty-looking tents, scattered without order over a large space of ground; and among the tents appeared large herds of camels, cattle, and goats. We reached the skirts of this camp a little before sunset, and, with much entreaty, procured a little water. My arrival was no sooner observed, than the people who drew water at the wells threw down their buckets; those in the tents mounted their horses; and men, women, and children, came running or galloping towards me. I soon found myself surrounded by such a crowd that I could scarcely move; one pulled my clothes, another took off my hat, a third stopped me to examine my waistcoat buttons, and a fourth called out, *La illa el allah Mahamet rasoul allahi*—"There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet"—and signified, in a threatening manner, that I must repeat those words.

We reached at length the king's tent, where we found a great number of people, men and women, assembled. Ali was sitting upon a black leather cushion, clipping a few hairs from his upper lip; a female attendant holding up a looking-glass before him. He appeared to be an old man, of the Arab cast, with a long white beard; and he had a sullen and indignant aspect. He surveyed me with attention, and inquired of the Moors if I could speak Arabic: being answered in the negative, he appeared much surprised, and continued silent. The surrounding attendants, and especially the ladies, were abundantly more inquisitive: they asked a thousand questions; inspected every part of my apparel, searched my pockets, and obliged me to unbutton my waistcoat, and display the whiteness of my skin: they even counted my toes and fingers, as if they doubted whether I was in truth a human being. In a little time the priest announced evening prayers; but before the people departed, the Moor who had acted as interpreter, informed me that Ali was about to present me with something to eat; and looking round, I observed some boys bringing a wild hog, which they tied to one of the tent strings, and Ali made signs to me to kill and dress it for supper. Though I was very hungry, I did not think it prudent to eat any part of an animal so much detested by the Moors, and therefore told him that I never ate such food. They then untied the hog, in

hopes that it would run immediately at me—for they believe that a great enmity subsists between hogs and Christians—but in this they were disappointed; for the animal no sooner regained his liberty, than he began to attack indiscriminately every person that came in his way, and at last took shelter under the couch upon which the king was sitting. The assembly being thus dissolved, I was conducted to the tent of Ali's chief slave, but was not permitted to enter, nor allowed to touch any thing belonging to it. I requested something to eat, and a little boiled corn, with salt and water, was at length sent me in a wooden bowl; and a mat was spread upon the sand before the tent, on which I passed the night, surrounded by the curious multitude.

At sunrise, Ali, with a few attendants, came on horseback to visit me, and signified that he had provided a hut for me, where I would be sheltered from the sun. I was accordingly conducted thither, and found the hut comparatively cool and pleasant. It was constructed of corn stalks set up on end, in the form of a square, with a flat roof of the same materials, supported by forked sticks; to one of which was tied the wild hog before mentioned. This animal had certainly been placed there by Ali's order, out of derision to a Christian; and I found it a very disagreeable inmate, as it drew together a number of boys, who amused themselves by beating it with sticks, until they had so irritated the hog that it ran and bit at every person within its reach.

I was no sooner seated in this my new habitation, than the Moors assembled in crowds to behold me; but I found it rather a troublesome levee, for I was obliged to take off one of my stockings, and show them my foot, and even to take off my jacket and waistcoat, to show them how my clothes were put on and off: they were much delighted with the curious contrivance of buttons. All this was to be repeated to every succeeding visitor; for such as had already seen these wonders, insisted on their friends seeing the same; and in this manner I was employed, dressing and undressing, buttoning and unbuttoning, from noon till night. About eight o'clock, Ali sent me for supper some kouskous and salt and water, which was very acceptable, being the only victuals I had tasted since morning.

I observed that in the night the Moors kept regular watch, and frequently looked into the hut, to see if I was asleep; and if it was quite dark, they would light a wisp of grass. About two o'clock in the morning, a Moor entered the hut, probably with a view to steal something, or perhaps to murder me; and groping about, he laid his hand upon my shoulder. As night visitors were at best but suspicious characters, I sprang up the moment he laid his hand upon me; and the Moor, in his haste to get off, stumbled over my boy, and fell with his face upon the wild hog, which returned the attack by biting the Moor's arm. The screams of this man alarmed the people in the king's tent, who immediately conjectured that I had made my escape, and a number of them mounted their horses, and prepared to pursue me. I observed upon this occasion that Ali did not sleep in his own tent, but came galloping upon a white horse from a small tent at a considerable distance: indeed, the tyrannical and cruel behaviour of this man made him so jealous of every person around him, that even his own slaves and domestics knew not where he slept. When the Moors had explained to him the cause of this outcry, they all went away, and I was permitted to sleep quietly until morning.

March 13th.—With the returning day commenced the same round of insult and irritation—the boys assembled to beat the hog, and the men and women to plague the Christian. It is impossible for me to describe the behaviour of a people who study mischief as a science, and exult in the miseries and misfortunes of their fellow-creatures. It is sufficient to observe, that the rudeness, ferocity, and fanaticism, which distinguish the Moors from the rest of mankind, found here a proper subject whereon to exercise their propensities. I was a *stranger*, I was *unprotected*, and I was a *Christian*. Each of these circumstances is sufficient to drive every spark of humanity from the heart of a Moor;

but when all of them, as in my case, were combined in the same person, and a suspicion prevailed withal that I had come as a *spy* into the country, the reader will easily imagine that in such a situation I had every thing to fear. Anxious, however, to conciliate favour, and, if possible, to afford the Moors no pretence for ill treating me, I readily complied with every command, and patiently bore every insult; but never did any period of my life pass away so heavily—from sunrise till sunset was I obliged to suffer, with an unruined countenance, the insults of the rudest savages on earth.

## CHAPTER X.

Various Occurrences during the Author's Confinement at Benowm—Is visited by some Moorish Ladies.—A Funeral and Wedding.—The Author receives an extraordinary Present from the Bride.—Other Circumstances illustrative of the Moorish Character and Manners.

THE Moors, though very indolent themselves, are rigid task-masters, and keep every person under them in full employment. My boy Demba was sent to the woods to collect withered grass for Ali's horses; and after a variety of projects concerning myself, they at last found out an employment for me: this was no other than the respectable office of *barber*. I was to make my first exhibition in this capacity in the royal presence, and to be honoured with the task of shaving the head of the young prince of Ludamar. I accordingly seated myself upon the sand, and the boy, with some hesitation, sat down beside me. A small razor, about three inches long, was put into my hand, and I was ordered to proceed; but whether from my own want of skill, or the improper shape of the instrument, I unfortunately made a slight incision in the boy's head at the very commencement of the operation; and the king, observing the awkward manner in which I held the razor, concluded that his son's head was in very improper hands, and ordered me to resign the razor and walk out of the tent. This I considered as a very fortunate circumstance; for I had laid it down as a rule to make myself as useless and insignificant as possible, as the only means of recovering my liberty.

March 18th.—Four Moors arrived from Jarra with Johnson my interpreter, having seized him before he had received any intimation of my confinement, and bringing with them a bundle of clothes that I had left at Daman Jumia's house, for my use in case I should return by the way of Jarra. Johnson was led into Ali's tent and examined; the bundle was opened, and I was sent for to explain the use of the different articles. I was happy, however, to find that Johnson had committed my papers to the charge of one of Daman's wives. When I had satisfied Ali's curiosity respecting the different articles of apparel, the bundle was again tied up, and put into a large cow-skin bag that stood in a corner of the tent. The same evening Ali sent three of his people to inform me that there were many thieves in the neighbourhood, and that to prevent the rest of my things from being stolen, it was necessary to convey them all into his tent. My clothes, instruments, and every thing that belonged to me, were accordingly carried away; and though the heat and dust made clean linen very necessary and refreshing, I could not procure a single shirt out of the small stock I had brought along with me. Ali was however disappointed, by not finding among my effects the quantity of gold and amber that he expected; but to make sure of every thing, he sent the same people, on the morning following, to examine whether I had any thing concealed about my person. They, with their usual rudeness, searched every part of my apparel, and stripped me of all my gold, amber, my watch, and one of my pocket compasses; I had fortunately, in the night, buried the other compass in the sand—and this, with the clothes I had on, was all that the tyranny of Ali had now left me.

The gold and amber were highly gratifying to Moorish avarice, but the pocket compass soon became an object

of superstitious curiosity. Ali was very desirous to be informed why that small piece of iron, the needle, always pointed to the Great Desert; and I found myself somewhat puzzled to answer the question. To have pleaded my ignorance, would have created a suspicion that I wished to conceal the real truth from him; I therefore told him that my mother resided far beyond the sands of Sahara, and that whilst she was alive the piece of iron would always point that way, and serve as a guide to conduct me to her, and that if she was dead it would point to her grave. Ali now looked at the compass with redoubled amazement; turned it round and round repeatedly; but observing that it always pointed the same way, he took it up with great caution and returned it to me, manifesting that he thought there was something of magic in it, and that he was afraid of keeping so dangerous an instrument in his possession.

March 20th.—This morning a council of chief men was held in Ali's tent respecting me: their decisions, though they were all unfavourable to me, were differently related by different persons. Some said that they intended to put me to death; others that I was only to lose my right hand: but the most probable account was that which I received from Ali's own son, a boy about nine years of age, who came to me in the evening, and, with much concern, informed me that his uncle had persuaded his father to put out my eyes, which they said resembled those of a cat, and that all the bush-reens had approved of this measure. His father, however, he said, would not put the sentence into execution until Fatima the queen, who was at present in the north, had seen me.

March 21st.—Anxious to know my destiny, I went to the king early in the morning; and as a number of bush-reens were assembled, I thought this a favourable opportunity of discovering their intentions. I therefore began by begging his permission to return to Jarra, which was flatly refused: his wife, he said, had not yet seen me, and I must stay until she came to Benoum, after which I should be at liberty to depart; and that my horse, which had been taken away from me the day after I arrived, should be again restored to me. Unsatisfactory as this answer was, I was forced to appear pleased; and as there was little hope of making my escape at this season of the year, on account of the excessive heat, and the total want of water in the woods, I resolved to wait patiently until the rains had set in, or until some more favourable opportunity should present itself. But "hope deferred maketh the heart sick." This tedious procrastination from day to day, and the thoughts of travelling through the negro kingdoms in the rainy season, which was now fast approaching, made me very melancholy; and having passed a restless night, I found myself attacked, in the morning, by a smart fever. I had wrapped myself close up in my cloak with a view to induce perspiration, and was asleep, when a party of Moors entered the hut, and, with their usual rudeness, pulled the cloak from me. I made signs to them that I was sick, and wished much to sleep; but was solicited in vain: my distress was matter of sport to them, and they endeavoured to heighten it by every means in their power. This studied and degrading insolence, to which I was constantly exposed, was one of the bitterest ingredients in the cup of captivity, and often made life itself a burden to me. In those distressing moments I have frequently envied the situation of the slave, who, amidst all his calamities, could still possess the enjoyment of his own thoughts—a happiness to which I had for some time been a stranger.—Wearied out with such continual insults, and perhaps a little peevish from the fever, I trembled lest my passion might unawares overleap the bounds of prudence, and spur me to some sudden act of resentment, when death must be the inevitable consequence. In this perplexity, I left my hut, and walked to some shady trees at a little distance from the camp, where I lay down. But even here persecution followed me; and solitude was thought too great an indulgence for a distressed Christian. Ali's son, with a number of horse-

men, came galloping to the place, and ordered me to rise and follow them. I begged they would allow me to remain where I was, if it was only for a few hours; but they paid little attention to what I said; and, after a few threatening words, one of them pulled out a pistol from a leather bag, that was fastened to the pommel of his saddle, and, presenting it towards me, snapped it twice. He did this with so much indifference, that I really doubted whether the pistol was loaded; he cocked it a third time, and was striking the flint with a piece of steel, when I begged them to desist, and returned with them to the camp. When we entered Ali's tent, we found him much out of humour. He called for the Moor's pistol, and amused himself for some time with opening and shutting the pan; at length, taking up his powder-horn, he fresh primed it; and, turning round to me with a menacing look, said something in Arabic, which I did not understand. I desired my boy, who was sitting before the tent, to inquire what offence I had committed; when I was informed, that having gone out of the camp without Ali's permission, they suspected that I had some design of making my escape; and that, in future, if I was seen without the skirts of the camp, orders had been given that I should be shot by the first person that observed me.

In the afternoon the horizon, to the eastward, was thick and hazy, and the Moors prognosticated a sand wind; which accordingly commenced on the morning following, and lasted, with slight intermissions, for two days. The force of the wind was not in itself very great—it was what a seaman would have denominated a *stiff breeze*; but the quantity of sand and dust carried before it, was such as to darken the whole atmosphere. It swept along from east to west, in a thick and constant stream, and the air was at times so dark and full of sand, that it was difficult to discern the neighbouring tents. As the Moors always dress their victuals in the open air, this sand fell in great plenty amongst the koukous: it readily adhered to the skin, when moistened by perspiration, and formed a cheap and universal hair powder. The Moors wrap a cloth round their face, to prevent them from inhaling the sand, and always turn their backs to the wind when they look up, to prevent the sand falling into their eyes.

About this time, all the women of the camp had their feet, and the ends of their fingers, stained of a dark saffron colour. I could never ascertain whether this was done from motives of religion, or by way of ornament. The curiosity of the Moorish ladies had been very troublesome to me ever since my arrival at Benoum; and on the evening of the 25th (whether from the instigation of others, or impelled by their own ungovernable curiosity, or merely out of frolic, I cannot affirm), a party of them came into my hut, and gave me plainly to understand that the object of their visit was to ascertain, by actual inspection, whether the rite of circumcision extended to the Nazarenes (Christians), as well as to the followers of Mahomet. The reader will easily judge of my surprise at this unexpected declaration; and in order to avoid the proposed scrutiny, I thought it best to treat the business jocularly. I observed to them, that it was not customary in my country to give ocular demonstration in such cases, before so many beautiful women; but that if all of them would retire, except the young lady to whom I pointed (selecting the youngest and handsomest), I would satisfy her curiosity. The ladies enjoyed the jest, and went away laughing heartily; and the young damsel herself to whom I had given the preference (though she did not avail herself of the privilege of inspection), seemed no way displeas'd at the compliment; for she soon afterwards sent me some meal and milk for my supper.

March 28th.—This morning a large herd of cattle arrived from the eastward; and one of the drivers, to whom Ali had lent my horse, came into my hut with the leg of an antelope as a present, and told me that my horse was standing before Ali's tent. In a little time Ali sent one of his slaves to inform me, that in the afternoon I must be in readiness to ride out

with him, as he intended to show me to some of his women.

About four o'clock, Ali, with six of his courtiers, came riding to my hut, and told me to follow them. I readily complied. But here a new difficulty occurred. The Moors, accustomed to a loose and easy dress, could not reconcile themselves to the appearance of my *nankeen breeches*, which they said were not only inelegant, but, on account of their tightness, very indecent; and as this was a visit to ladies, Ali ordered my boy to bring out the loose cloak which I had always worn since my arrival at Benoum, and told me to wrap it close round me. We visited the tents of four different ladies, at every one of which I was presented with a bowl of milk and water. All these ladies were remarkably corpulent, which is considered here as the highest mark of beauty. They were very inquisitive, and examined my hair and skin with great attention, but affected to consider me as a sort of inferior being to themselves, and would knit their brows, and seem to shudder, when they looked at the whiteness of my skin. In the course of this evening's excursion, my dress and appearance afforded infinite mirth to the company, who galloped round me as if they were baiting a wild animal, twirling their muskets round their heads, and exhibiting various feats of activity and horsemanship, seemingly to display their superior prowess over a miserable captive.

The Moors are certainly very good horsemen. They ride without fear—their saddles being high before and behind, afford them a very secure seat; and if they chance to fall, the whole country is so soft and sandy, that they are very seldom hurt. Their greatest pride, and one of their principal amusements, is to put the horse to his full speed, and then stop him with a sudden jerk, so as frequently to bring him down upon his haunches. Ali always rode upon a milk-white horse, with its tail dyed red. He never walked, unless when he went to say his prayers; and even in the night, two or three horses were always kept ready saddled, at a little distance from his own tent. The Moors set a very high value upon their horses; for it is by their superior fleetness that they are enabled to make so many predatory excursions into the negro countries. They feed them three or four times a-day, and generally give them a large quantity of sweet milk in the evening, which the horses appear to relish very much.

April 3d.—This forenoon a child, which had been some time sickly, died in the next tent; and the mother and relations immediately began the death-howl. They were joined by a number of female visitors, who came on purpose to assist at this melancholy concert. I had no opportunity of seeing the burial, which is generally performed secretly, in the dusk of the evening, and frequently at only a few yards' distance from the tent. Over the grave they plant one particular shrub; and no stranger is allowed to pluck a leaf, or even to touch it—so great a veneration have they for the dead.

April 7th.—About four o'clock in the afternoon, a whirlwind passed through the camp with such violence, that it overturned three tents, and blew down one side of my hut. These whirlwinds come from the Great Desert, and at this season of the year are so common, that I have seen five or six of them at one time. They carry up quantities of sand to an amazing height, which resemble, at a distance, so many moving pillars of smoke.

The scorching heat of the sun, upon a dry and sandy country, makes the air insufferably hot. Ali having robbed me of my thermometer, I had no means of forming a comparative judgment; but in the middle of the day, when the beams of the vertical sun are seconded by the scorching wind from the desert, the ground is frequently heated to such a degree as not to be borne by the naked foot; even the negro slaves will not run from one tent to another without their sandals. At this time of the day the Moors lie stretched at length in their tents, either asleep, or unwilling to move; and I have often felt the wind so hot, that I could not

hold my hand in the current of air which came through the crevices of my hut without feeling sensible pain.

April 8th.—This day the wind blew from the south-west; and in the night there was a heavy shower of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning.

April 10th.—In the evening the *tabala*, or large drum, was beat to announce a wedding, which was held at one of the neighbouring tents. A great number of people of both sexes assembled, but without that mirth and hilarity which take place at a negro wedding; here was neither singing nor dancing, nor any other amusement that I could perceive. A woman was beating the drum, and the other women joining at times like a chorus, by setting up a shrill scream, and, at the same time, moving their tongues from one side of the mouth to the other with great celerity. I was soon tired, and had returned into my hut, where I was sitting almost asleep, when an old woman entered, with a wooden bowl in her hand, and signified that she had brought me a present from the bride. Before I could recover from the surprise which this message created, the woman discharged the contents of the bowl full in my face. Finding that it was the same sort of holy water with which, among the Hottentots, a priest is said to sprinkle a newly married couple, I began to suspect that the old lady was actuated by mischief or malice; but she gave me seriously to understand that it was a nuptial benediction from the bride's own person, and which, on such occasions, is always received by the young unmarried Moors as a mark of distinguished favour. This being the case, I wiped my face, and sent my acknowledgments to the lady. The wedding drum continued to beat, and the women to sing, or rather whistle, all night. About nine in the morning, the bride was brought in state from her mother's tent, attended by a number of women, who carried her tent (a present from the husband), some bearing up the poles, others holding by the strings; and in this manner they marched, whistling as formerly, until they came to the place appointed for her residence, where they pitched the tent. The husband followed, with a number of men leading four bullocks, which they tied to the tent strings; and having killed another, and distributed the beef among the people, the ceremony was concluded.

## CHAPTER XI.

Occurrences at the Camp continued.—Information collected by the Author concerning Houssa and Tombuctoo; and the Situation of the latter.—The Route described from Morocco to Benoum.—The Author's Distress from Hunger.—Ali removes his camp to the Northward.—The Author is carried Prisoner to the new Encampment, and is presented to Queen Fatima.—Great Distress from the want of Water.

ONE whole month had now elapsed since I was led into captivity, during which time, each returning day brought me fresh distresses. I watched the lingering course of the sun with anxiety, and blessed his evening beams as they shed a yellow lustre along the sandy floor of my hut; for it was then that my oppressors left me, and allowed me to pass the sultry night in solitude and reflection.

About midnight, a bowl of kouskous with some salt and water was brought for me and my two attendants. This was our common fare, and it was all that was allowed us to allay the cravings of hunger, and support nature for the whole of the following day; for it is to be observed that this was the Mahomedan lent, and as the Moors keep the fast with a religious strictness, they thought it proper to compel me, though a Christian, to a similar observance. Time, however, somewhat reconciled me to my situation: I found that I could bear hunger and thirst better than I expected; and at length I endeavoured to beguile the tedious hours by learning to write Arabic. The people who came to see me soon made me acquainted with the characters; and I discovered, that by engaging their attention in this way, they were not so troublesome as otherwise they would

have been; indeed, when I observed any person whose countenance I thought bore malice towards me, I made it a rule to ask him, either to write in the sand himself, or to decipher what I had already written; and the pride of showing his superior attainments generally induced him to comply with my request.

April 14th.—As queen Fatima had not yet arrived, Ali proposed to go to the north, and bring her back with him; but as the place was two days' journey from Benowm, it was necessary to have some refreshment on the road; and Ali, suspicious of those about him, was so afraid of being poisoned, that he never ate any thing but what was dressed under his own immediate inspection. A fine bullock was therefore killed, and the flesh being cut up into thin slices, was dried in the sun; and this, with two bags of dry kouskous, formed his travelling provisions.

Previous to his departure, the black people of the town of Benowm came, according to their annual custom, to show their arms, and bring their stipulated tribute of corn and cloth. They were but badly armed; twenty-two with muskets, forty or fifty with bows and arrows, and nearly the same number of men and boys, with spears only. They arranged themselves before the tent, where they waited until their arms were examined, and some little disputes settled.

About midnight on the 16th, Ali departed quietly from Benowm, accompanied by a few attendants. He was expected to return in the course of nine or ten days.

April 18th.—Two days after the departure of Ali, a sheeref arrived with salt, and some other articles, from Walet, the capital of the kingdom of Biroo. As there was no tent appropriated for him, he took up his abode in the same hut with me. He seemed to be a well-informed man, and his acquaintance both with the Arabic and Bambarra tongues enabled him to travel with ease and safety through a number of kingdoms; for though his place of residence was Walet, he had visited Houssa, and had lived some years at Tombuctoo. Upon my inquiring so particularly about the distance from Walet to Tombuctoo, he asked me if I intended to travel that way; and being answered in the affirmative, he shook his head, and said, "it would not do;" for that Christians were looked upon there as the devil's children, and enemies to the Prophet. From him I learned the following particulars:—That Houssa was the largest town he had ever seen: that Walet was larger than Tombuctoo, but being remote from the Niger, and its trade consisting chiefly of salt, it was not so much resorted to by strangers: that between Benowm and Walet was ten days' journey; but the road did not lead through any remarkable towns, and travellers supported themselves by purchasing milk from the Arabs, who keep their herds by the watering-places: two of the days' journeys was over a sandy country, without water. From Walet to Tombuctoo was eleven days more; but water was more plentiful, and the journey was usually performed upon bullocks. He said there were many Jews at Tombuctoo, but they all spoke Arabic, and used the same prayers as the Moors. He frequently pointed his hand to the south-east quarter, or rather the east by south; observing, that Tombuctoo was situated in that direction; and though I made him repeat this information again and again, I never found him to vary more than half a point, which was to the southward.

April 24th.—This morning Sheeref Sidi Mahomed Moora Abdalla, a native of Morocco, arrived with five bullocks loaded with salt. He had formerly resided some months at Gibraltar, where he had picked up as much English as enabled him to make himself understood. He informed me, that he had been five months in coming from Santa Cruz; but that great part of the time had been spent in trading. When I requested him to enumerate the days employed in travelling from Morocco to Benowm, he gave them as follows:—To Swera, three days; to Agadier, three; to Jinikin, ten; to Wadmoon, four; to Lakeneig, five; to Zeerwin-zeriman, five; to Tisheet, ten; to Benowm, ten—in all, fifty days; but travellers usually rest a long while at Jinikin and

Tisheet—at the latter of which places they dig the rock salt, which is so great an article of commerce with the negroes.

In conversing with these sheerefs, and the different strangers that resorted to the camp, I passed my time with rather less uneasiness than formerly. On the other hand, as the dressing of my victuals was now left entirely to the care of Ali's slaves, over whom I had not the smallest control, I found myself but ill supplied, worse even than in the fast month: for two successive nights they neglected to send us our accustomed meal; and though my boy went to a small negro town near the camp, and begged with great diligence from hut to hut, he could only procure a few handfuls of ground nuts, which he readily shared with me. Hunger, at first, is certainly a very painful sensation; but when it has continued for some time, this pain is succeeded by languor and debility; in which case, a draught of water, by keeping the stomach distended, will greatly exhilarate the spirits, and remove for a short time every sort of uneasiness. Johnson and Demba were very much dejected. They lay stretched upon the sand, in a sort of torpid slumber; and even when the kouskous arrived, I found some difficulty in awakening them. I felt no inclination to sleep, but was affected with a deep convulsive respiration, like constant sighing; and, what alarmed me still more, a dimness of sight, and a tendency to faint, when I attempted to sit up. These symptoms did not go off until some time after I had received nourishment.

We had been for some days in daily expectation of Ali's return from Saheel (or the north country) with his wife Fatima. In the meanwhile Mansong, king of Bambarra, as I have related in Chapter VIII., had sent to Ali for a party of horse to assist in storming Gedingooma. With this demand Ali had not only refused to comply, but had treated the messengers with great haughtiness and contempt; upon which Mansong gave up all thoughts of taking the town, and prepared to chastise Ali for his contumacy.

Things were in this situation when, on the 29th of April, a messenger arrived at Benowm with the disagreeable intelligence that the Bambarra army was approaching the frontiers of Ludamar. This threw the whole country into confusion; and in the afternoon, Ali's son, with about twenty horsemen, arrived at Benowm. He ordered all the cattle to be driven away immediately, all the tents to be struck, and the people to hold themselves in readiness to depart at daylight the next morning.

April 30th.—At daybreak the whole camp was in motion. The baggage was carried upon bullocks—the two tent poles being placed one on each side, and the different wooden articles of the tent distributed in like manner; the tent cloth was thrown over all, and upon this was commonly placed one or two women; for the Moorish women are very bad walkers. The king's favourite concubines rode upon camels, with a saddle of a particular construction, and a canopy to shelter them from the sun. We proceeded to the northward until noon, when the king's son ordered the whole company, except two tents, to enter a thick low wood, which was upon our right. I was sent along with the two tents, and arrived in the evening at a negro town called Farani: here we pitched the tents in an open place, at no great distance from the town.

The hurry and confusion which attended this decampment, prevented the slaves from dressing the usual quantity of victuals; and lest their dry provisions should be exhausted before they reached their place of destination (for as yet none but Ali and the chief men knew whither we were going), they thought proper to make me observe this day as a day of fasting.

May 1st.—As I had some reason to suspect that this day was also to be considered as a fast, I went in the morning to the negro town of Farani, and begged some provisions from the dooty, who readily supplied my wants, and desired me to come to his house every day during my stay in the neighbourhood. These hospitable people are looked upon by the Moors as an abject

race of slaves, and are treated accordingly. Two of Ali's household slaves, a man and a woman, who had come along with the two tents, went this morning to water the cattle from the town wells, at which there began to be a great scarcity. When the negro women observed the cattle approaching, they took up their pitchers and ran with all possible haste towards the town; but before they could enter the gate, they were stopped by the slaves, who compelled them to bring back the water they had drawn for their own families, and empty it into the troughs for the cattle. When this was exhausted, they were ordered to draw water until such time as the cattle had all drunk; and the woman slave actually broke two wooden bowls over the heads of the black girls, because they were somewhat dilatory in obeying her commands.

May 3d.—We departed from the vicinity of Farani, and after a circuitous route through the woods, arrived at Ali's camp in the afternoon. This encampment was larger than that of Benoum, and was situated in the middle of a thick wood about two miles distant from a negro town, called Bubaker. I immediately waited upon Ali, in order to pay my respects to queen Fatima, who had come with him from Saheel. He seemed much pleased with my coming—shook hands with me—and informed his wife that I was the Christian. She was a woman of the Arab cast, with long black hair, and remarkably corpulent. She appeared at first rather shocked at the thought of having a Christian so near her: but when I had (by means of a negro boy, who spoke the Mandingo and Arabic tongues) answered a great many questions, which her curiosity suggested, respecting the country of the Christians, she seemed more at ease, and presented me with a bowl of milk, which I considered as a very favourable omen.

The heat was now almost insufferable—all nature seemed sinking under it. The distant country presented to the eye a dreary expanse of sand, with a few stunted trees and prickly bushes, in the shade of which the hungry cattle licked up the withered grass, while the camels and goats picked off the scanty foliage. The scarcity of water was greater here than at Benoum. Day and night the wells were crowded with cattle, lowing and fighting with each other to come at the troughs. Excessive thirst made many of them furious; others, being too weak to contend for the water, endeavoured to quench their thirst by devouring the black mud from the gutters near the wells—which they did with great avidity, though it was commonly fatal to them.

This great scarcity of water was felt severely by all the people of the camp, and by none more than myself; for though Ali allowed me a skin for containing water, and Fatima, once or twice, gave me a small supply when I was in distress, yet such was the barbarous disposition of the Moors at the wells, that, when my boy attempted to fill the skin, he commonly received a sound drubbing for his presumption. Every one was astonished that the slave of a Christian should attempt to draw water from wells which had been dug by the followers of the Prophet. This treatment, at length, so frightened the boy, that I believe he would sooner have perished with thirst than attempted again to fill the skin; he therefore contented himself with begging water from the negro slaves that attended the camp—and I followed his example—but with very indifferent success; for though I let no opportunity slip, and was very urgent in my solicitations, both to the Moors and negroes, I was but ill supplied, and frequently passed the night in the situation of Tantalus. No sooner had I shut my eyes, than fancy would convey me to the streams and rivers of my native land: there, as I wandered along the verdant brink, I surveyed the clear stream with transport, and hastened to swallow the delightful draught—but alas! disappointment awakened me, and I found myself a lonely captive, perishing of thirst amidst the wilds of Africa!

One night, having solicited in vain for water at the camp, and being quite feverish, I resolved to try my fortune at the wells, which were about half a mile dis-

tant from the camp. Accordingly, I set out about midnight, and being guided by the lowing of the cattle, soon arrived at the place—where I found the Moors very busy drawing water. I requested permission to drink, but was driven away with outrageous abuse. Passing, however, from one well to another, I came at last to one where there was only an old man and two boys. I made the same request to this man, and he immediately drew me up a bucket of water; but, as I was about to take hold of it, he recollected that I was a Christian, and fearing that his bucket might be polluted by my lips, he dashed the water into the trough, and told me to drink from thence. Though this trough was none of the largest, and three cows were already drinking in it, I resolved to come in for my share; and kneeling down, thrust my head between two of the cows, and drank with great pleasure, until the water was nearly exhausted, and the cows began to contend with each other for the last mouthful.

In adventures of this nature, I passed the sultry month of May, during which no material change took place in my situation. Ali still considered me as a lawful prisoner; and Fatima, though she allowed me a larger quantity of victuals than I had been accustomed to receive at Benoum, had as yet said nothing on the subject of my release. In the meantime, the frequent changes of the wind, the gathering clouds, and distant lightning, with other appearances of approaching rain, indicated that the wet season was at hand, when the Moors annually evacuate the country of the negroes, and return to the skirts of the Great Desert. This made me consider that my fate was drawing towards a crisis, and I resolved to wait for the event without any seeming uneasiness; but circumstances occurred which produced a change in my favour, more suddenly than I had foreseen, or had reason to expect. The case was this:—The fugitive Kaartans, who had taken refuge in Ludamar, as I have related in Chapter VIII., finding that the Moors were about to leave them, and dreading the resentment of their own sovereign, whom they had so basely deserted, offered to treat with Ali for two hundred Moorish horsemen, to co-operate with them in an effort to expel Daisy from Gedingooma; for until Daisy should be vanquished or humbled, they considered that they could neither return to their native towns, nor live in security in any of the neighbouring kingdoms. With a view to extort money from these people by means of this treaty, Ali dispatched his son to Jarra, and prepared to follow him in the course of a few days. This was an opportunity of too great consequence to me to be neglected. I immediately applied to Fatima (who, I found, had the chief direction in all affairs of state), and begged her interest with Ali to give me permission to accompany him to Jarra. This request, after some hesitation, was favourably received. Fatima looked kindly on me, and, I believe, was at length moved with compassion towards me. My bundles were brought from the large cow-skin bag that stood in the corner of Ali's tent, and I was ordered to explain the use of the different articles, and show the method of putting on the boots, stockings, &c.—with all which I cheerfully complied, and was told that, in the course of a few days, I should be at liberty to depart.

Believing, therefore, that I should certainly find the means of escaping from Jarra, if I should once get thither, I now freely indulged the pleasing hope that my captivity would soon terminate; and happily not having been disappointed in this idea, I shall pause, in this place, to collect and bring into one point of view, such observations on the Moorish character and country as I had no fair opportunity of introducing into the preceding narrative.

## CHAPTER XII.

Containing some farther miscellaneous Reflections on the Moorish Character and Manners.—Observations concerning the Great Desert, its Animals, wild and domestic, &c. &c.

THE Moors of this part of Africa are divided into many separate tribes, of which the most formidable, accord-

ing to what was reported to me, are those of Trasart and Il Braken, which inhabit the northern bank of the Senegal river. The tribes of Gedumah, Jaffnoo, and Ludamar, though not so numerous as the former, are nevertheless very powerful and warlike, and are each governed by a chief, or king, who exercises absolute jurisdiction over his own hordes, without acknowledging allegiance to a common sovereign. In time of peace, the employment of the people is pasturage. The Moors, indeed, subsist chiefly on the flesh of their cattle, and are always in the extreme of either gluttony or abstinence. In consequence of the frequent and severe fasts which their religion enjoins, and the toilsome journeys which they sometimes undertake across the desert, they are enabled to bear both hunger and thirst with surprising fortitude; but whenever opportunities occur of satisfying their appetite, they generally devour more at one meal than would serve an European for three. They pay but little attention to agriculture, purchasing their corn, cotton cloth, and other necessaries, from the negroes, in exchange for salt, which they dig from the pits in the Great Desert.

The natural barrenness of the country is such, that it furnishes but few materials for manufacture. The Moors, however, contrive to weave a strong cloth, with which they cover their tents; the thread is spun by their women from the hair of goats; and they prepare the hides of their cattle so as to furnish saddles, bridles, pouches, and other articles of leather. They are likewise sufficiently skilful to convert the native iron, which they procure from the negroes, into spears and knives, and also into pots for boiling their food; but their sabres, and other weapons, as well as their fire-arms and ammunition, they purchase from the Europeans, in exchange for the negro slaves which they obtain in their predatory excursions. Their chief commerce of this kind is with the French traders on the Senegal river.

The Moors are rigid Mahomedans, and possess, with the bigotry and superstition, all the intolerance, of their sect. They have no mosques at Benown, but perform their devotions in a sort of open shed, or inclosure, made of mats. The priest is, at the same time, schoolmaster to the juniors. His pupils assemble every evening before his tent; where, by the light of a large fire, made of brushwood and cow's dung, they are taught a few sentences from the Koran, and are initiated into the principles of their creed. Their alphabet differs but little from that in Richardson's Arabic Grammar. They always write with the vowel points. Their priests even affect to know something of foreign literature. The priest of Benown assured me, that he could read the writings of the Christians: he showed me a number of barbarous characters, which he asserted were the Roman alphabet; and he produced another specimen, equally unintelligible, which he declared to be the *Kallam il Indi*, or Persian. His library consisted of nine volumes in quarto; most of them, I believe, were books of religion—for the name of Mahomet appeared, in red letters, in almost every page of each. His scholars wrote their lessons upon thin boards; paper being too expensive for general use. The boys were diligent enough, and appeared to possess a considerable share of emulation—carrying their boards along over their shoulders, when about their common employments. When a boy has committed to memory a few of their prayers, and can read and write certain parts of the Koran, he is reckoned sufficiently instructed; and, with this slender stock of learning, commences his career of life. Proud of his acquirements, he surveys with contempt the unlettered negro; and embraces every opportunity of displaying his superiority over such of his countrymen as are not distinguished by the same accomplishments.

The education of the girls is neglected altogether: mental accomplishments are but little attended to by the women; nor is the want of them considered by the men as a defect in the female character. They are regarded, I believe, as an inferior species of animals; and seem to be brought up for no other purpose than

that of administering to the sensual pleasures of their imperious masters. Voluptuousness is therefore considered as their chief accomplishment, and slavish submission as their indispensable duty.

The Moors have singular ideas of feminine perfection. The gracefulness of figure and motion, and a countenance enlivened by expression, are by no means essential points in their standard—with them corpulence and beauty appear to be terms nearly synonymous. A woman, of even moderate pretensions, must be one who cannot walk without a slave under each arm to support her; and a perfect beauty is a load for a camel. In consequence of this prevalent taste for unwieldiness of bulk, the Moorish ladies take great pains to acquire it early in life; and for this purpose many of the young girls are compelled, by their mothers, to devour a great quantity of kouskous, and drink a large bowl of camel's milk, every morning. It is of no importance whether the girl has an appetite or not—the kouskous and milk must be swallowed, and obedience is frequently enforced by blows. I have seen a poor girl sit crying, with the bowl at her lips, for more than an hour, and her mother, with a stick in her hand, watching her all the while, and using the stick without mercy, whenever she observed that her daughter was not swallowing. This singular practice, instead of producing indigestion and disease, soon covers the young lady with that degree of plumpness, which, in the eye of a Moor, is perfection itself.

As the Moors purchase all their clothing from the negroes, the women are forced to be very economical in the article of dress. In general, they content themselves with a broad piece of cotton cloth, which is wrapped round the middle, and hangs down like a petticoat almost to the ground; and to the upper part of this are sewed two square pieces, one before, and the other behind, which are fastened together over the shoulders. The head dress is commonly a bandage of cotton cloth, with some parts of it broader than others, which serve to conceal the face when they walk in the sun: frequently, however, when they go abroad, they veil themselves from head to foot.

The employment of the women varies according to their degrees of opulence. Queen Fatima, and a few others of high rank, like the great ladies in some parts of Europe, pass their time chiefly in conversing with their visitors, performing their devotions, or admiring their charms in a looking-glass. The women of inferior class employ themselves in different domestic duties. They are very vain and talkative; and when any thing puts them out of humour, they commonly vent their anger upon their female slaves, over whom they rule with severe and despotic authority, which leads me to observe, that the condition of these poor captives is deplorably wretched. At daybreak, they are compelled to fetch water from the wells in large skins, called *giras*; and as soon as they have brought water enough to serve the family for the day, as well as the horses (for the Moors seldom give their horses the trouble of going to the wells), they are then employed in pounding the corn and dressing the victuals. This being always done in the open air, the slaves are exposed to the combined heat of the sun, the sand, and the fire. In the intervals, it is their business to sweep the tent, churn the milk, and perform other domestic offices. With all this they are badly fed, and oftentimes cruelly punished.

The men's dress, among the Moors of Ludamar, differs but little from that of the negroes, which has been already described, except that they have all adopted that characteristic of the Mahomedan sect, the *turban*, which is here universally made of white cotton cloth. Such of the Moors as have long beards, display them with a mixture of pride and satisfaction, as denoting an Arab ancestry. Of this number was Ali himself; but, among the generality of the people, the hair is short and bushy, and universally black. And here I may be permitted to observe, that if any one circumstance excited among them favourable thoughts towards my own person, it was my beard, which was now grown to an

enormous length, and was always beheld with approbation or envy. I believe, in my conscience, they thought it too good a beard for a Christian.

The only diseases which I observed to prevail among the Moors, were the intermittent fever and dysentery—for the cure of which, nostrums are sometimes administered by their old women, but in general nature is left to her own operations. Mention was made to me of the small-pox, as being sometimes very destructive; but it had not, to my knowledge, made its appearance in Ludamar, while I was in captivity. That it prevails, however, among some tribes of the Moors, and that it is frequently conveyed by them to the negroes in the southern states, I was assured on the authority of Dr Laidley, who also informed me that the negroes on the Gambia practise inoculation.

The administration of criminal justice, as far as I had opportunities of observing, was prompt and decisive; for, although civil rights were but little regarded in Ludamar, it was necessary, when crimes were committed, that examples should sometimes be made. On such occasions, the offender was brought before Ali, who pronounced, of his sole authority, what judgment he thought proper. But I understood that capital punishment was seldom or never inflicted, except on the negroes.

Although the wealth of the Moors consists chiefly in their numerous herds of cattle; yet, as the pastoral life does not afford full employment, the majority of the people are perfectly idle, and spend the day in trifling conversation about their horses, or in laying schemes of depredation on the negro villages.

The usual place of rendezvous for the indolent is the king's tent, where great liberty of speech seems to be exercised by the company towards each other; while, in speaking of their chief, they express but one opinion. In praise of their sovereign they are unanimous. Songs are composed in his honour, which the company frequently sing in concert—but they are so loaded with gross adulation, that no man but a Moorish despot could hear them without blushing. The king is distinguished by the fineness of his dress—which is composed of blue cotton cloth, brought from Tombuctoo, or white linen or muslin from Morocco. He has likewise a larger tent than any other person, with a white cloth over it; but in his usual intercourse with his subjects, all distinctions of rank are frequently forgotten. He sometimes eats out of the same bowl with his camel driver, and reposes himself, during the heat of the day, upon the same bed. The expenses of his government and household are defrayed by a tax upon his negro subjects, which is paid by every householder, either in corn, cloth, or gold dust; a tax upon the different Moorish korrees, or watering-places, which is commonly levied in cattle; and a tax upon all merchandise which passes through the kingdom, and is generally collected in kind. But a considerable part of the king's revenue arises from the plunder of individuals. The negro inhabitants of Ludamar, and the travelling merchants, are afraid of appearing rich; for Ali, who has spies stationed in the different towns to give him information concerning the wealth of his subjects, frequently invents some frivolous plea for seizing their property, and reducing the opulent to a level with their fellow-citizens.

Of the number of Ali's Moorish subjects, I had no means of forming a correct estimate. The military strength of Ludamar consists in cavalry. They are well mounted, and appear to be very expert in skirmishing and attacking by surprise. Every soldier furnishes his own horse, and finds his accoutrements, consisting of a large sabre, a double-barrelled gun, a small red leather bag for holding his balls, and a powder horn slung over the shoulder. He has no pay, nor any remuneration but what arises from plunder. This body is not very numerous; for when Ali made war upon Bambarra, I was informed that his whole force did not exceed two thousand cavalry. They constitute, however, by what I could learn, but a very small proportion of his Moorish subjects. The horses are very

beautiful, and so highly esteemed, that the negro princes will sometimes give from twelve to fourteen slaves for one horse.

Ludamar has for its northern boundary the great desert of Sahara. From the best inquiries I could make, this vast ocean of sand, which occupies so large a space in northern Africa, may be pronounced almost destitute of inhabitants, except where the scanty vegetation which appears in certain spots, affords pasturage for the flocks of a few miserable Arabs, who wander from one well to another. In other places, where the supply of water and pasturage is more abundant, small parties of the Moors have taken up their residence. Here they live, in independent poverty, secure from the tyrannical government of Barbary. But the greater part of the desert, being totally destitute of water, is seldom visited by any human being, unless where the trading caravans trace out their toilsome and dangerous route across it. In some parts of this extensive waste, the ground is covered with low stunted shrubs, which serve as landmarks for the caravans, and furnish the camels with a scanty forage. In other parts the disconsolate wanderer, wherever he turns, sees nothing around him but a vast interminable expanse of sand and sky—a gloomy and barren void, where the eye finds no particular object to rest upon, and the mind is filled with painful apprehensions of perishing with thirst. "Surrounded by this dreary solitude, the traveller sees the dead bodies of birds, that the violence of the wind has brought from happier regions; and, as he ruminates on the fearful length of his remaining passage, listens with horror to the voice of the driving blast—the only sound that interrupts the awful repose of the desert."<sup>\*</sup>

The few wild animals which inhabit these melancholy regions are the antelope and the ostrich; their swiftness of foot enabling them to reach the distant watering-places. On the skirts of the desert, where water is more plentiful, are found lions, panthers, elephants, and wild boars.

Of domestic animals, the only one that can endure the fatigue of crossing the desert is the camel. By the particular conformation of the stomach, he is enabled to carry a supply of water sufficient for ten or twelve days; his broad and yielding foot is well adapted for a sandy country; and, by a singular motion of his upper lip, he picks the smallest leaves from the thorny shrubs of the desert as he passes along. The camel is, therefore, the only beast of burden employed by the trading caravans, which traverse the desert in different directions, from Barbary to Nigritia. As this useful and docile creature has been sufficiently described by systematical writers, it is unnecessary for me to enlarge upon his properties. I shall only add, that his flesh, though to my own taste dry and unsavoury, is preferred by the Moors to any other; and that the milk of the female is in universal esteem, and is indeed sweet, pleasant, and nutritive.

I have observed that the Moors, in their complexion, resemble the Mulattoes of the West Indies; but they have something unpleasant in their aspect, which the Mulattoes have not. I fancied that I discovered in the features of most of them a disposition towards cruelty and low cunning; and I could never contemplate their physiognomy, without feeling sensible uneasiness. From the staring wildness of their eyes, a stranger would immediately set them down as a nation of lunatics. The treachery and malevolence of their character, are manifested in their plundering excursions against the negro villages. Oftentimes without the smallest provocation, and sometimes under the fairest professions of friendship, they will suddenly seize upon the negroes' cattle, and even on the inhabitants themselves. The negroes very seldom retaliate. The enterprising boldness of the Moors, their knowledge of the country, and, above all, the superior fleetness of their horses, make them such formidable enemies, that the petty negro states which border upon the desert are in continual terror while the Moorish tribes are in the vicinity, and are too much awed to think of resistance.

\* Proceedings of the African Association, Part I.



Like the roving Arabs, the Moors frequently remove from one place to another, according to the season of the year, or the convenience of pasturage. In the month of February, when the heat of the sun scorches up every sort of vegetation in the desert, they strike their tents, and approach the negro country to the south, where they reside until the rains commence, in the month of July. At this time, having purchased corn, and other necessaries, from the negroes, in exchange for salt, they again depart to the northward, and continue in the desert until the rains are over, and that part of the country becomes burnt up and barren.

This wandering and restless way of life, while it inures them to hardships, strengthens at the same time the bonds of their little society, and creates in them an aversion towards strangers which is almost insurmountable. Cut off from all intercourse with civilised nations, and boasting an advantage over the negroes, by possessing, though in a very limited degree, the knowledge of letters, they are at once the vainest and proudest, and perhaps the most bigoted, ferocious, and intolerant of all the nations on the earth—combining in their character the blind superstition of the negro, with the savage cruelty and treachery of the Arab.

It is probable that many of them had never beheld a white man, before my arrival at Benowm; but they had all been taught to regard the Christian name with inconceivable abhorrence, and to consider it nearly as lawful to murder a European as it would be to kill a dog. The melancholy fate of Major Houghton, and the treatment I experienced during my confinement among them, will, I trust, serve as a warning to future travellers to avoid this inhospitable district.

The reader may probably have expected from me a more detailed and copious account of the manners, customs, superstitions, and prejudices, of this secluded and singular people; but it must not be forgotten, that the wretchedness of my situation among them afforded me but few opportunities of collecting information. Some particulars, however, might be added in this place; but being equally applicable to the negroes to the southward, they will appear in a subsequent page.

### CHAPTER XIII.

Ali departs for Jarra, and the Author allowed to follow him thither.—The Author's faithful Servant, Demba, seized by Ali's order, and sent back into Slavery.—Ali returns to his Camp, and permits the Author to remain at Jarra, who thenceforward meditates his Escape.—Daisy, King of Kaarta, approaching with his Army towards Jarra, the inhabitants quit the Town, and the Author accompanies them in their Flight.—A Party of Moors overtake him at Queira.—He gets away from them at Daybreak.—Is again pursued by another Party, and robbed; but finally effects his Escape.

HAVING, as hath been related, obtained permission to accompany Ali to Jarra, I took leave of Queen Fatima, who, with much grace and civility, returned me part of my apparel; and the evening before my departure, my horse, with the saddle and bridle, were sent me by Ali's order.

Early on the morning of the 26th of May, I departed from the camp of Bubaker, accompanied by my two attendants, Johnson and Demba, and a number of Moors on horseback; Ali, with about fifty horsemen, having gone privately from the camp during the night. We stopped about noon at Farani, and were there joined by twelve Moors riding upon camels, and with them we proceeded to a watering-place in the woods, where we overtook Ali and his fifty horsemen. They were lodged in some low shepherds' tents near the wells. As the company was numerous, the tents could scarcely accommodate us all; and I was ordered to sleep in the open space, in the centre of the tents, where every one might observe my motions. During the night, there was much lightning from the north-east; and about daybreak a very heavy sand-wind commenced, which continued with great violence until four in the afternoon. The quantity of sand which passed to the

westward, in the course of this day, must have been prodigiously great. At times it was impossible to look up; and the cattle were so tormented by the particles lodging in their ears and eyes, that they ran about like mad creatures, and I was in continual danger of being trampled to death by them.

May 28th.—Early in the morning the Moors saddled their horses, and Ali's chief slave ordered me to get in readiness. In a little time the same messenger returned, and, taking my boy by the shoulder, told him in the Mandingo language, that "Ali was to be his master in future;" and then turning to me, "The business is settled at last," said he; "the boy, and every thing but your horse, goes back to Bubaker, but you may take the old fool (meaning Johnson the interpreter) with you to Jarra." I made him no answer; but being shocked beyond description at the idea of losing the poor boy, I hastened to Ali, who was at breakfast before his tent, surrounded by many of his courtiers. I told him (perhaps in rather too passionate a strain), that whatever imprudence I had been guilty of in coming into his country, I thought I had already been sufficiently punished for it by being so long detained, and then plundered of all my little property; which, however, gave me no uneasiness, when compared with what he had just now done to me. I observed, that the boy whom he had now seized upon, was not a slave, and had been accused of no offence: he was indeed one of my attendants, and his faithful services in that station had procured him his freedom: his fidelity and attachment had made him follow me into my present situation; and as he looked up to me for protection, I could not see him deprived of his liberty, without remonstrating against such an act as the height of cruelty and injustice. Ali made no reply, but with a haughty air and malignant smile, told his interpreter, that if I did not mount my horse immediately, he would send me back likewise. There is something in the frown of a tyrant which rouses the most secret emotions of the heart: I could not suppress my feelings; and for once entertained an indignant wish to rid the world of such a monster.

Poor Demba was not less affected than myself: he had formed a strong attachment towards me, and had a cheerfulness of disposition which often beguiled the tedious hours of captivity; he was likewise a proficient in the Bambarra tongue, and promised on that account to be of great utility to me in future. But it was in vain to expect any thing favourable to humanity from people who are strangers to its dictates. So, having shaken hands with this unfortunate boy, and blended my tears with his, assuring him, however, that I would do my utmost to redeem him, I saw him led off by three of Ali's slaves towards the camp at Bubaker.

When the Moors had mounted their horses, I was ordered to follow them; and after a toilsome journey through the woods, in a very sultry day, we arrived in the afternoon at a walled village called Doombani, where we remained two days, waiting for the arrival of some horsemen from the northward.

On the 1st of June, we departed from Doombani towards Jarra. Our company now amounted to two hundred men, all on horseback—for the Moors never use infantry in their wars. They appeared capable of enduring great fatigue; but from their total want of discipline, our journey to Jarra was more like a fox-chase than the march of an army.

At Jarra, I took up my lodging at the house of my old acquaintance, Daman Jumma, and informed him of every thing that had befallen me. I particularly requested him to use his interest with Ali to redeem my boy, and promised him a bill upon Dr Laidley for the value of two slaves, the moment he brought him to Jarra. Daman very readily undertook to negotiate the business, but found that Ali considered the boy as my principal interpreter, and was unwilling to part with him, lest he should fall a second time into my hands, and be instrumental in conducting me to Bambarra. Ali therefore put off the matter from day to day, but withal told Daman, that if he wished to purchase the

boy for himself, he should have him thereafter at the common price of a slave, which Daman agreed to pay for him whenever Ali should send him to Jarra.

The chief object of Ali, in this journey to Jarra, as I have already related, was to procure money from such of the Kaartans as had taken refuge in his country. Some of these had solicited his protection, to avoid the horrors of war, but by far the greatest number of them were dissatisfied men, who wished the ruin of their own sovereign. These people no sooner heard that the Bambarra army had returned to Sego without subduing Daisy, as was generally expected, than they resolved to make a sudden attack themselves upon him, before he could recruit his forces, which were now known to be much diminished by a bloody campaign, and in great want of provisions. With this view, they solicited the Moors to join them, and offered to hire of Ali two hundred horsemen, which Ali, with the warmest professions of friendship, agreed to furnish, upon condition that they should previously supply him with four hundred head of cattle, two hundred garments of blue cloth, and a considerable quantity of beads and ornaments. The raising this impost somewhat perplexed them; and in order to procure the cattle, they persuaded the king to demand one-half of the stipulated number from the people of Jarra, promising to replace them in a short time. Ali agreed to this proposal, and the same evening (June 2d) the drum was sent through the town, and the crier announced, that if any person suffered his cattle to go into the woods the next morning, before the king had chosen his quota of them, his house should be plundered, and his slaves taken from him. The people dared not disobey the proclamation; and next morning about two hundred of their best cattle were selected, and delivered to the Moors: the full complement was made up afterwards, by means equally unjust and arbitrary.

June 8th.—In the afternoon, Ali sent his chief slave to inform me that he was about to return to Bubaker; but as he would only stay there a few days to keep the approaching festival (*banna salee*), and then return to Jarra, I had permission to remain with Daman until his return. This was joyful news to me; but I had experienced so many disappointments that I was unwilling to indulge the hope of its being true, until Johnson came and told me that Ali, with part of the horsemen, were actually gone from the town, and that the rest were to follow him in the morning.

June 9th.—Early in the morning the remainder of the Moors departed from the town. They had, during their stay, committed many acts of robbery; and this morning, with the most unparalleled audacity, they seized upon three girls, who were bringing water from the wells, and carried them away into slavery.

The anniversary of *banna salee* at Jarra, very well deserved to be called a festival. The slaves were all finely clad on this occasion, and the householders vied with each other in providing large quantities of victuals, which they distributed to all their neighbours with the greatest profusion: hunger was literally banished from the town; man, woman, and child, bond and free, all had as much as they could eat.

June 12th.—Two people, dreadfully wounded, were discovered at a watering-place in the woods; one of them had just breathed his last, but the other was brought alive to Jarra. On recovering a little, he informed the people that he had fled through the woods from Kasson; that Daisy had made war upon Sambo, the king of that country; had surprised three of his towns, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. He enumerated by name many of the friends of the Jarra people, who had been murdered in Kasson. This intelligence made the death-howl universal in Jarra for the space of two days.

This piece of bad news was followed by another not less distressing. A number of runaway slaves arrived from Kaarta on the 14th, and reported that Daisy, having received information concerning the intended attack upon him, was about to visit Jarra. This made the negroes call upon Ali for the two hundred horse-

men, which he was to furnish them, according to engagement. But Ali paid very little attention to their remonstrances, and at last plainly told them, that his cavalry were otherwise employed. The negroes, thus deserted by the Moors, and fully apprised that the king of Kaarta would show them as little clemency as he had shown the inhabitants of Kasson, resolved to collect all their forces, and hazard a battle before the king, who was now in great distress for want of provisions, should become too powerful for them. They therefore assembled about eight hundred effective men in the whole, and with these they entered Kaarta on the evening of the 18th of June.

June 19th.—This morning the wind shifted to the south-west; and about two o'clock in the afternoon we had a heavy tornado, or thunder-squall, accompanied with rain, which greatly revived the face of nature, and gave a pleasant coolness to the air. This was the first rain that had fallen for many months.

As every attempt to redeem my boy had hitherto been unsuccessful, and in all probability would continue to prove so whilst I remained in the country, I found that it was necessary for me to come to some determination concerning my own safety, before the rains should be fully set in; for my landlord, seeing no likelihood of being paid for his trouble, began to wish me away—and Johnson, my interpreter, refusing to proceed, my situation became very perplexing. If I continued where I was, I foresaw that I must soon fall a victim to the barbarity of the Moors; and yet, if I went forward singly, it was evident that I must sustain great difficulties, both from the want of means to purchase the necessaries of life, and of an interpreter to make myself understood. On the other hand, to return to England without accomplishing the object of my mission, was worse than either. I therefore determined to avail myself of the first opportunity of escaping, and to proceed directly for Bambarra, as soon as the rains had set in for a few days, so as to afford me the certainty of finding water in the woods.

Such was my situation, when, on the evening of the 24th of June, I was startled by the report of some muskets close to the town, and, inquiring the reason, was informed that the Jarra army had returned from fighting Daisy, and that this firing was by way of rejoicing. However, when the chief men of the town had assembled, and heard a full detail of the expedition, they were by no means relieved from their uneasiness on Daisy's account. The deceitful Moors having drawn back from the confederacy, after being hired by the negroes, greatly dispirited the insurgents, who, instead of finding Daisy with a few friends concealed in the strong fortress of Gedingooma, had found him at a town near Joka, in the open country, surrounded by so numerous an army that every attempt to attack him was at once given up; and the confederates only thought of enriching themselves by the plunder of the small towns in the neighbourhood. They accordingly fell upon one of Daisy's towns, and carried off the whole of the inhabitants; but lest intelligence of this might reach Daisy, and induce him to cut off their retreat, they returned through the woods by night, bringing with them the slaves and cattle which they had captured.

June 26th.—This afternoon, a spy from Kaarta brought the alarming intelligence, that Daisy had taken Simbring in the morning, and would be in Jarra some time in the course of the ensuing day. A number of people were immediately stationed on the tops of the rocks, and in the different passages leading into the town, to give early intelligence of Daisy's motions, and the women set about making the necessary preparations for quitting the town as soon as possible. They continued beating corn, and packing up different articles, during the night; and early in the morning, nearly one-half of the townspeople took the road for Bambarra, by the way of Deena.

Their departure was very affecting—the women and children crying—the men sullen and dejected—and all of them looking back with regret on their native town, and on the wells and rocks, beyond which their ambi-

tion had never tempted them to stray, and where they had laid all their plans of future happiness—all of which they were now forced to abandon, and to seek shelter among strangers.

June 27th.—About eleven o'clock in the forenoon, we were alarmed by the sentinels, who brought information that Daisy was on his march towards Jarra, and that the confederate army had fled before him without firing a gun. The terror of the townspeople on this occasion is not easily to be described. Indeed, the screams of the women and children, and the great hurry and confusion that every where prevailed, made me suspect that the Kaartans had already entered the town; and although I had every reason to be pleased with Daisy's behaviour to me when I was at Kemmoo, I had no wish to expose myself to the mercy of his army, who might, in the general confusion, mistake me for a Moor. I therefore mounted my horse, and taking a large bag of corn before me, rode slowly along with the townspeople, until we reached the foot of a rocky hill, where I dismounted, and drove my horse up before me. When I had reached the summit, I sat down, and having a full view of the town and the neighbouring country, could not help lamenting the situation of the poor inhabitants, who were thronging after me, driving their sheep, cows, goats, &c., and carrying a scanty portion of provisions, and a few clothes. There was a great noise and crying every where upon the road; for many aged people and children were unable to walk, and these, with the sick, were obliged to be carried, otherwise they must have been left to certain destruction.

About five o'clock we arrived at a small farm belonging to the Jarra people, called Kadeeja; and here I found Daman and Johnson employed in filling large bags of corn, to be carried upon bullocks, to serve as provisions for Daman's family on the road.

June 28th.—At daybreak we departed from Kadeeja, and, having passed Troongoomba without stopping, arrived in the afternoon at Queira. I remained here two days in order to recruit my horse, which the Moors had reduced to a perfect Rosinante, and to wait for the arrival of some Mandingo negroes, who were going for Bambarra in the course of a few days.

On the afternoon of the 1st of July, as I was tending my horse in the fields, Ali's chief slave and four Moors arrived at Queira, and took up their lodging at the dooty's house. My interpreter, Johnson, who suspected the nature of this visit, sent two boys to overhear their conversation; from which he learnt that they were sent to convey me back to Bubaker. The same evening, two of the Moors came privately to look at my horse, and one of them proposed taking it to the dooty's hut, but the other observed that such a precaution was unnecessary, as I could never escape upon such an animal. They then inquired where I slept, and returned to their companions.

All this was like a stroke of thunder to me, for I dreaded nothing so much as confinement again among the Moors, from whose barbarity I had nothing but death to expect. I therefore determined to set off immediately for Bambarra—a measure which I thought offered almost the only chance of saving my life, and gaining the object of my mission. I communicated the design to Johnson, who, although he applauded my resolution, was so far from showing any inclination to accompany me, that he solemnly protested, he would rather forfeit his wages than go any farther. He told me that Daman had agreed to give him half the price of a slave for his service to assist in conducting a coffle of slaves to Gambia, and that he was determined to embrace the opportunity of returning to his wife and family.

Having no hopes, therefore, of persuading him to accompany me, I resolved to proceed by myself. About midnight I got my clothes in readiness, which consisted of two shirts, two pair of trousers, two pocket handkerchiefs, an upper and under waistcoat, a hat, and a pair of half-boots; these, with a cloak, constituted my whole wardrobe. And I had not one single bead, nor any other article of value in my possession, to purchase victuals for myself or corn for my horse.

About daybreak, Johnson, who had been listening to the Moors all night, came and whispered to me that they were asleep. The awful crisis was now arrived when I was again either to taste the blessing of freedom, or languish out my days in captivity. A cold sweat moistened my forehead as I thought on the dreadful alternative, and reflected, that, one way or the other, my fate must be decided in the course of the ensuing day. But to deliberate was to lose the only chance of escaping. So, taking up my bundle, I stepped gently over the negroes, who were sleeping in the open air, and having mounted my horse, I bade Johnson farewell, desiring him to take particular care of the papers I had entrusted him with, and inform my friends in Gambia that he had left me in good health, on my way to Bambarra.

I proceeded with great caution—surveying each bush, and frequently listening and looking behind me for the Moorish horsemen—until I was about a mile from the town, when I was surprised to find myself in the neighbourhood of a korree belonging to the Moors. The shepherds followed me for about a mile, hooting and throwing stones after me; and when I was out of their reach, and had begun to indulge the pleasing hopes of escaping, I was again greatly alarmed to hear somebody holloa behind me, and, looking back, I saw three Moors on horseback, coming after me at full speed, hooping and brandishing their double-barrelled guns. I knew it was in vain to think of escaping, and therefore turned back and met them: when two of them caught hold of my bridle, one on each side, and the third, presenting his musket, told me I must go back to Ali. When the human mind has for some time been fluctuating between hope and despair, tortured with anxiety, and hurried from one extreme to another, it affords a sort of gloomy relief to know the worst that can possibly happen: such was my situation. An indifference about life, and all its enjoyments, had completely benumbed my faculties, and I rode back with the Moors with apparent unconcern. But a change took place much sooner than I had any reason to expect. In passing through some thick bushes, one of the Moors ordered me to untie my bundle, and show them the contents. Having examined the different articles, they found nothing worth taking except my cloak, which they considered as a very valuable acquisition, and one of them pulling it from me, wrapped it about himself. This cloak had been of great use to me—it served to cover me from the rains in the day, and to protect me from the musquitoes in the night; I therefore earnestly begged him to return it, and followed him some little way to obtain it; but without paying any attention to my request, he and one of his companions rode off with their prize. When I attempted to follow them, the third, who had remained with me, struck my horse over the head, and, presenting his musket, told me I should proceed no farther. I now perceived that these men had not been sent by any authority to apprehend me, but had pursued me solely with the view to rob and plunder me. Turning my horse's head therefore once more towards the east, and observing the Moor follow the track of his confederates, I congratulated myself on having escaped with my life, though in great distress, from such a horde of barbarians.

I was no sooner out of sight of the Moor, than I struck into the woods to prevent being pursued, and kept pushing on, with all possible speed, until I found myself near some high rocks, which I remembered to have seen in my former route from Queira to Deena; and directing my course a little to the northward, I fortunately fell in with the path.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

The Author feels great Joy at his Deliverance, and proceeds through the Wilderness, but finds his Situation very deplorable.—Suffers greatly from Thirst, and faints on the Sand.—Recovers, and makes another Effort to push forward.—Is pro-

videntially relieved by a fall of Rain.—Arrives at a Foulah Village, where he is refused Relief by the Dooty, but obtains Food from a poor Woman.—Continues his Journey through the Wilderness, and the next Day lights on another Foulah Village, where he is hospitably received by one of the Shepherds.—Arrives on the third Day at a Negro Town called Wawra, tributary to the King of Bambarra.

It is impossible to describe the joy that arose in my mind, when I looked around and concluded that I was out of danger. I felt like one recovered from sickness; I breathed freer; I found unusual lightness in my limbs; even the desert looked pleasant; and I dreaded nothing so much as falling in with some wandering parties of Moors, who might convey me back to the land of thieves and murderers from which I had just escaped.

I soon became sensible, however, that my situation was very deplorable, for I had no means of procuring food, nor prospect of finding water. About ten o'clock, perceiving a herd of goats feeding close to the road, I took a circuitous route to avoid being seen; and continued travelling through the wilderness, directing my course, by compass, nearly east-south-east, in order to reach, as soon as possible, some town or village of the kingdom of Bambarra.

A little after noon, when the burning heat of the sun was reflected with double violence from the hot sand, and the distant ridges of the hills, seen through the ascending vapour, seemed to wave and fluctuate like the unsettled sea, I became faint with thirst, and climbed a tree in hopes of seeing distant smoke, or some other appearance of a human habitation—but in vain: nothing appeared all around but thick underwood, and hillocks of white sand.

About four o'clock I came suddenly upon a large herd of goats, and, pulling my horse into a bush, I watched to observe if the keepers were Moors or negroes. In a little time I perceived two Moorish boys, and with some difficulty persuaded them to approach me. They informed me that the herd belonged to Ali, and that they were going to Deena, where the water was more plentiful, and where they intended to stay until the rain had filled the pools in the desert. They showed me their empty water-skins, and told me that they had seen no water in the woods. This account afforded me but little consolation; however, it was in vain to repine, and I pushed on as fast as possible, in hopes of reaching some watering-place in the course of the night. My thirst was by this time become insufferable; my mouth was parched and inflamed; a sudden dimness would frequently come over my eyes, with other symptoms of fainting; and my horse being very much fatigued, I began seriously to apprehend that I should perish of thirst. To relieve the burning pain in my mouth and throat, I chewed the leaves of different shrubs, but found them all bitter, and of no service to me.

A little before sunset, having reached the top of a gentle rising, I climbed a high tree, from the topmost branches of which I cast a melancholy look over the barren wilderness, but without discovering the most distant trace of a human dwelling. The same dismal uniformity of shrubs and sand every where presented itself, and the horizon was as level and uninterrupted as that of the sea.

Descending from the tree, I found my horse devouring the stubble and brushwood with great avidity; and as I was now too faint to attempt walking, and my horse too much fatigued to carry me, I thought it but an act of humanity, and perhaps the last I should ever have it in my power to perform, to take off his bridle and let him shift for himself; in doing which I was suddenly affected with sickness and giddiness, and, falling upon the sand, felt as if the hour of death was fast approaching. Here, then, thought I, after a short but ineffectual struggle, terminate all my hopes of being useful in my day and generation: here must the short span of my life come to an end. I cast (as I believed) a last look on the surrounding scene, and, whilst I reflected on the awful change that was about to take place, this

world with its enjoyments seemed to vanish from my recollection. Nature, however, at length resumed its functions, and on recovering my senses, I found myself stretched upon the sand, with the bridle still in my hand, and the sun just sinking behind the trees. I now summoned all my resolution, and determined to make another effort to prolong my existence; and as the evening was somewhat cool, I resolved to travel as far as my limbs would carry me, in hopes of reaching (my only resource) a watering-place. With this view, I put the bridle on my horse, and driving him before me, went slowly along for about an hour, when I perceived some lightning from the north-east—a most delightful sight, for it promised rain. The darkness and lightning increased very rapidly, and in less than an hour I heard the wind roaring among the bushes. I had already opened my mouth to receive the refreshing drops which I expected, but I was instantly covered with a cloud of sand, driven with such force by the wind as to give a very disagreeable sensation to my face and arms, and I was obliged to mount my horse, and stop under a bush, to prevent being suffocated. The sand continued to fly in amazing quantities for nearly an hour, after which I again set forward, and travelled with difficulty until ten o'clock. About this time I was agreeably surprised by some very vivid flashes of lightning, followed by a few heavy drops of rain. In a little time the sand ceased to fly, and I alighted, and spread out all my clean clothes to collect the rain, which at length I saw would certainly fall. For more than an hour it rained plentifully, and I quenched my thirst by wringing and sucking my clothes.

There being no moon, it was remarkably dark, so that I was obliged to lead my horse, and direct my way by the compass, which the lightning enabled me to observe. In this manner I travelled with tolerable expedition until past midnight, when, the lightning becoming more distant, I was under the necessity of groping along, to the no small danger of my hands and eyes. About two o'clock my horse started at something, and looking round, I was not a little surprised to see a light at a short distance among the trees; and supposing it to be a town, I groped along the sand in hopes of finding corn-stalks, cotton, or other appearances of cultivation, but found none. As I approached, I perceived a number of other lights in different places, and began to suspect that I had fallen upon a party of Moors. However, in my present situation, I was resolved to see who they were, if I could do it with safety. I accordingly led my horse cautiously towards the light, and heard, by the lowing of the cattle, and the clamorous tongues of the herdsmen, that it was a watering-place, and most likely belonged to the Moors. Delightful as the sound of the human voice was to me, I resolved once more to strike into the woods, and rather run the risk of perishing of hunger than trust myself again in their hands; but being still thirsty, and dreading the approach of the burning day, I thought it prudent to search for the wells, which I expected to find at no great distance. In this pursuit, I inadvertently approached so near to one of the tents as to be perceived by a woman, who immediately screamed out. Two people came running to her assistance from some of the neighbouring tents, and passed so very near to me that I thought I was discovered, and hastened again into the woods.

About a mile from this place, I heard a loud and confused noise somewhere to the right of my course, and in a short time was happy to find it was the croaking of frogs, which was heavenly music to my ears. I followed the sound, and at daybreak arrived at some shallow muddy pools, so full of frogs that it was difficult to discern the water. The noise they made frightened my horse, and I was obliged to keep them quiet, by beating the water with a branch, until he had drunk. Having here quenched my thirst, I ascended a tree, and the morning being calm, I soon perceived the smoke of the watering-place which I had passed in the night, and observed another pillar of smoke east-south-east, distant twelve or fourteen miles. Towards this I

directed my route, and reached the cultivated ground a little before eleven o'clock, where, seeing a number of negroes at work planting corn, I inquired the name of the town, and was informed that it was a Foulah village belonging to Ali, called Shrilla. I had now some doubts about entering it; but my horse being very much fatigued, and the day growing hot—not to mention the pangs of hunger which began to assail me—I resolved to venture; and accordingly rode up to the dooty's house, where I was unfortunately denied admittance, and could not obtain even a handful of corn, either for myself or horse. Turning from this inhospitable door, I rode slowly out of the town, and, perceiving some low scattered huts without the walls, I directed my route towards them, knowing that in Africa, as well as in Europe, hospitality does not always prefer the highest dwellings. At the door of one of these huts, an old motherly-looking woman sat, spinning cotton. I made signs to her that I was hungry, and inquired if she had any victuals with her in the hut. She immediately laid down her distaff, and desired me, in Arabic, to come in. When I had seated myself upon the floor, she set before me a dish of kouskous that had been left the preceding night, of which I made a tolerable meal; and in return for this kindness I gave her one of my pocket handkerchiefs, begging at the same time a little corn for my horse, which she readily brought me.

Overcome with joy at so unexpected a deliverance, I lifted up my eyes to heaven, and, whilst my heart swelled with gratitude, I returned thanks to that gracious and bountiful Being whose power had supported me under so many dangers, and had now spread for me a table in the wilderness.

Whilst my horse was feeding, the people began to assemble, and one of them whispered something to my hostess which very much excited her surprise. Though I was not well acquainted with the Foulah language, I soon discovered that some of the men wished to apprehend and carry me back to Ali, in hopes, I suppose, of receiving a reward. I therefore tied up the corn; and lest any one should suspect I had run away from the Moors, I took a northerly direction, and went cheerfully along, driving my horse before me, followed by all the boys and girls of the town. When I had travelled about two miles, and got quit of all my troublesome attendants, I struck again into the woods, and took shelter under a large tree, where I found it necessary to rest myself—a bundle of twigs serving me for a bed, and my saddle for a pillow.

I was awakened about two o'clock by three Foulahs, who, taking me for a Moor, pointed to the sun, and told me it was time to pray. Without entering into conversation with them, I saddled my horse, and continued my journey. I travelled over a level, but more fertile country, than I had seen for some time, until sunset, when, coming to a path that took a southerly direction, I followed it until midnight, at which time I arrived at a small pool of rain-water, and the wood being open, I determined to rest by it for the night. Having given my horse the remainder of the corn, I made my bed as formerly; but the mosquitoes and flies from the pool prevented sleep for some time, and I was twice disturbed in the night by wild beasts, which came very near, and whose howlings kept my horse in continual terror.

July 4th.—At daybreak I pursued my course through the woods as formerly; saw numbers of antelopes, wild hogs, and ostriches—but the soil was more hilly, and not so fertile as I had found it the preceding day. About eleven o'clock I ascended an eminence, where I climbed a tree, and discovered at about eight miles distance an open part of the country, with several red spots, which I concluded were cultivated land, and, directing my course that way, came to the precincts of a watering place about one o'clock. From the appearance of the place, I judged it to belong to the Foulahs, and was hopeful that I should meet a better reception than I had experienced at Shrilla. In this I was not deceived, for one of the shepherds invited me to come

into his tent, and partake of some dates. This was one of those low Foulah tents in which there is room just sufficient to sit upright, and in which the family, the furniture, &c., seem huddled together like so many articles in a chest. When I had crept upon my hands and knees into this humble habitation, I found that it contained a woman and three children, who, together with the shepherd and myself, completely occupied the floor. A dish of boiled corn and dates was produced, and the master of the family, as is customary in this part of the country, first tasted it himself and then desired me to follow his example. Whilst I was eating, the children kept their eyes fixed upon me, and no sooner did the shepherd pronounce the word *Naxarani*, than they began to cry, and their mother crept slowly towards the door, out of which she sprang like a greyhound, and was instantly followed by her children. So frightened were they at the very name of a Christian, that no entreaties could induce them to approach the tent. Here I purchased some corn for my horse, in exchange for some brass buttons, and having thanked the shepherd for his hospitality, struck again into the woods. At sunset, I came to a road that took the direction for Bambarra, and resolved to follow it for the night—but about eight o'clock, hearing some people coming from the southward, I thought it prudent to hide myself among some thick bushes near the road. As these thickets are generally full of wild beasts, I found my situation rather unpleasant—sitting in the dark, holding my horse by the nose with both hands, to prevent him from neighing, and equally afraid of the natives without and the wild beasts within. My fears, however, were soon dissipated—for the people, after looking round the thicket and perceiving nothing, went away, and I hastened to the more open parts of the wood, where I pursued my journey east-south-east, until past midnight, when the joyful cry of frogs induced me once more to deviate a little from my route, in order to quench my thirst. Having accomplished this from a large pool of rain water, I sought for an open place, with a single tree in the midst, under which I made my bed for the night. I was disturbed by some wolves towards morning, which induced me to set forward a little before day—and having passed a small village called Wassalita, I came about ten o'clock (July 5th) to a negro town called Wawra, which properly belongs to Kaarta, but was at this time tributary to Mansong, king of Bambarra.

#### CHAPTER XV.

The Author proceeds to Wassiboo.—Is joined by some fugitive Kaartans, who accompany him in his Route through Bambarra.—Discovers the Niger.—Some Account of Sego, the Capital of Bambarra.—Mansong, the King, refuses to see the Author, but sends him a Present.—Great Hospitality of a Negro Woman.

WAWRA is a small town surrounded with high walls, and inhabited by a mixture of Mandingoes and Foulahs. The inhabitants employ themselves chiefly in cultivating corn, which they exchange with the Moors for salt. Here, being in security from the Moors, and very much fatigued, I resolved to rest myself; and meeting with a hearty welcome from the dooty, whose name was Flancharee, I laid myself down upon a bullock's hide, and slept soundly for about two hours. The curiosity of the people would not allow me to sleep any longer. They had seen my saddle and bridle, and were assembled in great numbers to learn who I was, and whence I came. Some were of opinion that I was an Arab; others insisted that I was some Moorish sultan; and they continued to debate the matter with such warmth that the noise awoke me. The dooty (who had formerly been at Gambia) at last interposed in my behalf, and assured them that I was certainly a white man; but he was convinced, from my appearance, that I was a very poor one.

In the course of the day, several women, hearing that I was going to Sego, came and begged me to inquire of Mansong, the king, what was become of their children.

One woman, in particular, told me that her son's name was Mamadee—that he was no heathen, but prayed to God morning and evening—and had been taken from her about three years ago by Mansong's army, since which she had never heard of him. She said, she often dreamed about him; and begged me, if I should see him, either in Bambarra or in my own country, to tell him that his mother and sister were still alive. In the afternoon, the dooty examined the contents of the leather bag in which I had packed up my clothes; but finding nothing that was worth taking, he returned it, and told me to depart in the morning.

July 6th.—It rained very much in the night, and at daylight I departed, in company with a negro, who was going to a town called Dingyee for corn; but we had not proceeded above a mile, before the ass upon which he rode threw him off, and he returned, leaving me to prosecute the journey by myself.

I reached Dingyee about noon; but the dooty and most of the inhabitants had gone into the fields to cultivate corn. An old Foulah, observing me wandering about the town, desired me to come to his hut, where I was well entertained: and the dooty, when he returned, sent me some victuals for myself, and corn for my horse.

July 7th.—In the morning, when I was about to depart, my landlord, with a great deal of diffidence, begged me to give him a lock of my hair. He had been told, he said, that white men's hair made a saphie, that would give to the possessor all the knowledge of white men. I had never before heard of so simple a mode of education, but instantly complied with the request; and my landlord's thirst for learning was such, that, with cutting and pulling, he cropped one side of my head pretty closely; and would have done the same with the other, had I not signified my disapprobation by putting on my hat, and assuring him, that I wished to reserve some of this precious merchandise for a future occasion.

I reached a small town called Wassiboo about twelve o'clock, where I was obliged to stop until an opportunity should offer of procuring a guide to Satilé, which is distant a very long day's journey, through woods without any beaten path. I accordingly took up my residence at the dooty's house, where I staid four days, during which time I amused myself by going to the fields with the family to plant corn. Cultivation is carried on here on a very extensive scale; and, as the natives themselves express it, "hunger is never known." In cultivating the soil, the men and women work together. They use a large sharp hoe, much superior to that used in Gambia; but they are obliged, for fear of the Moors, to carry their arms with them to the field. The master, with the handle of his spear, marks the field into regular plats, one of which is assigned to every three slaves.

On the evening of the 11th, eight of the fugitive Kaartans arrived at Wassiboo. They had found it impossible to live under the tyrannical government of the Moors, and were now going to transfer their allegiance to the king of Bambarra. They offered to take me along with them as far as Satilé, and I accepted the offer.

July 12th.—At daybreak we set out, and travelled with uncommon expedition until sunset. We stopped only twice in the course of the day; once at a watering-place in the woods, and another time at the ruins of a town, formerly belonging to Daisy, called *Illu-Compe* (the corn town). When we arrived in the neighbourhood of Satilé, the people who were employed in the corn fields, seeing so many horsemen, took us for a party of Moors, and ran screaming away from us. The whole town was instantly alarmed, and the slaves were seen, in every direction, driving the cattle and horses towards the town. It was in vain that one of our company galloped up to undeceive them—it only frightened them the more; and when we arrived at the town, we found the gates shut, and the people all under arms. After a long parley, we were permitted to enter; and as there was every appearance of a heavy tornado, the dooty allowed us to sleep in his *baloon*, and gave us each a bullock's hide for a bed.

July 13th.—Early in the morning we again set forward. The roads were wet and slippery, but the country was very beautiful, abounding with rivulets, which were increased by the rain into rapid streams. About ten o'clock we came to the ruins of a village which had been destroyed by war about six months before; and in order to prevent any town from being built there in future, the large bentang tree, under which the natives spent the day, had been burnt down, the wells filled up, and every thing that could make the spot desirable completely destroyed.

About noon, my horse was so much fatigued that I could not keep up with my companions; I therefore dismounted, and desired them to ride on, telling them that I would follow as soon as my horse had rested a little. But I found them unwilling to leave me; the lions, they said, were very numerous in those parts, and though they might not so readily attack a body of people, they would soon find out an individual: it was therefore agreed, that one of the company should stay with me to assist in driving my horse, while the others passed on to Galloo to procure lodgings, and collect grass for the horses before night. Accompanied by this worthy negro, I drove my horse before me until about four o'clock, when we came in sight of Galloo, a considerable town, standing in a fertile and beautiful valley surrounded with high rocks.

As my companions had thoughts of settling in this neighbourhood, they had a fine sheep given them by the dooty; and I was fortunate enough to procure plenty of corn for my horse. Here they blow upon elephants' teeth when they announce evening prayers, in the same manner as at Kemnoo.

Early next morning (July 14th), having first returned many thanks to our landlord for his hospitality, while my fellow-travellers offered up their prayers that he might never want, we set forward, and about three o'clock arrived at Moorja, a large town, famous for its trade in salt, which the Moors bring here in great quantities, to exchange for corn and cotton cloth. As most of the people here are Mahomedans, it is not allowed to the kafirs to drink beer, which they call *neodollo* (corn spirit), except in certain houses. In one of these I saw about twenty people sitting round large vessels of this beer with the greatest conviviality, many of them in a state of intoxication. As corn is plentiful, the inhabitants are very liberal to strangers. I believe we had as much corn and milk sent us by different people as would have been sufficient for three times our number; and though we remained here two days, we experienced no diminution of their hospitality.

On the morning of the 16th we again set forward, accompanied by a cofle of fourteen asses, loaded with salt, bound for Sansanding. The road was particularly romantic, between two rocky hills; but the Moors sometimes lie in wait here to plunder strangers. As soon as we had reached the open country, the master of the salt cofle thanked us for having staid with him so long, and now desired us to ride on. The sun was almost set before we reached Datliboo. In the evening we had a most tremendous tornado. The house in which we lodged, being flat-roofed, admitted the rain in streams; the floor was soon ankle-deep, the fire extinguished, and we were left to pass the night upon some bundles of firewood that happened to lie in a corner.

July 17th.—We departed from Datliboo, and about ten o'clock passed a large cofle returning from Segu, with corn-hoes, mats, and other household utensils. At five o'clock we came to a large village where we intended to pass the night, but the dooty would not receive us. When we departed from this place, my horse was so much fatigued that I was under the necessity of driving him, and it was dark before we reached Fanimboo, a small village; the dooty of which no sooner heard that I was a white man, than he brought out three old muskets, and was much disappointed when he was told that I could not repair them.

July 18th.—We continued our journey; but, owing to a light supper the preceding night, we felt ourselves rather hungry this morning, and endeavoured to pro-

cure some corn at a village, but without success. The towns were now more numerous, and the land that is not employed in cultivation affords excellent pasturage for large herds of cattle; but, owing to the great concourse of people daily going to and returning from Segó, the inhabitants are less hospitable to strangers.

My horse becoming weaker and weaker every day, was now of very little service to me; I was obliged to drive him before me for the greater part of the day, and did not reach Geosorro until eight o'clock in the evening. I found my companions wrangling with the dooty, who had absolutely refused to give or sell them any provisions; and as none of us had tasted victuals for the last twenty-four hours, we were by no means disposed to fast another day, if we could help it. But finding our entreaties without effect, and being very much fatigued, I fell asleep, from which I was awakened about midnight with the joyful information, *Kimne wata!* ("The victuals are come!") This made the remainder of the night pass away pleasantly; and at daybreak, July 19th, we resumed our journey, proposing to stop at a village called Doolinkeaboo for the night following. My fellow-travellers, having better horses than myself, soon left me; and I was walking barefoot, driving my horse, when I was met by a cofle of slaves, about seventy in number, coming from Segó. They were tied together by their necks with thongs of a bullock's hide, twisted like a rope—seven slaves upon a thong, and a man with a musket between every seven. Many of the slaves were ill conditioned, and a great number of them women. In the rear came Sidi Mahomed's servant, whom I remembered to have seen at the camp of Benown: he presently knew me, and told me that these slaves were going to Morocco, by the way of Ludamar and the Great Desert.

In the afternoon, as I approached Doolinkeaboo, I met about twenty Moors on horseback, the owners of the slaves I had seen in the morning; they were well armed with muskets, and were very inquisitive concerning me, but not so rude as their countrymen generally are. From them I learned that Sidi Mahomed was not at Segó, but had gone to Kancaba for his dust.

When I arrived at Doolinkeaboo, I was informed that my fellow-travellers had gone on; but my horse was so much fatigued that I could not possibly proceed after them. The dooty of the town, at my request, gave me a draught of water, which is generally looked upon as an earnest of greater hospitality, and I had no doubt of making up for the toils of the day by a good supper and a sound sleep: unfortunately I had neither one nor the other. The night was rainy and tempestuous, and the dooty limited his hospitality to the draught of water.

July 20th.—In the morning I endeavoured, both by entreaties and threats, to procure some victuals from the dooty, but in vain. I even begged some corn from one of his female slaves, as she was washing it at the well, and had the mortification to be refused. However, when the dooty was gone to the fields, his wife sent me a handful of meal, which I mixed with water, and drank for breakfast. About eight o'clock I departed from Doolinkeaboo, and at noon stopped a few minutes at a large korree, where I had some milk given me by the Foulahs; and hearing that two negroes were going from thence to Segó, I was happy to have their company, and we set out immediately. About four o'clock we stopped at a small village, where one of the negroes met with an acquaintance, who invited us to a sort of public entertainment, which was conducted with more than common propriety. A dish, made of sour milk and meal, called *sinkatoo*, and beer made from their corn, was distributed with great liberality, and the women were admitted into the society—a circumstance I had never before observed in Africa. There was no compulsion—every one was at liberty to drink as he pleased—they nodded to each other when about to drink, and on setting down the calabash, commonly said *Berka*. ("Thank you.") Both men and women appeared to be somewhat intoxicated, but they were far from being quarrelsome.

Departing from thence, we passed several large villages, where I was constantly taken for a Moor, and became the subject of much merriment to the Bambarans, who, seeing me drive my horse before me, laughed heartily at my appearance. He has been at Mecca, says one, you may see that by his clothes: another asked me if my horse was sick: a third wished to purchase it, &c.—so that, I believe, the very slaves were ashamed to be seen in my company. Just before it was dark, we took up our lodging for the night at a small village, where I procured some victuals for myself and some corn for my horse, at the moderate price of a button; and was told that I should see the Niger (which the negroes call *Joliba*, or the Great Water) early the next day. The lions are here very numerous: the gates are shut a little after sunset, and nobody allowed to go out. The thoughts of seeing the Niger in the morning, and the troublesome buzzing of musquitoes, prevented me from shutting my eyes during the night; and I had saddled my horse, and was in readiness before daylight—but, on account of the wild beasts, we were obliged to wait until the people were stirring, and the gates opened. This happened to be a market-day at Segó, and the roads were every where filled with people carrying different articles to sell. We passed four large villages, and at eight o'clock saw the smoke over Segó.

As we approached the town, I was fortunate enough to overtake the fugitive Kaartans, to whose kindness I had been so much indebted in my journey through Bambarra. They readily agreed to introduce me to the king; and we rode together through some marshy ground, where, as I was anxiously looking around for the river, one of them called out, *Geo affilli!* ("See the water!") and, looking forwards, I saw with infinite pleasure the great object of my mission—the long-sought-for majestic Niger, glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly to the eastward. I hastened to the brink, and having drunk of the water, lifted up my fervent thanks in prayer to the Great Ruler of all things, for having thus far crowned my endeavours with success.

The circumstance of the Niger's flowing towards the east, and its collateral points, did not however excite my surprise—for, although I had left Europe in great hesitation on this subject, and rather believed that it ran in the contrary direction, I had made such frequent inquiries during my progress concerning this river, and received from negroes of different nations such clear and decisive assurances that its general course was towards the rising sun, as scarce left any doubt on my mind, and more especially as I knew that Major Houghton had collected similar information, in the same manner.

Segó, the capital of Bambarra, at which I had now arrived, consists, properly speaking, of four distinct towns—two on the northern bank of the Niger, called Segó Korro, and Segó Boo; and two on the southern bank, called Segó Soo Korro, and Segó See Korro. They are all surrounded with high mud walls. The houses are built of clay, of a square form, with flat roofs—some of them have two stories, and many of them are whitewashed. Besides these buildings, Moorish mosques are seen in every quarter; and the streets, though narrow, are broad enough for every useful purpose, in a country where wheel carriages are entirely unknown. From the best inquiries I could make, I have reason to believe that Segó contains altogether about thirty thousand inhabitants. The king of Bambarra constantly resides at Segó See Korro. He employs a great many slaves in conveying people over the river, and the money they receive (though the fare is only ten kowrie shells for each individual) furnishes a considerable revenue to the king in the course of a year. The canoes are of a singular construction, each of them being formed of the trunks of two large trees rendered concave, and joined together, not side by side, but endways—the junction being exactly across the middle of the canoe: they are therefore very long, and disproportionately narrow, and have neither decks nor masts: they are, however, very roomy, for I observed in one

of them four horses, and several people, crossing over the river. When we arrived at this ferry, with a view to pass over to that part of the town in which the king resides, we found a great number waiting for a passage: they looked at me with silent wonder, and I distinguished with concern many Moors among them. There were three different places of embarkation, and the ferrymen were very diligent and expeditious; but, from the crowd of people, I could not immediately obtain a passage, and sat down upon the bank of the river to wait for a more favourable opportunity. The view of this extensive city—the numerous canoes upon the river—the crowded population, and the cultivated state of the surrounding country—formed altogether a prospect of civilisation and magnificence which I little expected to find in the bosom of Africa.

I waited more than two hours without having an opportunity of crossing the river, during which time the people who had crossed carried information to Mansong, the king, that a white man was waiting for a passage, and was coming to see him. He immediately sent over one of his chief men, who informed me that the king could not possibly see me, until he knew what had brought me into his country; and that I must not presume to cross the river without the king's permission. He therefore advised me to lodge at a distant village, to which he pointed, for the night, and said, that in the morning he would give me further instructions how to conduct myself. This was very discouraging. However, as there was no remedy, I set off for the village, where I found, to my great mortification, that no person would admit me into his house. I was regarded with astonishment and fear, and was obliged to sit all day without victuals in the shade of a tree; and the night threatened to be very uncomfortable—for the wind rose, and there was great appearance of a heavy rain—and the wild beasts are so very numerous in the neighbourhood, that I should have been under the necessity of climbing up the tree, and resting amongst the branches. About sunset, however, as I was preparing to pass the night in this manner, and had turned my horse loose that he might graze at liberty, a woman, returning from the labours of the field, stopped to observe me, and perceiving that I was weary and dejected, inquired into my situation, which I briefly explained to her; whereupon, with looks of great compassion, she took up my saddle and bridle, and told me to follow her. Having conducted me into her hut, she lighted up a lamp, spread a mat on the floor, and told me I might remain there for the night. Finding that I was very hungry, she said she would procure me something to eat. She accordingly went out, and returned in a short time with a very fine fish, which, having caused to be half broiled upon some embers, she gave me for supper. The rites of hospitality being thus performed towards a stranger in distress, my worthy benefactress (pointing to the mat, and telling me I might sleep there without apprehension) called to the female part of her family, who had stood gazing on me all the while in fixed astonishment, to resume their task of spinning cotton, in which they continued to employ themselves great part of the night. They lightened their labour by songs, one of which was composed extempore, for I was myself the subject of it. It was sung by one of the young women, the rest joining in a sort of chorus. The air was sweet and plaintive, and the words, literally translated, were these:—"The winds roared, and the rains fell. The poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree. He has no mother to bring him milk—no wife to grind his corn. *Chorus.*—Let us pity the white man—no mother has he," &c. &c. Trifling as this recital may appear to the reader, to a person in my situation the circumstance was affecting in the highest degree. I was oppressed by such unexpected kindness, and sleep fled from my eyes. In the morning I presented my compassionate landlady with two of the four brass buttons which remained on my waistcoat—the only recompense I could make her.

July 21st.—I continued in the village all this day

in conversation with the natives, who came in crowds to see me, but was rather uneasy towards evening to find that no message had arrived from the king; the more so, as the people began to whisper that Mansong had received some very unfavourable accounts of me from the Moors and satees residing at Segó, who, it seems, were exceedingly suspicious concerning the motives of my journey. I learnt that many consultations had been held with the king concerning my reception and disposal; and some of the villagers frankly told me that I had many enemies, and must expect no favour.

July 22d.—About eleven o'clock a messenger arrived from the king, but he gave me very little satisfaction. He inquired particularly if I had brought any present, and seemed much disappointed when he was told that I had been robbed of every thing by the Moors. When I proposed to go along with him, he told me to stop until the afternoon, when the king would send for me.

July 23d.—In the afternoon, another messenger arrived from Mansong, with a bag in his hands. He told me, it was the king's pleasure that I should depart forthwith from the vicinage of Segó; but that Mansong, wishing to relieve a white man in distress, had sent me five thousand kowries,\* to enable me to purchase provisions in the course of my journey: the messenger added, that if my intentions were really to proceed to Jenné, he had orders to accompany me as a guide to Sansanding. I was at first puzzled to account for this behaviour of the king; but from the conversation I had with the guide, I had afterwards reason to believe that Mansong would willingly have admitted me into his presence at Segó, but was apprehensive he might not be able to protect me against the blind and inveterate malice of the Moorish inhabitants. His conduct, therefore, was at once prudent and liberal. The circumstances under which I made my appearance at Segó, were undoubtedly such as might create in the mind of the king a well-warranted suspicion that I wished to conceal the true object of my journey. He argued, probably, as my guide argued, who, when he was told that I had come from a great distance, and through many dangers, to behold the Joliba river, naturally inquired if there were no rivers in my own country, and whether one river was not like another. Notwithstanding this, and in spite of the jealous machinations of the Moors, this benevolent prince thought it sufficient that a white man was found in his dominions, in a condition of extreme wretchedness, and that no other plea was necessary to entitle the sufferer to his bounty.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Departure from Segó, and Arrival at Kabba.—Description of the Shea, or vegetable Butter Tree.—The Author and his Guide arrive at Sansanding—Behaviour of the Moors at that Place.—The Author pursues his Journey to the Eastward.—Incidents on the Road.—Arrives at Modiboo, and proceeds for Kea, but obliged to leave his Horse by the way.—Embarks at Kea in a Fisherman's Canoe for Moorzan; is conveyed from thence across the Niger to Silla.—Determines to proceed no farther Eastward.—Some Account of the farther Course of the Niger, and the Towns in its Vicinage, towards the East.

BEING, in the manner that has been related, compelled to leave Segó, I was conducted the same evening to a village about seven miles to the eastward, with some of the inhabitants of which my guide was acquainted, and by whom we were well received.† He was very friendly and communicative, and spoke highly of the hospitality of his countrymen, but withal told me, that if Jenné

\* Mention has already been made of these little shells, which pass current as money in many parts of the East Indies, as well as Africa. In Bambarra, and the adjacent countries, where the necessities of life are very cheap, one hundred of them would commonly purchase a day's provisions for myself, and corn for my horse. I reckoned about two hundred and fifty kowries equal to one shilling.

† I should have before observed, that I found the language of Bambarra a sort of corrupted Mandingo. After a little practice, I understood, and spoke it without difficulty.



was the place of my destination, which he seemed to have hitherto doubted, I had undertaken an enterprise of greater danger than probably I was apprised of; for, although the town of Jenné was nominally a part of the king of Bambarra's dominions, it was in fact, he said, a city of the Moors—the leading part of the inhabitants being bushreens, and even the governor himself, though appointed by Mansong, of the same sect. Thus was I in danger of falling a second time into the hands of men who would consider it not only justifiable, but meritorious, to destroy me—and this reflection was aggravated by the circumstance, that the danger increased as I advanced in my journey, for I learned that the places beyond Jenné were under the Moorish influence in a still greater degree than Jenné itself, and Tombuctoo, the great object of my search, altogether in possession of that savage and merciless people, who allow no Christian to live there. But I had now advanced too far to think of returning to the westward on such vague and uncertain information, and determined to proceed; and being accompanied by the guide, I departed from the village on the morning of the 24th. About eight o'clock, we passed a large town called Kabba, situated in the midst of a beautiful and highly cultivated country, bearing a greater resemblance to the centre of England than to what I should have supposed had been the middle of Africa. The people were every where employed in collecting the fruit of the shea trees, from which they prepare the vegetable butter mentioned in former parts of this work. These trees grow in great abundance all over this part of Bambarra. They are not planted by the natives, but are found growing naturally in the woods; and in clearing wood land for cultivation, every tree is cut down but the shea. The tree itself very much resembles the American oak, and the fruit—from the kernel of which, being first dried in the sun, the butter is prepared by boiling the kernel in water—has somewhat the appearance of a Spanish olive. The kernel is enveloped in a sweet pulp, under a thin green rind; and the butter produced from it, besides the advantage of its keeping the whole year without salt, is whiter, firmer, and, to my palate, of a richer flavour, than the best butter I ever tasted made from cow's milk. The growth and preparation of this commodity seem to be among the first objects of African industry in this and the neighbouring states, and it constitutes a main article of their inland commerce.

We passed in the course of the day a great many villages inhabited chiefly by fishermen, and in the evening about five o'clock arrived at Sansanding—a very large town, containing, as I was told, from eight to ten thousand inhabitants. This place is much resorted to by the Moors, who bring salt from Beeroo, and beads and coral from the Mediterranean, to exchange here for gold dust and cotton cloth. This cloth they sell to great advantage in Beeroo, and other Moorish countries, where, on account of the want of rain, no cotton is cultivated.

I desired my guide to conduct me to the house in which we were to lodge, by the most private way possible. We accordingly rode along between the town and the river, passing by a creek or harbour, in which I observed twenty large canoes, most of them fully loaded, and covered with mats to prevent the rain from injuring the goods. As we proceeded, three other canoes arrived, two with passengers, and one with goods. I was happy to find that all the negro inhabitants took me for a Moor; under which character I should probably have passed unmolested, had not a Moor, who was sitting by the river side, discovered the mistake, and, setting up a loud exclamation, brought together a number of his countrymen.

When I arrived at the house of Counti Mamadi, the dooty of the town, I was surrounded with hundreds of people, speaking a variety of different dialects, all equally unintelligible to me. At length, by the assistance of my guide, who acted as interpreter, I understood that one of the spectators pretended to have seen me at one place, and another at some other place; and a Moorish woman absolutely swore that she had kept

my house three years at Gallam, on the river Senegal. It was plain that they mistook me for some other person, and I desired two of the most confident to point towards the place where they had seen me. They pointed due south; hence I think it probable that they came from Cape Coast, where they might have seen many white men. Their language was different from any I had yet heard. The Moors now assembled in great number, with their usual arrogance, compelling the negroes to stand at a distance. They immediately began to question me concerning my religion, but finding that I was not master of the Arabic, they sent for two men, whom they call *Ilhuidi* (Jews), in hopes that they might be able to converse with me. These Jews, in dress and appearance, very much resemble the Arabs; but though they so far conform to the religion of Mahomet as to recite, in public, prayers from the Koran, they are but little respected by the negroes; and even the Moors themselves allowed, that though I was a Christian, I was a better man than a Jew. They, however, insisted that, like the Jews, I must conform so far as to repeat the Mahomedan prayers; and when I attempted to waive the subject, by telling them that I could not speak Arabic, one of them, a shereef from Tuat, in the Great Desert, started up and swore by the Prophet, that if I refused to go to the mosque, he would be one that would assist in carrying me thither; and there is no doubt but this threat would have been immediately executed, had not my landlord interposed in my behalf. He told them that I was the king's stranger, and he could not see me ill treated whilst I was under his protection. He therefore advised them to let me alone for the night, assuring them, that in the morning I should be sent about my business. This somewhat appeased their clamour, but they compelled me to ascend a high seat, by the door of the mosque, in order that every body might see me; for the people had assembled in such numbers as to be quite ungovernable—climbing upon the houses, and squeezing each other, like the spectators at an execution. Upon this seat I remained until sunset, when I was conducted into a neat little hut, with a small court before it, the door of which Counti Mamadi shut, to prevent any person from disturbing me. But this precaution could not exclude the Moors. They climbed over the top of the mud wall, and came in crowds into the court, "in order," they said, "to see me perform my evening devotions, and eat eggs." The former of these ceremonies I did not think proper to comply with, but I told them I had no objection to eat eggs, provided they would bring me eggs to eat. My landlord immediately brought me seven hen's eggs, and was much surprised to find that I could not eat them raw; for it seems to be a prevalent opinion among the inhabitants of the interior, that Europeans subsist almost entirely on this diet. When I had succeeded in persuading my landlord that this opinion was without foundation, and that I would gladly partake of any victuals which he might think proper to send me, he ordered a sheep to be killed, and part of it to be dressed for my supper. About midnight, when the Moors had left me, he paid me a visit, and with much earnestness desired me to write him a saphie. "If a Moor's saphie is good," said this hospitable old man, "a white man's must needs be better." I readily furnished him with one, possessed of all the virtues I could concentrate, for it contained the Lord's Prayer. The pen with which it was written was made of a reed; a little charcoal and gum-water made very tolerable ink, and a thin board answered the purpose of paper.

July 25th.—Early in the morning, before the Moors were assembled, I departed from Sansanding, and slept the ensuing night at a small town called Sibili, from whence, on the day following, I reached Nyara, a large town at some distance from the river, where I halted the 27th, to have my clothes washed, and recruit my horse. The dooty there has a very commodious house, flat-roofed, and two stories high. He showed me some gunpowder of his own manufacturing; and pointed out, as a great curiosity, a little brown monkey, that was

tied to a stake by the door, telling me that it came from a far distant country called Kong.

July 28th.—I departed from Nyara, and reached Nyamee about noon. This town is inhabited chiefly by Foulahs, from the kingdom of Masina. The dooty, I know not why, would not receive me, but civilly sent his son on horseback to conduct me to Modiboo, which he assured me was at no great distance.

We rode nearly in a direct line through the woods, but in general went forwards with great circumspection. I observed that my guide frequently stopped and looked under the bushes. On inquiring the reason of this caution, he told me that lions were very numerous in that part of the country, and frequently attacked people travelling through the woods. While he was speaking, my horse started, and looking round, I observed a large animal of the camelopard kind, standing at a little distance. The neck and fore legs were very long; the head was furnished with two short black horns, turning backwards; the tail, which reached down to the ham joint, had a tuft of hair at the end. The animal was of a mouse colour, and it trotted away from us in a very sluggish manner—moving its head from side to side, to see if we were pursuing it. Shortly after this, as we were crossing a large open plain, where there were a few scattered bushes, my guide, who was a little way before me, wheeled his horse round in a moment, calling out something in the Foulah language which I did not understand. I inquired in Mandingo what he meant; *Wara billi billi!* ("A very large lion!") said he, and made signs for me to ride away. But my horse was too much fatigued; so we rode slowly past the bush, from which the animal had given us the alarm. Not seeing any thing myself, however, I thought my guide had been mistaken, when the Foulah suddenly put his hand to his mouth, exclaiming *Soubah an allahi!* ("God preserve us!") and to my great surprise, I then perceived a large red lion, at a short distance from the bush, with his head couched between his fore paws. I expected he would instantly spring upon me, and instinctively pulled my feet from my stirrups to throw myself on the ground, that my horse might become the victim rather than myself. But it is probable the lion was not hungry; for he quietly suffered us to pass, though we were fairly within his reach. My eyes were so rivetted upon this sovereign of the beasts, that I found it impossible to remove them until we were at a considerable distance. We now took a circuitous route through some swampy ground, to avoid any more of these disagreeable encounters. At sunset we arrived at Modiboo—a delightful village on the banks of the Niger, commanding a view of the river for many miles, both to the east and west. The small green islands (the peaceful retreat of some industrious Foulahs, whose cattle are here secure from the depredations of wild beasts), and the majestic breadth of the river, which is here much larger than at Sego, render the situation one of the most enchanting in the world. Here are caught great plenty of fish, by means of long cotton nets, which the natives make themselves, and use nearly in the same manner as nets are used in Europe. I observed the head of a crocodile lying upon one of the houses, which they told me had been killed by the shepherds in a swamp near the town. These animals are not uncommon in the Niger, but I believe they are not oftentimes found dangerous. They are of little account to the traveller when compared with the amazing swarms of mosquitoes, which rise from the swamps and creeks in such numbers as to harass even the most torpid of the natives; and as my clothes were now almost worn to rags, I was but ill prepared to resist their attacks. I usually passed the night without shutting my eyes, walking backwards and forwards, fanning myself with my hat; their stings raised numerous blisters on my legs and arms, which, together with the want of rest, made me very feverish and uneasy.

July 29th.—Early in the morning, my landlord, observing that I was sickly, hurried me away—sending a servant with me as a guide to Kea. But though I was little able to walk, my horse was still less able to carry

me; and about six miles to the east of Modiboo, in crossing some rough clayey ground, he fell, and the united strength of the guide and myself could not place him again upon his legs. I sat down for some time beside this worn-out associate of my adventures; but finding him still unable to rise, I took off the saddle and bridle, and placed a quantity of grass before him. I surveyed the poor animal, as he lay panting on the ground, with sympathetic emotion; for I could not suppress the sad apprehension that I should myself, in a short time, lie down and perish in the same manner, of fatigue and hunger. With this foreboding, I left my poor horse, and with great reluctance followed my guide on foot, along the bank of the river, until about noon, when we reached Kea, which I found to be nothing more than a small fishing village. The dooty, a surly old man, who was sitting by the gate, received me very coolly; and when I informed him of my situation, and begged his protection, told me with great indifference, that he paid very little attention to fine speeches, and that I should not enter his house. My guide remonstrated in my favour, but to no purpose, for the dooty remained inflexible in his determination. I knew not where to rest my wearied limbs, but was happily relieved by a fishing canoe belonging to Silla, which was at that moment coming down the river. The dooty waved to the fisherman to come near, and desired him to take charge of me as far as Moorzan. The fisherman, after some hesitation, consented to carry me, and I embarked in the canoe, in company with the fisherman, his wife, and a boy. The negro, who had conducted me from Modiboo, now left me; I requested him to look to my horse on his return, and take care of him if he was still alive, which he promised to do.

Departing from Kea, we proceeded about a mile down the river, when the fisherman paddled the canoe to the bank, and desired me to jump out. Having tied the canoe to a stake, he stripped off his clothes, and dived for such a length of time that I thought he had actually drowned himself, and was surprised to see his wife behave with so much indifference upon the occasion—but my fears were over when he raised up his head astern of the canoe, and called for a rope. With this rope he dived a second time, and then got into the canoe, and ordered the boy to assist him in pulling. At length they brought up a large basket, about ten feet in diameter, containing two fine fish, which the fisherman—after returning the basket into the water—immediately carried ashore, and hid in the grass. We then went a little farther down, and took up another basket, in which was one fish. The fisherman now left us, to carry his prizes to some neighbouring market, and the woman and boy proceeded with me in the canoe down the river.

About four o'clock we arrived at Moorzan, a fishing town on the northern bank, from whence I was conveyed across the river to Silla, a large town, where I remained until it was quite dark, under a tree, surrounded by hundreds of people. But their language was very different from the other parts of Bambarra—and I was informed, that in my progress eastward the Bambarra tongue was but little understood, and that when I reached Jenné, I should find that the majority of the inhabitants spoke a different language, called Jenné Kumbo by the negroes, and Kalam Soudan by the Moors.

With a great deal of entreaty, the dooty allowed me to come into his baloon to avoid the rain, but the place was very damp, and I had a smart paroxysm of fever during the night. Worn down by sickness, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, half naked, and without any article of value by which I might procure provisions, clothes, or lodging, I began to reflect seriously on my situation. I was now convinced, by painful experience, that the obstacles to my farther progress were insurmountable. The tropical rains were already set in with all their violence—the rice grounds and swamps were every where overflowed—and, in a few days more, travelling of every kind, unless by water, would be completely obstructed. The kowries which remained of the king of Bambarra's present were not sufficient to enable

me to hire a canoe for any great distance—and I had but little hopes of subsisting by charity, in a country where the Moors have such influence. But above all, I perceived that I was advancing, more and more, within the power of those merciless fanatics; and from my reception both at Segó and Sansanding, I was apprehensive that, in attempting to reach even Jenné (unless under the protection of some man of consequence amongst them, which I had no means of obtaining), I should sacrifice my life to no purpose, for my discoveries would perish with me. The prospect either way was gloomy. In returning to the Gambia, a journey on foot of many hundred miles presented itself to my contemplation, through regions and countries unknown. Nevertheless, this seemed to be the only alternative, for I saw inevitable destruction in attempting to proceed to the eastward. With this conviction on my mind, I hope my readers will acknowledge that I did right in going no farther. I had made every effort to execute my mission in its fullest extent, which prudence could justify. Had there been the most distant prospect of a successful termination, neither the unavoidable hardships of the journey, nor the dangers of a second captivity, should have forced me to desist. This, however, necessity compelled me to do; and whatever may be the opinion of my general readers on this point, it affords me inexpressible satisfaction, that my honourable employers have been pleased, since my return, to express their full approbation of my conduct.

Having thus brought my mind, after much doubt and perplexity, to a determination to return westward, I thought it incumbent on me, before I left Silla, to collect from the Moorish and negro traders all the information I could concerning the farther course of the Niger eastward, and the situation and extent of the kingdoms in its voinage—and the following few notices I received from such various quarters as induce me to think they are authentic:—

Two short days' journey to the eastward of Silla, is the town of Jenné, which is situated on a small island in the river, and is said to contain a greater number of inhabitants than Segó itself, or any other town in Bambarra. At the distance of two days more, the river spreads into a considerable lake, called Dibbie (or the Dark Lake), concerning the extent of which, all the information I could obtain was, that in crossing it from west to east, the canoes lose sight of land one whole day. From this lake, the water issues in many different streams, which terminate in two large branches, one whereof flows towards the north-east, and the other to the east, but these branches join at Kabra, which is one day's journey to the southward of Tombuctoo, and is the port or shipping-place of that city. The tract of land which the two streams encircle is called Jinbala, and is inhabited by negroes; and the whole distance by land from Jenné to Tombuctoo is twelve days' journey.

From Kabra, at the distance of eleven days' journey down the stream, the river passes to the southward of Houssa, which is two days' journey distant from the river. Of the farther progress of this great river, and its final exit, all the natives with whom I conversed seem to be entirely ignorant. Their commercial pursuits seldom induce them to travel farther than the cities of Tombuctoo and Houssa; and as the sole object of those journies is the acquirement of wealth, they pay but little attention to the course of rivers or the geography of countries. It is, however, highly probable, that the Niger affords a safe and easy communication between very remote nations. All my informants agreed, that many of the negro merchants who arrive at Tombuctoo and Houssa from the eastward, speak a different language from that of Bambarra, or any other kingdom with which they are acquainted. But even these merchants, it would seem, are ignorant of the termination of the river, for such of them as can speak Arabic describe the amazing length of its course in very general terms—saying only, that they believe it runs to the world's end.

The names of many kingdoms to the eastward of Houssa are familiar to the inhabitants of Bambarra.

I was shown quivers and arrows of very curious workmanship, which I was informed came from the kingdom of Kassina.

On the northern bank of the Niger, at a short distance from Silla, is the kingdom of Masina, which is inhabited by Foulahs. They employ themselves there, as in other places, chiefly in pasturage, and pay an annual tribute to the king of Bambarra for the lands which they occupy.

To the north-east of Masina is situated the kingdom of Tombuctoo, the great object of European research—the capital of this kingdom being one of the principal marts for that extensive commerce which the Moors carry on with the negroes. The hopes of acquiring wealth in this pursuit, and zeal for propagating their religion, have filled this extensive city with Moors and Mahomedan converts. The king himself, and all the chief officers of state, are Moors; and they are said to be more severe and intolerant in their principles than any other of the Moorish tribes in this part of Africa. I was informed by a venerable old negro, that when he first visited Tombuctoo, he took up his lodging at a sort of public inn, the landlord of which, when he conducted him into his hut, spread a mat on the floor, and laid a rope upon it, saying, "If you are a Mussulman, you are my friend—sit down; but if you are a kafir, you are my slave—and with this rope I will lead you to market." The present king of Tombuctoo is named Abu Abraham—he is reported to possess immense riches. His wives and concubines are said to be clothed in silk, and the chief officers of state live in considerable splendour. The whole expense of his government is defrayed, as I was told, by a tax upon merchandise, which is collected at the gates of the city.

The city of Houssa (the capital of a large kingdom of the same name, situated to the eastward of Tombuctoo) is another great mart for Moorish commerce. I conversed with many merchants who had visited that city, and they all agreed that it is larger, and more populous, than Tombuctoo. The trade, police, and government, are nearly the same in both; but in Houssa the negroes are in greater proportion to the Moors, and have some share in the government.

Concerning the small kingdom of Jinbala I was not able to collect much information. The soil is said to be remarkably fertile, and the whole country so full of creeks and swamps that the Moors have hitherto been baffled in every attempt to subdue it. The inhabitants are negroes, and some of them are said to live in considerable affluence, particularly those near the capital—which is a resting-place for such merchants as transport goods from Tombuctoo to the western parts of Africa.

To the southward of Jinbala is situated the negro kingdom of Gotto, which is said to be of great extent. It was formerly divided into a number of petty states, which were governed by their own chiefs; but their private quarrels invited invasion from the neighbouring kingdoms. At length a politic chief, of the name of Moossee, had address enough to make them unite in hostilities against Bambarra; and on this occasion he was unanimously chosen general—the different chiefs consenting for a time to act under his command. Moossee immediately dispatched a fleet of canoes, loaded with provisions, from the banks of the lake Dibbie up the Niger towards Jenné, and with the whole of his army pushed forwards into Bambarra. He arrived on the bank of the Niger opposite to Jenné, before the townspeople had the smallest intimation of his approach. His fleet of canoes joined him the same day; and having landed the provisions, he embarked part of his army, and in the night took Jenné by storm. This event so terrified the king of Bambarra, that he sent messengers to sue for peace; and in order to obtain it, consented to deliver to Moossee a certain number of slaves every year, and return every thing that had been taken from the inhabitants of Gotto. Moossee, thus triumphant, returned to Gotto, where he was declared king, and the capital of the country is called by his name.

On the west of Gotto is the kingdom of Baedoo, which was conquered by the present king of Bambarra about seven years ago, and has continued tributary to him ever since.

West of Baedoo is Maniana, the inhabitants of which, according to the best information I was able to collect, are cruel and ferocious—carrying their resentment towards their enemies so far as never to give quarter, and even to indulge themselves with unnatural and disgusting banquets of human flesh.

I am well aware that the accounts which the negroes give of their enemies ought to be received with great caution; but I heard the same account in so many different kingdoms, and from such variety of people, whose veracity I had no occasion to suspect, that I am disposed to allow it some degree of credit. The inhabitants of Bambarra, in the course of a long and bloody war, must have had frequent opportunities of satisfying themselves as to the fact; and if the report had been entirely without foundation, I cannot conceive why the term *ma dummulo* (man eaters) should be applied exclusively to the inhabitants of Maniana.

## CHAPTER XVII.

The Author returns Westward.—Arrives at Modiboo, and recovers his Horse.—Finds great Difficulty in travelling, in consequence of the Rains, and the overflowing of the River.—Is informed that the King of Bambarra had sent Persons to apprehend him.—Avoids Sego, and prosecutes his Journey along the Banks of the Niger.—Incidents on the Road.—Cruelties attendant on African Wars.—The Author crosses the River Frina, and arrives at Taffara.

HAVING, for the reasons assigned in the last chapter, determined to proceed no farther eastward than Silla, I acquainted the dooty with my intention of returning to Sego, proposing to travel along the southern side of the river; but he informed me, that from the number of creeks and swamps on that side, it was impossible to travel by any other route than along the northern bank, and even that route, he said, would soon be impassable, on account of the overflowing of the river. However, as he commended my determination to return westward, he agreed to speak to some one of the fishermen to carry me over to Moorzan. I accordingly stepped into a canoe about eight o'clock in the morning of July 30th, and in about an hour was landed at Moorzan. At this place I hired a canoe for sixty kowries, and in the afternoon arrived at Kea, where, for forty kowries more, the dooty permitted me to sleep in the same hut with one of his slaves. This poor negro, perceiving that I was sickly, and that my clothes were very ragged, humanely lent me a large cloth to cover me for the night.

July 31st.—The dooty's brother being going to Modiboo, I embraced the opportunity of accompanying him thither, there being no beaten road. He promised to carry my saddle, which I had left at Kea when my horse fell down in the woods, as I now proposed to present it to the king of Bambarra.

We departed from Kea at eight o'clock, and about a mile to the westward observed, on the bank of the river, a great number of earthen jars piled up together.—They were very neatly formed, but not glazed; and were evidently of that sort of pottery which is manufactured at Downie (a town to the west of Tombuctoo), and sold to great advantage in different parts of Bambarra. As we approached towards the jars, my companion plucked up a large handful of herbage, and threw it upon them, making signs for me to do the same, which I did. He then, with great seriousness, told me that these jars belonged to some supernatural power; that they were found in their present situation about two years ago; and as no person had claimed them, every traveller as he passed them, from respect to the invisible proprietor, threw some grass, or the branch of a tree, upon the heap, to defend the jars from the rain.

Thus conversing, we travelled in the most friendly manner, until unfortunately we perceived the footsteps

of a lion, quite fresh in the mud, near the river side. My companion now proceeded with great circumspection; and at last, coming to some thick underwood, he insisted that I should walk before him. I endeavoured to excuse myself, by alleging that I did not know the road; but he obstinately persisted, and, after a few high words and menacing looks, threw down the saddle and went away. This very much disconcerted me; but as I had given up all hopes of obtaining a horse, I could not think of encumbering myself with the saddle, and, taking off the stirrups and girths, I threw the saddle into the river. The negro no sooner saw me throw the saddle into the water, than he came running from among the bushes where he had concealed himself, jumped into the river, and, by help of his spear, brought out the saddle, and ran away with it. I continued my course along the bank; but as the wood was remarkably thick, and I had reason to believe that a lion was at no great distance, I became much alarmed, and took a long circuit through the bushes to avoid him.

About four in the afternoon I reached Modiboo, where I found my saddle. The guide, who had got there before me, being afraid that I should inform the king of his conduct, had brought the saddle with him in a canoe.

While I was conversing with the dooty, and remonstrating against the guide for having left me in such a situation, I heard a horse neigh in one of the huts; and the dooty inquired, with a smile, if I knew who was speaking to me? He explained himself, by telling me that my horse was still alive, and somewhat recovered from his fatigue; but he insisted that I should take him along with me—adding, that he had once kept a Moor's horse for four months, and when the horse had recovered and got into good condition, the Moor returned and claimed it, and refused to give him any reward for his trouble.

August 1st.—I departed from Modiboo, driving my horse before me, and in the afternoon reached Nyamee, where I remained three days, during which time it rained without intermission, and with such violence that no person could venture out of doors.

August 5th.—I departed from Nyamee; but the country was so deluged that I was frequently in danger of losing the road, and had to wade across the savannahs for miles together, knee-deep in water. Even the corn ground, which is the driest land in the country, was so completely flooded that my horse twice stuck fast in the mud, and was not got out without the greatest difficulty.

In the evening of the same day I arrived at Nyara, where I was well received by the dooty; and as the 6th was rainy, I did not depart until the morning of the 7th—but the water had swelled to such a height, that in many places the road was scarcely passable, and though I waded breast-deep across the swamps, I could only reach a small village called Nemaboo, where, however, for an hundred kowries, I procured from some Foulahs plenty of corn for my horse, and milk for myself.

August 8th.—The difficulties I had experienced the day before made me anxious to engage a fellow-traveller, particularly as I was assured, that, in the course of a few days, the country would be so completely overflowed as to render the road utterly impassable; but though I offered two hundred kowries for a guide, nobody would accompany me. However, on the morning following (August 9th), a Moor and his wife, riding upon two bullocks, and bound for Sego with salt, passed the village, and agreed to take me along with them; but I found them of little service, for they were wholly unacquainted with the road, and being accustomed to a sandy soil, were very bad travellers. Instead of wading before the bullocks to feel if the ground was solid, the woman boldly entered the first swamp, riding upon the top of the load; but when she had proceeded about two hundred yards, the bullock sunk into a hole, and threw both the load and herself among the reeds. The frightened husband stood for some time seemingly petrified with horror, and suffered

his wife to be almost drowned before he went to her assistance.

About sunset we reached Sibity, but the dooty received me very coolly; and when I solicited for a guide to Sansanding, he told me his people were otherwise employed. I was shown into a damp old hut, where I passed a very uncomfortable night; for when the walls of the huts are softened by the rain, they frequently become too weak to support the weight of the roof. I heard three huts fall during the night, and was apprehensive that the hut I lodged in would be the fourth. In the morning, as I went to pull some grass for my horse, I counted fourteen huts which had fallen in this manner since the commencement of the rainy season.

It continued to rain with great violence all the 10th; and as the dooty refused to give me any provisions, I purchased some corn, which I divided with my horse.

August 11th.—The dooty compelled me to depart from the town, and I set out for Sansanding, without any great hopes of faring better there than I had done at Sibity—for I learned, from people who came to visit me, that a report prevailed, and was universally believed, that I had come to Bambarra as a spy; and as Mansong had not admitted me into his presence, the dooties of the different towns were at liberty to treat me in what manner they pleased. From repeatedly hearing the same story, I had no doubt of the truth of it; but as there was no alternative, I determined to proceed, and a little before sunset I arrived at Sansanding. My reception was what I expected. Counti Mamadi, who had been so kind to me formerly, scarcely gave me welcome. Every one wished to shun me; and my landlord sent a person to inform me that a very unfavourable report was received from Segó concerning me, and that he wished me to depart early in the morning. About ten o'clock at night Counti Mamadi himself came privately to me, and informed me that Mansong had dispatched a canoe to Jenné to bring me back; and he was afraid I should find great difficulty in going to the west country. He advised me therefore to depart from Sansanding before daybreak, and cautioned me against stopping at Diggani, or any town near Segó.

August 12th.—I departed from Sansanding, and reached Kabba in the afternoon. As I approached the town, I was surprised to see several people assembled at the gate; one of whom, as I advanced, came running towards me, and taking my horse by the bridle, led me round the walls of the town, and then, pointing to the west, told me to go along, or it would fare worse with me. It was in vain that I represented the danger of being benighted in the woods, exposed to the inclemency of the weather and the fury of wild beasts. "Go along!" was all the answer; and a number of people coming up, and urging me in the same manner, with great earnestness, I suspected that some of the king's messengers, who were sent in search of me, were in the town, and that these negroes, from mere kindness, conducted me past it, with a view to facilitate my escape. I accordingly took the road for Segó, with the uncomfortable prospect of passing the night on the branches of a tree. After travelling about three miles, I came to a small village near the road. The dooty was splitting sticks by the gate, but I found I could have no admittance; and when I attempted to enter, he jumped up, and, with the stick he held in his hand, threatened to strike me off the horse, if I presumed to advance another step.

At a little distance from this village (and farther from the road), is another small one. I conjectured, that being rather out of the common route, the inhabitants might have fewer objections to give me house-room for the night; and having crossed some corn fields, I sat down under a tree by the well. Two or three women came to draw water, and one of them perceiving I was a stranger, inquired whether I was going. I told her I was going for Segó, but being benighted on the road, I wished to stay at the village until morning, and begged she would acquaint the dooty with my situation. In a little time the dooty sent for me, and permitted me to sleep in a large baloon, in one corner of

which was constructed a kiln for drying the fruit of the shea trees; it contained about half a cart-load of fruit, under which was kept up a clear wood-fire. I was informed, that in three days the fruit would be ready for pounding and boiling, and that the butter thus manufactured is preferable to that which is prepared from fruit dried in the sun, especially in the rainy season, when the process by insolation is always tedious, and oftentimes ineffectual.

August 13th.—About ten o'clock I reached a small village within half a mile of Segó, where I endeavoured, but in vain, to procure some provisions. Every one seemed anxious to avoid me; and I could plainly perceive, by the looks and behaviour of the inhabitants, that some very unfavourable accounts had been circulated concerning me. I was again informed that Mansong had sent people to apprehend me; and the dooty's son told me I had no time to lose, if I wished to get safe out of Bambarra. I now fully saw the danger of my situation, and determined to avoid Segó altogether. I accordingly mounted my horse, and taking the road for Diggani, travelled as fast as I could until I was out of sight of the villagers, when I struck to the westward through high grass and swampy ground. About noon, I stopped under a tree to consider what course to take, for I had now no doubt that the Moors and satees had misinformed the king respecting the object of my mission, and that people were absolutely in search of me to convey me a prisoner to Segó. Sometimes I had thoughts of swimming my horse across the Niger, and going to the southward for Cape Coast; but reflecting that I had ten days to travel before I should reach Kong, and afterwards an extensive country to traverse, inhabited by various nations with whose language and manners I was totally unacquainted, I relinquished this scheme, and judged that I should better answer the purpose of my mission by proceeding to the westward along the Niger, endeavouring to ascertain how far the river was navigable in that direction. Having resolved upon this course, I proceeded accordingly, and a little before sunset arrived at a Foulah village called Sooboo, where, for two hundred kowries, I procured lodging for the night.

August 14th.—I continued my course along the bank of the river, through a populous and well-cultivated country. I passed a walled town called Kamalia,\* without stopping; and at noon rode through a large town called Samee, where there happened to be a market, and a number of people assembled in an open place in the middle of the town, selling cattle, cloth, corn, &c. I rode through the midst of them without being much observed, every one taking me for a Moor. In the afternoon I arrived at a small village called Binni, where I agreed with the dooty's son, for one hundred kowries, to allow me to stay for the night, but when the dooty returned, he insisted that I should instantly leave the place; and if his wife and son had not interceded for me, I must have complied.

August 15th.—About nine o'clock I passed a large town called Sai, which very much excited my curiosity. It is completely surrounded by two very deep trenches, at about two hundred yards distant from the walls. On the top of the trenches are a number of square towers, and the whole has the appearance of a regular fortification. Inquiring into the origin of this extraordinary entrenchment, I learned from two of the townspeople the following particulars, which, if true, furnish a mournful picture of the enormities of African wars:—About fifteen years ago, when the present king of Bambarra's father desolated Maniana, the dooty of Sai had two sons slain in battle, fighting in the king's cause. He had a third son living; and when the king demanded a further reinforcement of men, and this youth among the rest, the dooty refused to send him. This conduct so enraged the king, that when he returned from Maniana, about the beginning of the rainy season, and found the dooty protected by the inhabitants, he sat down before Sai with his army, and surrounded the town with the trenches I had now seen. After a siege

\* There is another town of this name, hereafter to be mentioned.

of two months, the townspeople became involved in all the horrors of famine; and whilst the king's army were feasting in their trenches, they saw with pleasure the miserable inhabitants of Sai devour the leaves and bark of the bentang tree that stood in the middle of the town. Finding, however, that the besieged would sooner perish than surrender, the king had recourse to treachery. He promised, that if they would open the gates, no person should be put to death, nor suffer any injury, but the dooty alone. The poor old man determined to sacrifice himself for the sake of his fellow-citizens, and immediately walked over to the king's army, where he was put to death. His son, in attempting to escape, was caught and massacred in the trenches, and the rest of the townspeople were carried away captives, and sold as slaves to the different negro traders.

About noon I came to the village of Kaimoo, situated upon the bank of the river; and as the corn I had purchased at Sibili was exhausted, I endeavoured to purchase a fresh supply, but was informed that corn was become very scarce all over the country, and though I offered fifty kowries for a small quantity, no person would sell me any. As I was about to depart, however, one of the villagers (who probably mistook me for some Moorish shereef) brought me some as a present, only desiring me in return to bestow my blessing upon him, which I did in plain English, and he received it with a thousand acknowledgments. Of this present I made my dinner—and it was the third successive day that I had subsisted entirely upon raw corn.

In the evening I arrived at a small village called Song, the surly inhabitants of which would not receive me, nor so much as permit me to enter the gate—but as lions were very numerous in this neighbourhood, and I had frequently, in the course of the day, observed the impression of their feet on the road, I resolved to stay in the vicinity of the village. Having collected some grass for my horse, I accordingly lay down under a tree by the gate. About ten o'clock I heard the hollow roar of a lion at no great distance, and attempted to open the gate, but the people from within told me, that no person must attempt to enter the gate without the dooty's permission. I begged them to inform the dooty that a lion was approaching the village, and I hoped he would allow me to come within the gate. I waited for an answer to this message with great anxiety, for the lion kept prowling round the village, and once advanced so very near me that I heard him rustling among the grass, and climbed the tree for safety. About midnight the dooty, with some of his people, opened the gate, and desired me to come in. They were convinced, they said, that I was not a Moor, for no Moor ever waited any time at the gate of a village without cursing the inhabitants.

August 16th.—About ten o'clock I passed a considerable town, with a mosque, called Jabbee. Here the country begins to rise into hills, and I could see the summits of high mountains to the westward. I had very disagreeable travelling all this day, on account of the swampiness of the roads—for the river was now risen to such a height as to overflow great part of the flat land on both sides—and from the muddiness of the water, it was difficult to discern its depth. In crossing one of these swamps, a little to the westward of a town called Gangu, my horse being up to the belly in water, slipt suddenly into a deep pit, and was almost drowned before he could disengage his feet from the stiff clay at the bottom. Indeed, both the horse and his rider were so completely covered with mud, that in passing the village of Callimana, the people compared us to two dirty elephants. About noon I stopped at a small village near Yamina, where I purchased some corn, and dried my papers and clothes.

The town of Yamina, at a distance, has a very fine appearance. It covers nearly the same extent of ground as Sansanding, but having been plundered by Daisy, king of Kaarta, about four years ago, it has not yet resumed its former prosperity—nearly one half of the town being nothing but a heap of ruins: however, it is still a considerable place, and is so much frequented by

the Moors that I did not think it safe to lodge in it; but in order to satisfy myself respecting its population and extent, I resolved to ride through it, in doing which I observed a great many Moors sitting upon the bentangs, and other places of public resort. Every body looked at me with astonishment, but as I rode briskly along, they had no time to ask questions.

I arrived in the evening at Farra, a walled village, where, without much difficulty, I procured a lodging for the night.

August 17th.—Early in the morning I pursued my journey, and at eight o'clock passed a considerable town called Balaba, after which the road quits the plain, and stretches along the side of the hill. I passed in the course of this day the ruins of three towns, the inhabitants of which were all carried away by Daisy, king of Kaarta, on the same day that he took and plundered Yamina. Near one of these ruins I climbed a tamarind tree, but found the fruit quite green and sour, and the prospect of the country was by no means inviting—for the high grass and bushes seemed completely to obstruct the road, and the low lands were all so flooded by the river, that the Niger had the appearance of an extensive lake. In the evening I arrived at Kanika, where the dooty, who was sitting upon an elephant's hide at the gate, received me kindly, and gave me for supper some milk and meal, which I considered (as to a person in my situation it really was) a very great luxury.

August 18th.—By mistake I took the wrong road, and did not discover my error until I had travelled nearly four miles, when, coming to an eminence, I observed the Niger considerably to the left. Directing my course towards it, I travelled through long grass and bushes with great difficulty, until two o'clock in the afternoon, when I came to a comparatively small but very rapid river, which I took at first for a creek, or one of the streams of the Niger. However, after I had examined it with more attention, I was convinced that it was a distinct river; and as the road evidently crossed it (for I could see the pathway on the opposite side), I sat down upon the bank, in hopes that some traveller might arrive who would give me the necessary information concerning the fording place—for the banks were so covered with reeds and bushes that it would have been almost impossible to land on the other side, except at the pathway, which, on account of the rapidity of the stream, it seemed very difficult to reach. No traveller, however, arriving, and there being a great appearance of rain, I examined the grass and bushes for some way up the bank, and determined upon entering the river considerably above the pathway, in order to reach the other side before the stream had swept me too far down. With this view I fastened my clothes upon the saddle, and was standing up to the neck in water, pulling my horse by the bridle to make him follow me, when a man came accidentally to the place, and seeing me in the water, called to me with great vehemence to come out. The alligators, he said, would devour both me and my horse, if we attempted to swim over. When I had got out, the stranger, who had never before seen a European, seemed wonderfully surprised. He twice put his hand to his mouth, exclaiming in a low tone of voice, "God preserve me! who is this?" but when he heard me speak the Bambarra tongue, and found that I was going the same way as himself, he promised to assist me in crossing the river, the name of which he told me was Frina. He then went a little way along the bank, and called to some person, who answered from the other side. In a short time, a canoe with two boys came paddling from among the reeds. These boys agreed for fifty kowries to transport me and my horse over the river, which was effected without much difficulty; and I arrived in the evening at Taffara, a walled town, and soon discovered that the language of the natives was improved, from the corrupted dialect of Bambarra, to the pure Mandingo.

#### CHAPTER XVIII.

Inhospitable reception at Taffara.—A Negro Funeral at Socha.—The Author continues his Route through several Villages along

the banks of the Niger, until he comes to Koolikorro.—Supports himself by writing Saphies—Reaches Maraboo.—Leaves the Road, and after many difficulties arrives at Bammakoo.—Takes the Road for Sibidooolo—Meets with great kindness at a Village called Kooma—Is afterwards robbed, stripped, and plundered by Banditti.—The Author's Resource and Consolation under exquisite Distress.—He arrives in safety at Sibidooolo.

On my arrival at Taffara I inquired for the dooty, but was informed that he had died a few days before my arrival, and that there was, at that moment, a meeting of the chief men for electing another—there being some dispute about the succession. It was probably owing to this unsettled state of the town that I experienced such a want of hospitality in it; for though I informed the inhabitants that I should only remain with them for one night, and assured them that Mansong had given me some kowries to pay for my lodging, yet no person invited me to come in, and I was forced to sit alone under the bentang tree, exposed to the rain and wind of a tornado, which lasted with great violence until midnight. At this time the stranger who had assisted me in crossing the river, paid me a visit, and observing that I had not found a lodging, invited me to take part of his supper, which he had brought to the door of his hut; for, being a guest himself, he could not, without his landlord's consent, invite me to come in. After this, I slept upon some wet grass in the corner of a court. My horse fared still worse than myself—the corn I had purchased being all expended, and I could not procure a supply.

August 20th.—I passed the town of Jaba, and stopped a few minutes at a village called Somino, where I begged and obtained some coarse food, which the natives prepare from the husks of corn, and call *boo*. About two o'clock I came to the village of Sooha, and endeavoured to purchase some corn from the dooty, who was sitting by the gate, but without success. I then requested a little food by way of charity, but was told he had none to spare. Whilst I was examining the countenance of this inhospitable old man, and endeavouring to find out the cause of the sullen discontent which was visible in his eye, he called to a slave who was working in the corn-field at a little distance, and ordered him to bring his hoe along with him. The dooty then told him to dig a hole in the ground, pointing to a spot at no great distance. The slave, with his hoe, began to dig a pit in the earth, and the dooty, who appeared to be a man of a very fretful disposition, kept muttering and talking to himself until the pit was almost finished, when he repeatedly pronounced the words *dankatoo* ("good for nothing")—*jankra lemen* ("a real plague")—which expressions I thought could be applied to nobody but myself; and as the pit had very much the appearance of a grave, I thought it prudent to mount my horse, and was about to decamp, when the slave, who had before gone into the village, to my surprise returned with the corpse of a boy about nine or ten years of age, quite naked. The negro carried the body by a leg and an arm, and threw it into the pit with a savage indifference, which I had never before seen. As he covered the body with earth, the dooty often expressed himself, *naphula attiniata* ("money lost")—whence I concluded that the boy had been one of his slaves.

Departing from this shocking scene, I travelled by the side of the river until sunset, when I came to Koolikorro, a considerable town, and a great market for salt. Here I took up my lodging at the house of a Bammarran, who had formerly been the slave of a Moor, and in that character had travelled to Aroan, Towdinni, and many other places in the Great Desert; but turning Mussulman, and his master dying at Jenné, he obtained his freedom, and settled at this place, where he carries on a considerable trade in salt, cotton-cloth, &c. His knowledge of the world had not lessened that superstitious confidence in saphies and charms which he had imbibed in his earlier years; for when he heard that I was a Christian, he immediately thought of procuring a saphie, and for this purpose brought out his

*walha*, or writing-board—assuring me, that he would dress me a supper of rice, if I would write him a saphie to protect him from wicked men. The proposal was of too great consequence to me to be refused. I therefore wrote the board full, from top to bottom, on both sides; and my landlord, to be certain of having the whole force of the charm, washed the writing from the board into a calabash with a little water, and having said a few prayers over it, drank this powerful draught; after which, lest a single word should escape, he licked the board until it was quite dry. A saphie writer was a man of too great consequence to be long concealed—the important information was carried to the dooty, who sent his son with half a sheet of writing-paper, desiring me to write him a *naphula saphie* (a charm to procure wealth). He brought me, as a present, some meal and milk; and when I had finished the saphie, and read it to him with an audible voice, he seemed highly satisfied with his bargain, and promised to bring me in the morning some milk for my breakfast. When I had finished my supper of rice and salt, I laid myself down upon a bullock's hide, and slept very quietly until morning—this being the first good meal and refreshing sleep that I had enjoyed for a long time.

August 21st.—At daybreak I departed from Koolikorro, and about noon passed the villages of Kayoo and Toolumbo. In the afternoon I arrived at Marraboo—a large town, and, like Koolikorro, famous for its trade in salt. I was conducted to the house of a Kaartan, of the tribe of Jower, by whom I was well received. This man had acquired a considerable property in the slave trade; and, from his hospitality to strangers, was called, by way of pre-eminence, *jatee* (the landlord), and his house was a sort of public inn for all travellers. Those who had money were well lodged, for they always made him some return for his kindness, but those who had nothing to give were content to accept whatever he thought proper; and as I could not rank myself among the monied men, I was happy to take up my lodging in the same hut with seven poor fellows who had come from Kancaba in a canoe. But our landlord sent us some victuals.

August 22d.—One of the landlord's servants went with me a little way from the town to show me what road to take; but, whether from ignorance or design I know not, he directed me wrong, and I did not discover my mistake until the day was far advanced, when, coming to a deep creek, I had some thoughts of turning back; but as, by that means, I foresaw that I could not possibly reach Bammakoo before night, I resolved to cross it, and leading my horse close to the brink, I went behind him, and pushed him headlong into the water, and then, taking the bridle in my teeth, swam over to the other side. This was the third creek I had crossed in this manner since I had left Segó; but having secured my notes and memorandums in the crown of my hat, I received little or no inconvenience from such adventures. The rain and heavy dew kept my clothes constantly wet; and the roads being very deep, and full of mud, such a washing was sometimes pleasant, and oftentimes necessary. I continued travelling through high grass, without any beaten road, and about noon came to the river, the banks of which are here very rocky, and the force and roar of the water were very great. The king of Bammarra's canoes, however, frequently pass these rapids, by keeping close to the bank; persons being stationed on the shore with ropes fastened to the canoe, while others push it forward with long poles. At this time, however, it would, I think, have been a matter of great difficulty for any European boat to have crossed the stream. About four o'clock in the afternoon, having altered my course from the river towards the mountains, I came to a small pathway which led to a village called Frookahoo, where I slept.

August 23d.—Early in the morning I set out for Bammakoo, at which place I arrived about five o'clock in the afternoon. I had heard Bammakoo much talked of as a great market for salt, and I felt rather disappointed to find it only a middling town, not quite so large as Marraboo: however, the smallness of its size

is more than compensated by the richness of its inhabitants; for when the Moors bring their salt through Kaarta or Bambarra, they constantly rest a few days at this place, and the negro merchants here, who are well acquainted with the value of salt in different kingdoms, frequently purchase by wholesale, and retail it to great advantage. Here I lodged at the house of a Serawoolli negro, and was visited by a number of Moors. They spoke very good Mandingo, and were more civil to me than their countrymen had been. One of them had travelled to Rio Grande, and spoke very highly of the Christians. He sent me in the evening some boiled rice and milk. I now endeavoured to procure information concerning my route to the westward from a slave merchant who had resided some years on the Gambia. He gave me some imperfect account of the distance, and enumerated the names of a great many places that lay in the way, but withal told me, that the road was impassable at this season of the year: he was even afraid, he said, that I should find great difficulty in proceeding any farther; as the road crossed the Joliba at a town about half a day's journey to the westward of Bammakoo, and there being no canoes at that place large enough to receive my horse, I could not possibly get him over for some months to come. This was an obstruction of a very serious nature; but as I had no money to maintain myself even for a few days, I resolved to push on, and if I could not convey my horse across the river, to abandon him, and swim over myself. In thoughts of this nature I passed the night, and in the morning consulted with my landlord how I should surmount the present difficulty. He informed me that one road still remained, which was indeed very rocky, and scarcely passable for horses; but that if I had a proper guide over the hills to a town called Sibidooloo, he had no doubt but with patience and caution I might travel forwards through Manding. I immediately applied to the dooty, and was informed that a *jilli kea* (singing man) was about to depart for Sibidooloo, and would show me the road over the hills. With this man, who undertook to be my conductor, I travelled up a rocky glen about two miles, when we came to a small village; and here my musical fellow-traveller found out that he had brought me the wrong road. He told me that the horse-road lay on the other side of the hill, and throwing his drum upon his back, mounted up the rocks, where indeed no horse could follow him, leaving me to admire his agility, and trace out a road for myself. As I found it impossible to proceed, I rode back to the level ground, and directing my course to the eastward, came about noon to another glen, and discovered a path on which I observed the marks of horses' feet: following this path, I came in a short time to some shepherds' huts, where I was informed that I was in the right road, but that I could not possibly reach Sibidooloo before night. Soon after this I gained the summit of a hill, from whence I had an extensive view of the country. Towards the south-east appeared some very distant mountains, which I had formerly seen from an eminence near Marraboo, where the people informed me that these mountains were situated in a large and powerful kingdom called Kong, the sovereign of which could raise a much greater army than the king of Bambarra. Upon this height the soil is shallow; the rocks are ironstone and schistus, with detached pieces of white quartz.

A little before sunset I descended on the north-west side of this ridge of hills, and as I was looking about for a convenient tree under which to pass the night (for I had no hopes of reaching any town), I descended into a delightful valley, and soon afterwards arrived at a romantic village called Kooma. This village is surrounded by a high wall, and is the sole property of a Mandingo merchant, who fled hither with his family during a former war. The adjacent fields yield him plenty of corn, his cattle roam at large in the valley, and the rocky hills secure him from the depredations of war. In this obscure retreat he is seldom visited by strangers, but whenever this happens, he makes the weary traveller welcome. I soon found myself sur-

rounded by a circle of the harmless villagers. They asked a thousand questions about my country; and, in return for my information, brought corn and milk for myself, and grass for my horse, kindled a fire in the hut where I was to sleep, and appeared very anxious to serve me.

August 25th.—I departed from Kooma, accompanied by two shepherds who were going towards Sibidooloo. The road was very steep and rocky, and as my horse had hurt his feet much in coming from Bammakoo, he travelled slowly and with great difficulty; for in many places the ascent was so sharp, and the declivities so great, that if he had made one false step, he must inevitably have been dashed to pieces. The shepherds being anxious to proceed, gave themselves little trouble about me or my horse, and kept walking on at a considerable distance. It was about eleven o'clock, as I stopped to drink a little water at a rivulet (my companions being near a quarter of a mile before me), that I heard some people calling to each other, and presently a loud screaming, as from a person in great distress. I immediately conjectured that a lion had taken one of the shepherds, and mounted my horse to have a better view of what had happened. The noise, however, ceased, and I rode slowly towards the place from whence I thought it had proceeded, calling out, but without receiving any answer. In a little time, however, I perceived one of the shepherds lying among the long grass near the road, and though I could see no blood upon him, I concluded he was dead. But when I came close to him, he whispered to me to stop, telling me that a party of armed men had seized upon his companion, and shot two arrows at himself as he was making his escape. I stopped to consider what course to take, and looking round, saw at a little distance a man sitting upon the stump of a tree: I distinguished also the heads of six or seven more, sitting among the grass, with muskets in their hands. I had now no hopes of escaping, and therefore determined to ride forward towards them. As I approached them, I was in hopes they were elephant-hunters; and by way of opening the conversation, inquired if they had shot any thing, but, without returning an answer, one of them ordered me to dismount, and then, as if recollecting himself, waved with his hand for me to proceed. I accordingly rode past, and had with some difficulty crossed a deep rivulet, when I heard somebody holla, and looking behind, saw those I had taken for elephant-hunters running after me, and calling out to me to turn back. I stopped until they were all come up, when they informed me that the king of the Foulahs had sent them on purpose to bring me, my horse, and every thing that belonged to me, to Fooladoo, and that therefore I must turn back, and go along with them. Without hesitating a moment, I turned round and followed them, and we travelled together nearly a quarter of a mile without exchanging a word; when coming to a dark place in the wood, one of them said, in the Mandingo language, "This place will do," and immediately snatched my hat from my head.—Though I was by no means free of apprehension, yet I resolved to show as few signs of fear as possible, and therefore told them, that unless my hat was returned to me, I should proceed no farther. But before I had time to receive an answer, another drew his knife, and seizing upon a metal button which remained upon my waistcoat, cut it off, and put it into his pocket. Their intentions were now obvious, and I thought that the easier they were permitted to rob me of every thing, the less I had to fear. I therefore allowed them to search my pockets without resistance, and examine every part of my apparel, which they did with the most scrupulous exactness. But observing that I had one waistcoat under another, they insisted that I should cast them both off; and at last, to make sure work, they stripped me quite naked. Even my half boots (though the sole of one of them was tied on to my foot with a broken bridle-rein) were minutely inspected. Whilst they were examining the plunder, I begged them, with great earnestness, to return my pocket compass;



but when I pointed it out to them, as it was lying on the ground, one of the banditti, thinking I was about to take it up, cocked his musket, and swore that he would lay me dead upon the spot, if I presumed to put my hand upon it. After this, some of them went away with my horse, and the remainder stood considering whether they should leave me quite naked, or allow me something to shelter me from the sun. Humanity at last prevailed: they returned me the worst of the two shirts, and a pair of trousers; and, as they went away, one of them threw back my hat, in the crown of which I kept my memorandums, and this was probably the reason they did not wish to keep it. After they were gone, I sat for some time looking around me with amazement and terror. Whichever way I turned, nothing appeared but danger and difficulty. I saw myself in the midst of a vast wilderness, in the depth of the rainy season—naked and alone, surrounded by savage animals, and men still more savage. I was five hundred miles from the nearest European settlement. All these circumstances crowded at once on my recollection, and I confess that my spirits began to fail me. I considered my fate as certain, and that I had no alternative but to lie down and perish. The influence of religion, however, aided and supported me. I reflected that no human prudence or foresight could possibly have averted my present sufferings. I was indeed a stranger in a strange land, yet I was still under the protecting eye of that Providence who has condescended to call himself the stranger's friend. At this moment, painful as my reflections were, the extraordinary beauty of a small moss in fructification irresistibly caught my eye. I mention this to show from what trifling circumstances the mind will sometimes derive consolation; for though the whole plant was not larger than the top of one of my fingers, I could not contemplate the delicate conformation of its roots, leaves, and capsula, without admiration. Can that being, thought I, who planted, watered, and brought to perfection, in this obscure part of the world, a thing which appears of so small importance, look with unconcern upon the situation and sufferings of creatures formed after his own image? Surely not! Reflections like these would not allow me to despair. I started up, and, disregarding both hunger and fatigue, travelled forwards, assured that relief was at hand; and I was not disappointed. In a short time I came to a small village, at the entrance of which I overtook the two shepherds who had come with me from Kooma. They were much surprised to see me; for they said, they never doubted that the Foulahs, when they had robbed, had murdered me. Departing from this village, we travelled over several rocky ridges, and at sunset arrived at Sibidooloo, the frontier town of the kingdom of Manding.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Government of Manding.—The Author's Reception by the Mansa, or chief man, of Sibidooloo, who takes Measures for the Recovery of his Horse and Effects.—The Author removes to Wanda—Great Scarcity, and its afflicting Consequences.—The Author recovers his Horse and Clothes—presents his Horse to the Mansa, and prosecutes his Journey to Kamalia—Some Account of that Town.—The Author's kind Reception by Karfa Taura, a Slatce, who proposes to go to the Gambia, in the next dry Season, with a Caravan of Slaves.—The Author's Sickness, and Determination to remain and accompany Karfa.

The town of Sibidooloo is situated in a fertile valley, surrounded with high rocky hills. It is scarcely accessible for horses, and during the frequent wars between the Bambarrans, Foulahs, and Mandingoes, has never once been plundered by an enemy. When I entered the town, the people gathered round me, and followed me into the baloon, where I was presented to the dooty or chief man, who is here called mansa, which usually signifies king. Nevertheless, it appeared to me that the government of Manding was a sort of republic, or rather an oligarchy—every town having a particular mansa, and the chief power of the state, in the last re-

sort, being lodged in the assembly of the whole body. I related to the mansa the circumstances of my having been robbed of my horse and apparel; and my story was confirmed by the two shepherds. He continued smoking his pipe all the time I was speaking; but I had no sooner finished, than, taking his pipe from his mouth, and tossing up the sleeve of his cloak with an indignant air—"Sit down," said he; "you shall have every thing restored to you; I have sworn it."—and then, turning to an attendant, "Give the white man," said he, "a draught of water; and with the first light of the morning, go over the hills, and inform the dooty of Bammakoo that a poor white man, the king of Bambarra's stranger, has been robbed by the king of Fooladoo's people."

I little expected, in my forlorn condition, to meet with a man who could thus feel for my sufferings. I heartily thanked the mansa for his kindness, and accepted his invitation to remain with him until the return of the messenger. I was conducted into a hut, and had some victuals sent me, but the crowd of people which assembled to see me—all of whom commiserated my misfortunes, and vented imprecations against the Foulahs—prevented me from sleeping until past midnight. Two days I remained without hearing any intelligence of my horse or clothes; and as there was at this time a great scarcity of provisions, approaching even to famine, all over this part of the country, I was unwilling to trespass any farther on the mansa's generosity, and begged permission to depart to the next village. Finding me very anxious to proceed, he told me that I might go as far as a town called Wonda, where he hoped I would remain a few days until I heard some account of my horse, &c.

I departed accordingly on the next morning of the 28th, and stopped at some small villages for refreshment. I was presented at one of them with a dish which I had never before seen. It was composed of the blossoms or *antheræ* of the maize, stewed in milk and water. It is eaten only in time of great scarcity. On the 30th, about noon, I arrived at Wonda—a small town with a mosque, and surrounded by a high wall. The mansa, who was a Mahomedan, acted in two capacities—as chief magistrate of the town, and schoolmaster to the children. He kept his school in an open shed, where I was desired to take up my lodging until some account should arrive from Sibidooloo concerning my horse and clothes; for though the horse was of little use to me, yet the few clothes were essential. The little raiment upon me could neither protect me from the sun by day, nor the dews and mosquitoes by night: indeed, my shirt was not only worn thin like a piece of muslin, but withal was so very dirty that I was happy to embrace an opportunity of washing it, which having done, and spread it upon a bush, I sat down naked in the shade until it was dry.

Ever since the commencement of the rainy season my health had been greatly on the decline. I had often been affected with slight paroxysms of fever; and from the time of leaving Bammakoo, the symptoms had considerably increased. As I was sitting in the manner described, the fever returned with such violence that it very much alarmed me; the more so, as I had no medicine to stop its progress, nor any hope of obtaining that care and attention which my situation required.

I remained at Wonda nine days, during which time I experienced the regular return of the fever every day. And though I endeavoured as much as possible to conceal my distress from my landlord, and frequently lay down the whole day out of his sight, in a field of corn—conscious how burdensome I was to him and his family, in a time of such great scarcity—yet I found that he was apprised of my situation; and one morning, as I feigned to be asleep by the fire, he observed to his wife that they were likely to find me a very troublesome and chargeable guest; for that, in my present sickly state, they should be obliged, for the sake of their good name, to maintain me until I recovered or died.

The scarcity of provisions was certainly felt at this time most severely by the poor people, as the following

circumstance most painfully convinced me:—Every evening, during my stay, I observed five or six women come to the mansa's house, and receive each of them a certain quantity of corn. As I knew how valuable this article was at this juncture, I inquired of the mansa, whether he maintained these poor women from pure bounty, or expected a return when the harvest should be gathered in. "Observe that boy," said he (pointing to a fine child, about five years of age); "his mother has sold him to me, for forty days' provision for herself, and the rest of her family. I have bought another boy in the same manner." Good God! thought I, what must a mother suffer before she sells her own child! I could not get this melancholy subject out of my mind; and the next night, when the women returned for their allowance, I desired the boy to point out to me his mother, which he did. She was much emaciated, but had nothing cruel or savage in her countenance; and when she had received her corn, she came and talked to her son with as much cheerfulness as if he had still been under her care.

September 6th.—Two people arrived from Sibidooloo, bringing with them my horse and clothes; but I found that my pocket compass was broken to pieces. This was a great loss, which I could not repair.

September 7th.—As my horse was grazing near the brink of a well, the ground gave way, and he fell in. The well was about ten feet diameter, and so very deep, that when I saw my horse snorting in the water, I thought it was impossible to save him. The inhabitants of the village, however, immediately assembled, and having tied together a number of withes,\* they lowered a man down into the well, who fastened those withes round the body of the horse; and the people having first drawn up the man, took hold of the withes, and, to my surprise, pulled the horse out with the greatest facility. The poor animal was now reduced to a mere skeleton, and the roads were scarcely passable, being either very rocky, or else full of mud and water. I therefore found it impracticable to travel with him any farther, and was happy to leave him in the hands of one who I thought would take care of him. I accordingly presented him to my landlord, and desired him to send my saddle and bridle, as a present, to the mansa of Sibidooloo, being the only return I could make him for having taken so much trouble in procuring my horse and clothes.

I now thought it necessary, sick as I was, to take leave of my hospitable landlord. On the morning of September 8th, when I was about to depart, he presented me with his spear, as a token of remembrance, and a leather bag to contain my clothes. Having converted my half boots into sandals, I travelled with more ease, and slept that night at a village called Ballanti. On the 9th I reached Nemacoo; but the mansa of the village thought fit to make me sup upon the camelion's dish. By way of apology, however, he assured me the next morning, that the scarcity of corn was such that he could not possibly allow me any. I could not accuse him of unkindness, as all the people actually appeared to be starving.

September 10th.—It rained hard all day, and the people kept themselves in their huts. In the afternoon I was visited by a negro, named Modi Lemina Taura, a great trader, who, suspecting my distress, brought me some victuals, and promised to conduct me to his own house at Kinyeto the day following.

September 11th.—I departed from Nemacoo, and arrived at Kinyeto in the evening; but having hurt my ankle in the way, it swelled and inflamed so much, that I could neither walk nor set my foot to the ground the next day, without great pain. My landlord observing this, kindly invited me to stop with him a few days, and I accordingly remained at his house until the 14th, by which time I felt much relieved, and could walk with the help of a staff. I now set out, thanking my landlord for his great care and attention; and being accompanied by a young man who was travelling the

\* From a plant called *kaba*, that climbs like a vine upon the trees.

same way, I proceeded for Jerijang, a beautiful and well-cultivated district, the mansa of which is reckoned the most powerful chief of any in Manding.

On the 15th I reached Dosita, a large town, where I staid one day on account of the rain; but I continued very sickly, and was slightly delirious in the night. On the 17th I set out for Mansia, a considerable town, where small quantities of gold are collected. The road led over a high rocky hill, and my strength and spirits were so much exhausted, that before I could reach the top of the hill I was forced to lie down three times, being very faint and sickly. I reached Mansia in the afternoon. The mansa of this town had the character of being very inhospitable; he, however, sent me a little corn for my supper, but demanded something in return; and when I assured him that I had nothing of value in my possession, he told me (as if in jest) that my white skin should not defend me if I told him lies. He then showed me the hut wherein I was to sleep, but took away my spear, saying that it should be returned to me in the morning. This trifling circumstance, when joined to the character I had heard of the man, made me rather suspicious of him, and I privately desired one of the inhabitants of the place, who had a bow and quiver, to sleep in the same hut with me. About midnight I heard somebody approach the door, and observing the moonlight strike suddenly into the hut, I started up, and saw a man stepping cautiously over the threshold. I immediately snatched up the negro's bow and quiver, the rattling of which made the man withdraw; and my companion looking out, assured me that it was the mansa himself, and advised me to keep awake until the morning. I closed the door, and placed a large piece of wood behind it, and was wondering at this unexpected visit, when somebody pressed so hard against the door that the negro could scarcely keep it shut; but when I called to him to open the door, the intruder ran off as before.

September 16th.—As soon as it was light, the negro, at my request, went to the mansa's house and brought away my spear. He told me that the mansa was asleep, and lest this inhospitable chief should devise means to detain me, he advised me to set out before he was awake, which I immediately did, and about two o'clock reached Kamalia, a small town, situated at the bottom of some rocky hills, where the inhabitants collect gold in considerable quantities. The bushreens here live apart from the kafirs, and have built their huts in a scattered manner, at a short distance from the town. They have a place set apart for performing their devotions in, to which they give the name of *missura*, or mosque—but it is in fact nothing more than a square piece of ground made level, and surrounded with the trunks of trees, having a small projection towards the east, where the marraboo, or priest, stands when he calls the people to prayers. Mosques of this construction are very common among the converted negroes, but having neither walls nor roof, they can only be used in fine weather. When it rains, the bushreens perform their devotions in their huts.

On my arrival at Kamalia, I was conducted to the house of a bushreen named Karfa Taura, the brother of him to whose hospitality I was indebted at Kinyeto. He was collecting a coffee of slaves, with a view to sell them to the Europeans on the Gambia, as soon as the rains should be over. I found him sitting in his baloon, surrounded by several satees who proposed to join the coffee. He was reading to them from an Arabic book, and inquired, with a smile, if I understood it! Being answered in the negative, he desired one of the satees to fetch the little curious book which had been brought from the west country. On opening this small volume, I was surprised and delighted to find it our Book of Common Prayer, and Karfa expressed great joy to hear that I could read it: for some of the satees, who had seen the Europeans upon the coast, observing the colour of my skin (which was now become very yellow from sickness), my long beard, ragged clothes, and extreme poverty, were unwilling to admit that I was a white man, and told Karfa that they suspected I was some Arab

in disguise. Karfa, however, perceiving that I could read this book, had no doubt concerning me, and kindly promised me every assistance in his power. At the same time he informed me, that it was impossible to cross the Jallonka wilderness for many months yet to come, as no less than eight rapid rivers, he said, lay in the way. He added, that he intended to set out himself for Gambia, as soon as the rivers were fordable and the grass burnt, and advised me to stay and accompany him. He remarked, that when a caravan of the natives could not travel through the country, it was idle for a single white man to attempt it. I readily admitted that such an attempt was an act of rashness, but I assured him that I had now no alternative—for having no money to support myself, I must either beg my subsistence, by travelling from place to place, or perish for want. Karfa now looked at me with great earnestness, and inquired if I could eat the common victuals of the country, assuring me he had never before seen a white man. He added, that if I would remain with him until the rains were over, he would give me plenty of victuals in the meantime, and a hut to sleep in, and that after he had conducted me in safety to the Gambia, I might then make him what return I thought proper. I asked him, if the value of one prime slave would satisfy him. He answered in the affirmative, and immediately ordered one of the huts to be swept for my accommodation. Thus was I delivered, by the friendly care of this benevolent negro, from a situation truly deplorable. Distress and famine pressed hard upon me. I had before me the gloomy wilds of Jallonkadoo, where the traveller sees no habitation for five successive days. I had observed at a distance, the rapid course of the river Kokoro. I had almost marked out the place where I was doomed, I thought, to perish, when this friendly negro stretched out his hospitable hand for my relief.

In the hut which was appropriated for me, I was provided with a mat to sleep on, an earthen jar for holding water, and a small calabash to drink out of—and Karfa sent me, from his own dwelling, two meals a-day, and ordered his slaves to supply me with fire-wood and water. But I found that neither the kindness of Karfa, nor any sort of accommodation, could put a stop to the fever which weakened me, and which became every day more alarming. I endeavoured as much as possible to conceal my distress—but on the third day after my arrival, as I was going with Karfa to visit some of his friends, I found myself so faint that I could scarcely walk, and before we reached the place, I staggered and fell into a pit from which the clay had been taken to build one of the huts. Karfa endeavoured to console me with the hopes of a speedy recovery, assuring me, that if I would not walk out in the wet, I should soon be well. I determined to follow his advice, and confine myself to my hut, but was still tormented with the fever, and my health continued to be in a very precarious state for five ensuing weeks. Sometimes I could crawl out of the hut, and sit a few hours in the open air; at other times I was unable to rise, and passed the lingering hours in a very gloomy and solitary manner. I was seldom visited by any person except my benevolent landlord, who came daily to inquire after my health. When the rains became less frequent, and the country began to grow dry, the fever left me, but in so debilitated a condition that I could scarcely stand upright; and it was with great difficulty that I could carry my mat to the shade of a tamarind tree, at a short distance, to enjoy the refreshing smell of the corn fields, and delight my eyes with a prospect of the country. I had the pleasure at length to find myself in a state of convalescence, towards which the benevolent and simple manners of the negroes, and the perusal of Karfa's little volume, greatly contributed.

In the meantime, many of the slates who resided at Kamalia having spent all their money, and become in a great measure dependent upon Karfa's hospitality, beheld me with an eye of envy, and invented many ridiculous and trifling stories to lessen me in Karfa's esteem. And in the beginning of December, a Sera-

woolli slatee, with five slaves, arrived from Sego: this man, too, spread a number of malicious reports concerning me, but Karfa paid no attention to them, and continued to show me the same kindness as formerly. As I was one day conversing with the slaves which this slatee had brought, one of them begged me to give him some victuals. I told him I was a stranger, and had none to give. He replied, "I gave *you* victuals when you was hungry. Have you forgot the man who brought you milk at Karrankalla? But," added he, with a sigh, "*the irons were not then upon my legs!*" I immediately recollected him, and begged some ground nuts from Karfa to give him, as a return for his former kindness. He told me that he had been taken by the Bambarrans the day after the battle at Joka, and sent to Sego, where he had been purchased by his present master, who was carrying him down to Kajaaga. Three more of these slaves were from Kaarta, and one from Wassela, all of them prisoners of war. They stopped four days at Kamalia, and were then taken to Bala, where they remained until the river Kokoro was fordable, and the grass burnt.

In the beginning of December, Karfa proposed to complete his purchase of slaves, and for this purpose collected all the debts which were owing to him in his own country; and on the 19th, being accompanied by three slates, he departed for Kancaba, a large town on the banks of the Niger, and a great slave-market. Most of the slaves who are sold at Kancaba come from Bambarra; for Mansong, to avoid the expense and danger of keeping all his prisoners at Sego, commonly sends them in small parties to be sold at the different trading towns—and as Kancaba is much resorted to by merchants, it is always well supplied with slaves, which are sent thither up the Niger in canoes. When Karfa departed from Kamalia, he proposed to return in the course of a month, and during his absence I was left to the care of a good old bushreen, who acted as school-master to the young people of Kamalia.

Being now left alone, and at leisure to indulge my own reflections, it was an opportunity not to be neglected of augmenting and extending the observations I had already made on the climate and productions of the country, and of acquiring a more perfect knowledge of the natives than it was possible for me to obtain in the course of a transient and perilous journey through the country. I endeavoured likewise to collect all the information I could concerning those important branches of African commerce, the trade for gold, ivory, and slaves. Such was my employment during the remainder of my stay at Kamalia; and I shall now proceed to lay before my readers the result of my researches and inquiries, avoiding, as far as I can, a repetition of those circumstances and observations which were related, as occasion arose, in the narrative of my journey.

## CHAPTER XX.

Of the Climate and Seasons.—Winds.—Vegetable Productions.—

Population.—General Observations on the Character and Disposition of the Mandingoes, and a summary Account of their Manners and Habits of Life, their Marriages, &c.

THE whole of my route, both in going and returning, having been confined to a tract of country bounded nearly by the 12th and 15th parallels of latitude, the reader must imagine that I found the climate in most places extremely hot, but no where did I feel the heat so intense and oppressive as in the camp at Benowm, of which mention has been made in a former place. In some parts, where the country ascends into hills, the air is at all times comparatively cool, yet none of the districts which I traversed could properly be called mountainous. About the middle of June, the hot and sultry atmosphere is agitated by violent gusts of wind (called tornadoes), accompanied with thunder and rain. These usher in what is denominated "the rainy season," which continues until the month of November. During this time the diurnal rains are very heavy, and the prevailing winds are from the south-west. The termination

of the rainy season is likewise attended with violent tornadoes, after which the wind shifts to the north-east, and continues to blow from that quarter during the rest of the year.

When the wind sets in from the north-east, it produces a wonderful change in the face of the country. The grass soon becomes dry and withered, the rivers subside very rapidly, and many of the trees shed their leaves. About this period is commonly felt the *harmattan*, a dry and parching wind, blowing from the north-east, and accompanied by a thick smoky haze, through which the sun appears of a dull red colour. This wind, in passing over the great desert of Sahara, acquires a very strong attraction for humidity, and parches up every thing exposed to its current. It is, however, reckoned very salutary, particularly to Europeans, who generally recover their health during its continuance. I experienced immediate relief from sickness, both at Dr Laidley's and at Kamalia, during the *harmattan*. Indeed, the air during the rainy season is so loaded with moisture that clothes, shoes, trunks, and every thing that is not close to the fire, become damp and mouldy, and the inhabitants may be said to live in a sort of vapour bath; but this dry wind braces up the solids, which were before relaxed, gives a cheerful flow of spirits, and is even pleasant to respiration. Its ill effects are, that it produces chaps in the lips, and afflicts many of the natives with sore eyes.

Whenever the grass is sufficiently dry, the negroes set it on fire; but in Ludamar, and other Moorish countries, this practice is not allowed, for it is upon the withered stubble that the Moors feed their cattle, until the return of the rains. The burning the grass in Manding exhibits a scene of terrific grandeur. In the middle of the night, I could see the plains and mountains, as far as my eye could reach, variegated with lines of fire, and the light reflected on the sky made the heavens appear in a blaze. In the day time, pillars of smoke were seen in every direction, while the birds of prey were observed hovering round the conflagration, and pouncing down upon the snakes, lizards, and other reptiles, which attempted to escape from the flames. This annual burning is soon followed by a fresh and sweet verdure, and the country is thereby rendered more healthful and pleasant.

Of the most remarkable and important of the vegetable productions, mention has already been made; and they are nearly the same in all the districts through which I passed. It is observable, however, that although many species of the edible roots which grow in the West India islands are found in Africa, yet I never saw, in any part of my journey, either the sugar-cane, the coffee, or the cocoa tree, nor could I learn, on inquiry, that they were known to the natives. The pineapple, and the thousand other delicious fruits, which the industry of civilised man (improving the bounties of nature) has brought to so great perfection in the tropical climates of America, are here equally unknown. I observed, indeed, a few orange and banana trees near the mouth of the Gambia, but whether they were indigenous, or were formerly planted there by some of the white traders, I could not positively learn. I suspect that they were originally introduced by the Portuguese.

Concerning property in the soil, it appeared to me that the lands in native woods were considered as belonging to the king, or (where the government was not monarchical) to the state. When any individual of free condition had the means of cultivating more land than he actually possessed, he applied to the chief man of the district, who allowed him an extension of territory, on condition of forfeiture if the lands were not brought into cultivation by a given period. The condition being fulfilled, the soil became vested in the possessor, and, for aught that appeared to me, descended to his heirs.

The population, however, considering the extent and fertility of the soil, and the ease with which lands are obtained, is not very great in the countries which I visited. I found many extensive and beautiful districts entirely destitute of inhabitants, and, in general, the borders of the different kingdoms were either very

thinly peopled or entirely deserted. Many places are likewise unfavourable to population from being unhealthful. The swampy banks of the Gambia, the Senegal, and other rivers towards the coast, are of this description. Perhaps it is on this account chiefly that the interior countries abound more with inhabitants than the maritime districts; for all the negro nations that fell under my observation, though divided into a number of petty independent states, subsist chiefly by the same means, live nearly in the same temperature, and possess a wonderful similarity of disposition. The Mandingoes, in particular, are a very genteel race, cheerful in their dispositions, inquisitive, credulous, simple, and fond of flattery. Perhaps the most prominent defect in their character was that insurmountable propensity, which the reader must have observed to prevail in all classes of them, to steal from me the few effects I was possessed of. For this part of their conduct no complete justification can be offered, because theft is a crime in their own estimation; and it must be observed, that they are not habitually and generally guilty of it towards each other. This, however, is an important circumstance in mitigation; and before we pronounce them a more depraved people than any other, it were well to consider whether the lower order of people in any part of Europe would have acted, under similar circumstances, with greater honesty towards a stranger than the negroes acted towards me. It must not be forgotten that the laws of the country afforded me no protection; that every one was at liberty to rob me with impunity; and, finally, that some part of my effects were of as great value in the estimation of the negroes, as pearls and diamonds would have been in the eyes of a European. Let us suppose a black merchant of Hindostan to have found his way into the centre of England, with a box of jewels at his back, and that the laws of the kingdom afforded him no security; in such a case the wonder would be, not that the stranger was robbed of any part of his riches, but that any part was left for a second predator. Such, on sober reflection, is the judgment I have formed concerning the pilfering disposition of the Mandingo negroes towards myself. Notwithstanding I was so great a sufferer by it, I do not consider that their natural sense of justice was perverted or extinguished: it was overpowered only, for the moment, by the strength of a temptation which it required no common virtue to resist.

On the other hand, as some counterbalance to this depravity in their nature, allowing it to be such, it is impossible for me to forget the disinterested charity and tender solicitude with which many of these poor heathens (from the sovereign of Sego to the poor women who received me at different times into their cottages when I was perishing of hunger) sympathised with me in my sufferings, relieved my distresses, and contributed to my safety. This acknowledgment, however, is perhaps more particularly due to the female part of the nation. Among the men, as the reader must have seen, my reception, though generally kind, was sometimes otherwise. It varied according to the various tempers of those to whom I made application. The hardness of avarice in some, and the blindness of bigotry in others, had closed up the avenues to compassion; but I do not recollect a single instance of hard-heartedness towards me in the women. In all my wanderings and wretchedness, I found them uniformly kind and compassionate; and I can truly say, as my predecessor Mr Ledyard has eloquently said before me, "To a woman I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship, without receiving a decent and friendly answer. If I was hungry, or thirsty, wet, or sick, they did not hesitate, like the men, to perform a generous action. In so free and so kind a manner did they contribute to my relief, that if I was dry, I drank the sweetest draught, and if hungry, I ate the coarsest morsel, with a double relish."

It is surely reasonable to suppose that the soft and amiable sympathy of nature, which was thus spontaneously manifested towards me in my distress, is displayed by these poor people, as occasion requires, much

more strongly towards persons of their own nation and neighbourhood, and especially when the objects of their compassion are endeared to them by the ties of consanguinity. Accordingly, the maternal affection (neither suppressed by the restraints, nor diverted by the solitudes of civilised life) is every where conspicuous among them, and creates a correspondent return of tenderness in the child. An illustration of this has been already given:—"Strike me," said my attendant, "but do not curse my mother." The same sentiment I found universally to prevail, and observed in all parts of Africa, that the greatest affront which could be offered to a negro was to reflect on her who gave him birth.

It is not strange that this sense of filial duty and affection among the negroes should be less ardent towards the father than the mother. The system of polygamy, while it weakens the father's attachment by dividing it among the children of different wives, concentrates all the mother's jealous tenderness to one point—the protection of her own offspring. I perceived with great satisfaction, too, that the maternal solicitude extended not only to the growth and security of the person, but also, in a certain degree, to the improvement of the mind of the infant; for one of the first lessons in which the Mandingo women instruct their children, is the *practice of truth*. The reader will probably recollect the case of the unhappy mother, whose son was murdered by the Moorish banditti at Funingky. Her only consolation in her uttermost distress was the reflection that the poor boy, in the course of his blameless life, had never told a lie. Such testimony from a fond mother on such an occasion, must have operated powerfully on the youthful part of the surrounding spectators. It was at once a tribute of praise to the deceased, and a lesson to the living.

The negro women suckle their children until they are able to walk of themselves. Three years' nursing is not uncommon, and during this period the husband devotes his whole attention to his other wives. To this practice it is owing, I presume, that the family of each wife is seldom very numerous. Few women have more than five or six children. As soon as an infant is able to walk, it is permitted to run about with great freedom. The mother is not over solicitous to preserve it from slight falls, and other trifling accidents. A little practice soon enables a child to take care of itself, and experience acts the part of a nurse. As they advance in life, the girls are taught to spin cotton, and to beat corn, and are instructed in other domestic duties, and the boys are employed in the labours of the field. Both sexes, whether bushreens or kafirs, on attaining the age of puberty are circumcised. This painful operation is not considered by the kafirs so much in the light of a religious ceremony as a matter of convenience and utility. They have, indeed, a superstitious notion that it contributes to render the marriage state prolific. The operation is performed upon several young people at the same time, all of whom are exempted from every sort of labour for two months afterwards. During this period they form a society called *solimana*. They visit the towns and villages in the neighbourhood, where they dance and sing, and are well treated by the inhabitants. I had frequently, in the course of my journey, observed parties of this description, but they were all males. I had, however, an opportunity of seeing a female *solimana* at Kamalia.

In the course of this celebration, it frequently happens that some of the young women get married. If a man takes a fancy to any one of them, it is not considered as absolutely necessary that he should make an overture to the girl herself. The first object is to agree with the parents concerning the recompense to be given them for the loss of the company and services of their daughter. The value of two slaves is a common price, unless the girl is thought very handsome, in which case the parents will raise their demand very considerably. If the lover is rich enough, and willing to give the sum demanded, he then communicates his wishes to the damsel; but her consent is by no means necessary to

the match, for if the parents agree to it, and eat a few *kolla* nuts, which are presented by the suitor as an earnest of the bargain, the young lady must either have the man of their choice, or continue unmarried, for she cannot afterwards be given to another. If the parents should attempt it, the lover is then authorised, by the laws of the country, to seize upon the girl as his slave. When the day for celebrating the nuptials is fixed on, a select number of people are invited to be present at the wedding—a bullock or goat is killed, and great plenty of victuals dressed for the occasion. As soon as it is dark, the bride is conducted into a hut, where a company of matrons assist in arranging the wedding-dress, which is always white cotton, and is put on in such a manner as to conceal the bride from head to foot. Thus arrayed, she is seated upon a mat in the middle of the floor, and the old women place themselves in a circle round her. They then give her a series of instructions, and point out, with great propriety, what ought to be her future conduct in life. This scene of instruction, however, is frequently interrupted by girls, who amuse the company with songs and dances, which are rather more remarkable for their gaiety than delicacy. While the bride remains within the hut with the women, the bridegroom devotes his attention to the guests of both sexes who assemble without doors, and by distributing among them small presents of *kolla* nuts, and seeing that every one partakes of the good cheer which is provided, he contributes much to the general hilarity of the evening. When supper is ended, the company spend the remainder of the night in singing and dancing, and seldom separate until daybreak. About midnight, the bride is privately conducted by the women into the hut which is to be her future residence, and the bridegroom, upon a signal given, retires from his company. The newly married couple, however, are always disturbed towards morning by the women, who assemble to inspect the nuptial sheet (according to the manners of the ancient Hebrews, as recorded in Scripture), and dance round it. This ceremony is thought indispensably necessary, nor is the marriage considered as valid without it.

The negroes, as hath been frequently observed, whether Mahomedan or pagan, allow a plurality of wives. The Mahomedans alone are by their religion confined to four, and as the husband commonly pays a great price for each, he requires from all of them the utmost deference and submission, and treats them more like hired servants than companions. They have, however, the management of domestic affairs, and each in rotation is mistress of the household, and has the care of dressing the victuals, overlooking the female slaves, &c. But though the African husbands are possessed of great authority over their wives, I did not observe that in general they treat them with cruelty, neither did I perceive that mean jealousy in their dispositions which is so prevalent among the Moors. They permit their wives to partake of all public diversions, and this indulgence is seldom abused, for though the negro women are very cheerful and frank in their behaviour, they are by no means given to intrigue—I believe that instances of conjugal infidelity are not common. When the wives quarrel among themselves—a circumstance which, from the nature of their situation, must frequently happen—the husband decides between them, and sometimes finds it necessary to administer a little corporal chastisement, before tranquillity can be restored. But if any one of the ladies complains to the chief of the town that her husband has unjustly punished her, and shown an undue partiality to some other of his wives, the affair is brought to a public trial. In these palavers, however, which are conducted chiefly by married men, I was informed that the complaint of the wife is not always considered in a very serious light, and the complainant herself is sometimes convicted of strife and contention, and left without remedy. If she murmurs at the decision of the court, the magic rod of Mumbo Jumbo soon puts an end to the business.

The children of the Mandingoes are not always named

after their relations, but frequently in consequence of some remarkable occurrence. Thus, my landlord at Kamalia was called *Karfa*, a word signifying to replace, because he was born shortly after the death of one of his brothers. Other names are descriptive of good or bad qualities—as *Modi*, a good man; *Fudibba*, father of the town, &c.: indeed, the very names of their towns have something descriptive in them—as *Sibidooloo*, the town of ciba trees; *Kenneyeto*, victuals here; *Dosita*, lift your spoon. Others appear to be given by way of reproach—as *Bammakoo*, wash a crocodile; *Karrankalla*, no cup to drink from, &c. A child is named when it is seven or eight days old. The ceremony commences by shaving the infant's head; and a dish called *dega*, made of pounded corn and sour milk, is prepared for the guests. If the parents are rich, a sheep or a goat is commonly added. This feast is called *ding koom lee* (the child's head shaving). During my stay at Kamalia, I was present at four different feasts of this kind, and the ceremony was the same in each, whether the child belonged to a bushreen or a kafir. The schoolmaster, who officiated as priest on those occasions, and who is necessarily a bushreen, first said a long prayer over the *dega*, during which every person present took hold of the brim of the calabash with his right hand. After this, the schoolmaster took the child in his arms, and said a second prayer, in which he repeatedly solicited the blessing of God upon the child, and upon all the company. When this prayer was ended, he whispered a few sentences in the child's ear, and spat three times in its face, after which he pronounced its name aloud, and returned the infant to the mother. This part of the ceremony being ended, the father of the child divided the *dega* into a number of balls, one of which he distributed to every person present; and inquiry was then made if any person in the town was dangerously sick, it being usual in such cases to send the party a large portion of the *dega*, which is thought to possess great medical virtues.\*

Among the negroes every individual, besides his own proper name, has likewise a *kontong*, or surname, to denote the family or clan to which he belongs. Some of these families are very numerous and powerful. It is impossible to enumerate the various *kontongs* which are found in different parts of the country, though the knowledge of many of them is of great service to the traveller, for as every negro plumes himself upon the importance or the antiquity of his clan, he is much flattered when he is addressed by his *kontong*.

Salutations among the negroes to each other, when they meet, are always observed, but those in most general use among the kafirs are *Abbe haeretto*, *Ening seni*, *Anawari*, &c., all of which have nearly the same meaning, and signify "Are you well?" or to that effect. There are likewise salutations which are used at different times of the day, as *Ening sono* ("Good morning"), &c. The general answer to all salutations, is to repeat the *kontong* of the person who salutes, or else to repeat the salutation itself, first pronouncing the word *Marhaba* ("My friend.")

## CHAPTER XXI.

The Account of the Mandingoes continued.—Their Notions in respect of the Planetary Bodies, and the Figure of the Earth.—Their Religious Opinions, and Belief in a Future State.—Their Diseases and Methods of Treatment.—Their Funeral Ceremonies, Amusements, Occupations, Diet, Arts, Manufactures, &c.

THE Mandingoes, and I believe the negroes in general, have no artificial method of dividing time. They calculate the years by the number of *rainy seasons*. They portion the year into *moons*, and reckon the days by so many *suns*. The day they divide into morning, mid-day, and evening; and farther subdivide it, when necessary, by pointing to the sun's place in the heavens.

\* Soon after baptism, the children are marked in different parts of the skin, in a manner resembling what is called *tatooning* in the South Sea Islands.

I frequently inquired of some of them what became of the sun during the night, and whether we should see the same sun, or a different one, in the morning; but I found that they considered the question as very childish. The subject appeared to them as placed beyond the reach of human investigation—they had never indulged a conjecture, nor formed any hypothesis, about the matter. The moon, by varying her form, has more attracted their attention. On the first appearance of the new moon, which they look upon to be newly created, the pagan natives, as well as Mahomedans, say a short prayer; and this seems to be the only visible adoration which the kafirs offer up to the Supreme Being. This prayer is pronounced in a whisper—the party holding up his hands before his face: its purport (as I have been assured by many different people) is to return thanks to God for his kindness through the existence of the past moon, and to solicit a continuation of his favour during that of the new one. At the conclusion, they spit upon their hands, and rub them over their faces. This seems to be nearly the same ceremony which prevailed among the heathens in the days of Job.\*

Great attention, however, is paid to the changes of this luminary in its monthly course, and it is thought very unlucky to begin a journey, or any other work of consequence, in the last quarter. An eclipse, whether of the sun or moon, is supposed to be effected by witchcraft. The stars are very little regarded; and the whole study of astronomy appears to them as a useless pursuit, and attended to by such persons only as deal in magic.

Their notions of geography are equally puerile. They imagine that the world is an extended plain, the termination of which no eye has discovered—it being, they say, overlung with clouds and darkness. They describe the sea as a large river of salt water, on the farther shore of which is situated a country called *Tobaubo doo*—(the land of the white people). At a distance from *Tobaubo doo*, they describe another country, which they allege is inhabited by cannibals of gigantic size, called *komi*. This country they call *Jong sang doo*—(the land where the slaves are sold). But of all countries in the world their own appears to them as the best, and their own people as the happiest; and they pity the fate of other nations, who have been placed by Providence in less fertile and less fortunate districts.

Some of the religious opinions of the negroes, though blended with the weakest credulity and superstition, are not unworthy attention. I have conversed with all ranks and conditions upon the subject of their faith, and can pronounce, without the smallest shadow of doubt, that the belief of one God, and of a future state of reward and punishment, is entire and universal among them. It is remarkable, however, that except on the appearance of a new moon, as before related, the pagan natives do not think it necessary to offer up prayers and supplications to the Almighty. They represent the Deity, indeed, as the creator and preserver of all things; but in general they consider him as a being so remote, and of so exalted a nature, that it is idle to imagine the feeble supplications of wretched mortals can reverse the decrees, and change the purposes, of unerring wisdom. If they are asked, for what reason then do they offer up a prayer on the appearance of the new moon, the answer is, that custom has made it necessary—they do it because their fathers did it before them. Such is the blindness of unassisted nature! The concerns of this world, they believe, are committed by the Almighty to the superintendance and direction of subordinate spirits, over whom they suppose that certain magical ceremonies have great influence. A white fowl, suspended to the branch of a particular tree, a snake's head, or a few handfuls of fruit, are offerings which ignorance and superstition frequently present, to deprecate the wrath, or to conciliate the favour, of these tutelary agents. But it is not often that the negroes make their religious opinions the subject of conversation: when interrogated, in particular, concerning their ideas of a future state, they express

\* Chap. xxxi. ver. 26, 27, 28.

themselves with great reverence, but endeavour to shorten the discussion by observing, *Mo o into allo* ("No man knows any thing about it.") They are content, they say, to follow the precepts and examples of their forefathers, through the various vicissitudes of life; and when this world presents no objects of enjoyment or of comfort, they seem to look with anxiety towards another, which they believe will be better suited to their natures, but concerning which they are far from indulging vain and delusive conjectures.

The Mandingoes seldom attain extreme old age. At forty, most of them become grey-haired and covered with wrinkles, and but few of them survive the age of fifty-five or sixty. They calculate the years of their lives, as I have already observed, by the number of rainy seasons (there being but one such in the year), and distinguish each year by a particular name, founded on some remarkable occurrence which happened in that year. Thus, they say, the year of the *Farbanna war*—the year of the *Kaarta war*—the year on which *Gadou was plundered*, &c. &c.; and I have no doubt that the year 1796 will in many places be distinguished by the name of *tobaubo tambi sang* (the year the white man passed), as such an occurrence would naturally form an epoch in their traditional history.

But notwithstanding that longevity is uncommon among them, it appeared to me that their diseases are but few in number. Their simple diet, and active way of life, preserve them from many of those disorders which embitter the days of luxury and idleness. Fevers and fluxes are the most common and the most fatal. For these they generally apply saphies to different parts of the body, and perform a great many other superstitious ceremonies—some of which are, indeed, well calculated to inspire the patient with the hope of recovery, and divert his mind from brooding over his own danger—but I have sometimes observed among them a more systematic mode of treatment. On the first attack of a fever, when the patient complains of cold, he is frequently placed in a sort of vapour bath. This is done by spreading branches of the *nauclea orientalis* upon hot wood embers, and laying the patient upon them, wrapped up in a large cotton cloth. Water is then sprinkled upon the branches, which descending to the hot embers, soon covers the patient with a cloud of vapour, in which he is allowed to remain until the embers are almost extinguished. This practice commonly produces a profuse perspiration, and wonderfully relieves the sufferer.

For the dysentery, they use the bark of different trees reduced to powder, and mixed with the patient's food; but this practice is in general very unsuccessful.

The other diseases which prevail among the negroes are the *yaws*, the *elephantiasis*, and a *leprosy* of the very worst kind. This last-mentioned complaint appears at the beginning in scurfy spots upon different parts of the body, which finally settle upon the hands or feet, where the skin becomes withered, and cracks in many places. At length, the ends of the fingers swell and ulcerate—the discharge is acrid and fetid—the nails drop off, and the bones of the fingers become carious, and separate at the joints. In this manner the disease continues to spread, frequently until the patient loses all his fingers and toes. Even the hands and feet are sometimes destroyed by this inveterate malady, to which the negroes give the name of *balla jou* (incurable).

The *guinea worm* is likewise very common in certain places, especially at the commencement of the rainy season. The negroes attribute this disease, which has been described by many writers, to bad water, and allege, that the people who drink from wells are more subject to it than those who drink from streams. To the same cause they attribute the swelling of the glands of the neck (*goïres*), which are very common in some parts of Bambarra. I observed also, in the interior countries, a few instances of simple *gonorrhœa*, but never the confirmed *lues*. On the whole, it appeared to me that the negroes are better surgeons than physicians. I found them very successful in their manage-

ment of fractures and dislocations, and their splints and bandages are simple and easily removed. The patient is laid upon a soft mat, and the fractured limb is frequently bathed with cold water. All abscesses they open with the actual cautery, and the dressings are composed of either soft leaves, shea butter, or cow's dung, as the case seems, in their judgment, to require. Towards the coast, where a supply of European lancets can be procured, they sometimes perform phlebotomy, and in cases of local inflammation a curious sort of cupping is practised. This operation is performed by making incisions in the part, and applying to it a bullock's horn, with a small hole in the end. The operator then takes a piece of bees' wax in his mouth, and putting his lips to the hole, extracts the air from the horn, and, by a dexterous use of his tongue, stops up the hole with the wax. This method is found to answer the purpose, and in general produces a plentiful discharge.

When a person of consequence dies, the relations and neighbours meet together, and manifest their sorrow by loud and dismal howlings. A bullock or goat is killed for such persons as come to assist at the funeral, which generally takes place in the evening of the same day on which the party died. The negroes have no appropriate burial places, and frequently dig the grave in the floor of the deceased's hut, or in the shade of a favourite tree. The body is dressed in white cotton, and wrapped up in a mat. It is carried to the grave, in the dusk of the evening, by the relations. If the grave is without the walls of the town, a number of prickly bushes are laid upon it to prevent the wolves from digging up the body, but I never observed that any stone was placed over the grave as a monument or memorial.

Hitherto I have considered the negroes chiefly in a moral light, and confined myself to the most prominent features in their mental character; their domestic amusements, occupations, and diet, their arts and manufactures, with some other subordinate objects, are now to be noticed.

Of their music and dances, some account has incidentally been given in different parts of my journal. On the first of these heads, I have now to add a list of their musical instruments, the principal of which are—the *koonting*, a sort of guitar with three strings; the *korro*, a large harp, with eighteen strings; the *simbing*, a small harp, with seven strings; the *balafon*, an instrument composed of twenty pieces of hard wood of different lengths, with the shells of gourds hung underneath to increase the sound; the *tangtang*, a drum, open at the lower end; and, lastly, the *tabala*, a large drum, commonly used to spread an alarm through the country. Besides these, they make use of small flutes, bowstrings, elephants' teeth, and bells; and at all their dances and concerts, *clapping of hands* appears to constitute a necessary part of the chorus.

With the love of music is naturally connected a taste for poetry; and fortunately for the poets of Africa, they are in a great measure exempted from that neglect and indigence which in more polished countries commonly attend the votaries of the Muses. They consist of two classes; the most numerous are the *singing men*, called *jilli kea*, mentioned in a former part of my narrative. One or more of these may be found in every town. They sing extempore songs in honour of their chief men, or any other persons who are willing to give "solid pudding for empty praise." But a nobler part of their office is to recite the historical events of their country: hence, in war they accompany the soldiers to the field, in order, by reciting the great actions of their ancestors, to awaken in them a spirit of glorious emulation. The other class are devotees of the Mahomedan faith, who travel about the country singing devout hymns, and performing religious ceremonies, to conciliate the favour of the Almighty, either in averting calamity, or insuring success to any enterprise. Both descriptions of these itinerant bards are much employed and respected by the people, and very liberal contributions are made for them.

The usual diet of the negroes is somewhat different

in different districts; in general, the people of free condition breakfast about daybreak upon gruel made of meal and water, with a little of the fruit of the tamarind to give it an acid taste. About two o'clock in the afternoon, a sort of hasty-pudding, with a little shea butter, is the common meal; but the supper constitutes the principal repast, and is seldom ready before midnight. This consists almost universally of kouskous, with a small portion of animal food or shea butter mixed with it. In eating, the kafirs, as well as Mahomedans, use the right hand only.

The beverages of the pagan negroes are beer and mead, of each of which they frequently drink to excess. The Mahomedan converts drink nothing but water. The natives of all descriptions take snuff and smoke tobacco; their pipes are made of wood, with an earthen bowl of curious workmanship. But in the interior countries the greatest of all luxuries is salt. It would appear strange to a European to see a child suck a piece of rock-salt as if it were sugar. This, however, I have frequently seen, although, in the inland parts, the poorer class of inhabitants are so very rarely indulged with this precious article, that to say a *man eats salt with his victuals*, is the same as saying, *he is a rich man*. I have myself suffered great inconvenience from the scarcity of this article. The long use of vegetable food creates so painful a longing for salt, that no words can sufficiently describe it.

The negroes in general, and the Mandingoes in particular, are considered by the whites on the coast as an indolent and inactive people, I think without reason. The nature of the climate is, indeed, unfavourable to great exertion; but surely a people cannot justly be denominated habitually indolent, whose wants are supplied, not by the spontaneous productions of nature, but by their own exertions. Few people work harder, when occasion requires, than the Mandingoes, but not having many opportunities of turning to advantage the superfluous produce of their labour, they are content with cultivating as much ground only as is necessary for their own support. The labours of the field give them pretty full employment during the rains, and, in the dry season, the people who live in the vicinity of large rivers employ themselves chiefly in fishing. The fish are taken in wicker baskets, or with small cotton nets, and are preserved by being first dried in the sun, and afterwards rubbed with shea butter, to prevent them from contracting fresh moisture. Others of the natives employ themselves in hunting. Their weapons are bows and arrows; but the arrows in common use are not poisoned.\* They are very dexterous marksmen, and will hit a lizard on a tree, or any other small object, at an amazing distance. They likewise kill guinea-fowls, partridges, and pigeons, but never on the wing. While the men are occupied in these pursuits, the women are very diligent in manufacturing cotton cloth. They prepare the cotton for spinning, by laying it in small quantities at a time upon a smooth stone or piece of wood, and rolling the seeds out with a thick iron spindle; and they spin it with the distaff. The thread is not fine, but well twisted, and makes a very durable cloth. A woman with common diligence will spin from six to nine garments of this cloth in one year, which, according to its fineness, will sell for a minkalli and a half, or two minkallies each.† The weaving is performed by the men. The loom is made exactly upon the same principle as that of Europe, but so small and narrow, that the web is seldom more than four inches broad. The shuttle is of the common

construction, but as the thread is coarse, the chamber is somewhat larger than the European.

The women dye this cloth of a rich and lasting blue colour, by the following simple process:—The leaves of the indigo, when fresh gathered, are pounded in a wooden mortar, and mixed in a large earthen jar, with a strong ley of wood ashes; chamber-ley is sometimes added. The cloth is steeped in this mixture, and allowed to remain until it has acquired the proper shade. In Kaarta and Ludamar, where the indigo is not plentiful, they collect the leaves and dry them in the sun; and when they wish to use them, they reduce a sufficient quantity to powder, and mix it with the ley as before mentioned. Either way the colour is very beautiful, with a fine purple gloss, and equal, in my opinion, to the best Indian or European blue. This cloth is cut into various pieces, and sewed into garments with needles of the natives' own making.

As the arts of weaving, dyeing, sewing, &c. may easily be acquired, those who exercise them are not considered in Africa as following any particular profession, for almost every slave can weave, and every boy can sew. The only artists which are distinctly acknowledged as such by the negroes, and who value themselves on exercising appropriate and peculiar trades, are the manufacturers of leather and of iron. The first of these are called *karrankeas* (or, as the word is sometimes pronounced, *garungay*). They are to be found in almost every town, and they frequently travel through the country in the exercise of their calling. They tan and dress leather with very great expedition, by steeping the hide first in a mixture of wood-ashes and water until it parts with the hair, and afterwards by using the pounded leaves of a tree called *goo* as an astringent. They are at great pains to render the hide as soft and pliant as possible, by rubbing it frequently between their hands, and beating it upon a stone. The hides of bullocks are converted chiefly into sandals, and therefore require less care in dressing than the skins of sheep and goats, which are used for covering quivers and saphies, and in making sheathes for swords and knives, belts, pockets, and a variety of ornaments. These skins are commonly dyed of a red or yellow colour; the red, by means of millet stalks reduced to powder, and the yellow, by the root of a plant, the name of which I have forgotten.

The manufacturers in iron are not so numerous as the *karrankeas*, but they appear to have studied their business with equal diligence. The negroes on the coast being cheaply supplied with iron from the European traders, never attempt the manufacturing of this article themselves; but in the inland parts, the natives smelt this useful metal in such quantities, as not only to supply themselves from it with all necessary weapons and instruments, but even to make it an article of commerce with some of the neighbouring states. During my stay at Kamalia, there was a smelting furnace at a short distance from the hut where I lodged, and the owner and his workmen made no secret about the manner of conducting the operation, and readily allowed me to examine the furnace, and assist them in breaking the ironstone. The furnace was a circular tower of clay, about ten feet high, and three feet in diameter, surrounded in two places with withes, to prevent the clay from cracking and falling to pieces by the violence of the heat. Round the lower part, on a level with the ground (but not so low as the bottom of the furnace, which was somewhat concave), were made seven openings, into every one of which were placed three tubes of clay, and the openings again plastered up in such a manner that no air could enter the furnace but through the tubes, by the opening and shutting of which they regulated the fire. These tubes were formed by plastering a mixture of clay and grass round a smooth roller of wood, which, as soon as the clay began to harden, was withdrawn, and the tube left to dry in the sun. The ironstone which I saw was very heavy, of a dull red colour, with greyish specks; it was broken into pieces about the size of a hen's egg. A bundle of dry wood was first put into the furnace, and covered with a con-

\* Poisoned arrows are used chiefly in war. The poison, which is said to be very deadly, is prepared from a shrub called *koona* (a species of *echites*), which is very common in the woods. The leaves of this shrub, when boiled with a small quantity of water, yield a thick black juice, into which the negroes dip a cotton thread: this thread they fasten round the iron of the arrow in such a manner that it is almost impossible to extract the arrow, when it has sunk beyond the barbs, without leaving the iron point and the poisoned thread in the wound.

† A minkalli is a quantity of gold nearly equal in value to ten shillings sterling.



siderable quantity of charcoal, which was brought, ready burnt, from the woods. Over this was laid a stratum of ironstone, and then another of charcoal, and so on, until the furnace was quite full. The fire was applied through one of the tubes, and blown for some time with bellows made of goats' skins. The operation went on very slowly at first, and it was some hours before the flame appeared above the furnace; but after this, it burnt with great violence all the first night, and the people who attended put in at times more charcoal. On the day following the fire was not so fierce, and on the second night some of the tubes were withdrawn, and the air allowed to have freer access to the furnace; but the heat was still very great, and a bluish flame rose some feet above the top of the furnace. On the third day from the commencement of the operation, all the tubes were taken out, the ends of many of them being vitrified with the heat; but the metal was not removed until some days afterwards, when the whole was perfectly cool. Part of the furnace was then taken down, and the iron appeared in the form of a large irregular mass, with pieces of charcoal adhering to it. It was sonorous; and when any portion was broken off, the fracture exhibited a granulated appearance, like broken steel. The owner informed me that many parts of this cake were useless, but still there was good iron enough to repay him for his trouble. This iron, or rather steel, is formed into various instruments by being repeatedly heated in a forge, the heat of which is urged by a pair of double bellows, of a very simple construction, being made of two goats' skins; the tubes from which unite, before they enter the forge, and supply a constant and very regular blast. The hammer, forceps, and anvil, are all very simple, and the workmanship (particularly in the formation of knives and spears) is not destitute of merit. The iron, indeed, is hard and brittle, and requires much labour before it can be made to answer the purpose.

Most of the African blacksmiths are acquainted also with the method of smelting gold, in which process they use an alkaline salt, obtained from a ley of burnt cornstalks evaporated to dryness. They likewise draw the gold into wire, and form it into a variety of ornaments, some of which are executed with a great deal of taste and ingenuity.

Such is the chief information I obtained, concerning the present state of arts and manufactures in those regions of Africa which I explored in my journey. I might add, though it is scarce worthy of observation, that in Bambarra and Kaarta the natives make very beautiful baskets, hats, and other articles, both for use and ornament, from rushes, which they stain of different colours; and they contrive also to cover their calabashes with interwoven cane, dyed in the same manner.

In all the laborious occupations above described, the master and his slaves work together, without any distinction of superiority. Hired servants—by which I mean persons of free condition, voluntarily working for pay—are unknown in Africa; and this observation naturally leads me to consider the condition of the slaves, and the various means by which they are reduced to so miserable a state of servitude. This unfortunate class are found, I believe, in all parts of this extensive country, and constitute a considerable branch of commerce with the states on the Mediterranean, as well as with the nations of Europe.

## CHAPTER XXII.

Observations concerning the State and Sources of Slavery in Africa.

A STATE of subordination, and certain inequalities of rank and condition, are inevitable in every stage of civil society; but when this subordination is carried to so great a length that the persons and services of one part of the community are entirely at the disposal of another part, it may then be denominated a state of

slavery, and in this condition of life, a great body of the negro inhabitants of Africa have continued from the most early period of their history, with this aggravation, that their children are born to no other inheritance.

The slaves in Africa, I suppose, are nearly in the proportion of three to one to the freemen. They claim no reward for their services except food and clothing, and are treated with kindness or severity, according to the good or bad disposition of their masters. Custom, however, has established certain rules with regard to the treatment of slaves, which it is thought dishonourable to violate. Thus, the domestic slaves, or such as are born in a man's own house, are treated with more lenity than those which are purchased with money. The authority of the master over the domestic slave, as I have elsewhere observed, extends only to reasonable correction; for the master cannot sell his domestic, without having first brought him to a public trial before the chief men of the place.\* But these restrictions on the power of the master extend not to the case of prisoners taken in war, nor to that of slaves purchased with money. All these unfortunate beings are considered as strangers and foreigners, who have no right to the protection of the law, and may be treated with severity, or sold to a stranger, according to the pleasure of their owners. There are, indeed, regular markets, where slaves of this description are bought and sold, and the value of a slave, in the eye of an African purchaser, increases in proportion to his distance from his native kingdom; for when slaves are only a few days' journey from the place of their nativity, they frequently effect their escape, but when one or more kingdoms intervene, escape being more difficult, they are more readily reconciled to their situation. On this account, the unhappy slave is frequently transferred from one dealer to another, until he has lost all hopes of returning to his native kingdom. The slaves which are purchased by the Europeans on the coast are chiefly of this description. A few of them are collected in the petty wars, hereafter to be described, which take place near the coast, but by far the greater number are brought down in large caravans from the inland countries, of which many are unknown, even by name, to the Europeans. The slaves which are thus brought from the interior may be divided into two distinct classes—first, such as were slaves from their birth, having been born of enslaved mothers—secondly, such as were born free, but who afterwards, by whatever means, became slaves. Those of the first description are by far the most numerous, for prisoners taken in war (at least such as are taken in open and declared war, when one kingdom avows hostilities against another) are generally of this description. The comparatively small proportion of free people to the enslaved throughout Africa, has already been noticed; and it must be observed, that men of free condition have many advantages over the slaves, even in war time. They are in general better armed, and well mounted, and can either fight or escape with some hopes of success; but the slaves, who have only their spears and bows, and of whom great numbers are loaded with baggage, become an easy prey. Thus, when Mansong, king of Bambarra, made war upon Kaarta (as I have related in a former chapter), he took in one day nine hundred prisoners, of which number not more than seventy were freemen. This account I received from Daman Jumma, who had thirty slaves at Kemmo, all of whom were made prisoners by Mansong. Again, when a freeman is taken prisoner, his friends will sometimes ransom him, by giving two slaves in exchange; but when a slave is taken, he has no hopes of such redemption.

\* In time of famine, the master is permitted to sell one or more of his domestics, to purchase provisions for his family; and in case of the master's insolvency, the domestic slaves are sometimes seized upon by the creditors, and if the master cannot redeem them, they are liable to be sold for payment of his debts. These are the only cases that I recollect in which the domestic slaves are liable to be sold, without any misconduct or demerit of their own.

To these disadvantages, it is to be added, that the slaves, who purchase slaves in the interior countries, and carry them down to the coast for sale, constantly prefer such as have been in that condition of life from their infancy, well knowing that these have been accustomed to hunger and fatigue, and are better able to sustain the hardships of a long and painful journey, than freemen; and on their reaching the coast, if no opportunity offers of selling them to advantage, they can easily be made to maintain themselves by their labour; neither are they so apt to attempt making their escape, as those who have once tasted the blessings of freedom.

Slaves of the second description generally become such by one or other of the following causes:—1. Captivity; 2. Famine; 3. Insolveny; 4. Crimes. A freeman may, by the established customs of Africa, become a slave, by being taken in war. War is of all others the most productive source, and was probably the origin, of slavery, for when one nation had taken from another a greater number of captives than could be exchanged on equal terms, it is natural to suppose that the conquerors, finding it inconvenient to maintain their prisoners, would compel them to labour—at first, perhaps, only for their own support, but afterwards to support their masters. Be this as it may, it is a known fact, that prisoners of war in Africa are the slaves of the conquerors; and when the weak or unsuccessful warrior begs for mercy beneath the uplifted spear of his opponent, he gives up at the same time his claim to liberty, and purchases his life at the expense of his freedom.

In a country divided into a thousand petty states, mostly independent and jealous of each other, where every freeman is accustomed to arms, and fond of military achievements, where the youth who has practised the bow and spear from his infancy, longs for nothing so much as an opportunity to display his valour, it is natural to imagine that wars frequently originate from very frivolous provocation. When one nation is more powerful than another, a pretext is seldom wanting for commencing hostilities. Thus, the war between Kajaaga and Kasson was occasioned by the detention of a fugitive slave—that between Bambarra and Kaarta by the loss of a few cattle. Other cases of the same nature perpetually occur, in which the folly or mad ambition of their princes, and the zeal of their religious enthusiasts, give full employment to the scythe of desolation.

The wars of Africa are of two kinds, which are distinguished by different appellations; that species which bears the greatest resemblance to our European contests is denominated *killi*, a word signifying “to call out,” because such wars are openly avowed and previously declared. Wars of this description in Africa commonly terminate, however, in the course of a single campaign. A battle is fought—the vanquished seldom think of rallying again—the whole inhabitants become panic-struck—and the conquerors have only to bind the slaves, and carry off their plunder and their victims. Such of the prisoners as, through age or infirmity, are unable to endure fatigue, or are found unfit for sale, are considered as useless, and, I have no doubt, are frequently put to death. The same fate commonly awaits a chief, or any other person who has taken a very distinguished part in the war. And here it may be observed that, notwithstanding this exterminating system, it is surprising to behold how soon an African town is rebuilt and repopled. The circumstance arises probably from this: that their pitched battles are few—the weakest know their own situation, and seek safety in flight. When their country has been desolated, and their ruined towns and villages deserted by the enemy, such of the inhabitants as have escaped the sword and the chain generally return, though with cautious steps, to the place of their nativity—for it seems to be the universal wish of mankind to spend the evening of their days where they passed their infancy. The poor negro feels this desire in its full force. To him no water is sweet but what is drawn from his own well, and no tree has so cool and pleasant a shade as the *tabba* tree\* of

\* This is a large spreading tree (a species of *sterculia*) under which the bentang is commonly placed.

his native village. When war compels him to abandon the delightful spot in which he first drew his breath, and seek for safety in some other kingdom, his time is spent in talking about the country of his ancestors; and no sooner is peace restored than he turns his back upon the land of strangers, rebuilds with haste his fallen walls, and exults to see the smoke ascend from his native village.

The other species of African warfare is distinguished by the appellation of *tegria* (plundering or stealing). It arises from a sort of hereditary feud, which the inhabitants of one nation or district bear towards another. No immediate cause of hostility is assigned, or notice of attack given, but the inhabitants of each watch every opportunity to plunder and distress the objects of their animosity by predatory excursions. These are very common, particularly about the beginning of the dry season, when the labour of the harvest is over and provisions are plentiful. Schemes of vengeance are then meditated. The chief man surveys the number and activity of his vassals, as they brandish their spears at festivals, and, elated with his own importance, turns his whole thoughts towards revenging some depredation or insult, which either he or his ancestors may have received from a neighbouring state.

Wars of this description are generally conducted with great secrecy. A few resolute individuals, headed by some person of enterprise and courage, march quietly through the woods, surprise in the night some unprotected village, and carry off the inhabitants and their effects, before their neighbours can come to their assistance. One morning during my stay at Kamalia, we were all much alarmed by a party of this kind. The king of Fooladoo's son, with five hundred horsemen, passed secretly through the woods, a little to the southward of Kamalia, and on the morning following plundered three towns belonging to Madigai, a powerful chief in Jallonkadoo.

The success of this expedition encouraged the governor of Bangassi, a town in Fooladoo, to make a second inroad upon another part of the same country. Having assembled about two hundred of his people, he passed the river Kokoro in the night, and carried off a great number of prisoners. Several of the inhabitants who had escaped these attacks were afterwards seized by the Mandingoes, as they wandered about in the woods, or concealed themselves in the glens and strong places of the mountains.

These plundering excursions always produce speedy retaliation; and when large parties cannot be collected for this purpose, a few friends will combine together, and advance into the enemy's country, with a view to plunder or carry off the inhabitants. A single individual has been known to take his bow and quiver, and proceed in like manner. Such an attempt is doubtless in him an act of rashness; but when it is considered that in one of these predatory wars he has probably been deprived of his child or his nearest relation, his situation will rather call for pity than censure. The poor sufferer, urged on by the feelings of domestic or paternal attachment, and the ardour of revenge, conceals himself among the bushes, until some young or unarmed person passes by. He then, tiger-like, springs upon his prey, drags his victim into the thicket, and in the night carries him off as a slave.

When a negro has, by means like these, once fallen into the hands of his enemies, he is either retained as the slave of his conqueror, or bartered into a distant kingdom; for an African, when he has once subdued his enemy, will seldom give him an opportunity of lifting up his hand against him at a future period. A conqueror commonly disposes of his captives according to the rank which they held in their native kingdom. Such of the domestic slaves as appear to be of a mild disposition, and particularly the young women, are retained as his own slaves. Others that display marks of discontent, are disposed of in a distant country; and such of the freemen or slaves as have taken an active part in the war, are either sold to the slaves, or put to death. War, therefore, is certainly the most general and most

productive source of slavery, and the desolations of war often (but not always) produce the second cause of slavery, *famine*; in which case a freeman becomes a slave to avoid a greater calamity.

Perhaps, by a philosophic and reflecting mind, death itself would scarcely be considered as a greater calamity than slavery, but the poor negro, when fainting with hunger, thinks like Esau of old: "Behold I am at the point to die, and what profit shall this birthright do to me?" There are many instances of free men voluntarily surrendering up their liberty to save their lives. During a great scarcity which lasted for three years, in the countries of the Gambia, great numbers of people became slaves in this manner. Dr Laidley assured me that at that time many free men came and begged, with great earnestness, to be put upon his *slave-chain*, to save them from perishing of hunger. Large families are very often exposed to absolute want; and as the parents have almost unlimited authority over their children, it frequently happens, in all parts of Africa, that some of the latter are sold to purchase provisions for the rest of the family. When I was at Jarra, Daman Jumma pointed out to me three young slaves whom he had purchased in this manner. I have already related another instance which I saw at Wonda; and I was informed that in Fooladoo, at that time, it was a very common practice.

The third cause of slavery is *insolvency*. Of all the offences (if insolvency may be so called) to which the laws of Africa have affixed the punishment of slavery, this is the most common. A negro trader commonly contracts debts on some mercantile speculation, either from his neighbours, to purchase such articles as will sell to advantage in a distant market, or from the European traders on the coast—payment to be made in a given time. In both cases, the situation of the adventurer is exactly the same. If he succeeds, he may secure an independency: if he is unsuccessful, his person and services are at the disposal of another; for in Africa, not only the effects of the insolvent, but even the insolvent himself, is sold to satisfy the lawful demands of his creditors.\*

The fourth cause above enumerated is, *the commission of crimes on which the laws of the country affix slavery as a punishment*. In Africa, the only offences of this class are murder, adultery, and witchcraft, and I am happy to say that they did not appear to me to be common. In cases of murder, I was informed that the nearest relation of the deceased had it in his power, after conviction, either to kill the offender with his own hand, or sell him into slavery. When adultery occurs, it is generally left to the option of the person injured either to sell the culprit, or accept such a ransom for him as he may think equivalent to the injury he has sustained. By witchcraft is meant pretended magic, by which the lives or healths of persons are affected; in other words, it is the administering of poison. No trial for this offence, however, came under my observation while I was in Africa, and I therefore suppose that the crime, and its punishment, occur but very seldom.

When a free man has become a slave by any one of the causes before mentioned, he generally continues so for life, and his children (if they are born of an enslaved mother) are brought up in the same state of

\* When a negro takes up goods on credit from any of the Europeans on the coast, and does not make payment at the time appointed, the European is authorised, by the laws of the country, to seize upon the debtor, himself, if he can find him, or, if he cannot be found, on any person of his family; or, in the last resort, on any native of the same kingdom. The person thus seized on is detained, while his friends are sent in quest of the debtor. When he is found, a meeting is called of the chief people of the place, and the debtor is compelled to ransom his friend by fulfilling his engagements. If he is unable to do this, his person is immediately secured and sent down to the coast, and the other released. If the debtor cannot be found, the person seized on is obliged to pay double the amount of the debt, or is himself sold into slavery. I was given to understand, however, that this part of the law is seldom enforced.

servitude. There are, however, a few instances of slaves obtaining their freedom, and sometimes even with the consent of their masters, as by performing some singular piece of service, or by going to battle and bringing home two slaves as a ransom; but the common way of regaining freedom is by escape, and when slaves have once set their minds on running away, they often succeed. Some of them will wait for years before an opportunity presents itself, and during that period show no signs of discontent. In general, it may be remarked, that slaves who come from a hilly country, and have been much accustomed to hunting and travel, are more apt to attempt their escape than such as are born in a flat country, and have been employed in cultivating the land.

Such are the general outlines of that system of slavery which prevails in Africa, and it is evident, from its nature and extent, that it is a system of no modern date. It probably had its origin in the remote ages of antiquity, before the Mahomedans explored a path across the desert. How far it is maintained and supported by the slave traffic, which, for two hundred years, the nations of Europe have carried on with the natives of the coast, it is neither within my province nor in my power to explain. If my sentiments should be required concerning the effect which a discontinuance of that commerce would produce on the manners of the natives, I should have no hesitation in observing, that, in the present unenlightened state of their minds, my opinion is, the effect would neither be so extensive or beneficial as many wise and worthy persons fondly expect.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

Of Gold Dust, and the Manner in which it is Collected—Process of Washing It—Its value in Africa.—Of Ivory—Surprise of the Negroes at the Eagerness of the Europeans for this Commodity.—Scattered Teeth frequently picked up in the Woods.—Mode of Hunting the Elephant.—Some Reflections on the unimproved State of the Country, &c.

THOSE valuable commodities, gold and ivory (the next objects of our inquiry), have probably been found in Africa from the first ages of the world. They are reckoned among its most important productions in the earliest records of its history.

It has been observed, that gold is seldom or never discovered, except in *mountainous* and *barren* countries—nature, it is said, thus making amends in one way for her penuriousness in the other. This, however, is not wholly true. Gold is found in considerable quantities throughout every part of Manding, a country which is indeed hilly, but cannot properly be called *mountainous*, much less *barren*. It is also found in great plenty in Jallonkadoo (particularly about Boori), another hilly, but by no means an infertile, country. It is remarkable that in the place last mentioned (Boori), which is situated about four days' journey to the south-west of Kamalia, the salt-market is often supplied at the same time with rock-salt from the Great Desert and sea-salt from the Rio Grande; the price of each, at this distance from its source, being nearly the same, and the dealers in each, whether Moors from the north or negroes from the west, are invited thither by the same motives—that of bartering their salt for gold.

The gold of Manding, so far as I could learn, is never found in any matrix or vein, but always in small grains nearly in a pure state, from the size of a pin's head to that of a pea, scattered through a large body of sand or clay, and in this state it is called by the Mandingoes *sanoo munko* (gold powder). It is, however, extremely probable, by what I could learn of the situation of the ground, that most of it has originally been washed down by repeated torrents from the neighbouring hills. The manner in which it is collected is nearly as follows:—

About the beginning of December, when the harvest is over, and the streams and torrents have greatly subsided, the mansa or chief of the town appoints a day to

begin *sanoo koo* (gold washing), and the women are sure to have themselves in readiness by the time appointed. A hoe or spade for digging up the sand, two or three calabashes for washing it in, and a few quills for containing the gold dust, are all the implements necessary for the purpose. On the morning of their departure, a bullock is killed for the first day's entertainment, and a number of prayers and charms are used to ensure success, for a failure on that day is thought a bad omen.

The *mansa* of Kamalia, with fourteen of his people, were I remember so much disappointed in their first day's washing, that very few of them had resolution to persevere, and the few that did had but very indifferent success; which indeed is not much to be wondered at, for instead of opening some untried place, they continued to dig and wash in the same spot where they had dug and washed for years, and where, of course, but few large grains could be left.

The washing the sands of the streams is by far the easiest way of obtaining the gold dust; but in most places the sands have been so narrowly searched before, that unless the stream takes some new course, the gold is found but in small quantities. While some of the party are busied in washing the sands, others employ themselves farther up the torrent, where the rapidity of the stream has carried away all the clay, sand, &c., and left nothing but small pebbles. The search among these is a very troublesome task. I have seen women who have had the skin worn off the tops of their fingers in this employment. Sometimes, however, they are rewarded by finding pieces of gold, which they call *sanoo birro* (gold stones), that amply repay them for their trouble. A woman and her daughter, inhabitants of Kamalia, found in one day two pieces of this kind; one of five drachms, and the other of three drachms weight. But the most certain and profitable mode of washing is practised in the height of the dry season, by digging a deep pit, like a draw-well, near some hill which has previously been discovered to contain gold. The pit is dug with small spades or corn hoes, and the earth is drawn up in large calabashes. As the negroes dig through the different strata of clay or sand, a calabash or two of each is washed by way of experiment; and in this manner the labourers proceed, until they come to a stratum containing gold, or until they are obstructed by rocks, or inundated by water. In general, when they come to a stratum of fine reddish sand, with small black specks therein, they find gold in some proportion or other, and send up large calabashes full of the sand, for the women to wash; for though the pit is dug by the men, the gold is always washed by the women, who are accustomed from their infancy to a similar operation in separating the husks of corn from the meal.

As I never descended into any one of these pits, I cannot say in what manner they are worked under ground. Indeed, the situation in which I was placed made it necessary for me to be cautious not to incur the suspicion of the natives, by examining too far into the riches of their country; but the manner of separating the gold from the sand is very simple, and is frequently performed by the women in the middle of the town; for when the searchers return from the valleys in the evening, they commonly bring with them each a calabash or two of sand, to be washed by such of the females as remain at home. The operation is simply as follows:—

A portion of sand or clay (for the gold is sometimes found in a brown-coloured clay) is put into a large calabash, and mixed with a sufficient quantity of water. The woman whose office it is, then shakes the calabash in such a manner as to mix the sand and water together, and give the whole a rotatory motion—at first gently, but afterwards more quick, until a small portion of sand and water, at every revolution, flies over the brim of the calabash. The sand thus separated is only the coarsest particles mixed with a little muddy water. After the operation has been continued for some time, the sand is allowed to subside, and the water poured off; a portion of coarse sand, which is

now uppermost in the calabash, is removed by the hand, and fresh water being added, the operation is repeated until the water comes off almost pure. The woman now takes a second calabash, and shakes the sand and water gently from the one to the other, reserving that portion of sand which is next the bottom of the calabash, and which is most likely to contain the gold. This small quantity is mixed with some pure water, and being moved about in the calabash, is carefully examined. If a few particles of gold are picked out, the contents of the other calabash are examined in the same manner; but in general the party is well contented, if she can obtain three or four grains from the contents of both calabashes. Some women, however, by long practice, become so well acquainted with the nature of the sand, and the mode of washing it, that they will collect gold where others cannot find a single particle. The gold dust is kept in quills stopped up with cotton; and the washers are fond of displaying a number of these quills in their hair. Generally speaking, if a person uses common diligence, in a proper soil, it is supposed that as much gold may be collected by him in the course of the dry season as is equal to the value of two slaves.

Thus simple is the process by which the negroes obtain gold in Manding; and it is evident, from this account, that the country contains a considerable portion of this precious metal, for many of the smaller particles must necessarily escape the observation of the naked eye; and as the natives generally search the sands of streams at a considerable distance from the hills, and consequently far removed from the mines where the gold was originally produced, the labourers are sometimes but ill paid for their trouble. Minute particles only of this heavy metal can be carried by the current to any considerable distance; the larger must remain deposited near the original source from whence they came. Were the gold-bearing streams to be traced to their fountains, and the hills from whence they spring properly examined, the sand in which the gold is there deposited would no doubt be found to contain particles of a much larger size;\* and even the small grains might be collected to considerable advantage by the use of quicksilver, and other improvements, with which the natives are at present unacquainted.

Part of this gold is converted into ornaments for the women, but in general these ornaments are more to be admired for their weight than their workmanship. They are massy and inconvenient, particularly the earrings, which are commonly so heavy as to pull down and lacerate the lobe of the ear; to avoid which, they are supported by a thong of red leather, which passes over the crown of the head from one ear to the other. The necklace displays greater fancy, and the proper arrangement of the different beads and plates of gold is the great criterion of taste and elegance. When a lady of consequence is in full dress, her gold ornaments may be worth altogether from fifty to eighty pounds sterling.

A small quantity of gold is likewise employed by the slaves, in defraying the expenses of their journeys to and from the coast, but by far the greater proportion is annually carried away by the Moors in exchange for salt and other merchandise. During my stay at Kamalia, the gold collected by the different traders at that place, for salt alone, was nearly equal to one hundred and ninety-eight pounds sterling; and as Kamalia is but a small town, and not much resorted to by the trading Moors, this quantity must have borne a very small proportion to the gold collected at Kancaba, Kankaree, and some other large towns. The value of salt in this part of Africa is very great. One slab, about two feet and a half in length, fourteen inches in breadth, and two inches in thickness, will sometimes sell for about

\* I am informed that the gold mine, as it is called, in Wicklow, in Ireland, which was discovered in the year 1735, is near the top, and upon the steep slope, of a mountain. Here pieces of gold of several ounces' weight were frequently found. What would have been gold dust two miles below, was here golden gravel; that is, each grain was like a small pebble in size, and one piece was found which weighed near twenty-two ounces dry.

two pounds ten shillings sterling, and from one pound fifteen shillings to two pounds may be considered as the common price. Four of these slabs are considered as a load for an ass, and six for a bullock. The value of European merchandise in Manding varies very much, according to the supply from the coast, or the dread of war in the country, but the return for such articles is commonly made in slaves. The price of a prime slave, when I was at Kamalia, was from nine to twelve minkallies, and European commodities had then nearly the following value:—

|                          |                 |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 18 gun flints,           | } one minkalli. |
| 48 leaves of tobacco,    |                 |
| 20 charges of gunpowder, |                 |
| A cutlass,               |                 |

A musket, from three to four minkallies.

The produce of the country, and the different necessities of life, when exchanged for gold, sold as follows:—

Common provisions for one day, the weight of one *teeleekissi* (a black bean, six of which make the weight of one minkalli)—a chicken, one *teele-kissi*—a sheep, three *teele-kissi*—a bullock, one minkalli—a horse, from ten to seventeen minkallies.

The negroes weigh the gold in small balances, which they always carry about them. They make no difference, in point of value, between gold dust and wrought gold. In bartering one article for another, the person who receives the gold always weighs it with his own *teele-kissi*. These beans are sometimes fraudulently soaked in shea-butter to make them heavy, and I once saw a pebble ground exactly into the form of one of them; but such practices are not very common.

Having now related the substance of what occurs to my recollection concerning the African mode of obtaining gold from the earth, and its value in barter, I proceed to the next article of which I proposed to treat, namely, ivory.

Nothing creates a greater surprise among the negroes on the sea-coast, than the eagerness displayed by the European traders to procure elephants' teeth—it being exceedingly difficult to make them comprehend to what use it is applied. Although they are shown knives with ivory hafts, combs, and toys of the same material, and are convinced that the ivory thus manufactured was originally parts of a tooth, they are not satisfied. They suspect that this commodity is more frequently converted in Europe to purposes of far greater importance, the true nature of which is studiously concealed from them, lest the price of ivory should be enhanced. They cannot, they say, easily persuade themselves, that ships would be built, and voyages undertaken, to procure an article which had no other value than that of furnishing handles to knives, &c., when pieces of wood would answer the purpose equally well.

Elephants are very numerous in the interior of Africa, but they appear to be a distinct species from those found in Asia. Blumenbach, in his figures of objects of natural history, has given good drawings of a grinder of each, and the variation is evident. M. Cuvier also has given, in the *Magasin Encyclopedique*, a clear account of the difference between them. As I never examined the Asiatic elephant, I have chosen rather to refer to those writers than advance this as an opinion of my own. It has been said that the African elephant is of a less docile nature than the Asiatic, and incapable of being tamed. The negroes certainly do not at present tame them; but when we consider that the Carthaginians had always tame elephants in their armies, and actually transported some of them to Italy in the course of the Punic wars, it seems more likely that they should have possessed the art of taming their own elephants, than have submitted to the expense of bringing such vast animals from Asia. Perhaps the barbarous practice of hunting the African elephants for the sake of their teeth, has rendered them more untractable and savage than they were found to be in former times.

The greater part of the ivory which is sold on the Gambia and Senegal rivers, is brought from the interior country. The lands towards the coast are too swampy,

and too much intersected with creeks and rivers, for so bulky an animal as the elephant to travel through without being discovered; and when once the natives discern the marks of his feet in the earth, the whole village is up in arms. The thoughts of feasting on his flesh, making sandals of his hide, and selling the teeth to the Europeans, inspire every one with courage, and the animal seldom escapes from his pursuers; but in the plains of Bambarra and Kaarta, and the extensive wilds of Jallonkadoo, the elephants are very numerous, and, from the great scarcity of gunpowder in those districts, they are less annoyed by the natives.

Scattered teeth are frequently picked up in the woods, and travellers are very diligent in looking for them. It is a common practice with the elephant to thrust his teeth under the roots of such shrubs and bushes as grow in the more dry and elevated parts of the country, where the soil is shallow. These bushes he easily overturns, and feeds on the roots, which are in general more tender and juicy than the hard woody branches or the foliage; but when the teeth are partly decayed by age, and the roots more firmly fixed, the great exertions of the animal in this practice frequently cause them to break short. At Kamalia I saw two teeth, one a very large one, which were found in the woods, and which were evidently broken off in this manner. Indeed, it is difficult otherwise to account for such a large proportion of broken ivory as is daily offered for sale at the different factories, for when the elephant is killed in hunting, unless he dashes himself over a precipice, the teeth are always extracted entire.

There are certain seasons of the year when the elephants collect into large herds, and traverse the country in quest of food or water; and as all that part of the country to the north of the Niger is destitute of rivers, whenever the pools in the woods are dried up, the elephants approach towards the banks of that river. Here they continue until the commencement of the rainy season, in the months of June or July, and during this time they are much hunted by such of the Bambarrans as have gunpowder to spare. The elephant-hunters seldom go out singly—a party of four or five join together, and having each furnished himself with powder and ball, and a quantity of corn-meal in a leather bag sufficient for five or six days' provision, they enter the most unfrequented parts of the wood, and examine with great care every thing that can lead to the discovery of the elephants. In this pursuit, notwithstanding the bulk of the animal, very great nicety of observation is required. The broken branches, the scattered dung of the animal, and the marks of his feet, are carefully inspected; and many of the hunters have, by long experience and attentive observation, become so expert in their search, that as soon as they observe the footmarks of an elephant, they will tell almost to a certainty at what time it passed, and at what distance it will be found.

When they discover a herd of elephants, they follow them at a distance, until they perceive some one stray from the rest, and come into such a situation as to be fired at with advantage. The hunters then approach with great caution, creeping amongst the long grass, until they have got near enough to be sure of their aim. They then discharge all their pieces at once, and throw themselves on their faces among the grass. The wounded elephant immediately applies his trunk to the different wounds, but being unable to extract the balls, and seeing nobody near him; he becomes quite furious, and runs about amongst the bushes, until by fatigue and loss of blood he has exhausted himself, and affords the hunters an opportunity of firing a second time at him, by which he is generally brought to the ground.

The skin is now taken off, and extended on the ground with pegs to dry; and such parts of the flesh as are most esteemed are cut up into thin slices, and dried in the sun, to serve for provisions on some future occasion. The teeth are struck out with a light hatchet, which the hunters always carry along with them, not only for that purpose, but also to enable them to cut down such trees as contain honey; for though they carry with them

only five or six days' provisions, they will remain in the woods for months, if they are successful, and support themselves upon the flesh of such elephants as they kill, and wild honey.

The ivory thus collected is seldom brought down to the coast by the hunters themselves. They dispose of it to the itinerant merchants, who come annually from the coast with arms and ammunition to purchase this valuable commodity. Some of these merchants will collect ivory in the course of one season sufficient to load four or five asses. A great quantity of ivory is likewise brought from the interior by the slave coffles; there are, however, some slates of the Mahomedan persuasion, who, from motives of religion, will not deal in ivory, nor eat of the flesh of the elephant, unless it has been killed with a spear.

The quantity of ivory collected in this part of Africa is not so great, nor are the teeth in general so large, as in the countries nearer the line: few of them weigh more than eighty or one hundred pounds, and, upon an average, a bar of European merchandise may be reckoned as the price of a pound of ivory.

I have now, I trust, in this and the preceding chapters, explained with sufficient minuteness the nature and extent of the commercial connection which at present prevails, and has long subsisted, between the negro natives of those parts of Africa which I visited, and the nations of Europe; and it appears, that slaves, gold, and ivory, together with the few articles enumerated in the beginning of my work, viz. bees' wax and honey, hides, gums, and dye-woods, constitute the whole catalogue of exportable commodities. Other productions, however, have been incidentally noticed as the growth of Africa, such as grain of different kinds, tobacco, indigo, cotton-wool, and perhaps a few others; but of all these (which can only be obtained by cultivation and labour), the natives raise sufficient only for their own immediate expenditure, nor, under the present system of their laws, manners, trade, and government, can any thing farther be expected from them. It cannot, however, admit of a doubt, that all the rich and valuable productions, both of the East and West Indies, might easily be naturalised, and brought to the utmost perfection, in the tropical parts of this immense continent. Nothing is wanting to this end but example to enlighten the minds of the natives, and instruction to enable them to direct their industry to proper objects. It was not possible for me to behold the wonderful fertility of the soil, the vast herds of cattle, proper both for labour and food, and a variety of other circumstances favourable to colonisation and agriculture—and reflect, withal, on the means which presented themselves of a vast inland navigation—without lamenting that a country so abundantly gifted and favoured by nature, should remain in its present savage and neglected state. Much more did I lament, that a people of manners and dispositions so gentle and benevolent, should either be left as they now are, immersed in the gross and uncomfortable blindness of pagan superstition, or permitted to become converts to a system of bigotry and fanaticism, which, without enlightening the mind, often debases the heart. On this subject many observations might be made, but the reader will probably think that I have already digressed too largely; and I now, therefore, return to my situation at Kamalia.

#### CHAPTER XXIV.

Transactions at Kamalia resumed.—Arabic MSS. in Use among the Mahomedan Negroes.—Reflections concerning the Conversion and Education of the Negro Children.—Return of the Author's benefactor, Karfa.—Further Account of the Purchase and Treatment of Slaves.—Fast of Rhamadan, how observed by the Negroes.—Author's Anxiety for the Day of Departure.—The Caravan sets out.—Account of it on its Departure, and Proceedings on the Road, until its arrival at Kinytakooro.

THE schoolmaster to whose care I was intrusted during the absence of Karfa, was a man of a mild disposition

and gentle manners; his name was Fankooma, and although he himself adhered strictly to the religion of Mahomet, he was by no means intolerant in his principles towards others who differed from him. He spent much of his time in reading, and teaching appeared to be his pleasure as well as employment. His school consisted of seventeen boys, most of whom were sons of kafirs, and two girls, one of whom was Karfa's own daughter. The girls received their instructions in the daytime, but the boys always had their lessons by the light of a large fire before daybreak, and again late in the evening; for being considered, during their scholarship, as the domestic slaves of the master, they were employed in planting corn, bringing firewood, and in other servile offices, through the day.

Exclusive of the Koran, and a book or two of commentaries thereon, the schoolmaster possessed a variety of manuscripts which had partly been purchased from the trading Moors, and partly borrowed from bushreens in the neighbourhood, and copied with great care. Other MSS. had been produced to me at different places in the course of my journey; and on recounting those I had before seen, and those which were now shown to me, and interrogating the schoolmaster on the subject, I discovered that the negroes are in possession (among others) of an Arabic version of the Pentateuch of Moses, which they call *Taureta la Moosa*. This is so highly esteemed that it is often sold for the value of one prime slave. They have likewise a version of the Psalms of David (*Zabora Dawidi*); and, lastly, the book of Isaiah, which they call *Lingee la Isa*, and it is in very high esteem. I suspect, indeed, that in all these copies there are interpolations of some of the peculiar tenets of Mahomet, for I could distinguish in many passages the name of the Prophet. It is possible, however, that this circumstance might otherwise have been accounted for, if my knowledge of the Arabic had been more extensive. By means of those books, many of the converted negroes have acquired an acquaintance with some of the remarkable events recorded in the Old Testament. The account of our first parents, the death of Abel, the deluge, the lives of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the story of Joseph and his brethren, the history of Moses, David, Solomon, &c., all these have been related to me, in the Mandingo language, with tolerable exactness by different people, and my surprise was not greater on hearing these accounts from the lips of the negroes, than theirs on finding that I was already acquainted with them; for although the negroes in general have a very great idea of the wealth and power of the Europeans, I am afraid that the Mahomedan converts among them think but very lightly of our superior attainments in religious knowledge. The white traders in the maritime districts take no pains to counteract this unhappy prejudice, always performing their own devotions in secret, and seldom condescending to converse with the negroes in a friendly and instructive manner. To me, therefore, it was not so much the subject of wonder as matter of regret, to observe, that while the superstition of Mahomet has in this manner scattered a few faint beams of learning among these poor people, the precious light of Christianity is altogether excluded. I could not but lament, that although the coast of Africa has now been known and frequented by the Europeans for more than two hundred years, yet the negroes still remain entire strangers to the doctrines of our holy religion. We are anxious to draw from obscurity the opinions and records of antiquity, the beauties of Arabian and Asiatic literature, &c.; but while our libraries are thus stored with the learning of various countries, we distribute with a parsimonious hand the blessings of religious truth to the benighted nations of the earth. The natives of Asia derive but little advantage in this respect from an intercourse with us; and even the poor Africans, whom we affect to consider as barbarians, look upon us, I fear, as little better than a race of formidable but ignorant heathens. When I produced Richardson's Arabic Grammar to some slates on the Gambia, they were astonished to think that any European should

understand and write the sacred language of their religion. At first, they suspected that it might have been written by some of the slaves carried from the coast, but, on a closer examination, they were satisfied that no bushreen could write such beautiful Arabic, and one of them offered to give me an ass, and sixteen bars of goods, if I would part with the book. Perhaps a short and easy introduction to Christianity, such as is found in some of the catechisms for children, elegantly printed in Arabic, and distributed on different parts of the coast, might have a wonderful effect. The expense would be but trifling; curiosity would induce many to read it; and the evident superiority which it would possess over their present manuscripts, both in point of elegance and cheapness, might at last obtain it a place among the school-books of Africa.

The reflections which I have thus ventured to submit to my readers on this important subject, naturally suggested themselves to my mind on perceiving the encouragement which was thus given to learning (such as it is) in many parts of Africa. I have observed that the pupils at Kamalia were most of them the children of pagans—their parents therefore could have had no predilection for the doctrines of Mahomet. Their aim was their children's improvement; and if a more enlightened system had presented itself, it would probably have been preferred. The children, too, wanted not a spirit of emulation, which it is the aim of the tutor to encourage. When any one of them has read through the Koran, and performed a certain number of public prayers, a feast is prepared by the schoolmaster, and the scholar undergoes an examination, or (in European terms) *takes out his degree*. I attended at three different inaugurations of this sort, and heard with pleasure the distinct and intelligent answers which the scholars frequently gave to the bushreens, who assembled on those occasions and acted as examiners. When the bushreens had satisfied themselves respecting the learning and abilities of the scholar, the last page of the Koran was put into his hand, and he was desired to read it aloud: after the boy had finished this lesson, he pressed the paper against his forehead, and pronounced the word *Amen*, upon which all the bushreens rose, and shaking him cordially by the hand, bestowed upon him the title of bushreen.

When a scholar has undergone this examination, his parents are informed that he has completed his education, and that it is incumbent on them to redeem their son, by giving to the schoolmaster a slave, or the price of a slave, in exchange, which is always done, if the parents can afford to do it; if not, the boy remains the domestic slave of the schoolmaster until he can, by his own industry, collect goods sufficient to ransom himself.

About a week after the departure of Karfa, three Moors arrived at Kamalia with a considerable quantity of salt, and other merchandise, which they had obtained on credit from a merchant of Fezzan, who had lately arrived at Kancaba. Their engagement was to pay him his price when the goods were sold, which they expected would be in the course of a month. Being rigid bushreens, they were accommodated with two of Karfa's huts, and sold their goods to very great advantage.

On the 24th of January, Karfa returned to Kamalia with a number of people, and thirteen prime slaves whom he had purchased. He likewise brought with him a young girl whom he had married at Kancaba, as his fourth wife, and had given her parents three prime slaves for her. She was kindly received at the door of the baloon by Karfa's other wives, who conducted their new acquaintance and copartner into one of the best huts, which they had caused to be swept and white-washed on purpose to receive her.\*

My clothes were by this time become so very ragged that I was almost ashamed to appear out of doors, but Karfa, on the day after his arrival, generously presented me with such a garment and trousers as are commonly worn in the country.

\* The slaves which Karfa had brought with him were

\* The negroes whitewash their huts with a mixture of bone-ashes and water, to which is commonly added a little gum.

all of them prisoners of war; they had been taken by the Bambarra army in the kingdoms of Wassela and Kaarta, and carried to Sego, where some of them had remained three years in irons. From Sego they were sent, in company with a number of other captives, up the Niger in two large canoes, and offered for sale at Yamina, Bammakoo, and Kancaba; at which places the greater number of the captives were bartered for gold dust, and the remainder sent forward to Kankaree.

Eleven of them confessed to me that they had been slaves from their infancy, but the other two refused to give any account of their former condition. They were all very inquisitive, but they viewed me at first with looks of horror, and repeatedly asked if my countrymen were cannibals. They were very desirous to know what became of the slaves after they had crossed the salt water. I told them that they were employed in cultivating the land; but they would not believe me, and one of them, putting his hand upon the ground, said with great simplicity, "Have you really got such ground as this to set your feet upon?" A deeply-rooted idea that the whites purchase negroes for the purpose of devouring them, or of selling them to others, that they may be devoured hereafter, naturally makes the slaves contemplate a journey towards the coast with great terror, inasmuch that the slaves are forced to keep them constantly in irons, and watch them very closely, to prevent their escape. They are commonly secured by putting the right leg of one and the left of another into the same pair of fetters. By supporting the fetters with a string, they can walk, though very slowly. Every four slaves are likewise fastened together by the necks with a strong rope of twisted thongs, and in the night an additional pair of fetters is put on their hands, and sometimes a light iron chain passed round their necks.

Such of them as evince marks of discontent are secured in a different manner. A thick billet of wood is cut about three feet long, and a smooth notch being made upon one side of it, the ankle of the slave is bolted to the smooth part by means of a strong iron staple, one prong of which passes on each side of the ankle. All these fetters and bolts are made from native iron; in the present case, they were put on by the blacksmith as soon as the slaves arrived from Kancaba, and were not taken off until the morning on which the cofle departed for Gambia.

In other respects, the treatment of the slaves during their stay at Kamalia was far from being harsh or cruel. They were led out in their fetters every morning to the shade of the tamarind tree, where they were encouraged to play at games of hazard, and sing diverting songs, to keep up their spirits; for, though some of them sustained the hardships of their situation with amazing fortitude, the greater part were very much dejected, and would sit all day in a sort of sullen melancholy, with their eyes fixed upon the ground. In the evening, their irons were examined, and their hand fetters put on, after which they were conducted into two large huts, where they were guarded during the night by Karfa's domestic slaves. But notwithstanding all this, about a week after their arrival, one of the slaves had the address to procure a small knife, with which he opened the rings of his fetters, cut the rope, and made his escape: more of them would probably have got off had they assisted each other, but the slave no sooner found himself at liberty, than he refused to stop and assist in breaking the chain which was fastened round the necks of his companions.

As all the slaves and slaves belonging to the cofle were now assembled, either at Kamalia, or at some of the neighbouring villages, it might have been expected that we should have set out immediately for Gambia; but though the day of our departure was frequently fixed, it was always found expedient to change it. Some of the people had not prepared their dry provisions; others had gone to visit their relations, or collect some trifling debts; and, last of all, it was necessary to consult whether the day would be a lucky one. On account of one of these, or other such causes, our departure was

put off, day after day, until the month of February was far advanced, after which, all the satees agreed to remain in their present quarters until the *fast moon was over*. And here I may remark, that loss of time is an object of no great importance in the eyes of a negro. If he has any thing of consequence to perform, it is a matter of indifference to him whether he does it to-day or to-morrow, or a month or two hence; so long as he can spend the present moment with any degree of comfort, he gives himself very little concern about the future.

The fast of Rhamadan was observed with great strictness by all the bushreens; but instead of compelling me to follow their example, as the Moors did on a similar occasion, Karfa frankly told me that I was at liberty to pursue my own inclination. In order, however, to manifest a respect for their religious opinions, I voluntarily fasted three days, which was thought sufficient to screen me from the reproachful epithet of kafir. During the fast, all the satees belonging to the coffle assembled every morning in Karfa's house, where the schoolmaster read to them some religious lessons from a large folio volume, the author of which was an Arab, of the name of Sheiffa. In the evening such of the women as had embraced Mahomedanism assembled, and said their prayers publicly at the missura. They were all dressed in white, and went through the different prostrations prescribed by their religion with becoming solemnity. Indeed, during the whole fast of Rhamadan the negroes behaved themselves with the greatest meekness and humility, forming a striking contrast to the savage intolerance and brutal bigotry which at this period characterise the Moors.

When the fast month was almost at an end, the bushreens assembled at the missura to watch for the appearance of the new moon, but the evening being rather cloudy, they were for some time disappointed, and a number of them had gone home with a resolution to fast another day, when on a sudden this delightful object showed her sharp horns from behind a clond, and was welcomed with the clapping of hands, beating of drums, firing of muskets, and other marks of rejoicing. As this moon is reckoned extremely lucky, Karfa gave orders that all the people belonging to the coffle should immediately pack up their dry provisions, and hold themselves in readiness; and on the 16th of April the satees held a consultation, and fixed on the 19th of the same month as the day on which the coffle should depart from Kamalia. This resolution freed me from much uneasiness, for our departure had already been so long deferred, that I was apprehensive it might still be put off until the commencement of the rainy season; and although Karfa behaved towards me with the greatest kindness, I found my situation very unpleasant. The satees were unfriendly to me, and the trading Moors who were at this time at Kamalia continued to plot mischief against me from the first day of their arrival. Under these circumstances, I reflected that my life in a great measure depended on the good opinion of an individual, who was daily hearing malicious stories concerning the Europeans, and I could hardly expect that he would always judge with impartiality between me and his countrymen. Time had, indeed, reconciled me in some degree to their mode of life, and a smoky hut, or a scanty supper, gave me no great uneasiness; but I became at last wearied out with a constant state of alarm and anxiety, and felt a painful longing for the manifold blessings of civilised society.

On the morning of the 17th, a circumstance occurred which wrought a considerable change in my favour. The three trading Moors, who had lodged under Karfa's protection ever since their arrival at Kamalia, and had gained the esteem of all the bushreens by an appearance of great sanctity, suddenly packed up their effects, and, without once thanking Karfa for his kindness towards them, marched over the hills to Bala. Every one was astonished at this unexpected removal, but the affair was cleared up in the evening by the arrival of the Fezzan merchant from Kancaba (mentioned in p. 67), who assured Karfa, that these Moors had bor-

rowed all their salt and goods from him, and had sent for him to come to Kamalia and receive payment. When he was told that they had fled to the westward, he wiped a tear from each eye with the sleeve of his cloak, and exclaimed, "These *shirrukas* (robbers) are Mahomedans, but they are not men—they have robbed me of two hundred minkallies." From this merchant I received information of the capture of our Mediterranean convoy by the French, in October 1795.

April 19th.—The long wished-for day of our departure was at length arrived; and the satees having taken the irons from their slaves, assembled with them at the door of Karfa's house, where the bundles were all tied up, and every one had his load assigned him. The coffle, on its departure from Kamalia, consisted of twenty-seven slaves for sale, the property of Karfa and four other satees; but we were afterwards joined by five at Maraboo, and three at Bala—making in all thirty-five slaves. The freemen were fourteen in number, but most of them had one or two wives, and some domestic slaves; and the schoolmaster, who was now upon his return for Woradoo, the place of his nativity, took with him eight of his scholars—so that the number of free people and domestic slaves amounted to thirty-eight, and the whole amount of the coffle was seventy-three. Among the free men were six jillikeas (singing men), whose musical talents were frequently exerted either to divert our fatigue or obtain us a welcome from strangers. When we departed from Kamalia, we were followed for about half a mile by most of the inhabitants of the town, some of them crying, and others shaking hands with their relations who were now about to leave them; and when we had gained a piece of rising ground, from which we had a view of Kamalia, all the people belonging to the coffle were ordered to sit down in one place, with their faces towards the west, and the townspeople were desired to sit down in another place with their faces towards Kamalia. In this situation, the schoolmaster, with two of the principal satees, having taken their places between the two parties, pronounced a long and solemn prayer, after which they walked three times round the coffle, making an impression in the ground with the ends of their spears, and muttering something by way of charm. When this ceremony was ended, all the people belonging to the coffle sprang up, and, without taking a formal farewell of their friends, set forwards. As many of the slaves had remained for years in irons, the sudden exertion of walking quick with heavy loads upon their heads occasioned spasmodic contractions of their legs; and we had not proceeded above a mile before it was found necessary to take two of them from the rope, and allow them to walk more slowly until we reached Maraboo, a walled village, where some people were waiting to join the coffle. Here we stopt about two hours, to allow the strangers time to pack up their provisions, and then continued our route to Bala, which town we reached about four in the afternoon. The inhabitants of Bala at this season of the year subsist chiefly on fish, which they take in great plenty from the streams in the neighbourhood. We remained here until the afternoon of the next day, the 20th, when we proceeded to Worumbang, the frontier village of Manding towards Jallonkadoo. As we proposed shortly to enter the Jallonka Wilderness, the people of this village furnished us with great plenty of provisions, and on the morning of the 21st we entered the woods to the westward of Worumbang. After having travelled some little way, a consultation was held whether we should continue our route through the wilderness, or save one day's provisions by going to Kinytakoooro, a town in Jallonkadoo. After debating the matter for some time, it was agreed that we should take the road for Kinytakoooro; but as that town was a long day's journey distant, it was necessary to take some refreshment. Accordingly, every person opened his provision bag, and brought a handful or two of meal to the place where Karfa and the satees were sitting. When every one had brought his quota, and the whole was properly arranged in small gourd shells, the schoolmaster offered up a short prayer, the substance of which was, that God



and the holy Prophet might preserve us from robbers and all bad people, that our provisions might never fail us, nor our limbs become fatigued. This ceremony being ended, every one partook of the meal, and drank a little water; after which we set forward (rather running than walking), until we came to the river Kokoro, a branch of the Senegal, where we halted about ten minutes. The banks of this river are very high; and from the grass and brushwood which had been left by the stream, it was evident that at this place the water had risen more than twenty feet perpendicular during the rainy season. At this time it was only a small stream, such as would turn a mill, swarming with fish; and on account of the number of crocodiles, and the danger of being carried past the ford by the force of the stream in the rainy season, it is called *Kokoro* (dangerous). From this place we continued to travel with the greatest expedition, and in the afternoon crossed two small branches of the Kokoro. About sunset we came in sight of Kinytakooro, a considerable town, nearly square, situated in the middle of a large and well-cultivated plain: before we entered the town, we halted until the people who had fallen behind came up. During this day's travel, two slaves, a woman and a girl, belonging to a satee of Bala, were so much fatigued that they could not keep up with the coffle; they were severely whipped, and dragged along until about three o'clock in the afternoon, when they were both affected with vomiting, by which it was discovered that they had eaten clay. This practice is by no means uncommon amongst the negroes; but whether it arises from a vitiated appetite, or from a settled intention to destroy themselves, I cannot affirm. They were permitted to lie down in the woods, and three people remained with them until they had rested themselves, but they did not arrive at the town until past midnight; and were then so much exhausted, that the satee gave up all thoughts of taking them across the woods in their present condition, and determined to return with them to Bala, and wait for another opportunity.

As this was the first town beyond the limits of Manding, greater etiquette than usual was observed. Every person was ordered to keep in his proper station, and we marched towards the town in a sort of procession nearly as follows:—In front five or six singing men, all of them belonging to the coffle; these were followed by the other free people; then came the slaves, fastened in the usual way by a rope round their necks, four of them to a rope, and a man with a spear between each four; after them came the domestic slaves, and in the rear the women of free condition, wives of the satees, &c. In this manner we proceeded until we came within a hundred yards of the gate, when the singing men began a loud song, well calculated to flatter the vanity of the inhabitants, by extolling their known hospitality to strangers, and their particular friendship for the Mandingoes. When we entered the town we proceeded to the bentang, where the people gathered round us to hear our *denegi* (history); this was related publicly by two of the singing men—they enumerated every little circumstance which had happened to the coffle, beginning with the events of the present day, and relating every thing in a backward series until they reached Kamalia. When this history was ended, the master of the town gave them a small present, and all the people of the coffle, both free and enslaved, were invited by some person or other, and accommodated with lodging and provisions for the night.

## CHAPTER XXV.

The Coffle crosses the Jallonka Wilderness.—Miserable Fate of one of the Female Slaves.—Arrives at Sooseta—Proceeds to Manna.—Some Account of the Jallonkas.—Crosses the Main Stream of the Senegal.—Bridge of a singular Construction.—Arrives at Malacotta.—Remarkable Conduct of the King of the Jaloffs.

We continued at Kinytakooro until noon of the 22d of April, when we removed to a village about seven miles

to the westward, the inhabitants of which, being apprehensive of hostilities from the Foulahs of Fooladoo, were at this time employed in constructing small temporary huts among the rocks, on the side of a high hill close to the village. The situation was almost impregnable, being every where surrounded with high precipices, except on the eastern side, where the natives had left a pathway sufficient to allow one person at a time to ascend. Upon the brow of the hill, immediately over this path, I observed several heaps of large loose stones, which the people told me were intended to be thrown down upon the Foulahs, if they should attempt the hill.

At daybreak on the 23d we departed from this village, and entered the Jallonka Wilderness. We passed, in the course of the morning, the ruins of two small towns which had lately been burnt by the Foulahs. The fire must have been very intense, for I observed that the walls of many of the huts were slightly vitrified, and appeared at a distance as if covered with a red varnish. About ten o'clock we came to the river Wonda, which is somewhat larger than the river Kokoro; but the stream was at this time rather muddy, which Karfa assured me was occasioned by amazing shoals of fish. They were indeed seen in all directions, and in such abundance that I fancied the water itself tasted and smelt fishy. As soon as we had crossed the river, Karfa gave orders that all the people of the coffle should in future keep close together, and travel in their proper station. The guides and young men were accordingly placed in the van, the women and slaves in the centre, and the freemen in the rear. In this order we travelled with uncommon expedition through a woody but beautiful country, interspersed with a pleasing variety of hill and dale, and abounding with partridges, guinea-fowls, and deer, until sunset, when we arrived at a most romantic stream called Co-meissang. My arms and neck having been exposed to the sun during the whole day, and irritated by the rubbing of my dress in walking, were now very much inflamed and covered with blisters, and I was happy to embrace the opportunity, while the coffle rested on the bank of this river, to bathe myself in the stream. This practice, together with the cool of the evening, much diminished the inflammation. About three miles to the westward of the Co-meissang we halted in a thick wood, and kindled our fires for the night. We were all by this time very much fatigued, having, as I judged, travelled this day thirty miles, but no person was heard to complain. Whilst supper was preparing, Karfa made one of the slaves break some branches from the trees for my bed. When we had finished our supper of kouskous, moistened with some boiling water, and put the slaves in irons, we all lay down to sleep; but we were frequently disturbed in the night by the howling of wild beasts, and we found the small brown ants very troublesome.

April 24th.—Before daybreak the bushreens said their morning prayers, and most of the free people drank a little *moening* (a sort of gruel), part of which was likewise given to such of the slaves as appeared least able to sustain the fatigues of the day. One of Karfa's female slaves was very sulky, and when some gruel was offered to her, she refused to drink it. As soon as day dawned we set out, and travelled the whole morning over a wild and rocky country, by which my feet were much bruised, and I was sadly apprehensive that I should not be able to keep up with the coffle during the day; but I was in a great measure relieved from this anxiety, when I observed that others were more exhausted than myself. In particular, the woman slave who had refused victuals in the morning, began now to lag behind, and complain dreadfully of pains in her legs. Her load was taken from her and given to another slave, and she was ordered to keep in the front of the coffle. About eleven o'clock, as we were resting by a small rivulet, some of the people discovered a hive of bees in a hollow tree, and they were proceeding to obtain the honey, when the largest swarm I ever beheld flew out, and, attacking the people of the

coffe, made us fly in all directions. I took the alarm first, and I believe was the only person who escaped with impunity. When our enemies thought fit to desist from pursuing us, and every person was employed in picking out the stings he had received, it was discovered that the poor woman above mentioned, whose name was Nealee, was not come up; and as many of the slaves in their retreat had left their bundles behind them, it became necessary for some persons to return and bring them. In order to do this with safety, fire was set to the grass a considerable way to the eastward of the hive, and the wind driving the fire furiously along, the party pushed through the smoke, and recovered the bundles. They likewise brought with them poor Nealee, whom they found lying by the rivulet. She was very much exhausted, and had crept to the stream in hopes to defend herself from the bees, by throwing water over her body; but this proved ineffectual, for she was stung in the most dreadful manner.

When the slates had picked out the stings as far as they could, she was washed with water, and then rubbed with bruised leaves; but the wretched woman obstinately refused to proceed any farther, declaring that she would rather die than walk another step. As entreaties and threats were used in vain, the whip was at length applied; and after bearing patiently a few strokes, she started up, and walked with tolerable expedition for four or five hours longer, when she made an attempt to run away from the coffle, but was so very weak that she fell down in the grass. Though she was unable to rise, the whip was a second time applied, but without effect, upon which Karfa desired two of the slates to place her upon the ass which carried our dry provisions; but she could not sit erect, and the ass being very refractory, it was found impossible to carry her forward in that manner. The slates, however, were unwilling to abandon her, the day's journey being nearly ended; they therefore made a sort of litter of bamboo canes, upon which she was placed, and tied on it with slips of bark; this litter was carried upon the heads of two slaves, one walking before the other, and they were followed by two others, who relieved them occasionally. In this manner the woman was carried forward until it was dark, when we reached a stream of water, at the foot of a high hill called Gankaran-Kooro, and here we stopt for the night, and set about preparing our supper. As we had only ate one handful of meal since the preceding night, and travelled all day in a hot sun, many of the slaves who had loads upon their heads were very much fatigued, and some of them *snap* their fingers, which among the negroes is a sure sign of desperation. The slates immediately put them all in irons; and such of them as had evinced signs of great despondency were kept apart from the rest, and had their hands tied. In the morning they were found greatly recovered.

April 25th.—At daybreak poor Nealee was awakened, but her limbs were now become so stiff and painful that she could neither walk nor stand; she was therefore lifted, like a corpse, upon the back of the ass, and the slates endeavoured to secure her in that situation by fastening her hands together under the ass's neck, and her feet under the belly, with long slips of bark; but the ass was so very unruly that no sort of treatment could induce him to proceed with his load, and as Nealee made no exertion to prevent herself from falling, she was quickly thrown off, and had one of her legs much bruised. Every attempt to carry her forward being thus found ineffectual, the general cry of the coffle was *Kang-tegi, kang-tegi!* ("Cut her throat, cut her throat!")—an operation I did not wish to see performed, and therefore marched onwards with the foremost of the coffle. I had not walked above a mile, when one of Karfa's domestic slaves came up to me, with poor Nealee's garment upon the end of his bow, and exclaimed, *Nealee affeeleeta!* ("Nealee is lost!") I asked him whether the slates had given him the garment as a reward for cutting her throat; he replied, that Karfa and the schoolmaster would not consent to that measure, but had left her on the road, where un-

doubtedly she soon perished, and was probably devoured by wild beasts.

The sad fate of this wretched woman, notwithstanding the outcry before mentioned, made a strong impression on the minds of the whole coffle, and the schoolmaster fasted the whole of the ensuing day in consequence of it. We proceeded in deep silence, and soon afterwards crossed the river Furkoomah, which was about as large as the river Wonda. We now travelled with great expedition, every one being apprehensive he might otherwise meet with the fate of poor Nealee. It was, however, with great difficulty that I could keep up, although I threw away my spear and every thing that could in the least obstruct me. About noon we saw a large herd of elephants, but they suffered us to pass unmolested; and in the evening we halted near a thicket of bamboo, but found no water, so that we were forced to proceed four miles farther, to a small stream, where we stopt for the night. We had marched this day, as I judged, about twenty-six miles.

April 26th.—This morning two of the schoolmaster's pupils complained much of pains in their legs, and one of the slaves walked lame, the soles of his feet being very much blistered and inflamed; we proceeded, notwithstanding, and about eleven o'clock began to ascend a rocky hill called Boki-Kooro, and it was past two in the afternoon before we reached the level ground on the other side. This was the most rocky road we had yet encountered, and it hurt our feet much. In a short time we arrived at a pretty large river called Boki, which we forded: it ran smooth and clear over a bed of whinstone. About a mile to the westward of the river, we came to a road which leads to the northeast towards Gadou, and seeing the marks of many horses' feet upon the soft sand, the slates conjectured that a party of plunderers had lately rode that way to fall upon some town of Gadou; and lest they should discover upon their return that we had passed, and attempt to pursue us by the marks of our feet, the coffle was ordered to disperse, and travel in a loose manner through the high grass and bushes. A little before it was dark, having crossed the ridge of hills to the westward of the river Boki, we came to a well called *cullong qui* (white sand well), and here we rested for the night.

April 27th.—We departed from the well early in the morning, and walked on with the greatest alacrity, in hopes of reaching a town before night. The road, during the forenoon, led through extensive thickets of dry bamboos. About two o'clock we came to a stream called Nunkolo, where we were each of us regaled with a handful of meal, which, according to a superstitious custom, was not to be eaten until it was first moistened with water from this stream. About four o'clock we reached Sooseeta, a small Jallonka village, situated in the district of Kullo, which comprehends all that tract of country lying along the banks of the Black River, or main branch of the Senegal. These were the first human habitations we had seen since we left the village to the westward of Kinytakooro, having travelled in the course of the last five days upwards of one hundred miles. Here, after a great deal of entreaty, we were provided with huts to sleep in, but the master of the village plainly told us that he could not give us any provisions, as there had lately been a great scarcity in this part of the country. He assured us, that before they had gathered in their present crops, the whole inhabitants of Kullo had been for twenty-nine days without tasting corn, during which time they supported themselves entirely upon the yellow powder which is found in the pods of the *mitta*, so called by the natives, a species of mimosa, and upon the seeds of the bamboo cane, which, when properly pounded and dressed, taste very much like rice. As our dry provisions were not yet exhausted, a considerable quantity of kouskous was dressed for supper, and many of the villagers were invited to take part of the repast; but they made a very bad return for this kindness, for in the night they seized upon one of the schoolmaster's boys, who had fallen asleep under the bentang tree, and carried him

away. The boy fortunately awoke before he was far from the village, and setting up a loud scream, the man who carried him put his hand upon his mouth, and ran with him into the woods; but afterwards understanding that he belonged to the schoolmaster, whose place of residence is only three days' journey distant, he thought, I suppose, that he could not retain him as a slave without the schoolmaster's knowledge, and therefore stripped off the boy's clothes, and permitted him to return.

April 28th.—Early in the morning we departed from Sooseeta, and about ten o'clock came to an unwall'd town called Manna, the inhabitants of which were employed in collecting the fruit of the nitta trees, which are very numerous in this neighbourhood. The pods are long and narrow, and contain a few black seeds enveloped in the fine mealy powder before mentioned; the meal itself is of a bright yellow colour, resembling the flour of sulphur, and has a sweet mucilaginous taste: when eaten by itself it is clammy, but when mixed with milk or water, it constitutes a very pleasant and nourishing article of diet.

The language of the people of Manna is the same that is spoken all over that extensive and hilly country called Jalonkadoo. Some of the words have a great affinity to the Mandingo, but the natives themselves consider it as a distinct language: their numerals are these:—

|        |          |        |                   |
|--------|----------|--------|-------------------|
| One,   | Kidding. | Six,   | Seni.             |
| Two,   | Fidding. | Seven, | Soolo ma fidding. |
| Three, | Sarra.   | Eight, | Soolo ma sarra.   |
| Four,  | Nani.    | Nine,  | Soolo ma nani.    |
| Five,  | Soolo.   | Ten,   | Nuff.             |

The Jallonkas, like the Mandingoes, are governed by a number of petty chiefs, who are in a great measure independent of each other: they have no common sovereign, and the chiefs are seldom upon such terms of friendship as to assist each other even in war time. The chief of Manna, with a number of his people, accompanied us to the banks of the Bafing, or Black River (a principal branch of the Senegal), which we crossed upon a bridge of bamboos of a very singular construction. The river at this place is smooth and deep, and has very little current. Two tall trees, when tied together by the tops, are sufficiently long to reach from one side to the other, the roots resting upon the rocks, and the tops floating in the water. When a few trees have been placed in this direction, they are covered with dry bamboos, so as to form a floating bridge, with a sloping gangway at each end, where the trees rest upon the rocks. This bridge is carried away every year by the swelling of the river in the rainy season, and is constantly rebuilt by the inhabitants of Manna, who, on that account, expect a small tribute from every passenger.

In the afternoon we passed several villages, at none of which we could procure a lodging; and in the twilight we received information that two hundred Jallonkas had assembled near a town called Melo, with a view to plunder the coffle. This induced us to alter our course, and we travelled with great secrecy until midnight, when we approached a town called Koba. Before we entered the town, the names of all the people belonging to the coffle were called over, and a freeman and three slaves were found to be missing. Every person immediately concluded that the slaves had murdered the freeman and made their escape. It was therefore agreed that six people should go back as far as the last village, and endeavour to find his body, or collect some information concerning the slaves. In the meantime, the coffle was ordered to lie concealed in a cotton field near a large nitta tree, and nobody to speak except in a whisper. It was towards morning before the six men returned, having heard nothing of the man or the slaves. As none of us had tasted victuals for the last twenty-four hours, it was agreed that we should go into Koba, and endeavour to procure some provisions. We accordingly entered the town before it was quite day, and Karfa purchased from the chief man, for three strings of beads, a considerable quantity of

ground nuts, which we roasted and ate for breakfast: we were afterwards provided with huts, and rested here for the day.

About eleven o'clock, to our great joy and surprise, the freeman and slaves who had parted from the coffle the preceding night, entered the town. One of the slaves, it seems, had hurt his foot, and the night being very dark, they soon lost sight of the coffle. The freeman, as soon as he found himself alone with the slaves, was aware of his own danger, and insisted on putting them in irons. The slaves were at first rather unwilling to submit, but when he threatened to stab them one by one with his spear, they made no farther resistance; and he remained with them among the bushes until morning, when he let them out of irons, and came to the town in hopes of hearing which route the coffle had taken. The information that we received concerning the Jallonkas, who intended to rob the coffle, was this day confirmed, and we were forced to remain here until the afternoon of the 30th, when Karfa hired a number of people to protect us, and we proceeded to a village called Tinkingtang. Departing from this village on the day following, we crossed a high ridge of mountains to the west of the Black River, and travelled over a rough stony country until sunset, when we arrived at Lingicotta, a small village in the district of Woradoo. Here we shook out the last handful of meal from our dry provision bags, this being the second day (since we crossed the Black River) that we had travelled from morning until night without tasting one morsel of food.

May 2d.—We departed from Lingicotta; but the slaves being very much fatigued, we halted for the night at a village about nine miles to the westward, and procured some provisions through the interest of the schoolmaster, who now sent forward a messenger to Malacotta, his native town, to inform his friends of his arrival in the country, and to desire them to provide the necessary quantity of victuals to entertain the coffle for two or three days.

May 3d.—We set out for Malacotta, and about noon arrived at a village near a considerable stream of water which flows to the westward: here we determined to stop for the return of the messenger which had been sent to Malacotta the day before; and as the natives assured me there were no crocodiles in this stream, I went and bathed myself. Very few people here can swim, for they came in numbers to dissuade me from venturing into a pool where they said the water would come over my head. About two o'clock the messenger returned from Malacotta, and the schoolmaster's elder brother being impatient to see him, came along with the messenger to meet him at this village. The interview between the two brothers, who had not seen each other for nine years, was very natural and affecting. They fell upon each other's neck, and it was some time before either of them could speak. At length, when the schoolmaster had a little recovered himself, he took his brother by the hand, and turning round, "This is the man," said he, pointing to Karfa, "who has been my father in Manding; I would have pointed him out sooner to you, but my heart was too full."

We reached Malacotta in the evening, where we were well received. This is an unwall'd town; the huts for the most part are made of split cane, twisted into a sort of wicker-work, and plastered over with mud. Here we remained three days, and were each day presented with a bullock from the schoolmaster; we were likewise well entertained by the townspeople, who appear to be very active and industrious. They make very good soap by boiling ground nuts in water, and then adding a ley of wood ashes. They likewise manufacture excellent iron, which they carry to Bondou to barter for salt. A party of the townspeople had lately returned from a trading expedition of this kind, and brought information concerning a war between Almami Abdulkader, king of Foota-Torra, and Damel, king of the Jaloffas. The events of this war soon became a favourite subject with the singing men, and the common topic of conversation in all the kingdoms bordering upon the Senegal and Gambia; and as the account is somewhat singular,

I shall here abridge it for the reader's information. The king of Foota-Torra, inflamed with a zeal for propagating his religion, had sent an embassy to Damel similar to that which he had sent to Kasson, as related in page 21. The ambassador, on the present occasion, was accompanied by two of the principal bushreens, who carried each a large knife, fixed on the top of a long pole. As soon as he had procured admission into the presence of Damel, and announced the pleasure of his sovereign, he ordered the bushreens to present the emblems of his mission. The two knives were accordingly laid before Damel, and the ambassador explained himself as follows:—"With this knife," said he, "Abdulkader will condescend to shave the head of Damel, if Damel will embrace the Mahomedan faith; and with this other knife, Abdulkader will cut the throat of Damel, if Damel refuses to embrace it:—Take your choice." Damel coolly told the ambassador that he had no choice to make—he neither chose to have his head shaved, nor his throat cut; and with this answer the ambassador was civilly dismissed. Abdulkader took his measures accordingly, and with a powerful army invaded Damel's country. The inhabitants of the towns and villages filled up their wells, destroyed their provisions, carried off their effects, and abandoned their dwellings, as he approached. By this means he was led on from place to place, until he had advanced three days' journey into the country of the Jaloffs. He had, indeed, met with no opposition, but his army had suffered so much from the scarcity of water that several of his men had died by the way. This induced him to direct his march towards a watering-place in the woods, where his men, having quenched their thirst, and being overcome with fatigue, lay down carelessly to sleep among the bushes. In this situation, they were attacked by Damel before daybreak, and completely routed. Many of them were trampled to death, as they lay asleep, by the Jaloff horses; others were killed in attempting to make their escape; and a still greater number were taken prisoners. Among the latter was Abdulkader himself. This ambitious, or rather frantic prince, who but a month before had sent the threatening message to Damel, was now himself led into his presence as a miserable captive. The behaviour of Damel, on this occasion, is never mentioned by the singing men but in terms of the highest approbation; and it was indeed so extraordinary in an African prince, that the reader may find it difficult to give credit to the recital. When his royal prisoner was brought before him in irons, and thrown upon the ground, the magnanimous Damel, instead of setting his foot upon his neck, and stabbing him with his spear, according to custom in such cases, addressed him as follows:—"Abdulkader, answer me this question. If the chance of war had placed me in your situation, and you in mine, how would you have treated me?" "I would have thrust my spear into your heart," returned Abdulkader with great firmness; "and I know that a similar fate awaits me." "Not so," said Damel; "my spear is indeed red with the blood of your subjects killed in battle, and I could now give it a deeper stain by dipping it in your own, but this would not build up my towns, nor bring to life the thousands who fell in the woods. I will not therefore kill you in cold blood, but I will retain you as my slave, until I perceive that your presence in your own kingdom will be no longer dangerous to your neighbours, and then I will consider of the proper way of disposing of you." Abdulkader was accordingly retained, and worked as a slave for three months; at the end of which period, Damel listened to the solicitations of the inhabitants of Foota-Torra, and restored to them their king. Strange as this story may appear, I have no doubt of the truth of it; it was told me at Malacotta by the negroes—it was afterwards related to me by the Europeans on the Gambia—by some of the French at Goree—and confirmed by nine slaves, who were taken prisoners along with Abdulkader by the watering-place in the woods, and carried in the same ship with me to the West Indies.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

The Caravan proceeds to Konkadoo, and crosses the Falemé River.—Its arrival at Baniserie, Kirwani, and Tambacunda.—Incidents on the Road.—A Matrimonial Case.—The Caravan proceeds through many Towns and Villages, and arrives at length on the Banks of the Gambia.—Passes through Medina, the Capital of Woollí, and finally stops at Jindey.—The Author, accompanied by Karfa, proceeds to Pisanía.—Various Occurrences previous to his Departure from Africa.—Takes his Passage in an American Ship.—Short Account of his Voyage to Great Britain by the Way of the West Indies.

On the 7th of May we departed from Malacotta, and having crossed the *Ba Lee* (Honey River), a branch of the Senegal, we arrived in the evening at a walled town called Bintingala, where we rested two days. From thence, in one day more, we proceeded to Dindikoo, a small town situated at the bottom of a high ridge of hills, from which this district is named *Konkodoo* (the country of mountains). These hills are very productive of gold. I was shown a small quantity of this metal, which had been lately collected; the grains were about the usual size, but much flatter than those of Manding, and were found in white quartz, which had been broken to pieces by hammers. At this town I met with a negro whose hair and skin were of a dull white colour. He was of that sort which are called in the Spanish West Indies *albinos*, or white negroes. The skin is cadaverous and unsightly, and the natives considered this complexion (I believe truly) as the effect of disease.

May 11th.—At daybreak we departed from Dindikoo, and, after a toilsome day's travel, arrived in the evening at Satadoo, the capital of a district of the same name. This town was formerly of considerable extent, but many families had left it in consequence of the predatory incursions of the Foulahs of Foota-Jalla, who made it a practice to come secretly through the woods, and carry off people from the corn-fields, and even from the wells near the town. In the afternoon of the 12th, we crossed the Falemé river, the same which I had formerly crossed at Bondou in my journey eastward. This river, at this season of the year, is easily forded at this place, the stream being only about two feet deep. The water is very pure, and flows rapidly over a bed of sand and gravel. We lodged for the night at a small village called Medina, the sole property of a Mandingo merchant, who, by a long intercourse with Europeans, has been induced to adopt some of their customs. His victuals were served up in pewter dishes, and even his houses were built after the fashion of the English houses on the Gambia.

May 13th.—In the morning, as we were preparing to depart, a coffer of slaves belonging to some Serawoolli traders crossed the river, and agreed to proceed with us to Baniserie, the capital of Dentila—a very long day's journey from this place. We accordingly set out together, and travelled with great expedition through the woods until noon, when one of the Serawoolli slaves dropt the load from his head, for which he was smartly whipped. The load was replaced, but he had not proceeded above a mile before he let it fall a second time, for which he received the same punishment. After this he travelled in great pain until about two o'clock, when we stopt to breathe a little, by a pool of water, the day being remarkably hot. The poor slave was now so completely exhausted that his master was obliged to release him from the rope, for he lay motionless on the ground. A Serawoolli therefore undertook to remain with him, and endeavour to bring him to the town during the cool of the night: in the meanwhile we continued our route, and, after a very hard day's travel, arrived at Baniserie late in the evening.

One of our slaves was a native of this place, from which he had been absent three years. This man invited me to go with him to his house, at the gate of which his friends met him, with many expressions of joy, shaking hands with him, embracing him, and singing and dancing before him. As soon as he had seated himself upon a mat, by the threshold of his door, a young woman (his intended bride) brought a little water

in a calabash, and kneeling down before him, desired him to wash his hands; when he had done this, the girl, with a tear of joy sparkling in her eyes, drank the water—this being considered as the greatest proof she could possibly give him of her fidelity and attachment. About eight o'clock the same evening, the Serawoolli, who had been left in the woods to take care of the fatigued slave, returned and told us that he was dead—the general opinion, however, was that he himself had killed him or left him to perish on the road, for the Serawoollies are said to be infinitely more cruel in their treatment of slaves than the Mandingoes. We remained at Baniserile two days, in order to purchase native iron, shea-butter, and some other articles for sale on the Gambia; and here the satee who had invited me to his house, and who possessed three slaves, part of the coffle, having obtained information that the price on the coast was very low, determined to separate from us, and remain with his slaves where he was, until an opportunity should offer of disposing of them to advantage—giving us to understand that he should complete his nuptials with the young woman before mentioned in the meantime.

May 16th.—We departed from Baniserile, and travelled through thick woods until noon, when we saw at a distance the town of Julifunda, but did not approach it, as we proposed to rest for the night at a large town called Kirwani, which we reached about four o'clock in the afternoon. This town stands in a valley, and the country, for more than a mile round it, is cleared of wood and well cultivated. The inhabitants appear to be very active and industrious, and seem to have carried the system of agriculture to some degree of perfection, for they collect the dung of their cattle into large heaps during the dry season, for the purpose of manuring their land with it at the proper time. I saw nothing like this in any other part of Africa. Near the town are several smelting furnaces, from which the natives obtain very good iron. They afterwards hammer the metal into small bars, about a foot in length and two inches in breadth, one of which bars is sufficient to make two Mandingo corn hoes. On the morning after our arrival we were visited by a satee of this place, who informed Karfa, that among some slaves he had lately purchased was a native of Foota-Jalla, and as that country was at no great distance, he could not safely employ him in the labours of the field, lest he should effect his escape. The satee was therefore desirous of exchanging this slave for one of Karfa's, and offered some cloth and shea-butter to induce Karfa to comply with the proposal, which was accepted. The satee thereupon sent a boy to order the slave in question to bring him a few ground nuts. The poor creature soon afterwards entered the court in which we were sitting, having no suspicion of what was negotiating, until the master caused the gate to be shut, and told him to sit down. The slave now saw his danger, and perceiving the gate to be shut upon him, threw down the nuts and jumped over the fence. He was immediately pursued and overtaken by the satees, who brought him back and secured him in irons, after which one of Karfa's slaves was released and delivered in exchange. The unfortunate captive was at first very much dejected, but in the course of a few days his melancholy gradually subsided, and he became at length as cheerful as any of his companions.

Departing from Kirwani on the morning of the 20th, we entered the Tenda Wilderness of two days' journey. The woods were very thick, and the country shelved towards the south-west. About ten o'clock we met a coffle of twenty-six people, and seven loaded asses, returning from the Gambia. Most of the men were armed with muskets, and had broad belts of scarlet cloth over their shoulders, and European hats upon their heads. They informed us that there was very little demand for slaves on the coast, as no vessel had arrived for some months past. On hearing this, the Serawoollies, who had travelled with us from the Falemé river, separated themselves and their slaves from the coffle. They had not, they said, the means of maintaining their slaves in Gambia until a vessel should ar-

rive, and were unwilling to sell them to disadvantage; they therefore departed to the northward for Kajaaga. We continued our route through the wilderness, and travelled all day through a rugged country, covered with extensive thickets of bamboo. At sunset, to our great joy, we arrived at a pool of water near a large tabba tree, whence the place is called Tabba-gee, and here we rested a few hours. The water at this season of the year is by no means plentiful in these woods, and as the days were insufferably hot, Karfa proposed to travel in the night. Accordingly, about eleven o'clock the slaves were taken out of their irons, and the people of the coffle received orders to keep close together, as well to prevent the slaves from attempting to escape as on account of the wild beasts. We travelled with great alacrity until daybreak, when it was discovered that a free woman had parted from the coffle in the night: her name was called until the woods resounded, but no answer being given, we conjectured that she had either mistaken the road, or that a lion had seized her unperceived. At length it was agreed that four people should go back a few miles to a small rivulet, where some of the coffle had stooped to drink as we passed it in the night, and that the coffle should wait for their return. The sun was about an hour high before the people came back with the woman, whom they found lying fast asleep by the stream. We now resumed our journey, and about eleven o'clock reached a walled town called Tambacunda, where we were well received. Here we remained four days, on account of a palaver which was held on the following occasion:—Modi Lemina, one of the satees belonging to the coffle, had formerly married a woman of this town, who had borne him two children; he afterwards went to Manding, and remained there eight years, without sending any account of himself during all that time to his deserted wife, who, seeing no prospect of his return, at the end of three years had married another man, to whom she had likewise borne two children. Lemina now claimed his wife; but the second husband refused to deliver her up, insisting that by the laws of Africa, when a man has been three years absent from his wife, without giving her notice of his being alive, the woman is at liberty to marry again. After all the circumstances had been fully investigated in an assembly of the chief men, it was determined that the wife should make her choice, and be at liberty either to return to the first husband, or continue with the second, as she alone should think proper. Favourable as this determination was to the lady, she found it a difficult matter to make up her mind, and requested time for consideration; but I think I could perceive that *first love* would carry the day. Lemina was indeed somewhat older than his rival, but he was also much richer. What weight this circumstance had in the scale of his wife's affections I pretend not to say.

About one o'clock on the morning of the 26th, we reached Sibikillim, a walled village; but the inhabitants having the character of inhospitality towards strangers, and of being much addicted to theft, we did not think proper to enter the gate. We rested a short time under a tree, and then continued our route until it was dark, when we halted for the night by a small stream running towards the Gambia. Next day the road led over a wild and rocky country, every where rising into hills, and abounding with monkeys and wild beasts. In the rivulets among the hills we found great plenty of fish. This was a very hard day's journey, and it was not until sunset that we reached the village of Koomboo, near to which are the ruins of a large town formerly destroyed by war. The inhabitants of Koomboo, like those of Sibikillim, have so bad a reputation, that strangers seldom lodge in the village; we accordingly rested for the night in the fields, where we erected temporary huts for our protection, there being great appearance of rain.

May 28th.—We departed from Koomboo, and slept at a Foulah town about seven miles to the westward; from which, on the day following, having crossed a considerable branch of the Gambia, called Neola Koba, we

reached a well-inhabited part of the country. Here are several towns within sight of each other, collectively called Tenda, but each is distinguished also by its particular name. We lodged at one of them called Koba Tenda, where we remained the day following, in order to procure provisions for our support in crossing the Simbani woods. On the 30th we reached Jallacotta, a considerable town, but much infested by Foulah banditti, who come through the woods from Bondou, and steal every thing they can lay their hands on. A few days before our arrival they had stolen twenty head of cattle, and on the day following made a second attempt, but were beaten off, and one of them taken prisoner. Here one of the slaves belonging to the coffle, who had travelled with great difficulty for the last three days, was found unable to proceed any farther: his master (a singing man) proposed therefore to exchange him for a young slave girl belonging to one of the townspeople. The poor girl was ignorant of her fate until the bundles were all tied up in the morning, and the coffle ready to depart, when, coming with some other young women to see the coffle set out, her master took her by the hand, and delivered her to the singing man. Never was a face of serenity more suddenly changed into one of the deepest distress; the terror she manifested on having the load put upon her head, and the rope fastened round her neck, and the sorrow with which she bade adieu to her companions, were truly affecting. About nine o'clock we crossed a large plain covered with *ciboa* trees (a species of palm), and came to the river Nerico, a branch of the Gambia. This was but a small river at this time, but in the rainy season it is often dangerous to travellers. As soon as we had crossed this river, the singing men began to vociferate a particular song, expressive of their joy at having got safe into the west country, or, as they expressed it, *the land of the setting sun*. The country was found to be very level, and the soil a mixture of clay and sand. In the afternoon it rained hard, and we had recourse to the common negro umbrella, a large *ciboa* leaf, which being placed upon the head, completely defends the whole body from the rain. We lodged for the night under the shade of a large tabba tree, near the ruins of a village. On the morning following we crossed a stream called Noulicoo, and about two o'clock, to my infinite joy, I saw myself once more on the banks of the Gambia, which at this place being deep and smooth, is navigable; but the people told me, that a little lower down the stream is so shallow that the coffles frequently cross it on foot. On the south side of the river opposite to this place, is a large plain of clayey ground, called Toombi Toorila. It is a sort of morass, in which people are frequently lost, it being more than a day's journey across it. In the afternoon we met a man and two women, with bundles of cotton cloth upon their heads. They were going, they said, for Dentila, to purchase iron, there being a great scarcity of that article on the Gambia. A little before it was dark we arrived at a village in the kingdom of Woolli, called Seesukunda. Near this village there are great plenty of nitta trees, and the slaves in passing along had collected large bunches of the fruit; but such was the superstition of the inhabitants, that they would not permit any of the fruit to be brought into the village. They had been told, they said, that some catastrophe would happen to the place, when people lived upon nittas and neglected to cultivate corn.

June 2d.—We departed from Seesukunda, and passed a number of villages, at none of which was the coffle permitted to stop, although we were all very much fatigued: it was four o'clock in the afternoon before we reached Baraconda, where we rested one day. Departing from Baraconda on the morning of the 4th, we reached in a few hours Medina, the capital of the king of Woolli's dominions, from whom the reader may recollect I received an hospitable reception in the beginning of December 1795, in my journey eastward (see p. 13). I immediately inquired concerning the health of my good old benefactor, and learnt with great concern that he was dangerously ill. As Karfa would not allow the coffle

to stop, I could not present my respects to the king in person, but I sent him word, by the officer to whom we paid customs, that his prayers for my safety had not been unavailing. We continued our route until sunset, when we lodged at a small village a little to the westward of Kootacunda, and on the day following arrived at Jindey, where, eighteen months before, I had parted from my friend Dr Laidley—an interval during which I had not beheld the face of a Christian, nor once heard the delightful sound of my native language.

Being now arrived within a short distance of Pisania, from whence my journey originally commenced, and learning that my friend Karfa was not likely to meet with an immediate opportunity of selling his slaves on the Gambia, it occurred to me to suggest to him, that he would find it for his interest to leave them at Jindey until a market should offer. Karfa agreed with me in this opinion, and hired from the chief man of the town huts for their accommodation, and a piece of land on which to employ them in raising corn, and other provisions for their maintenance. With regard to himself, he declared that he would not quit me until my departure from Africa. We set out accordingly, Karfa, myself, and one of the Foulahs belonging to the coffle, early on the morning of the 9th; but although I was now approaching the end of my tedious and toilsome journey, and expected in another day to meet with countrymen and friends, I could not part, for the last time, with my unfortunate fellow-travellers—doomed, as I knew most of them to be, to a life of captivity and slavery in a foreign land—without great emotion. During a wearisome peregrination of more than five hundred British miles, exposed to the burning rays of a tropical sun, these poor slaves, amidst their own infinitely greater sufferings, would commiserate mine, and frequently, of their own accord, bring water to quench my thirst, and at night collect branches and leaves to prepare me a bed in the wilderness. We parted with reciprocal expressions of regret and benediction. My good wishes and prayers were all I could bestow upon them, and it afforded me some consolation to be told that they were sensible I had no more to give.

My anxiety to get forward admitting of no delay on the road, we reached Tendaconda in the evening, and were hospitably received at the house of an aged black female called Seniorsa Camilla, a person who had resided many years at the English factory, and spoke our language. I was known to her before I had left the Gambia, at the outset of my journey, but my dress and figure were now so different from the usual appearance of a European, that she was very excusable in mistaking me for a Moor. When I told her my name and country, she surveyed me with great astonishment, and seemed unwilling to give credit to the testimony of her senses. She assured me that none of the traders on the Gambia ever expected to see me again, having been informed long ago that the Moors of Ludamar had murdered me, as they had murdered Major Houghton. I inquired for my two attendants, Johnson and Demba, and learnt, with great sorrow, that neither of them was returned. Karfa, who had never before heard people converse in English, listened to us with great attention. Every thing he saw seemed wonderful. The furniture of the house, the chairs, &c., and particularly beds with curtains, were objects of his great admiration, and he asked me a thousand questions concerning the utility and necessity of different articles, to some of which I found it difficult to give satisfactory answers.

On the morning of the 10th, Mr Robert Ainsley, having learnt that I was at Tendaconda, came to meet me, and politely offered me the use of his horse. He informed me that Dr Laidley had removed all his property to a place called Kayee, a little farther down the river, and that he was then gone to Doomasansa with his vessel to purchase rice, but would return in a day or two. He therefore invited me to stay with him at Pisania, until the doctor's return. I accepted the invitation, and being accompanied by my friend Karfa, reached Pisania about ten o'clock. Mr Ainsley's schooner was lying at anchor before the place. This was the most

surprising object which Karfa had yet seen. He could not easily comprehend the use of the masts, sails, and rigging, nor did he conceive that it was possible, by any sort of contrivance, to make so large a body move forwards by the common force of the wind. The manner of fastening together the different planks which composed the vessel, and filling up the seams so as to exclude the water, was perfectly new to him; and I found that the schooner, with her cable and anchor, kept Karfa in deep meditation the greater part of the day.

About noon on the 12th, Dr Laidley returned from Doomasansa, and received me with great joy and satisfaction, as one risen from the dead. Finding that the wearing apparel which I had left under his care was not sold or sent to England, I lost no time in resuming the English dress, and disrobing my chin of its venerable encumbrance. Karfa surveyed me in my British apparel with great delight, but regretted exceedingly that I had taken off my beard, the loss of which, he said, had converted me from a man into a boy. Doctor Laidley readily undertook to discharge all the pecuniary engagements which I had entered into since my departure from the Gambia, and took my draft upon the Association for the amount. My agreement with Karfa (as I have already related) was to pay him the value of one prime slave, for which I had given him my bill upon Dr Laidley before we departed from Kamalia; for in case of my death on the road, I was unwilling that my benefactor should be a loser. But this good creature had continued to manifest towards me so much kindness, that I thought I made him but an inadequate recompense, when I told him that he was now to receive double the sum I had originally promised; and Dr Laidley assured him that he was ready to deliver the goods to that amount, whenever he thought proper to send for them. Karfa was overpowered by this unexpected token of my gratitude, and still more so, when he heard that I intended to send a handsome present to the good old schoolmaster, Fankooma, at Malacotta. He promised to carry up the goods along with his own; and Dr Laidley assured him, that he would exert himself in assisting him to dispose of his slaves to the best advantage, the moment a slave vessel should arrive. These, and other instances of attention and kindness shown him by Dr Laidley, were not lost upon Karfa. He would often say to me, "My journey has indeed been prosperous!" But observing the improved state of our manufactures, and our manifest superiority in the arts of civilised life, he would sometimes appear pensive, and exclaim with an involuntary sigh, *Fato feng inta feng!* ("Black men are nothing!") At other times he would ask me with great seriousness, what could possibly have induced me, who was no trader, to think of exploring so miserable a country as Africa? He meant by this to signify that, after what I must have witnessed in my own country, nothing in Africa could in his opinion deserve a moment's attention. I have preserved these little traits of character in this worthy negro, not only from regard to the man, but also because they appear to me to demonstrate that he possessed a mind *above his condition*: and to such of my readers as love to contemplate human nature in all its varieties, and to trace its progress from rudeness to refinement, I hope the account I have given of this poor African will not be unacceptable.

No European vessel had arrived at Gambia for many months previous to my return from the interior; and as the rainy season was now setting in, I persuaded Karfa to return to his people at Jindey. He parted with me on the 14th with great tenderness; but as I had little hopes of being able to quit Africa for the remainder of the year, I told him, as the fact was, that I expected to see him again before my departure. In this, however, I was luckily disappointed, and my narrative now hastens to its conclusion; for on the 15th, the ship *Charlestown*, an American vessel, commanded by Mr Charles Harris, entered the river. She came for slaves, intending to touch at Goree to fill up, and to proceed from thence to South Carolina. As the European merchants on the Gambia had at this time a great

many slaves on hand, they agreed with the captain to purchase the whole of his cargo, consisting chiefly of rum and tobacco, and deliver him slaves to the amount, in the course of two days. This afforded me such an opportunity of returning, though by a circuitous route, to my native country, as I thought was not to be neglected. I therefore immediately engaged my passage in this vessel for America; and having taken leave of Dr Laidley, to whose kindness I was so largely indebted, and my other friends on the river, I embarked at Kayee on the 17th day of June.

Our passage down the river was tedious and fatiguing; and the weather was so hot, moist, and unhealthy, that before our arrival at Goree, four of the seamen, the surgeon, and three of the slaves, had died of fevers. At Goree we were detained for want of provisions, until the beginning of October.

The number of slaves received on board this vessel, both on the Gambia and at Goree, was one hundred and thirty; of whom about twenty-five had been, I suppose, of free condition in Africa, as most of those, being bushreens, could write a little Arabic. Nine of them had become captives in the religious war between Abdulkader and Damel, mentioned in the latter part of the preceding chapter. Two of the others had seen me as I passed through Bondou, and many of them had heard of me in the interior countries. My conversation with them, in their native language, gave them great comfort; and as the surgeon was dead, I consented to act in a medical capacity in his room for the remainder of the voyage. They had in truth need of every consolation in my power to bestow; not that I observed any wanton acts of cruelty practised either by the master or the seamen towards them, but the mode of confining and securing negroes in the American slave ships (owing chiefly to the weakness of their crews) being abundantly more rigid and severe than in British vessels employed in the same traffic, made these poor creatures to suffer greatly, and a general sickness prevailed amongst them. Besides the three who died on the Gambia, and six or eight while we remained at Goree, eleven perished at sea, and many of the survivors were reduced to a very weak and emaciated condition.

In the midst of these distresses, the vessel, after having been three weeks at sea, became so extremely leaky as to require constant exertion at the pumps. It was found necessary, therefore, to take some of the ablest of the negro men out of irons, and employ them in this labour, in which they were often worked beyond their strength. This produced a complication of miseries not easily to be described. We were, however, relieved much sooner than I expected; for the leak continuing to gain upon us, notwithstanding our utmost exertions to clear the vessel, the seamen insisted on bearing away for the West Indies, as affording the only chance of saving our lives. Accordingly, after some objections on the part of the master, we directed our course for Antigua, and fortunately made that island in about thirty-five days after our departure from Goree. Yet even at this juncture we narrowly escaped destruction; for on approaching the north-west side of the island, we struck on the Diamond Rock, and got into St John's harbour with great difficulty. The vessel was afterwards condemned as unfit for sea, and the slaves, as I have heard, were ordered to be sold for the benefit of the owners.

At this island I remained ten days, when the *Chesterfield Packet*, homeward bound from the Leeward Islands, touching at St John's for the Antigua mail, I took my passage in that vessel. We sailed on the 24th of November, and, after a short but tempestuous voyage, arrived at Falmouth on the 22d of December, from whence I immediately set out for London; having been absent from England two years and seven months.

[Here terminates the account of Mr Park's first travels in Africa, as written by himself, and we continue the narrative of his life and second expedition as follows.]

## RESIDENCE IN BRITAIN FROM 1797 TILL 1805.

DAYLIGHT had scarcely dawned on the morning of Christmas day 1797, when Mungo Park arrived in London from Falmouth. Unwilling to disturb the family of his brother-in-law, Mr Dickson, at so early an hour, the traveller, in order to while away a little time, stepped into the gardens of the British Museum, one of the entrances to which was accidentally open. While sauntering about the walks, Park was seen by Mr Dickson, who had the charge of these gardens, and who had visited them early that morning for some casual purpose. It may well be imagined that the relative of the long unheard-of wanderer doubted at first whether the object which met his gaze was a vision or a reality. These doubts were, of course, speedily dispelled, and a joyful recognition ensued. Ere long, Park had the pleasure of receiving a rapturous welcome from all his friends then resident in London, and assurances of the welfare of those at a distance.

The African Association hailed Park's arrival with the liveliest satisfaction; the more so, it may be believed, as they had been so often disappointed by the unhappy results of former missions. Nor was the actual value of the information brought by Park, and of the discoveries made by him, disproportioned to the interest which his return excited. His journey set at rest, once and for ever, the question of the Niger's existence, and though the mystery remained in part unexplained, a great step had been made towards its ultimate and complete solution. As soon as the extent and importance of his labours became known, the public in general hailed the return of the traveller not less warmly than the Association had done, and the publication of a narrative of his wanderings was looked forward to with the utmost impatience. The Association liberally gave Park permission to publish his papers exclusively for his own benefit; but in order to gratify in some measure the curiosity which prevailed, the Secretary of the society, Mr Bryan Edwards, was employed to draw up an abstract or summary of the journey from the traveller's minutes. This abridgement was ably executed, and formed the groundwork of the detailed narrative drawn up and published by the traveller himself.\*

Park remained in London, busily engaged with the preparation of this work, up till the month of June 1798. He then went to Scotland, and visited his mother, who still resided at Fowlshields, and his other relations in that country. With them he spent the whole of the ensuing summer and autumn, still unremittingly employed upon the narrative of his journey. In the winter of the same year, he returned to London to superintend the progress of the work through the press. It appeared before the public in the spring of 1799, and met with an enthusiastic reception. This was in no slight degree owing, doubtless, to the novelty and interest of the information it contained, but much also of the success may be justly ascribed to the manly simplicity and clearness of its style, and to that straightforward truthfulness which breathes out, in a way that cannot be mistaken, from every line. Two impressions of the work were rapidly sold off, and other editions followed at intervals. It is to this hour one of the most popular of British books. Of its merits, however, the reader is now qualified to judge for himself.

Only in one point did Park's Travels prove distasteful to any portion of the British public; and as the matter has been the subject of frequent remark, and to a certain extent affects the traveller's good name, it may be briefly alluded to, before proceeding with the farther details of his career. In some passages of his work, Park was held as disencouraging the abolition of the negro slave trade; and as this question strongly agitated, and in some measure divided, the public mind at that period, his opinions on this subject were natu-

\* It is proper to remark here, that the report which attributed to Mr Bryan Edwards the compilation, not only of the abstract, but also of the larger work, appears to have been totally without foundation. Park publicly contradicted the rumour.

rally seized upon and repeated by the party to whose cause they seemed favourable. But, on the other hand, Park's nearest relatives and most intimate friends have left it on record, that he uniformly expressed the strongest abhorrence of slavery and the slave trade, whenever these subjects occurred in conversation. It may therefore be inferred—and, indeed, we have his own authority for inferring—that more stress has been laid on the passages in question than the writer either meant or anticipated. The strongest expression relative to slavery in the work only bears, that the zealous abolitionists were too sanguine in their expectations of immediate benefit from the discontinuance of the commerce. Time has fully verified this opinion, and it is probable that Park put his sentiments purposely into this qualified form. Not feeling himself called upon to discuss the slave question, he might wish, in his few incidental remarks upon the subject, to give offence to neither party, in as far, at least, as this could be done without violating his own conscience. When we consider that some of his kindest patrons of the Association, and particularly Mr Bryan Edwards, the one to whom he owed most, were decided and noted anti-abolitionists, we can scarcely blame Park for being desirous of preserving this neutral position. The utterance of a sentence or two, which may be almost regarded as truisms, was all the sacrifice he made in order to preserve it, if we interpret his language rightly.

After the publication of his travels, which brought him a considerable sum (in addition to the liberal remuneration made to him by the Association), Park returned to Scotland, and, in the month of August 1799, was united in marriage to the eldest daughter of Mr Anderson of Selkirk, the gentleman with whom he had served his apprenticeship. This union proved an extremely happy one. For about two years after it took place, Park resided at Fowlshields with his mother and one of his brothers, who then managed the farm. What were the traveller's views and avocations at this period, does not very clearly appear. He had some communications with government during the year 1799, respecting an appointment in New South Wales, but no engagement was entered into. At another time he seems to have entertained some thoughts of settling in a farm. But, ultimately, he resolved upon devoting himself to the practice of his profession; and with this view removed, in the latter end of 1800, to the neighbouring town of Peebles, where something like a vacancy then occurred in the medical department.

Park's reputation as a traveller, conjoined with his professional ability, and the many virtues of his character, speedily acquired for him a fair share of the business of the place and its neighbourhood. Having a wide circle of country for his *beat*, however, and that in many parts of a rude and mountainous description, the toils to which he was subjected were extremely arduous and severe, in proportion to the recompense accruing from them. But the society which the vicinity of Peebles then afforded, in some measure sweetened and compensated the hardships which he had to undergo. The celebrated Dr Adam Ferguson (father of the present Sir Adam), author of a History of the Roman Republic, and formerly Professor of Moral Philosophy in the Edinburgh University, was resident at that period within a few miles from the town, in the small country-house of Hallyards, and from him, as well as from Dugald Stewart, and other distinguished persons who were in the habit of visiting the philosopher's retreat, Park received the most gratifying attentions. The gentry of the district, also, to their credit, showed themselves generally sensible of the merits of him whom fortune had thrown within their circle in the comparatively humble, though respectable, capacity of a country surgeon. He was a welcome guest at their tables, and not infrequently met there persons of eminence, who were capable of appreciating and enjoying his society.

Those, however, who have once tested their powers on the short, steep, and dangerous path to fame and fortune, can seldom afterwards submit to travel along



the broad and winding highway, by which the multitude, slowly but surely, attain to similar ends. Mungo Park was no exception to this rule. His mind's eye had been fixed on lofty and noble objects, and he never was able to circumscribe the range of its vision, or confine it to things within his new and narrowed sphere. His professional duties in Peebles seemed from the first to be irksome to him—not because of their laboriousness, but because the want of those high motives to action, under the influence of which he had formerly toiled unweariedly and undauntedly, preyed on his mind, and weighed down his energies. Those who knew him most intimately at this period of his life, describe him as having always the appearance of brooding over some secret confined to his own breast. In part, no doubt, this meditative look arose simply from the quiet reserve which was a marked feature in his character, but it may be also, in no inconsiderable degree, ascribed to the cause already noticed. Within the circle of his own family, indeed, and in the society of his intimate friends, Park lost much of that retiringness which hung about him on ordinary occasions, and became a pleasant and communicative companion. At such times he was not averse to talk of his past perils, and of his hopes for the future—a subject which his almost feminine modesty rendered him usually extremely shy of entering upon. Amongst the county yeomanry, too—in which corps he enrolled himself, and the members of which were of the very class to which he himself belonged, by birth and early habits—Park appeared in his most agreeable phase. A patriotic song has been preserved, which he wrote for, and sung at, one of the social meetings of this body. It is said to have been received with the greatest enthusiasm; a reception owing, undoubtedly, more to the military spirit predominant at the time, than to any peculiar merit which the composition possessed. Among the few acquaintances with whom he associated in Peebles was Mr James Chambers, a respectable citizen in the place, and father of the publishers of the present work. Mr Chambers happened at the time to possess a pretty large telescope, and with this instrument he and Park spent many agreeable hours in making astronomical observations.

It was chiefly, however, in botanical studies that Park was most interested, and these he prosecuted at Peebles, in the hope, it is understood, of succeeding Dr Rutherford in the chair of botany in Edinburgh, through the influence of Sir Joseph Banks, with whom he continued occasionally to correspond. Perhaps even this held but a secondary place in his mind. The Great River of Africa, with which his name was already inseparably connected, occupied the first place, and, after a residence of three years in Peebles, the prospect opened up to him of completing what he had begun, and of entirely dispelling the cloud in which the Niger yet remained partially enveloped. In the autumn of 1803, he received a summons from the Colonial Office, desiring his attendance in London without delay. He immediately obeyed the order, and, on his arrival in the metropolis, waited on the Colonial Secretary, Lord Hobart, who informed him of the intention of government to fit out an expedition to Africa, and of their wish that he should take the principal part in it. Park heard the proposition with delight, but requested a short space to consult his family and friends. He again came to Scotland with this apparent purpose in view; but his visit was, in reality, one of leave-taking, for his mind was already made up. His acceptance of the offer was speedily announced; and after settling his affairs, and bidding farewell to his friends, he accordingly returned, in December of the same year, to London, hoping that all would soon be in readiness for his embarkation. He was disappointed in this point, however: in consequence of important political changes, his departure, which was first fixed for February 1804, was postponed till September following. This delay was most annoying to Park, but the interval of leisure occasioned by it was not spent by him idly or unprofitably. The government having promised to defray all

reasonable expenses which he might incur in such preparations, he engaged a person to instruct him in the Arabic tongue, and also devoted himself to the improvement of his astronomical knowledge. Finding that he could pursue these studies as well beside his own family as in London, he went to Peebles in March, and passed the remainder of his allotted stay in Britain partly there, and partly at the farm of Fowlshiels in Selkirkshire.

Sidi Ombak Boubi, Park's Arabic teacher, went in company with his temporary pupil to Scotland. This person was a native of Mogadore in Morocco, who had been for some time resident in London, and had filled the office of interpreter to Elphi Bey, ambassador from the Mamelukes of Cairo. Sidi Ombak, or Ombak the Moor, as he was familiarly termed, was a considerable marvel in his way to the people of Peebles. He was a stannch Mussulman, and punctual in his observance of all the forms inculcated by his religion. He went before sunrise to the market or shambles in person, and killed with his own hands whatever meat was intended for his own use. His mode of killing was by cutting off the animal's head, after he had turned its face towards the east, and said a short prayer. So particular was he in this point, that on being asked to dine at any person's table, he either confined himself to a vegetable diet, or had animal food, killed by himself, conveyed to the house of his entertainer. One who knew him well informs us of seeing Ombak killing a fowl in form one morning, for the purpose of sending it to the kitchen of a gentleman with whom he was that day invited to dine. The Moor had other prejudices besides his religious ones. He would drink no wine or spirits, and had a firm reliance on dreams. It is remarkable, that he once expressed to Park his conviction that his mother was dead, because he had so dreamt; and, shortly after, information of her death actually reached him. He had a deadly aversion to paintings; and, on one occasion, had well nigh stabbed a young man whom he caught in the act of taking a sketch of him. In other respects, Sidi was a sensible, intelligent man, spoke English tolerably well, and conversed freely with all who showed a disposition to cultivate his acquaintance.

Such was the person whom Park brought with him to Scotland, as his instructor in the Arabic tongue, and of whom many floating and not unfavourable recollections still exist in the south of Scotland. One circumstance dwells with particular force on the minds of all those who remember Ombak. He was heard again and again to express his conviction, that if Park went a second time to Africa, he would never more return! The traveller would fain have had the Moor to go out with him, but Ombak never would consent, though a strong mutual regard existed between him and Park.

After leaving Peebles, and taking up his abode at Fowlshiels with his family, which he did in May 1804, Park enjoyed much of the society of Walter Scott, who was then resident at Ashiesteel, and whose star was then only rising above the horizon. A warm friendship existed between these two eminent men, and it was to Scott that Park avowed his deliberate preference of a life of wandering in Africa to the occupation of a country practitioner in the wilds of Tweeddale. One strong bond between Park and Scott was their common love for the old and romantic minstrelries of their own native regions. The last interview which the friends enjoyed, occurred immediately before the traveller's departure, when the latter paid a farewell visit to Ashiesteel. Scott accompanied his visitor for a considerable way on the road home to Fowlshiels, and, as they rode together, Park's horse chanced to stumble. "Ah! Mungo," the imaginative poet could not help saying, "I am afraid that is a bad omen." "Freits follow them that freits follow," was the reply of the ardent traveller, as he rode away without a formal adieu. These were the last words which Scott heard from his friend's lips, and, for the benefit of English readers, it may be explained that their meaning is, "Evil omens will follow those only who heed them."

Early in September, Park received a final summons

to present himself at the Colonial Office. He accordingly took a last farewell of his relations and friends, and proceeded to London. Hitherto the government had exhibited a degree of indecision on the subject of the new African mission, even while Park, with their concurrence, was making his preparations for the journey; but now the expedition seemed to be fully determined on, and the manner of carrying it into execution was the only point that remained to be settled. At the request of Lord Camden, who had succeeded Lord Hobart in the Colonial Office, Park drew up a brief exposition of his views regarding the proper mode of conducting the enterprise. This memorial was dated 4th October 1804, and contained an account—firstly, of the objects to which Park's attention would be chiefly directed in his journey to the African interior—secondly, of the means necessary for accomplishing that journey—and, thirdly, of the manner in which he proposed to carry the plans of government into execution. Regarding the first of these points, Park stated, that the extension of British commerce, and the enlargement of our geographical knowledge, would be the principal objects of his attention, and that he would labour to promote them, by acquiring an accurate knowledge of the route by which merchandise could be most easily transported to and from the Niger, by examining into the nature and value of the articles which the interior of the African continent produced, and by ascertaining, if possible, the termination of the Niger, and the site and character of the towns and countries on its banks. As to the means necessary for accomplishing the journey, Park proposed that his party should consist of thirty European soldiers, six European carpenters, and fifteen or twenty Goree negroes, besides fifty asses and six horses or mules (to be purchased at the Cape Verd Islands). He further wished each man of his company to have a gun and a pair of pistols, with a certain quantity of suitable clothing. To this Park added a list of other articles necessary for the expedition, consisting of sacking bags, saddles, and other articles for equipping the asses—of carpenters' tools, cordage, &c., for building two boats of forty feet length on the Niger—and of varieties of coloured cloths, amber, coral, gold, and glass beads, guns, pistols, and swords, mirrors, knives, scissors, and other articles, necessary either for purchasing food from the natives, or for conciliating their favour. Respecting the manner of carrying the plans of government into execution, Park stated, that after completing his equipment at St Jago and Goree, he would proceed up the Gambia, cross the country to the Niger, and travel down that river to its termination. If it ended (as was supposed by Major Rennel) in an inland lake in the kingdom of Wangara, Park proposed to take the shortest way with his party to the coast, and return to England. At the close of the memorial, however, the writer strongly expressed his opinion, that the Congo (a large river which enters the Atlantic more than two hundred miles to the south of the equator) would be found to be the continuation and close of the Niger.

After this paper was presented to Lord Camden, four months elapsed ere Park's departure took place, and during this interval some of his friends, and particularly Major Rennel, continued to dissuade him from the enterprise. The impression made by these counsels was very slight, and, in the beginning of January, a letter from Lord Camden, announcing decisively the intentions of government, set the question in a measure at rest. In this letter, the Colonial Secretary informed Park, that the king had granted to him the commission of brevet-captain in Africa, and had bestowed a similar commission of lieutenant on Mr Alexander Anderson, the traveller's brother-in-law. Mr George Scott, another of Park's friends, was appointed draughtsman to the party. Lord Camden further assented to the demands made in the memorial, and approved of its objects. In conclusion, his Lordship empowered the traveller to draw upon the treasury, or upon any banking-house in London, for any sum not exceeding £5000. Government also bound itself to

pay the sum of £4000 to Mrs Park, in the event of her husband's death, or of his not being heard of within a specified time.

#### NARRATIVE OF SECOND TRAVELS IN AFRICA.

ALL the requisite preparations for the enterprise were completed before the end of January, and on the 30th of that month 1805, Park set sail from Portsmouth, in the Crescent transport, taking on board with him from the dockyards of that place four or five artificers, besides his two friends, Mr Anderson and Mr Scott, whose appointments, of course, took place by his desire. The remainder of the party was to be supplied by the British garrison of Goree. After a stormy passage, the Crescent reached St Jago, one of the Cape Verd Islands, where the cattle and a store of provisions were to be bought. From this place, Park transmitted a letter, dated the 13th of March, to Mr Dickson, announcing the welfare of the party, and the purchase of forty-four asses, &c. From St Jago the transport sailed on the 21st, and on the seventh day following anchored in Goree Roads, near the mouth of the Gambia. When Park's purposes were made known here, almost every man of the garrison volunteered his services for the expedition. The traveller selected thirty-five able-bodied men, and also accepted the offered services of one officer, Lieutenant Martyn, thinking it of consequence to have in the party some one already acquainted with the soldiers. Two experienced seamen, from the Squirrel frigate, were added to the party, with the view of benefiting by their valuable assistance in sailing down the Niger. Park communicated these arrangements by letter to the Colonial department, and he thus describes his departure from Goree:—"On the morning of the 6th of April we embarked the soldiers, in number thirty-five men. They jumped into the boat in the highest spirits, and bade adieu to Goree with repeated huzzas. I believe that every man in the garrison would have embarked with great cheerfulness; but no inducement could prevail on a single negro to accompany me." Strangely ominous of danger was such a refusal, from those who best knew the nature of the task to be accomplished; but the ardent spirit of the traveller saw nothing but hope in the prospect before him, and he assures his wife, in a letter from Goree, that "he had as yet experienced nothing but success."

On the 9th of April, the transport reached Jillifree on the Gambia, and in a few days afterwards continued its voyage up the river to Kayee. From this town he sent several letters to his friends, one of which, addressed to his father-in-law, Mr Anderson, surgeon, Selkirk, is well worthy of being quoted in full, from the beauty of the sentiments expressed in it.\*

*"Kayee, River Gambia, April 26, 1805.*

That I have not wrote you sooner, you may be sure was not from want of attention, but from want of time, and because I knew that you must have received every information respecting our procedure from Alexander. I know that you will rejoice to hear that we both of us keep our health, and that the kind hand of Providence has thus far made our journey prosperous. We set off to-morrow morning for the interior, with the most flattering prospect of finishing our expedition in the course of six months, with honour to ourselves and benefit to mankind. I need not tell you how solicitous I am about the welfare of my dear Allie and children. Though I have no hopes of hearing from her till my return to England, yet I will indulge the hope that all is well. In case it should please the Almighty to take me to himself, I have thought it necessary to give a statement of my money matters in the enclosed letter, that my dear wife and children may reap the reward of my industry. I did not do this from any thing like second-sight, but merely to guard against a possible occurrence. I am

\* This letter was published for the first time in No. 74 of Chamber's Journal.

far from being in the least down-hearted: indeed, I have so much to attend to that I have but little time to myself. I receive great benefit from Alexander, who is as systematic, cautious, and careful as ever. I sometimes think he has forgot his old maxim, "Take it easy." I can easily imagine how little Ibi [Elizabeth, his infant daughter] will be stotting about the house and garden. Tell her, if she can say her questions [the catechism] well, I will bring her two new frocks. My compliments to Mrs Anderson, George, Thomas, and Bell. I suppose Andrew will be in the army by this time. When we return to the coast, if we are lucky enough to find a vessel coming directly to England, I think we may be in England by the month of December, but if we have to go round by the West Indies, it will take us two months longer.—With best wishes for your health and prosperity, I am your affectionate friend,

MUNGO PARK."

Never, perhaps, were domestic affections so warm conjoined in any one breast with so ardent a love of wandering and enterprise!

In a letter to Mr Dickson, of the same date with the preceding, Park thus expresses the buoyant hopes which filled his mind:—"Every thing at present looks as favourable as I could wish, and if all things go well, this day six weeks I expect to drink all your healths in the water of the Niger. \* \* \* If once we are fairly afloat [upon the Niger], *the day is won*." At the time of recording these sentiments, the traveller was far from being unaware that there lay before him a prospect of peculiar difficulty and danger. By delays, for which he was not responsible, he was necessitated to enter upon his route into the interior, at a season of the year when travelling becomes extremely difficult, from the heats, hurricanes, and rains incidental to the climate. The period, indeed, for these tropical casualties was not yet arrived, but it was close at hand. Park foresaw clearly the chance of having to combat these disadvantages, but he flattered himself with the hope of reaching the Niger before the tempestuous season set in. At Kayee he was able, for the first time, to perfect his preparations for the route, by attaching a few of the natives to his party. Isaaco, a Mandingo priest and merchant, and one well inured to long inland journeys, engaged himself to act as guide to the expedition, and to give it the assistance of several negroes, his own personal attendants. On the 27th of April, with this addition to his company, Park left Kayee, and commenced his land journey, under a salute from the Crescent, which had thus far escorted the party up the Gambia. On the evening of the 28th they reached Pisania, after a march rendered extremely fatiguing by the heat, and by the difficulty of getting the asses to advance. At Pisania, Park was again entertained by Mr Ainsley, the kind friend to whom he owed so much on his former journey. The party did not leave this place till the 4th of May, when they set out in the following order:—The asses, loaded with the baggage, and marked with red paint to prevent their being stolen, were divided among the soldiers, a certain number to each of the six *messes* into which the men were arranged. Mr Scott went with the front party, Lieutenant Martyn in the centre, and Park and Mr Anderson took charge of the rear. For several days the party travelled nearly in this order, in a parallel line with the Gambia—the line which their leader had formerly traversed alone. They had tents which they pitched and slept in by night. On the 11th of May they reached Medina, the capital of Woolli, where the king exacted a heavy cess of amber and coral bars, for himself and his relatives, and great men. On the 20th of May, Park had pursued his journey as far as a town called Tambico, where the guide Isaaco was robbed of his arms, cruelly flogged, and detained. He had been sent to remonstrate against the seizure of his own horse by some of the natives, as a boy was watering it at a well. It was with considerable difficulty, and only after the payment of some articles of value, that the guide could be released, and the journey continued. On the 26th, when the party had come up to a place called Bee Creek, a curious accident befel them.

Some of Isaaco's people, being in search of honey, disturbed a large swarm of bees, which attacked the men and beasts of the company with such violence as to send them flying in every direction for safety. The severity of this assault may be conceived from the fact, that six asses and one horse were lost on the occasion—two, if not three, of the asses being literally stung to death, and the other animals being never recovered after their dispersion. Many of the people were seriously stung about the face and hands.

Continuing his route at no great distance from the Gambia, Park was subjected to rather heavy impositions by the chiefs of Badoo and Jillifinda, at which latter place the party arrived on the 1st of June. Their route now lay straight east, leaving the neighbourhood of the Gambia. The weather at this time began to be broken, and the men to suffer accordingly. On the 8th of June, one of the party, a carpenter, died of dysentery. On the 10th, while they were at a place called Shrondo, several very heavy tornadoes occurred, and the ground was covered with water about three inches deep. This tempest had an instant effect on the health of the soldiers, and proved, says Park, to be the *beginning of sorrow*. On the following day twelve of the soldiers were ill with a dysenteric affection, the same by which the carpenter had been cut off. Park visited the gold mines of Shrondo, and saw a female go through the operation of washing the gravel in which the gold grains are found. This gravel was taken out of pits dug in a meadow, and washed in small basins (calabashes) by pounds or so at a time. The woman referred to extracted no less than twenty-three particles of gold (about a grain weight each) from about two pounds of gravel, in a few minutes. Pieces of gold as large as a fist, she informed the traveller, were occasionally found. Other spots around are not less rich in gold than this, and altogether a great quantity of the metal is procured from the district annually.

From this period the troubles of Park increased rapidly. Fever, as well as dysentery, spread among the men, and the leader of the party suffered from it also, though not so severely as Lieutenant Martyn and some of the others. Before the end of June, the numbers of the company had thinned lamentably. Several of the soldiers had been left behind at their own request, under the charge of the natives, being totally unable to proceed. Park did all he could for them under the circumstances, by paying persons to show them every necessary care and attention, but none of them ever recovered. Others of the men strayed from their companions, and were never again heard of. The majority of the rest of the party, at the same time, continued for the most part so ill, that they could scarcely be kept on the backs of the asses by all the exertions of their more healthy friends. Several of the sick begged again and again to be left by the wayside to die. But not even then could a peaceful death have been hoped for, for wolves and lions prowled around the party by night and by day. On the night of the 2d of July, the asses were attacked at midnight by several young lions, and one of these animals passed so near one of the sentries that he cut at it with his sword.

On the 4th of July, the guide Isaaco made a narrow escape from a crocodile in passing a river called the Wonda, one of the feeders of the Senegal. Isaaco was engaged in driving some of the asses through the stream, when the crocodile rose close to him, and, seizing him by the left thigh, pulled him under water. With wonderful presence of mind, he thrust his finger into the monster's eye, on which it quitted its hold, and Isaaco made for the bank, crying for a knife; but the crocodile followed, and again seized him by the other thigh, when Isaaco had recourse to the same expedient, and thrust his fingers into both eyes with such violence that the creature was compelled a second time to let go its hold, after which it flounced about for a moment in stupid blindness, and then went down the river. Isaaco's wounds were so serious, however, as to compel Park to remain near the same spot for several days—a delay which was not so much to be regretted, as on the 6th of

July every man of the party was unwell but one. Mr Anderson and Mr Scott, on whom Park chiefly rested for counsel and assistance, had been very ill for several preceding days. The rains and storms continued to rage at intervals, and with increasing violence.

On the 10th, the party resumed their march, and on the following evening reached a considerable town called Keminoom, a place remarkable only for the thieving spirit which pervades all classes in and around it. Thieving was universal on the route, but the thieves of Keminoom were worse than usual. It was with great difficulty, and only after suffering considerable losses both of baggage and cattle, besides the voluntary payment of a heavy toll, that Park could manage to proceed. At some distance from Keminoom, he was compelled with his own hand to fire at a fellow who stole a greatcoat from the back of one of the asses. The thief stopped, and called out in a piteous tone, "Do not kill me, white man; I cannot run from you; you have broke my leg." Park found this to be the case, and his kindness of heart led him to save the poor wretch from some attendant negroes, who would have had him shot on the spot.

On the 19th, the party, thinned by the loss of one or two more men, and with sickness still pressing on the survivors, reached the banks of the Ba Woolima, another feeder of the Senegal, and a stream at this season twenty feet deep, being swelled by the rains. After much difficulty, the party got their baggage across this river, which was about sixty feet in width, by means of a bridge, constructed for the occasion by some negroes in a very ingenious way. The river was first sounded at different distances from the shore, and patches cut on a straight pole to show the depths. Two straight trees were then cut, and, after their tops were firmly tied together with slips of bark, one end was launched across the river, and fastened to the roots of trees on the opposite side. The same was done with the other end. A range of upright poles, cut correctly to the notches on the sounding pole, and with forks at their tops, was then planted across the river, and along the forks, which stood a foot above the water, were laid two other trees, tied together in the middle like the first. Another range of forks was placed a little farther up the stream, which likewise supported two trees fastened together as the above; the whole was then completed by laying sticks, for a roadway, across the trees supported on the forks. As the forked sticks which stood uppermost in the stream were slanted downwards, the pressure of the water maintained them firmly in their place, and the undermost range of forked sticks was supported against the two joined trees that were first laid across the water. On the 21st, the party were all safely over the Ba Woolima, and continued their route.

The 30th was marked by the death of the last of the St Jago asses, the whole forty having either died or been abandoned on the road at different places. Park had been forced in consequence to buy or to hire new ones as he went along. The route was still continued by daily marches; but before the 19th of August, more than *three-fourths* of the party of travellers had died, or had been left behind to die. Among the latter was Mr Scott, whom Park saw on the 16th for the last time. Whether or not the negroes used those well who fell behind, it is difficult to tell, but Park seldom gave up his exertions to re-unite them to his party, until he heard of their fate. Indeed, the personal toils which the leader of this ill-fated band voluntarily and cheerfully underwent, for the sake of his poor companions, are almost beyond belief. His kindness to them, his unwearied patience, his prudence, his encouraging hopefulness—were such, perhaps, as man never evinced in the like circumstances. Poor Anderson was a little more fortunate than his friend Scott, for the former lived at least to see the great river which was one of the chief objects of their journey. After leaving a place called Toniba on the 19th of August, "coming," says Park, "to the brow of a hill, *I once more saw the Niger* rolling its immense stream along the plain!" Heavy as the cost was by which the sight had been

purchased, the river was a pleasant spectacle to the party, as it promised an alleviation of their toils for the future. On the 22d (after a loss of several more men by the fever), Park embarked from Bammakoo on the Niger (or Joliba) in a canoe which he had purchased. On the 26th, he sent Isaaco forward to the large town of Segou, in order to make some presents to the king or chief, Mansong, and to obtain his permission to pass. Mansong sent six canoes to carry the party on to Segou. The king showed considerable kindness to them; yet Park did not remain long at Segou, but moved down the river to a smaller town called Sansanding, where he resolved to wait for a canoe which Mansong promised to sell to him. In this canoe he proposed to move down the Niger to its termination. After much labour, he did get a vessel of the desired kind fitted up, and named it His Britannic Majesty's schooner, the *Joliba*. At Sansanding, on the 28th of October, Mr Anderson underwent the fate of so many of his companions, and, regarding his death, Park observes—"No event that took place during the journey ever threw the smallest gloom over my mind, till I laid Mr Anderson in the grave. I then felt myself as if left a second time lonely and friendless amidst the wilds of Africa."

At this point, the authentic account of Mungo Park's second journey ends. Isaaco's engagement here terminated, and the papers given to him by the traveller, and carried back to the coast, constitute the only records of the expedition which came from Park's own pen. These papers (the matter of which has been now abridged) were accompanied by several letters, the most interesting of which is one (dated Sansanding, November 17th) addressed to Lord Camden. In this letter Park says—"I am sorry to say, that of forty-four Europeans who left the Gambia in perfect health, five only are at present alive, namely, three soldiers (one deranged in his mind), Lieutenant Martyn, and myself. From this account I am afraid that your Lordship will be apt to consider matters as in a very hopeless state; but I assure you I am far from despairing. With the assistance of one of the soldiers, I have changed a large canoe into a tolerably good schooner, on board of which I this day hoisted the British flag, and shall set sail to the east, with the fixed resolution to *discover the termination of the Niger, or perish in the attempt*. I have heard nothing that I can depend on respecting the remote course of this mighty stream, but I am more and more inclined to think that it can end nowhere but in the sea.

My dear friend Mr Anderson, and likewise Mr Scott, are both dead; but though all the Europeans who are with me should die, and though I were myself half-dead, I would still persevere, and if I could not succeed in the object of my journey, I would at last *die on the Niger*."

A source of perpetual regret it must be to all who sympathise with what is noble and lofty in human doings, that the hopes of so dauntless a spirit as this should have been doomed to disappointment. His other letters from Sansanding (addressed to Sir Joseph Banks, to Mrs Park, and to his father-in-law) are written in the same hopeful and resolute tone. He concludes his communication to his wife in these words:—"I think it not unlikely but I shall be in England before you receive this. You may be sure that I feel happy at turning my face towards home. We this morning have done with all intercourse with the natives, and the sails are now hoisting for our departure *for the coast*."

But, alas! these were the last tidings that were heard for a long time of the fate of his Majesty's schooner the *Joliba*, and of those whom she bore with her down the mysterious current of the Niger. In the following year (1806), unfavourable accounts were brought by the native traders from the interior of Africa to the British settlements on the coast, and rumours spread abroad that Park and his companions had perished. No authentic information, however, could be obtained on the subject; and the British people, who felt a deep interest

in the traveller's fate, were long, long reluctant to believe in the report of his death. It was hoped that he and his friends were only retained in slavery. Four years passed away, and the same doubt hung over the matter. At length, in 1810, the British Governor of Senegal, Colonel Maxwell, with the concurrence of the home authorities, dispatched Park's former guide, Isaaco, to the interior, to ascertain the truth if possible. In the beginning of the year mentioned, Isaaco set out for the Niger, and, after an absence of twenty months, returned to the coast with a full confirmation of the reports concerning Park's death. Isaaco, who was a trustworthy and intelligent man, kept a journal of his proceedings for the satisfaction of his employers. No part of this journal relates to the missing travellers, but Isaaco was fortunate enough to procure another journal, written by the very native who had succeeded him at Sansanding as guide to the traveller. Isaaco relates that he met this native, whose name was Amadi Fatouma, at Madina, a town a little farther down the Niger than Sansanding. Amadi Fatouma, when he first saw Isaaco, burst into tears, and said, "They are all dead!" Afterwards, at the request of the other, Amadi produced a journal, written in Arabic, and containing an account of all he knew relative to the closing scenes of Park's career. The following are the leading facts in this document:—

After sailing from Sansanding, with Park, Martyn, the other three surviving Europeans, and three negro assistants, besides the guide Amadi Fatouma, on board, the little schooner passed Jenné and Tombuctoo in safety, though not without daily attacks from the natives in canoes. Having laid in a good stock of provisions, the party had at first no occasion to go on shore. But the news apparently spread that white men were passing down the river, and canoes came to attack them in greater numbers. At one time the schooner had to beat off no less than sixty canoes. Nevertheless, the party made their way in safety to Yaour (or Yaourie), in the kingdom of Haoussa (or Houssa), where Amadi's engagement as guide terminated; but, before separating from the party, he went on shore and bought provisions for them, besides making some conciliatory presents to the chief of Yaour. This same chief was also entrusted with some presents for the king of Yaour, who was not present. The chief put a question to Park through Amadi as to "the intention of the white men to return to that place." Park answered, "that he could not return any more;" and this reply seems to have had a fatal effect, for it induced the treacherous chief to retain for his own use the presents intended for the king. Amadi witnessed the consequences so far as to put this beyond doubt. After separating from the party, and seeing the schooner continue her course, he spent the night on shore, and in the morning called to pay his respects to the king. On entering the royal residence, he found two messengers newly arrived there from the deceitful chief, with information that the white men had passed without making any presents to the king or to the chief himself, and that Amadi Fatouma (of whose story the wily chief was afraid) was a bad man, and in league with the whites. Amadi was immediately thrown into irons; and on the following morning the irritated king sent a large army to a place farther down the river, called Boussa. There is before Boussa a rock extending across the river, with only one opening in it, in the form of a door, for the water to pass through. The king's men took possession of the top of this rock, until Park came up to it and attempted to pass. The natives attacked him and his friends with lances, pikes, arrows, and other missiles. Park defended himself vigorously for a long time, but at last, after throwing every thing in the canoe overboard, being overpowered by numbers, and seeing no chance of getting the canoe past, he took hold of one of the white men, and jumped into the river; Martyn did the same: and the whole were drowned in their attempt to escape by swimming. One black remained in the canoe (the other two being killed), and he cried for mercy. The canoe fell into the hands of the natives. Amadi

Fatouma, on being freed from his irons, three months afterwards, ascertained these facts from the native who had survived the catastrophe.

It is difficult to describe the impression which these statements of Amadi (contained in the journal brought to the coast by Isaaco) made on the minds of the British public, when communicated in dispatches of Colonel Maxwell. A large portion of the public doubted the authenticity of the relation, and it must be confessed that some points of it were open to strong suspicion. The account given of the rocky pass in the river, in particular, seemed incompatible with all that was known of the Niger, of the character of its banks, and of the bulk of its waters. Twenty-one years from the period of Park's journey, and sixteen from the time of Isaaco's discoveries, passed away, ere satisfactory evidence was received in confirmation of Amadi Fatouma's account of the traveller's death, and the manner of his death. In 1826, Captain Clapperton visited Boussa, and saw the very part of the river where the party perished. In 1830, John and Richard Lander were at the same spot, and their description must convince every one of Amadi Fatouma's veracity. "On our arrival," say the Landers, "at this formidable place, we discovered a range of black rocks running directly across the stream, and the water, finding only one narrow passage, rushed through it with great impetuosity, overturning and carrying away every thing in its course." If further evidence were required, the statements of the natives to Clapperton and the Landers, and the discovery by the latter travellers of a mantle, a gun, a book, and an invitation card, that had belonged to Park, put the truth of Amadi's narrative beyond doubt, as far as regards the scene and the manner of the ill-fated party's destruction. There is every reason to believe that the guide's journal also stated correctly the persons to whom the catastrophe was owing. Clapperton, indeed, received a different version of this part of the story. He was informed that the sultan of Yaour had been the *friend* of the white men, and that the men of Boussa had been the destroyers of the party; but the Landers heard an account much more closely corresponding with that of Amadi Fatouma. This discrepancy probably arose from the fact that the informants of these travellers had the story themselves from hearsay, the king of Yaour, cotemporary with Park, being long before dead, and very few others left who remembered, or at least who could correctly describe, the event. Besides, there appeared a strong reluctance on the part of the inhabitants of Yaour and Boussa, either from shame or fear, to tell the truth respecting the melancholy catastrophe. The Landers and Clapperton entertained hopes for some time of recovering the journals and papers of Park, but they became ultimately convinced that all memorials of this kind had been lost in the Niger.

It may be held, therefore, as has been said, that Mungo Park closed his career in the manner described by Amadi Fatouma. The character of the lamented traveller it would be a waste of words to expatiate on. His deeds, the soundest test by which man can be tried, sufficiently prove his claim to the possession of all the highest qualifications of a traveller; and as a man—a son, a husband, a father, and a friend—he was a rare example to his kind. The distinguishing feature of his mind and acts was plain, solid, practical usefulness. In person Mungo Park was above the middle size, and was possessed of great hardihood and muscular vigour of frame. He left three sons and one daughter. The eldest of his sons, named after himself, died in India, in the situation of an assistant-surgeon to the forces there. Thomas, the second son, inherited much of his father's enterprising spirit, and almost from childhood cherished the resolve of penetrating the mystery that hung over his parent's fate. After patiently and laboriously qualifying himself for the task, he set out in 1827 for Africa, but arrived on the Guinea coast only to die there—though not before he had showed powers of observation which made his fate the more to be deplored. The third son now holds a commission in the British

Indian army, and the only daughter of the traveller is the wife of Henry W. Meredith, Esq. of Pentry-Bichen, Denbighshire. Mrs Park, the widow of the traveller, still survives.

### PROGRESS OF AFRICAN DISCOVERY SINCE THE TIME OF MUNGO PARK.

THE visits of the travellers, Clapperton and Lander, at a recent period, to the interior of Africa, have been incidentally alluded to in the preceding narrative. Besides these adventurers, there have been various others, who have made exploratory journeys in succession to the same regions, and the result of their united labours has been the addition of much interesting information to that acquired by the journeys of Park. The annexation of a summary view of these recent discoveries will, it is hoped, render the present work more generally acceptable. It would be out of place, however, to include in this abstract a notice of any other expeditions than those which refer to Central Africa, the scene of Park's glory and his death, and the quarter of the continent on which curiosity chiefly rests.

Even the interval betwixt the first and second journeys of the distinguished traveller, whose history has been detailed, was not unmarked by attempts from other quarters to extend our knowledge of the African interior. A German, named Hornemann, undertook to penetrate into the continent by way of Egypt, and succeeded in reaching Fezzan, whence he wrote (in April 1800) to England; but no particulars relative to his future history are known. He was never again heard of till 1824, when Captain Clapperton, who followed the same route with a better issue, learnt that the German traveller had succeeded in penetrating from Fezzan to Nyfee, or Nouffie, on the Niger, where he fell a victim to dysentery. Hornemann's papers had been all accidentally burnt. In 1804, another enterprising spirit, Mr Nicholls, endeavoured to enter the African interior from the Calabar coast, in the Gulf of Guinea, but, at the very outset of his journey, he also perished from the pestilential fever of those latitudes.

Both these journeys had been undertaken under the auspices of the same indefatigable Association which had guided the early labours of Park, and which now prevailed on the British government to make use of his valuable services a second time. The issue of the expedition of 1805 has been seen. For many years subsequent to that period, the attention of Britain was too intently occupied with the great affairs then agitating Europe, to leave any leisure for the prosecution of geographical discoveries in a public and authorised form; nor were any important contributions made to the general stock of knowledge, during that time, by individuals. One person, indeed, an American sailor, who took the name of Adams (though his real appellation, as was afterwards discovered, was Rose), gave out that he had been shipwrecked and cast ashore in 1810 on the African coast, between Morocco and the Senegal, and had been carried by the natives to the interior, where he had seen Tombuctoo, and various other cities of consequence. The African Association, to which Adams presented himself on his escape from slavery, was at first disposed to credit the American's relation; but a number of circumstances afterwards came to light, which established, to the satisfaction of the world generally, that all the information which Adams possessed regarding the most of the spots he professed to have visited, was derived from diligent inquiry during the period of his stay in Africa—for he had been, beyond doubt, shipwrecked, and detained by the natives on that continent for a year or two. Another individual, named Riley, supercargo of the American brig Commerce, was cast away, in the year 1815, on the borders of the Great Desert of Sahara, and was carried by the natives into the interior for a very considerable distance. The narrative which Riley published, after escaping from slavery, added

nothing, however, of interest, to our acquaintance with African geography.

It was only at the close of the great European war-like struggle, that the business of discovery was again resumed in a manner, and on a scale, likely to work out important results. In 1816, the British government fitted out an expedition under Captain Tuckey, to explore the course of the Congo, which river Park, it will be remembered, considered identical with the Niger. This opinion was rendered, by his high authority, long prevalent and popular, though the distance between the then known portions of the Niger and the mouth of the Congo is so immense (being above a thousand miles), as to make us now wonder at the entertainment of such a notion. The Congo pours its waters into the Atlantic, about seven degrees south of the equator, and is at its efflux a vast and single stream—in the lowest season more than a hundred and fifty fathoms deep. Captain Tuckey ascended the Congo to the distance of two hundred and eighty miles from the coast, when the unfortunate mortality which befel his party compelled him to return. Before completing his descent, he also fell a victim to the epidemical fever of the country. His papers, however, were brought home, and were found to contain interesting notices of the natives inhabiting the banks of the Congo, but they threw no light on the main question which the enterprise had chiefly in view. As the Congo was found to flow from the north-east, many considered its identity with the Niger to have been by no means disproved by the result of this enterprise.

At the same time that Tuckey and his party had entered on the ascent of the Congo, another expedition, under Major Peddie, had been dispatched to attempt the descent of the Niger, by the same route nearly which Park had followed. The parties of Tuckey and Peddie, it was anticipated, would thus meet on the Niger, if it turned out that the Congo was continuous with that stream. Major Peddie had only commenced the ascent of the river Nunez, when he died, leaving the command of the expedition to Captain Campbell, who proceeded on the line proposed, but found it impossible to penetrate nearer to the Niger than the kingdom of the Foulahs. Captain Campbell returned in life to the mouth of the Nunez, but died there on the 13th of June 1817, only two days after his arrival. Lieutenant Stokoe, a spirited young officer belonging to the expedition, projected a new attempt immediately afterwards, which only terminated, like so many others, in the premature death of the adventurer. Yet another officer of Major Peddie's company, Captain Gray, stepped forward to prosecute this arduous undertaking. In 1818, Captain Gray set out on Park's route along the Gambia, and succeeded in reaching the territory of Bondou, where he was for a considerable period detained by the natives. His associate in the enterprise, staff-surgeon Dochart, penetrated as far as the kingdom of Bambarra on the Niger, of which Sego is the capital, but was unsuccessful in obtaining permission to pass through that country, for which purpose he had been sent forward. Captain Gray, on being set at liberty by the Bondou people, returned to the coast in safety. Mr Dochart, however, had previously died under the fatigues of the journey.

Records, more or less extensive, were preserved of all these expeditions, in which so many daring and gallant men lost their lives. The civilised world was made acquainted with the appearance, manners, and customs of African tribes formerly unknown, as well as with the physical character of the countries they inhabited; but the termination of the Niger—that great and leading mystery of the African continent—remained as much in the dark as ever. The difficulties, dangers, and deaths, however, which had so plentifully attended all attempts to rend away the veil, only stimulated the spirit of enlightened enterprise to fresh and increased exertions. The next adventurer who entered on the field of African discovery, was Mr Ritchie, a young man recommended by the Association as a fit person to take charge of a new mis-

sion to the interior, projected by the British government. Accompanied by Lieutenant Lyon of the Royal Navy, Mr Ritchie proceeded to Tripoli in the beginning of 1819, and in March the party set out on their route across the desert. After much suffering, they reached Mourzouk, the capital of a district called Fezzan, where Mr Ritchie died of bilious fever. His companions were compelled to retrace their steps.

The bashaw of Tripoli, who had lent his countenance to the late expedition, and whose influence extends far into the centre of the African continent, continued to give such assurances of his aid and protection to any mission that might be resolved upon, that the British government made an attempt by the desert once more. The new adventurers were Major Denham, Captain Clapperton, and Dr Oudney, with one or two companions. In April 1822, the travellers reached Mourzouk, after a long and toilsome journey, nearly straight south, from Tripoli. The sultan of Fezzan, though a tributary of Tripoli, showed himself inimical to the progress of the party, and actually ordered them to remain at Mourzouk until he went to Tripoli and returned again. Seeing no alternative, Major Denham retraced his steps to Tripoli, and made a complaint to the bashaw; but not finding his remonstrances attended to, the English officer at once took shipping for Britain, to make the bashaw's breach of faith known at the court of London. The dignity of Tripoli was put into dreadful alarm by this spirited proceeding, and sent vessel after vessel to pacify and recal the Major. By one of these that officer was found performing quarantine at Marseilles, and was prevailed on to return, on the faith of the bashaw's firm assurances that guides and every other help were now at the command of the mission. Major Denham found this to be true. A caravan, belonging to a great native merchant, named Boo Khaloom, was on the point of starting for Soudan on the Niger, and with this band the travellers were to cross the desert in company.

Boo Khaloom, a Moor or Arab of remarkable abilities, and of a liberal and humane disposition, had a retinue on the journey of above two hundred Arabs, and with this company performed their dreary marches, under a burning sun, across the sands of the interior. The most extraordinary sight on this route was the number of skeletons strowed on the ground, the wrecks of former caravans. Sometimes sixty or seventy lay in one spot, and of these some lay entwined in one another's arms, as they had perished! For fourteen days, hills of sand, and plains of sand, constituted the only objects in sight of the travellers. At the end of that time they again beheld symptoms of herbage, being now on the northern borders of the kingdom of Bornou. Shortly afterwards, on reaching a town called Lari, the British travellers beheld a sight which made up for all they had undergone. This was the great inland sea of Africa, Lake Tschad, the existence of which had been so often canvassed, and which now lay before them "glowing with the golden rays of the sun."

Lake Tschad, one of the most interesting points of central African scenery, is a vast triangular sheet of water, about one hundred and eighty miles long from east to west, and above one hundred miles in extent at its greatest breadth. It lies betwixt 14 and 17 degrees of north latitude, and 12 and 15 degrees of east longitude. Two large streams flow into it, the one, called the Yeon, from the west, and the other, the Shary or Tshary, from the south. Lake Tschad is situated about five hundred miles to the east of the Niger, and the country lying between them bears the general name of the Soudan, though particular appellations are given to provinces, such as Houssa, and others. Bornou is the district lying immediately to the west of the lake. Major Denham spent a considerable time here. He found the kingdom of Bornou in a very peculiar position as to government. The people are negroes, and had once been subjugated by the Fellatahs, a race combining negro with Moorish descent, and the conquerors and oppressors of many kingdoms of the interior. But a Bornouese negro, of humble birth and powerful ta-

lents, had aroused his countrymen, and driven out the Fellatahs. This individual was found by Major Denham to be in possession of the whole power of Bornou, though, out of respect to the prejudices of the people, the old Fellatah prince was still permitted to hold a nominal throne, and the empty title of sultan. The real ruler contented himself with the title of sheikh. He is described by Denham as being extremely intelligent, and as holding the reins of power with great firmness and sagacity. The Bornouese are disciples of Mahomet, and may be called well civilised, in comparison with other inland nations. Their country supplies them abundantly with food, and they carry on manufactures to a considerable extent in cotton. Such is the enlightened character of the present sheikh, that, if his hands were once clear of the troubles caused by turbulent neighbours, and which compel him to keep up a large force, he would speedily, Major Denham thinks, make Bornou one of the first kingdoms of Africa.

Major Denham found an opportunity of travelling round nearly the whole of Lake Tschad, and thus satisfied himself that the waters of the Niger did not enter this inland pool. After eighteen months' stay in Bornou, Denham was joined by Captain Clapperton, who had separated from him in order to explore the country of Soudan—an excursion on which Dr Oudney unfortunately perished, from fatigue, and the diseases incidental to the climate. Clapperton was well received at Soccatoo, the capital of Houssa, and the seat of Bello, the great Soudanite monarch, and the head of the Fellatah nation. Like the sheikh of Bornou, sultan Bello was found to be an able and intelligent man. Strange to say, he was so well acquainted with the various sects of Christianity, and put so many puzzling questions regarding the more intricate points of the faith of the Christians, that Clapperton was obliged to shelter himself under the plea that such matters, in his own country, were left entirely to the consideration of the priests. The knowledge of the African prince on this subject was derived probably from the Christians of Abyssinia. Bello was a fine-looking personage, with a commanding figure, a high forehead, and large black eyes. Like the Bornou ruler, he showed an enlightened curiosity respecting the astronomical and other instruments presented or shown to him, but no ignorant, vulgar wonder appeared in his looks or manner. His capital Soccatoo, situated on a tributary of the Niger, and distant four days' journey from that river, is one of the largest cities of the interior, containing, to appearance, above forty thousand inhabitants. The city is laid out in regular streets, and is surrounded, like most African towns, with clay walls. The houses are well-built cottages, generally of clay, and the mosques, as well as parts of the sultan's palace, are ornamented with painted wooden pillars, in a very pretty style of architecture.

Denham and Clapperton do not inform us very minutely of the differences in personal appearance between the negroes of Bornou and the Fellatahs of Houssa. It would appear, however, that many of the Fellatahs approach to a copper colour, and have extremely fine regular features, like the Arabs. Others of the race resemble more nearly the pure negroes in features and complexion. The Fellatahs commonly clothe every part of their bodies, wearing turbans, shirts, and trousers, and sandals. The chief commercial city of Houssa is Kano, a place nearly as large as Soccatoo, and a little farther eastward. Kano is unquestionably the same city as Ghana, mentioned six hundred years ago by the old Moorish writer Edrisi as the greatest trading town of Houssa. Cattle, vegetables, dyes, the cotton fabrics of the country, and *slaves*, are the principal objects of traffic in the market-place of Kano, which is formed of little sheds or stalls of bamboo, and is superintended by a regular sheikh or judge. Kowries constitute the current coinage.

Upon the whole, the two countries of Houssa and Bornou must be regarded as far above any kingdoms of the African interior yet visited by Europeans, in point of power and civilisation. The Fellatah sultan, Bello, was extremely anxious that an English consul should

be sent to Soccatoo, and that a trade should be opened up with the English. Before the travellers left either Houssa or Bornou, however, they found the rulers of these places to cool in their desire for British intercourse. This arose, without doubt, from the intrigues of the Arabs, who were afraid that the traffic through the desert from the Mediterranean might be superseded by the commerce of the British from the Atlantic or western coast. The Arabs, therefore, artfully placed before the minds of the African princes the consequences which had resulted to India and other countries from a connection with Britain. These representations had a considerable effect, as has been said; yet Bello and the Bornouese sheikh were still anxious for the commencement of a regulated and limited intercourse. In order to begin this, and to accustom the natives to the presence of Europeans, Mr Tyrwhitt, a gentleman who had joined Denham and Clapperton, was left at Kouka, the capital of Bornou, with a considerable stock of goods belonging to the party, when the other travellers departed, by the road they came, for Tripoli. They reached that place on the 26th of January 1825, and proceeded shortly after to Britain, having spent more than three years in Africa. Mr Tyrwhitt died at Kouka in March 1825.

The safe return of two principal members of this expedition, and the interesting nature of the observations made by them, was cheering and encouraging to the British authorities, and to all who took an interest in African discovery. But the question of the Niger's outlet, through which alone, it was obvious, commercial intercourse could be securely and effectually established with the interior, remained yet in doubt, though the late travellers were fully convinced that the river flowed into the Atlantic somewhere in the Gulf of Guinea. Ere he had rested many months at home, Clapperton, one of the bravest of the many brave men who had risked their lives on the same dangerous adventure, was again on his way to Africa, at the head of an exploratory party. His companions were Dr Morrison and Captain Pearce, besides a faithful servant of Clapperton, Richard Lander. It was resolved on this occasion to enter the interior from Badagry, a district on the northern coast of the Gulf of Guinea, from which Clapperton believed the Niger might be soonest reached. Having reached Badagry, the mission, on the 7th of December 1825, set out for the interior, accompanied by an African guide named Pascoe, who had been hired at Badagry. Alas! ere a few days passed over, two of the company, Messrs Pearce and Morrison, sank beneath the climate, like so many of their predecessors. Clapperton continued his route, and passed through a populous kingdom named Yarriba, of which the capital, Katunga, is no less than fifteen miles in circumference. Another city, called Kiama, containing to appearance thirty thousand inhabitants, was passed by the travellers, who every where experienced a kind reception from the natives. Other large towns lay in the route between the coast and the Niger, and, in fact, the populousness of the country was immense. In March 1826, Clapperton reached Wawa, a city of eighteen thousand inhabitants, and shortly afterwards went to Boussa, another large city, and the place where Park met his fate. Clapperton describes Boussa as being situated on an island of the Quorra, or Niger; but this appears by later accounts to be a mistake, or, it may be, the river occupies more than one channel at the spot at some seasons. The travellers saw the place where Park died, but, though they heard of relics that had been preserved of him in the country, they did not see any.

After a short stay at Boussa, Captain Clapperton crossed the Niger, and visited the country of Nyffee on the left bank, after which he went to Kano and Soccatoo, the Fellatah cities which he had formerly seen. Unfortunately, the sultan, Bello, was now greatly more suspicious of the motives of the British, in seeking intercourse with the African states, and was disposed to behave harshly to Clapperton. This feeling on the part of Bello caused much anxiety to the traveller, whose health at the same time began to decline. After many

months spent chiefly at Kano and Soccatoo, Clapperton died at the latter of these cities, on the 15th of April 1827, in the arms of his attendant, Richard Lander, whose kind attentions he expressed his gratitude for almost with his latest breath.

Thus left alone among suspicious strangers, at the distance of one hundred and fifteen days' journey from the coast, and oppressed besides with sickness and fever, Lander may well be believed, when he says that he felt so disconsolate and lonely, as to wish earnestly that he had been laid by the side of his dear master. But these feelings wore partly away, and Lander soon gave proof that he was possessed of intelligence above his condition, and was inferior in spirit and daring to none of the many gallant men who had left their bones in the sun-burnt plains of Africa. He formed the resolution of proceeding directly to Fundah, the place where the Niger was said to enter the sea, and endeavour to solve the problem of its termination. As Bello appeared to repent a little of his harshness after Clapperton's death, Lander was enabled to set out on this journey, and to travel a long way southwards of Soccatoo; but just as he approached the neighbourhood of Fundah and the Niger, he was compelled by some of Bello's emissaries to retrace his steps to the northward. He was not detained, however, by the Fellatahs, but was permitted to turn his course to the coast at Badagry, where he arrived in November 1827. He reached England four months afterwards, bringing with him Clapperton's papers, and a journal of his own proceedings subsequent to his master's death.

These documents brought under the notice of the public, for the first time, several countries both on the east and west banks of the Niger, and also supplied the strongest confirmation yet received of Amadi Fatouma's account of Mungo Park's death. Meanwhile, the British government were making another attempt from the Mediterranean to open up the interior of Africa—for such was the ultimate and highest object to be attained through these expeditions. About the time that Clapperton set out on his second journey, Major Laing, an able officer, who had already travelled on the African coasts, entered the Desert by way of Tripoli, under the protection of a personage who had resided twenty-two years at Tombuctoo. When in the middle of the Desert, the party was attacked by a band of wild Tuaricks, and Major Laing was left for dead, with twenty-four dreadful wounds on his person. He recovered, however, by the care of his surviving companions, although numerous portions of bone had to be extracted from his head and temples! When able to do so, he pursued his journey, and on the 18th of August, reached the famous city of Tombuctoo. Several letters were received from him, dated at this place, which he described as having disappointed him in point of extent, being only about four miles in circuit, but that he had found its records copious and interesting. Major Laing never had the opportunity, unhappily, of making these valuable discoveries known, being murdered, three days after leaving Tombuctoo, by a wretch who had undertaken to guide him to the mouth of the Senegal or its neighbourhood. What became of the ill-fated traveller's papers is not yet known.

The next light thrown upon African geography came from a source somewhat different from those described. René Caillié, a Frenchman of humble origin, being early animated by a love of enterprise, left his country at the age of sixteen, and arrived at Senegal in the year 1816. Having heard soon afterwards of Major Gray's expedition, he contrived, after many difficulties, to join the party in Bondou, and returned with them to the coast. He afterwards came to France, but went back to Africa in 1824, always animated with the hope of distinguishing himself on the field of discovery. A prize offered by the French Society of Geography stimulated him finally to a successful exertion. Assuming the character of a Mahomedan on a pilgrimage to Mecca, he joined, on the 19th of April 1827, a small native caravan, travelling from the river Nunez to the interior. He soon after reached the Joliba (the name which the Niger



bears as far down as Tombuctoo), but was detained by illness for five months at a place called Timé. On his recovery, he passed onwards to Jenné on the Niger, a city described by him as containing 8000 or 10,000 inhabitants, and as being a place of considerable traffic. At Jenné, he embarked in a loose native vessel of sixty tons burden, and sailed with a party of merchants through lake Dibbie (mentioned by Park), and down the Niger, until, in April 1828, the vessel stopped at Cabra, the port of Tombuctoo. The inhabitants of Cabra were about 1200 in number, and were solely occupied as porters, either in unloading goods, or in conveying them on the backs of asses to Tombuctoo. That city itself lies about ten miles from the Niger, and is a place of some 10,000 or 12,000 inhabitants. It is chiefly built of bricks, and is supported entirely by commerce. The population are partly negroes and partly Moors, but the king is a negro, and the government solely in the hands of that class. On the other hand, though all the people engage more or less in trade, the Moors are the principal merchants. The great article of traffic is salt, which is brought from the mines in the neighbouring Desert of Sahara, and is disseminated from Tombuctoo over the whole of central Africa. Other goods, both of European and native manufacture, are carried from the Mediterranean by Moorish merchants to the city. Tombuctoo is in the midst of barren sands, and depends upon Jenné and other places for rice and other necessities of life. The population is almost entirely Mahomedan, and there are several mosques in the city, of which two are very large. The people are gentle in their manners, and well disposed towards strangers. Education is well attended to, every person being able at least to read the Koran.

Such are the leading facts stated by M. Caillié respecting Tombuctoo. He says nothing respecting those records mentioned by Major Laing, and which, if they exist, relate doubtless to the ancient times of the city, when it was a seat of learning and literature, if we may trust the old Arabic writers. In other respects, Caillié's statements correspond with the most accredited reports. After leaving Tombuctoo, Caillié made his way across the Desert to Tangier, where he arrived in August 1828, and whence he was forwarded by the French consul to Europe. When his narrative was published, the truth of it was at first doubted, but afterwards the world became satisfied of his veracity, and placed such inaccuracies as his work contained, to the account of his want of scientific knowledge and of scientific instruments. Upon the whole, however, M. Caillié has contributed little to the removal of those glaring blanks which have so long defaced the map of Africa.

Not so the next adventurer to whom we have to allude. This was Richard Lander, the faithful follower of Clapperton. Lander made an offer of his services to government, for the investigation of the course and termination of the Niger. The offer was accepted, and Lander embarked at Portsmouth on the 9th of January 1830, accompanied by his younger brother John, who shared in all the toils and honours of the expedition. The Landers arrived on the 19th of March at Badagry, and at the end of the month started on the same route pursued by Clapperton in his journey to the Niger. Paskoe, the old guide, was again taken into service by the Landers. After an interesting journey through the populous cities of Yarriba, the travellers arrived at Boussa on the Niger, on the 17th of June. The king of Boussa welcomed them with great cordiality. Though gentle and hospitable, this prince was a mere ignorant savage, in comparison of the kings of Houssa and Bornou. At Boussa, notwithstanding that aversion always evinced by the natives to speak about Park, the Landers found an old nautical publication belonging to that traveller, with a loose paper or two between the sheets—one of them an invitation card to dinner. The man who possessed this book regarded it as his household god, every written paper being of magical import in the eyes of the natives. The *tobe*, or surtout-dress, of rich crimson damask, which Park had

worn, was also recovered at Boussa by the Landers, but no distinct account was got of the mode in which these articles came into the hands of their owners.

Yaourie, a city and province on the east bank of the Niger, at the distance of three or four days' journey northwards from Boussa, was next visited by the travellers, in consequence of reports having been long prevalent that the king of Yaourie had Park's papers in his possession; but the Landers found nothing there but a double-barrelled gun, which had been part of Park's present to the king, and which they got in exchange for their own fowling-piece. The king of Yaourie is the son of the monarch who had been contemporary with Park. It was with some difficulty that the Landers could get away from the king of Yaourie, who was a greedy and ignorant, though crafty savage, and who had at first artfully deceived his visitors into the belief of his having relies of the long-lost traveller.

On the return of the travellers to Boussa, they began to look out for a canoe in which to pass down the river. They did not obtain this, however, until after they had paid a visit to Wawa (or Wowow, an inland town already mentioned), the king of which behaved uncommonly well to them. Indeed, the kings and people of Boussa and Wowow seem to have been simple and ingenious in an extreme degree. The king of Boussa sent messengers down the Niger to a town called Rabba, in order to pave the way for the secure passage of the travellers; and when a favourable answer was returned, the African monarch "capered round his hut with transport, and, after a burst of joy, he began to cry like a child—his heart was so full. 'Now,' said he, 'whatever may happen to the white men, my neighbours cannot but acknowledge that I have taken every care of them, treated them as became a king, and done my best to promote their happiness and interests.' And so he has," continue the Landers.

On the 20th of September, the travellers embarked in a canoe provided for them, on the Niger. They were detained for a time after they had sailed a short way, in consequence of their having broken a promise to go to Wowow during certain festivals then in progress. The Wowow king seems to have been anxious to show off his grandeur to the white men. This difficulty removed, the Landers continued their course. On the 7th of October, they arrived opposite Rabba, having passed a number of islands and towns on the river, which was always a magnificent stream, but varying considerably in width. Rabba is a large market-town, governed by a relative of sultan Bello. The ruler of Rabba being dissatisfied with the presents made to him, the travellers were reluctantly forced to give him Park's *tobe*, and they subsequently had the misfortune to lose his gun. Near Rabba, the river took a wide sweep to the eastwards, but it again turned to the south. Egga, another famous market-town on the river, and Kacunda, were afterwards passed, and the mouths of two large tributaries, the Coodoovia, and the Tshadda, were also seen. Various other towns were passed in succession, the largest of which were Bocqua and Attah. The Landers had now arrived at a region where signs of European intercourse were seen, and where the natives had been tainted by the demoralising consequences of the slave commerce. At a place called Kirree, the travellers suffered a heavy misfortune. They were attacked by a number of canoes, seized, and their property taken from them. Richard's journal, amongst other articles, was lost in the river, though the notes of his brother were happily preserved. The travellers expected nothing but death at this time themselves, but their lives were saved, that they might be carried down the river to Eboe-town, where the king of the Eboe people resided, and by whose subjects the attack had been made. On their way to Eboe-town, they passed a large lake on the river, which afterwards divided itself into three broad streams, flowing at different inclinations to the south-west. From this and previous branchings of the stream, the Landers felt convinced that they were close by the termination of the Niger in the Gulf of Guinea; and their anxiety to

continue their route was proportionable to their pleasure at the near accomplishment of their task. Obie, the Eboe king, resolved to detain them, however, till a ransom was got from the English; but king Boy, a monarch residing farther down the river, and who was then in Eboe-town, became bound for the ransom of the Landers, and carried them down (what proved to be the stream commonly called the Nun river) to Brass-Town, his father's capital. King Boy subsequently went down to the mouth of the river with Richard Lander, leaving John at Brass-Town. An English merchantman was lying in the Nun, and with hope in his heart, Richard Lander went on board of her with Boy, and explained his situation to the commander Captain Lake, expecting to find a countryman's sympathy and aid. The wretch refused to expend a penny on their ransom, though, if he had possessed a spark of intelligence, he might have been assured that the British government would gladly have paid, ten times over, any outlay made in such circumstances. Richard Lander with difficulty prevailed on Boy to go and bring his brother John to the brig, by which time the traveller hoped Lake would relent. The brutal captain, however, did not relent; and when John Lander came to the brig, he and his brother, much against their will, were forced to leave the river without satisfying Boy, who had generously taken the risk of recovering their ransom. It is a consolation to think that the British government ultimately made Boy be paid much more than he looked for. In Captain Lake's vessel, meantime, the Landers, after much danger, crossed the bar of the river Nun, and entered the open sea in the Bight of Benin, Gulf of Guinea, with the deep satisfaction on their minds of having thus attained the glory of discovering the termination of the Niger! On the 1st of December, they were put ashore at Fernando Po, where they experienced the warmest reception from the British residents. Shortly afterwards they found a passage homewards, and reached Britain on the 9th of June 1831, after an absence of a year and a half.

The solution of the great African mystery by the Landers was justly felt by their countrymen as a national triumph. But the matter, when explained, looked so simple, as in the case of Columbus with the egg, that men wondered how they could have been so long in the dark with respect to it. The splitting of the Niger into numerous branches near its close, some of them a hundred miles distant from others, was the real cause of all the difficulty. Like the Nile, the Niger has a large delta (so called from the shape of the Greek letter  $\Delta$  *delta*), and each of its branches bore the look of independent streams. The delta of the Niger is partly inhabited, but is extremely marshy.

The discovery of the mouth of the Niger was not long in being turned to advantage by the enterprising spirit of British commerce. Richard Lander again gave his services to the cause. Several mercantile gentlemen of Liverpool having determined upon opening a traffic through the Niger, in the expectation of getting indigo, ivory, and other African productions, in exchange for British manufactures, two steam-vessels were fitted out, to which the names of the Quorra and the Alburkah were given, and the latter of which was entirely formed of iron—an experiment in sailing which succeeded remarkably well, and which would have been remarkable under any circumstances. The heating of the iron was feared, but its great conducting power kept it at the temperature of the water. After a tedious voyage, these two vessels were safely conveyed to the destined quarter in October 1832, with Lander, Messrs Laird, Oldfield, and a considerable party of Europeans, on board. In the same month, the Quorra and Alburkah commenced the ascent of the Nun branch of the Niger. The lowermost portions, in point of position, of the Eboe population, showed some disposition to attack the vessels, which made sharp reprisals; but the danger passed over, and the party proceeded to Eboe-town, where Lander's former captor Obie resided. He was much surprised when he found that palm-oil, in which he was a great dealer, would

not suit the new merchants. After this period, disease began to attack the crews of the steamers to such an extent, that in three weeks seventeen men died. Above Attah a new misfortune happened. The Quorra ran aground, and could not be extricated for four months, at the end of which time the rising of the water relieved it. This stoppage took place near the confluence of the Tshadda, otherwise called Tshary, with the Niger, and Mr Laird, one of the leaders of the party, left his companions, and ascended this tributary in a boat to trade with the natives—an object in which little progress had been made hitherto. Mr Laird, after a journey, partly by land and partly by sea, of about forty miles, reached Fundah, a city on the Tshadda, containing thirty or forty thousand inhabitants. Little trade in ivory or indigo was effected here, though the natives were not unfavourably disposed towards the strangers. On returning to the Niger, Mr Laird found that Lander had gone down the river for some purpose, and he himself was not long, after leaving the Tshadda, in turning the prow of the Quorra seawards. He met Lander, with others, ascending in a boat from the sea-coast. Mr Laird continued his descent in the Quorra, and, after reaching the sea, did not re-enter the Niger. Only three or four of the original crew of the Quorra survived the expedition.

These separations seem to have arisen from divided councils, and misunderstandings among the party. Mr Lander, Mr Oldfield, and others, joined the Alburkah, and attempted yet to trade with the natives. The Alburkah entered the Tshadda on the 2d of August, and sailed for a hundred and four miles up that stream, after which want of provisions compelled the party to return to the Niger, which they immediately began to ascend, with the view of reaching Bonssa. At Kacunda, Egga, and Rabbah, the travellers endeavoured to open a trade; but the eager desire of the rulers and great men to get all the grand things the strangers had, appears to have prevented the various communities from bringing their produce for sale. This circumstance may be said to have been one of the chief barriers in the way of success, but it is an obstacle obviously which would speedily disappear. The Alburkah, from some accidental injury to the engine, had to turn at Rabbah, which is about a hundred and fifty miles above the Tshadda's mouth, and proceed to the sea-coast. Here, however, the indefatigable Lander did not permit it to stay long. He himself went to Cape Coast-Castle for a supply of kowries, an article found to be indispensable to the expedition, while Mr Oldfield again ascended the Niger, where Lander was soon to join him; but Lander never again saw the Alburkah. In sailing to join it in a boat, he was attacked by the natives, and received so severe a gunshot wound near the head of the thigh-bone, as ultimately to produce fatal consequences. As there is little said relative to the death of Richard Lander, in the account of this expedition given by Messrs Laird and Oldfield, we are happy to have it in our power to narrate the particulars of the accident, as detailed by Lander himself to a gentleman (Mr Butler, colonial surgeon) who was the medical attendant of the traveller on his death-bed.

In ascending the Niger to join the Alburkah, Lander had several boats with him loaded with goods, and with the kowries which he had collected. With these, he and his company made their way upwards in safety, for about four hundred miles by his own calculation, until they came opposite to Iamnia (or Hyamma) and Ikibre, two towns on the banks of the river. Here, in the forenoon of the 20th of January 1834, a party of natives, armed with muskets, made an attack in their canoes on the travellers, evidently with the view of seizing their property. Lander defended himself for a time by returning the fire of the natives, but soon found it necessary to abandon his boats of burden, and to retreat down the river, accompanied by two boats besides the one he was on board of himself. The natives pursued; and it was while in the act of stooping for ammunition to sustain his running fire, that Lander received

a shot in the upper part of his left limb. The shot, as he afterwards stated, gave him no pain whatever at the time, but a general feeling of faintness came over him, and a sensation of numbness in the part, which led him to place his hand upon it. On withdrawing this, he observed it marked with blood, but the hemorrhage from the wound, both then and afterwards, consisted of no more than a slight oozing. Lander and his companions continued their exertions, and were successful in escaping from the natives; but the traveller felt a deep conviction, from the moment of the injury, that he was mortally wounded.

Six days after the attack, he reached Fernando Po. All the attentions paid to him there, however, were unsuccessful in averting the issue which the traveller anticipated. The ball was so deeply lodged in the fleshy part of the limb, that it was found impossible to extract it with safety. Suppuration, and subsequently mortification of the muscles, ensued, and early on the morning of the 2d of February, thirteen days from the occurrence of the accident, Richard Lander breathed his last. His dying moments were marked by the greatest resignation and composure. Two subjects appeared chiefly to occupy his thoughts. The one of these was the expedition in which he had been engaged, and in which he had ardently hoped to do something that might redound to the honour both of his own and of the English name, as well as to the benefit of the enterprising gentlemen whose property had been embarked in the scheme. Influenced by these feelings, Lander, though at heart impressed with the belief that his hour was come, wrote cheerily to Mr Oldfield, and even spoke hopefully of himself, that that gentleman might proceed with undamped spirit. The other subject on which Lander's last thoughts dwelt, was his family. Not long before embarking on this final expedition, he had been united in England to an amiable woman, to whom he was strongly attached. In proof of the warmth of his affections, Mr Butter, to whose kindness these details are owing, states that, at a former period (May 1833), when Lander was under his care for an attack of dysentery, the traveller's illness seemed almost instantaneously to be dispelled by a letter from home, containing intelligence of an agreeable nature.\* After his decease, the ball was extracted from his limb, and was found to have fractured the neck of the thigh bone. Colonel Nicolls, superintendent of Fernando Po, made every endeavour to discover the parties who had been instrumental in the death of the traveller. The colonel sailed in person up the river Nun (that branch of the Niger or Quorra on which the accident took place), and had an interview with King Boy, on whom suspicion partly fell. Boy, however, declared himself entirely innocent, and asserted it to have been done by the lawless people of Iammah and Ikiabree, over whom he had no control. No further satisfaction was obtained on the subject.

Richard Lander was descended from Cornish parents, of humble station in life. He will assuredly rank second only to Mungo Park on the roll of those who have connected their names with African discovery. To convey a distinct final idea of the extent of our obligations to him as a discoverer, it is necessary to recapitulate the

\* Mr Butter has in his possession a *tobe* presented to him by Richard Lander, and which the latter brought from Rabba, the farthest point reached on this expedition, and a market-town of importance. This *tobe* is formed of stout cotton stuff, of native manufacture, and which resembles closely our own coarse unbleached cotton-ware, such as is used for workmen's shirting; but the material of the *tobe* is in breadths of only two and a half inches, joined together by needle and thread. The *tobe*, when upon the person, and hanging loose, is not unlike a wide-sleeved military cloak, or an English clergyman's surplice. There is no opening in front, however, as in the cloak, and the way of putting on the *tobe* is by dropping it over the head and body. It fits pretty closely about the neck, and the skirts also are in part drawn together around the limbs; but the side-skirts of the *tobe* are loose, and are in general lifted by the natives upon the arms, and so worn. The front of this *tobe* has some simple figurings of white silk towards the neck. Though possessing a cumbersome appearance, it is evidently a dress well calculated for ease in a hot climate.

particulars of the geography and history of the Niger. It rises, according to Park, between the eleventh and twelfth degrees of north latitude, and between the fourth and fifth degrees of west longitude from Greenwich. For nearly the half of its course, it flows in a north-easterly direction, and afterwards turns to the south. Throughout the upper part of its course, it is called by the natives the Joliba, Niger being exclusively an European appellation. By Park, it was traced down to Boussa, where he was killed; but from Sansanding to Yaourie, owing to the destruction of the papers of that traveller, the course of the river is only traced conjecturally, with the exception of Caillie's notice of it as far as Cabra. At Yaourie, where it is called the Quorra, the course of the river was taken up by the two Landers in 1830, and traced down to the Gulf of Guinea, where a great number of disemboгуing streams, which had formerly been supposed independent rivers, and called by different names, were now perceived to be mouths of the Niger; this river, like the Nile, the Ganges, and some others, parting into several branches, when near the sea. It is clearly owing to this variety of names borne by the river at various parts of its course, as well as to the remarkable bend it makes above Boussa, that the geography of the Niger remained so long a mystery to European science.

It has been already mentioned, that the Alburkah again took its way up the Niger, under the charge of Mr Oldfield, at the period when Richard Lander went to Cape Coast Castle for kowries. Mr Oldfield's expedition lasted from November 1833 till July 1834, during which time he ascended the river no farther than the town of Attah, already mentioned, and which seems to be one of the most important places of traffic on its banks. The chief article of traffic, unfortunately, consists of slaves, whom the king, the principal merchant, sells in great numbers to the native chiefs at the mouths of the Niger, where the unfortunate creatures are disposed of to the Spanish and Portuguese slavers. Mr Oldfield, however, found at Attah a considerable quantity of ivory, so much as to prove satisfactorily the statement of Lander, that the article abounded on the line of the river. But this partial success in accomplishing the objects of the enterprise, was counterbalanced by the fearful loss of lives, from fever and dysentery, on board of the Alburkah. So disheartening was this mortality, that Mr Oldfield, on receiving information of Lander's death, thought proper to commence the descent of the river, which he completed, as has been mentioned, in July 1834. Five out of twenty-nine of the Quorra's crew, and four out of nineteen of the Alburkah's, were the sad relics of this trading expedition.

Neither as regards the effects of climate, however, nor with respect to many other points, must this enterprise be held as decisive of the impossibility of secure and successful trading with the interior of Africa. There seem to have been many obstacles of a peculiar kind in the way of success on this occasion, which are not likely to mar again any well-concocted attempt of the same kind. The want of harmony between the leaders of the expedition has been already adverted to, and to this misunderstanding, as fully appears from the narratives of Laird and Oldfield, the failure of the enterprise is in no small degree to be ascribed. By this unhappy cause, the efforts of the party were rendered vacillating, detached, and irregular, instead of being concentrated upon individual objects, in such a way as might have insured a chance of success. It is but justice to the memory of the dead to say, that the impressions which we are left, by Mr Laird's narrative, to form respecting Lander's conduct on this occasion, are so much at variance with all that is known of that traveller's character, that we are forced to conclude Mr Laird to have been altogether ignorant of his associate's motives and movements during a considerable part of the enterprise. The misfortunes arising from climate, also, were certainly not so fully provided for as they might have been during the voyage of the Quorra and Alburkah. After the death of Dr Briggs, which oc-

curred not long after the ascent of the Niger was commenced, the crews of the two steamers were left without the advice or attendance of any one regularly qualified medical man. Without implying any reflection on the care and attentiveness of those who remained to administer to the sick, it is reasonable to conclude, that to this deficiency the dreadful mortality attending this expedition may in part have been owing.

These remarks have in view no other object than that of explaining in part the misfortunes which befel this party. Mr Laird's remarks will afford the best proof, that the dispositions of the natives were far from being unfavourable to the establishment of an intercourse with Europeans. He says, "I can safely assert that, as far as my experience goes, European traders will be received with open arms by all the inhabitants of the interior; that no hostility, but, on the contrary, every kindness and respect, will be shown to them; that their property and lives will be as safe (excepting from the effects of climate) upon the Niger as upon the Thames; and that nothing prevents the Eboes, and other nations in the interior, trading direct with the Europeans upon the coast, but the terror that a white man's name carries with it—a terror which is artfully kept up by the chiefs upon the coast, and the disorganised state of the country produced by the slave-trade." In addition to these favourable circumstances, it may be observed, that the steam-vessels found an abundant supply of wood, as fuel for the engines, during the whole route, either by sending men on shore to cut it, or by paying a small price to the natives for it.

Time, it is obvious, will remove the main obstacles pointed out by Mr Laird in the preceding sentences. Climate is the great and the crushing difficulty; but

even that may, by care and choosing time properly, be got over, as was shown by an expedition, performed in the Quorra steam-vessel, subsequent to those described. In September 1835, Mr Becroft, a Fernando Po merchant, ascended the Niger, traded with success, and left it, at the end of three months, with the loss of only one man.

Such is the history of discovery since the time of Park, in those regions with which he, more than any other man, has durably and honourably associated his name. Difficulties yet stand in the way of the complete fulfilment of those objects which all his toils and sufferings had in view, yet the time is unquestionably not far distant when millions of human beings will bless the name of him who was the first, at the sacrifice of his life, to point out the path by which the benefits of civilisation might enter the benighted dwellings of Africa. It is true that the contact of civilised man has hitherto tended only to deteriorate the character of the inhabitants of that continent, and to thicken the intellectual darkness amid which they lived—the slave-trade, which is still kept up in all its horrid vigour, being in reality the grand obstacle to social advancement in this unhappy region; but let us hope that, by the exertions of intrepid and philanthropic Englishmen, a better time will ere long arrive, when the intercourse of their white fellow-creatures will bring with it a blessing only, and not a curse, to the dark-hued children of the south. When that consummation arrives, Britain will feel a noble pride in the thought that she has been foremost in labouring for so good a cause, and Park, with all the gallant train of her sons who followed in his footsteps, will rank for ever among the greatest benefactors of the human species.

## APPENDIX.

THE following letter is one of the last written by Mungo Park, giving an account of the illness and death of his fellow-traveller and brother-in-law, Mr Alexander Anderson, to his father, the late Dr Anderson, Selkirk; and which has never appeared in any previous publication.

*Sansanding, near Sego, Nov. 16th, 1805.*

MY DEAR FATHER,—I KNOW not in what manner to tell you the most sorrowful tidings that ever reached your ears, and I sincerely pray that the supporting spirit from on high may sustain and comfort you under this severe dispensation of Divine Providence. You will readily anticipate what I am going to say—your son, my dear dear friend, has shut his eyes on the scenes of time, and opened them on the glories of eternity. He was affected with the fever, but very gently, on the 30th of June, at the town of Kandy, to the east of the Black River (Mr Scott was affected the same day); he however rode his horse, and was almost well again. When we reached Bangassy, July 22d, here he had a return of the general debility, which increased as we advanced to the east, and when we reached Dababoo, the frontier town of Bambarra, he was unable to manage his horse. I therefore led it, and he rode till we reached a village called Koomkroomi, when Mr Scott died; here I had a sort of hammock made, affixed to a long pole, and carried on men's heads. In this conveyance he was carried fifty miles with great ease and comfort. On our arrival at Bambarra, on the Niger, he recovered so rapidly that in three days he was able to ride down to the river-side to embark in the canoe, and on our arrival at Marraboo, he walked from the canoe to the town. We stayed here thirteen days, and he continued much the same in point of health: he complained of no pain whatever, nothing but general debility. He had a tolerable appetite, but never recovered his strength; and when we reached Samee, near Sego, he was again

unable to walk, and the same state of universal debility prevailed when we reached this place (Sansanding); here he recovered gradually, and on October 18th, told me that he hoped to keep a look-out in the canoe. In going down the river, he was able to sit up, and even walk a little by himself; but alas, alas! on the night of the 24th of October, he was affected with a bilious diarrhoea, for which in the morning I gave him a doze of calomel, and an opiate at night. The opiate relieved the pain, but as the diarrhoea and tenesmus still continued, we had every reason to suspect that it was dysentery; and as his strength was now gone, he considered the hour of his departure as at hand. I sat with him every night, and I hope have derived much benefit from his conversation. He often spoke of you, and also about all friends at home, but generally added, "Where I am going all the light afflictions vanish from my mind." He told me to whom to give his compliments, and concluded by saying, "Tell them all that I die in the firm faith that Jesus Christ is the Saviour of the world, and what is comfortable indeed to me, he will soon be my judge." In this manner death gradually approached, and on the morning of the 28th, at a quarter past five, as I turned him from one side to the other, he gave a groan. I inquired if he felt much pain; he said, "No, I have had a fine sleep." Shortly after this, he said with a clear distinct voice, "Thou knowest my state, O Lord," and instantly expired without a groan, a sigh, or struggle. I had him buried about 100 yards north of the easternmost church in Sansanding. Koontee Mamadel, the chief man of this town, attended his corpse to the grave.

My dear father, endeavour to comfort my beloved wife; tell her not to be uneasy on my account. I am in excellent health, and the healthy season is now set in. If every thing succeeds, I expect to be in England in the month of May.—Yours affectionately,

MUNGO PARK.

THE END.

T R A V E L S

IN

H I N D U S T A N A N D C H I N A .

BY HOWARD MALCOM.

ILLUSTRATED WITH WOOD ENGRAVINGS.

EDINBURGH:

PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM AND ROBERT CHAMBERS.

1840.

C

EDINBURGH:  
PRINTED BY W. AND R. CHAMBERS,  
19, WATERLOO PLACE.

NOTICE BY THE PUBLISHERS OF THE PRESENT EDITION.

THE present work, TRAVELS in HINDUSTAN, MALAYA, SIAM, and CHINA, forms the second section of the author's "TRAVELS IN SOUTH-EASTERN ASIA," published in 1839, in Boston, United States. It has been preceded by the first section, which comprehends the BURMAN EMPIRE. The present, therefore, completes the work.

The author, Mr Malcom, as is stated in the preface to the first section, was engaged in the philanthropic object of exploring new fields of missionary enterprise in the East, to which he sailed from America in September 1835. After visiting Burmah, he left that empire, and taking shipping at Rangoon, arrived at Calcutta in Hindustan, in September 1836.

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# TRAVELS

IN

## HINDUSTAN, MALAYA, SIAM, AND CHINA.

### CHAPTER I.

Voyage to Calcutta. Saugor Island. Hoogly River. Landing. Houses. Servants. Streets. Weddings. Doorga Pooja. General Assembly's School. Benevolent Institution. Orphan Refuge. Central School. The Martiniers. Leper Hospital. Operations of Education Committee. Colleges. Progress of the English Language. Use of Roman Alphabet. Native Periodicals. Hindu and Mahometan Edifices. Ram Mohun Roy. Bromha Sobha. Population of Calcutta. Expenses of Living. Habits of Extravagance. Morals. Religion. Clergy. Places of Worship. Missionary Operations. Christian Villages. Hinduism shaken. Serampore. Aspect. Population. Marshman. College. Grave-Yard. Operations of the Mission.

A hot and disagreeable passage of seventeen days from Rangoon in a small schooner, brought me to Calcutta, September 20, 1836. The vessel, being loaded with timber and stick-lac, had plenty of scorpions and centipedes. Twice, on taking a clean shirt out of my trunk, I found a centipede snugly stowed in it. Having several times caught scorpions on my mattress at night, we undertook a general search, and on the under side of the cabin table discovered a nest of twenty or thirty. I had written here constantly for a week, with my knees pressed up hard against the edge, to keep me steady, and felt truly thankful to have been unmolested. Several of the females had white leathery bags attached to them, about the size of a grape, full of young ones, scarcely bigger than a pin's head.

The constant increase of the sands at the mouth of the Hoogly, and the absence of any landmark, renders the approach always a matter of some anxiety. The floating light is stationed out of sight of land, and the tails of the reefs, even there, are dangerous. When the shores are at length discerned, their dead level and unbroken jungle, without any sign of population, and the great breadth of the river, gives the whole an aspect excessively dreary, well suiting to one's first emotions on beholding a land of idolatry.

Saugor Island, which is first coasted, is famed for being the spot where many infants and others are annually immolated. The Hoogly, called by the natives *Ba-gir-a-tee*, being considered the true mouth of the Ganges, and the junction of this sacred stream with the ocean being at Saugor, great sanctity is attached to the place. A few devotees are said to reside on the island, who contrive for a while to avoid the tigers, and are supported by the gifts of the boatmen, who cherish great faith in the security they are supposed to be able to confer. An annual festival is held here in January, which thousands of Hindus attend, some even from five or six hundred miles. Missionaries often embrace this opportunity of preaching and distributing tracts. As a sample of these efforts, the following extract from the journal of the late Mr Chamberlain will be interesting.

"Gunga Saugor.—Arrived here this morning. Astonished beyond measure at the sight! Boats crushed together, row upon row, for a vast extent in length, numberless in appearance, and people swarming every where! Multitudes! multitudes! Removed from the boats, they had pitched on a large sand-bank and in the jungle; the oars of the boats being set up to support

the tents, shops, &c. Words fail to give a true description of this scene. Here an immensely populous city has been raised in a very few days, full of streets, lanes, bazaars, &c., many sorts of trade going on, with all the hurry and bustle of the most flourishing city. We soon left the boats, and went among the people. Here we saw the works of idolatry and blind superstition. Crowds upon crowds of infatuated men, women, and children, high and low, young and old, rich and poor, bathing in the water and worshipping Gunga, by bowing and making salaams, and spreading their offerings of rice, flowers, &c., on the shore, for the goddess to take when the tides arrive. The mud and water of this place are esteemed very holy, and are taken hundreds of miles upon the shoulders of men. They sprinkle themselves with the water, and daub themselves with the mud; and this, they say, cleanses them from all sin: this is very great holiness. In former years it was usual for many to give themselves to the sharks and alligators, and thus to be destroyed. But the Company have now placed sepoy along the side, to prevent this. A European sergeant and fifty sepoys are here now for that purpose."

The veneration paid by Hindus to this river is almost incredible. Descending from a height of 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, and running a course of 1500 miles, it receives, in every part, the most devoted homage. The touch of its water, nay, the very sight of it, say the Shasters, takes away all sin. Its very sediment is counted a remedy for all diseases. If it fails, they are not undeceived; for they say the man's time has come, and there is no remedy for death. Drowning in it is an act of great merit. Thousands of sick persons endure long journeys, that they may die upon its banks. Its water is sworn upon in courts of justice, as the Bible is in ours. From 50,000 to 200,000 persons assemble annually at certain places, of whom many are crushed to death in pressing to bathe at the propitious moment. Still more die on the road of poverty and fatigue. No man acquainted with the history of Hindustan, can sail upon these bright, unconscious waters, without being filled with sorrowful contemplations.

That the scenery here has been described in such glowing colours, can only be accounted for, by considering that the writers had been for months immured in a ship, and that, having previously seen no country but their own, every thing *foreign* became deeply interesting. The boats which come off, of strange construction; the "dandies," with their dark bronze skin, fine Roman features, perfect teeth, and scanty costume; the sircars, which board the ship with presents of fruit, dressed in graceful folds of snow-white muslin—are indeed objects of interest, and form fruitful topics for journals and letters, to young travellers. As to the river itself, at least in the lower part of its course, none could be more dull and disagreeable.

As the ship ascends the river (generally a slow and difficult process), objects of interest multiply. Fishermen's villages and scattered huts appear on each side, embosomed in stately palms. Trees, of shapes unknown before, fields of sugar-cane, wide levels of paddy ground,

and a universal greenness, keep up an interest, till, on reaching Gloucester, European houses begin to be seen, and the ear once more catches the sounds of machinery and commerce. The cold emotions of wonder, and the pain of reflecting that one has arrived in the regions of degradation and idolatry, now give place to a sense of exhilaration and homeness. On every side is evidence of the presence of those who stand with the highest among the civilised, the free, the scientific, and the religious nations of the earth. Hope portrays the future, benevolence stands ready to act, and discouragement is cheered by assurance of co-operation.

At length, in passing a bend in the river, called "Garden Reach," a superb array of country-seats opens on the eastern bank. Luxury and refinement seem here to have made their home. Verdant and quiet lawns appear doubly attractive to a voyager, weary of ocean and sky. Buildings, coated with plaster, and combining Grecian chasteness with oriental adaptation, lift their white columns amid noble trees and numerous tanks. Steamboats, budgerows, and dingees, ply about upon the smooth water. The lofty chimneys of gas-works and factories rise in the distance, and every thing bespeaks your approach to a great city.

We passed just at sunset. The multiform vehicles, for which Calcutta is famous, stood before the doors, or rolled away through the trees, followed by turbaned servants in flowing muslin. Ladies and children, with nurses and bearers, lounged along the smooth paths, and it was difficult to realise that this beautiful climate should prove so insidious. The general observation, however, is, that death owes more victims to high living, indolence, exposure at night, fatigue in shooting excursions, &c., than to the positive effects of climate. Indeed, some affirm India to be as salubrious as England, and the aspect of some who have been long in the country would seem to countenance the assertion.

A farther advance brings an indistinct view of the fort and the fine buildings of the Chouring suburb, all presented in one great curve, which is soon relinquished for a more minute and inquisitive contemplation of "the course." This is a broad road on the bank of the river, passing round the esplanade and fort, to which the English residents drive every evening at sunset. As every clerk in the city keeps his buggy or palanquin carriage, the crowd of vehicles rivals that at Hyde Park. The sight is even more imposing. Most of the higher classes use stately landaus, or open bouches; and the ladies are without bonnets. Crowds of gentlemen are on horseback. Indian side-runners give a princely air to the slow procession. The shipping of every nation, the clear horizon, the noble fort, the city front, the pleasure-boats, the beautiful ghats, &c., make it a scene which always pleases; and the citizens repair thither from day to day, and from year to year, without weariness or satiety.

On passing Garden Reach, the river becomes covered with boats, of every conceivable form, from which a dozen different languages meet the ear. A multitude of vessels lie at anchor; steam-engines pour from their towering chimneys volumes of smoke; beautiful ghats slope into the water; palankeens, tonjons, buggies, coaches, phaetons, gares, caranches, and hackeries, line the shore, and before us spreads out the great city, containing with its suburbs almost a million of souls.

All who die in or beside the river, and even those whose dead bodies are committed to it, being deemed certain of future bliss, multitudes are brought to die upon the banks, or are laid at low water on the mud, whence the return of the tide washes them away. These and the half-consumed relics from the funeral pile, in every variety of revolting aspect, are continually floating by. Government boats ply above the city to sink these bodies; but many escape, and we daily saw them float by, while vultures stood upon them, contending for the horrid banquet.

There being no wharfs or docks, you are rowed to a ghat in a dingey, and landed amid Hindus performing their ablutions and reciting their prayers. No sooner

does your boat touch the shore, than a host of bearers contend for you with loud jabber, and those whom you resist least, actually bear you off in their arms through the mud, and you find yourself at once in one of those strange conveyances, a palanquin. Away you hie, flat on your back, at the rate of nearly five miles an hour, a chatty boy bearing aloft a huge palm-leaf umbrella to keep off the sun, whom no assurances that you do not want him will drive away, but who expects only a piece or two for his pains. The bearers grunt at every step, like southern negroes when cleaving wood; and though they do it as a sort of chorus, it keeps your unaccustomed feelings discomposed.

Arrived at the house, you find it secluded within a high brick wall, and guarded at the gate by a durwan, or porter, who lives there in a lodge, less to prevent ingress than to see that servants and others carry nothing away improperly. The door is sheltered by a porch, called here a veranda, so constructed as to shelter carriages—a precaution equally necessary for the rains and the sun. The best houses are of two stories, the upper being occupied by the family, and the lower used for dining and store rooms. On every side are contrivances to mitigate heat and exclude dust. Venetian blinds enclose the veranda, extending from pillar to pillar, as low as a man's head. The remaining space is furnished with mats (tatties), which reach to the floor, when the sun is on that side, but at other times are rolled up. When these are kept wet, they diffuse a most agreeable coolness.

The moment you sit down, whether in a mansion, office, or shop, a servant commences pulling the punka, under which you may happen to be. The floor is of brick and mortar, covered with mats, the walls of the purest white, and the ceilings of great height. Both sexes, and all orders, dress in white cottons. The rooms are kept dark, and in the hottest part of the day shut up with glass. In short, every thing betrays a struggle to keep cool.

Another great contest seems to be against ants. You perceive various articles of furniture placed upon little dishes of water or quick-lime, without which precaution everything is overrun. White ants are most formidable; for from those it is impossible wholly to guard. They attack every thing, even the beams in the houses. A chest of clothes, lying on the floor a day or two only, may be found entirely ruined. A mere pinhole appears in your precious quarto—you open it, and behold a mass of dust and fragments!

The number of servants and their snowy drapery, huge turbans, stubby mustachios, bare feet, and cringing servility, form another feature in the novel scene. Partly from the influence of caste, but more from indolent habits, low pay, and the indulgence of former masters, when fortunes were easily made, they are appointed to services so minutely divided as to render a great number necessary. The following list, given me by a lady long in India, not only illustrates this peculiarity, but shows how large opportunities private Christians possess of doing good to natives even beneath their own roof. A genteel family, not wealthy, must have the following domestics:—

*Kánsuma*, a head servant, butler, or steward; *kit-mut-gár*, table-servant; *musáche*, cleans knives, washes plates, and carries the lantern; *bóbagee*, cook; *surdar*, head bearer, cleans furniture, &c.; *bearer*, cleans shoes, and does common errands (if a palanquin is kept, there must be at least eight of these), pulls punka; *abdar*, cools and takes care of water; *meeta*, man sweeper; *metráne*, female sweeper; *ayah*, lady's maid, or nurse; *durván*, gate-keeper; *molley*, gardener; *dirgy*, tailor; *dobey*, washerman; *garre-walla*, coachman; *syce*, groom, one to every horse, who always runs with him; *grass-cutter*, cuts and brings grass daily, one to each horse; *guy walla*, keeper of the cow or goats; *hurkaru*, errand boy or messenger; *sircar*, accountant or secretary; *chuprasse*, carries letters, and does the more trusty errands; *chokedar*, watchman; *cooley*, carries burdens, brings home marketing, &c.; *bheestie*, to bring

water. Of gardeners, maids, table-servants, nurses, &c., there of course must often be several. It is generally necessary to have part of these Mussulmans, and part Hindus; for one will not bring some dishes to the table, and the other will not touch a candlestick, &c. If a child makes a litter on the floor, the ayah will not clean it, but calls the metrane.

A walk into the native town produces novel sights on every side. The houses, for the most part, are mere hovels, with mud floors and mud walls, scarcely high enough to stand up in, and covered with thatch. The streets are narrow, crooked, and dirty; and on every neglected wall cow dung, mixed with chaff, and kneaded into thin cakes, is stuck up to dry for fuel. The shops are often but six or eight feet square, and seldom twice this size, wholly open in front, without any counter but the mat on the floor, part of which is occupied by the vender, sitting cross-legged, and the rest serves to exhibit his goods. Mechanics have a similar arrangement.

Barbers sit in the open street on a mat, and the patient, squatting on his hams, has not only his beard, but part of his head, shaved, leaving the hair to grow only on his crown. In the tanks and ponds are dobies slapping their clothes with all their might upon a bench or a stone. Little braminy bulls, with their humped shoulders, walk among the crowd, thrusting their noses into the baskets of rice, gram, or peas, with little resistance, except they stay to repeat the mouthful.\* Bullocks, loaded with panniers, pass slowly by. Palankeens come bustling along, the bearers shouting at the people to clear the way. Pedlars and hucksters utter their ceaseless cries. Religious mendicants, with long hair matted with cow dung, and with faces and arms smeared with Ganges mud, walk about almost naked, with an air of the utmost impudence and pride, demanding rather than begging gifts. Often they carry a thick triangular plate of brass, and, striking it at intervals with a heavy stick, send the shrill announcement of their approach far and near. Now and then comes rushing along the buggy of some English merchant, whose syce, running before, drives the pedestrians out of the way; or some villanous-looking caranche drags by, shut up close with red cloth, containing native ladies, who contrive thus to "take the air."

No Englishmen are seen on foot, except the very poorest, as it is deemed ungentle; nor native women, except of the lowest castes. Costumes and complexions, of every variety, move about without attracting attention—Hindus, Mussulmans, Armenians, Greeks, Persians, Parsees, Arabs, Jews, Burmans, Chinese, &c. &c.; bheesties, with leather water-sacks, slung dripping on



A Bheestie.

their backs, carry their precious burden to the rich man's yard, or hawk it along the street, announcing their approach by drumming on their brass measure. Snake-charmers, jugglers, and blind musicians, gather their little crowds. Processions are almost always abroad in

\* These are individuals turned loose when young, as offerings to an idol, which are thenceforth regarded as sacred. Though no one looks after them, their privileged mode of life keeps them in good order; and mixing so much among crowds, from which they meet no ill treatment, makes them perfectly gentle.

honour of some idol, or in fulfilment of some promise; making all possible clamour with voices, drums, cymbals, and trumpets. Women carry their children astride on their backs. Wretched vehicles, drawn by more wretched ponies, jingle along, bearing those who have long walks and moderate means. Women crowd about the wells, carrying water on their backs in brass jars. Children run about stark naked, or with a thin plate of silver or brass, not larger than a tea-cup, hung in front by a cord round the loins. Mudholes, neglected tanks, decaying carcasses, and stagnant ditches, unite with fumes of garlic, rancid oil, and human filth, to load the air with villanous smells. The *tout ensemble* of sights, sounds, and smells, is so utterly unlike anything in any other part of the world, that weeks elapse before the sensation of strangeness wears away.

My residence with Mr Pearce on the circular road, which is a principal thoroughfare, afforded continual opportunity of observing native character and habits. A spectacle of frequent recurrence was the wedding procession of young children affianced by their relations. Music and many torches dignify the procession. The girl is often carried in a palankeen, and the bridegroom on horseback, held by a friend. Sometimes the little things are borne in a highly ornamented litter, as in the engraving. It is always affecting to think that if



Part of a Wedding Procession.

the poor little boy die, his betrothed is condemned to perpetual widowhood. Many of these, as might be expected, become abandoned characters.

One is constantly struck with the excessive cruelty displayed towards oxen and horses by the natives; so strongly contrasting with the tenderness of Burman drivers. The cattle are small, lean, and scarred all over with the brands and fanciful figures of their owners. Poor in flesh, and weak, they are urged with a large stick, and by twisting the tail, in the most violent manner. The heavy blows were continually sounding in my ears, and with the creaking of the wheels, which are never greased, keep up an odious din. The horses of their miserable caranches *faré* no better—the driver scarcely ever suffering his whip to repose.

I saw many funerals, but none in which any solemnity or pomp prevailed. The body, without a coffin, was carried on its own paltry bedstead by four men, covered merely with a sheet; a few followers kept up a wailing recitative, and beat upon small native drums. The body was thus conveyed to the place of burning, or thrown into the Ganges.

Close to my residence was one of those numerous tanks resorted to in this city, not only for drinking water, but ablutions of all sorts. Every hour in the day some one was there bathing. Those who came for water would generally walk in, and letting their jar float awhile, bathe, and perhaps wash their cloth; then filling their vessel, bear it away with dripping clothes. Some dobeys, or washermen, resorted thither, whose severe process fully accounted for the fringes constantly made on the edges of my clothes. Without soap or fire, they depend on mere labour; standing knee deep in the water, and gathering the end of a garment in their hand, they whirl it over their head, and bring it down with great force upon a stone or inclined plank,

occasionally shaking it in the water. They spread out the articles on the hot sand, and a powerful sun enables them to present clothes of snowy whiteness.

My stay in the city included several annual festivals, of which one was the *Door-ga Poo-ja*, which commenced on the 15th of October, and continued till the 19th. The whole population unites in this celebration, and the government offices are closed. It is in honour of Bhagabátee, wife of Seeb, who is called Doorga, from her having destroyed a dreadful giant of that name, who had subdued most of the gods.

The first day is spent in waking up Doorga, and other gods, who are supposed to have slept since the festival of Shayan Ekadashée. The second day, vows are made, and offerings of water, flowers, sweetmeats, &c., are presented. The third day is occupied with ceremonies to bring the soul of Doorga into the image. To effect this, the priest repeats prayers, offers incantations, and touches the eyes, cheeks, nose, breast, &c., of the image with his finger. The image now becomes an object of worship, and crowds offer it divine honours, presenting at the same time large quantities of fruits, clothing, and food; which, of course, are perquisites to the Brahmins. The fourth day streams with the blood of animal sacrifices. The worshippers dance before the idol, smeared with gore; drums beat, and shouts rend the air. The heads only of the victims are offered, the worshippers eating the carcases, and rioting in strong drink. Such Hindus as worship Vishnu, not being permitted to shed blood, offer pumpkins, melons, sugar-cane, &c., which are cut in two with the sacrificial knife, that the juice may flow forth. All these days, the image is kept in the house, and the services performed in interior courts, so that the streets show little confusion or stir. The evenings are occupied with songs and dancing, often of an indecent character.

The last and great day brings the goddess abroad, carried in triumph upon the shoulders of men, to be thrown into the river. Crowds follow with shouts; bands of music accompany each group; and towards sundown the streets are literally full of these processions. I rode to the margin of the river at that time, to witness this part of the festival; and during the stay of a single hour, scores of images were thrown in at that place. Above and below, the same scenes were enacted.

These exhibitions not only present Doorga, but several other images, often as large as life, very handsomely moulded, of wax, clay, or paper. Under an ornamented canopy stands the goddess, stretching out her ten arms, each of which has an occupation. One transfixes with a spear the giant Mahisha; others hold implements of war, flowers, sceptres, &c. Beneath her feet is a lion, tearing the said giant; and on each side are her sons, *Kartik* and *Ganesh*. The whole is borne on a frame or bier, requiring twenty or thirty bearers. The group is generally got up with much skill, and no little ornament, some of which is really tasteful and costly. Vast sums are expended at this festival by all ranks, amounting, in some cases, even to twenty or thirty thousand rupees! Almost every respectable family makes one of these objects, and lavishes on it considerable expense. The offerings, the music, the feast, and, still more, the gifts to Brahmins, make up a heavy cost. I could not help observing, that the men employed to cast the fabric into the river, no sooner got a little way from the shore in the boat, than they began to rifle the goddess of her muslins, plumes, and gilded ornaments, so that often nothing but a mere wreck was thrown overboard.

Calcutta being the focus of religious intelligence for all the East, and the seat of numerous missionary operations, I was not sorry that no vessel offered for my next port of destination, for two months. It gave me an opportunity of visiting the charitable, literary, and religious institutions; attending the various churches, and several anniversaries; mingling with ministerial society, committees, and conferences; and gathering no small amount of information from the best sources. I

shall, however, only note here such as will interest the general reader.

One of my first visits was to the school of the Scottish General Assembly, founded by the Rev. Mr Duff, and now under the care of the Rev. Messrs Mackay and Ewart. It occupies a large brick building, enclosing a quadrangular court, formerly the residence of a wealthy Baboo, and standing in the midst of the native town.\* It has existed about six years, and now numbers about 634 pupils; boys, mostly under fourteen years. They are all Bengalees and Hindus, generally of the higher castes, and many of them Brahmins. Many have been in the school from the commencement. They purchase their own school-books, and receive no support from the school; but the tuition is gratis. There are five ushers, besides twelve or fifteen of the more advanced scholars, who act as assistant teachers. The instruction is wholly in the English language. I examined several classes in ancient and modern history, mathematics, astronomy, and Christianity, and have never met classes showing a more thorough knowledge of the books they had studied. Nearly all of the two upper classes are convinced of the truth of the gospel, and went over the leading evidences in a manner, that, I am sure, few professors of religion in our country can do. Some six or seven pupils have given evidence of a work of grace in their heart; a few of which have made a profession of religion.

A few weeks after, I had the pleasure of attending the public annual examination of this school, held in the town hall, a truly noble building. I never witnessed a better examination. The pupils were often led away from the direct subject by gentlemen present, and in every case showed a good insight into the subject they had studied. Several excellent essays were read in English, wholly composed by the scholars, two of which were of special cleverness; one in favour of caste, the other against it. The former received some tokens of applause from the Europeans, for the talent it displayed; but not a native clapped. On the conclusion of that against caste, the whole mass of pupils burst out into thundering applause! This incident is worthy of note, as showing the waning influence of Brahma.

The Benevolent Institution, instituted thirty years ago by the Serampore missionaries, has continued without interruption; imparting the English language and English literature, on the Lancasterian plan, to an average of 300 pupils. Several times that number have left the school with more or less education, many of whom are now honourably employed as teachers, writers, and clerks. There are now 180 in the boys' and thirty in the girls' department. The establishment of other schools has diminished its number. It was intended entirely for the benefit of the children of nominal Christians, chiefly Catholic, who were growing up in ignorance and vice, but some Pagan youth are now admitted. The Rev. Mr Penny has devoted himself to this service for many years, and recently his salary has been paid by government. The boys live with their parents, and receive no support from the school.

The boarding and day schools at Chitpore, one of the northern suburbs of Calcutta, were established by the Baptist missionaries in 1829. They are under the care of the Rev. J. D. Ellis, and contained boys and girls, till the latter were removed to Seebpore. The boarding school is for the children of native Christians, and contains forty-five interesting boys, none under seven years. They are entirely supported, at an average expense of about four rupees a-month—including food, clothes, books, salaries of assistant teachers, building, medicine, &c. Nine of the boys have become pious, and been received into the church, and three others are to be baptised soon.

The day school, on separate premises, is for heathen boys, and contains 300 pupils, from eight to eighteen years of age. They study the English language, and

\* A new building, capable of accommodating 1000 pupils, has since been erected on Cornwallis Square.

all the branches of a good high-school. They provide their own books and stationery, so that the salaries of the native ushers, amounting in the aggregate to seventy-five rupees a-month, and the rent of the buildings, constitute all the expense. This school is decidedly the best I found in Calcutta, excepting, perhaps, that of the General Assembly just mentioned, to which it is not inferior. The arrangement of the school-house and grounds, the general government, the department of the pupils, and the degrees of proficiency, are most satisfactory. None have become open Christians, but most of the senior boys theoretically reject idolatry, and declare ours to be the only true faith. I was astonished at the readiness with which they went over the evidences of Christianity, from miracles, prophecy, history, internal structure, &c. I started many of the plausible objections of heathen and infidels, and found they had truly mastered both the text-books and the subject.

Bishop's College, founded by Bishop Middleton, stands a few miles below Calcutta, on the river Hoogly. The college edifice is of great size, and substantially built, in the Gothic style, and the professors' houses, pleasure-grounds, &c., are every way suitable. A distinguished civilian politely took me there in his carriage, and the president kindly showed us every part. The fine library, beautiful chapel, and admirable arrangements, with the high character of the instructors, seem to invite students; but there have as yet been never more than ten or twelve at a time. This is possibly owing in part to the exclusively episcopal character of the college. The salary of the principal is £1000 per annum, and of the second teacher £700.

The Indian Female Orphan Refuge, and Central School, were founded by Mrs Wilson (then Miss Cook), about twelve years ago. The two departments under the above names occupied the same building, till the present season, when the Refuge was removed to new and more suitable premises, six miles north of the city. The increased and improved accommodations will enable this excellent lady to enhance the value of her admirable charity. Here native orphans, and other destitute or abandoned children, are received at any age, however young, and remain till marriageable, supported in all respects. A considerable number of them were redeemed from actual starvation, during the dreadful desolation of a hurricane on the Hoogly river a few years since. All are taught to read and speak English, besides the elementary studies and needlework. They are found to be acute, and generally learn to read and understand the New Testament in one year. Some six or eight are Mussulman children; the rest are Hindus, who, of course, lose whatever caste they may have; though this now, in Calcutta, is productive of comparatively little inconvenience to the poor. The present number in the Refuge is 108, and the whole cost per annum, for each child, is found to be about twenty-five rupees. Mrs Wilson (now a widow) resides in the institution, and devotes herself most steadfastly to the arduous work. Possessing the unlimited confidence of the philanthropists of Calcutta, she has been able to meet the expenses of her new and extensive buildings, and is not likely to want funds for sustaining the school.

The Central School has on an average 250 girls, who attend in the day time only, and receive no support. The first impressions, on entering the vast room where they are taught, are very touching. Seated on mats, in groups of eight or ten, around the sides of the room, are thirty classes; each with a native teacher in the midst. The thin cotton shawls covering not only the whole person but the head, are lent them every morning to wear in school, and kept beautifully white. In their noses or ears hang rings of large diameter; and many of them had the little spot at the root of the nose,\*

\* This custom of marking the forehead illustrates very forcibly the expression of Deut. xxxii. 5, "Their spot is not the spot of his children." Some have one spot just above the root of the nose—yellow, brown, or red, as the sect may be. Some have two spots,

indicative of the god they serve, tattooed. Some had on the arms or ankles numerous bracelets or bangles, of ivory, wood, or silver; and many wore rings on the toes; all according to the immemorial usage of Bengalee women.

All were intent on their lessons; and when it was considered that those lessons comprised the blessed truths of revelation, the scene could not but affect a Christian's heart with gratitude and hope. Two pious ladies devote themselves to the management of this school, and attend all day. A native preacher conducts daily worship, and preaches once a-week. The native women, being paid one pice per day for each scholar, are thus induced, though heathen, to exert themselves to keep their classes full.

The two institutions last named show what may be done by ladies. What abundant opportunities are presented in several parts of the world, for them to come forth, and be co-workers in the missionary enterprise!

The Martiniere, founded by a munificent legacy of General Martin, was opened March 1835, and has already eighty pupils, of which fifty are wholly supported. It is intended solely for the children of Europeans, and has a principal and two professors. The building, which cost 200,000 rupees, is truly noble, and stands on the southern edge of the city, amid extensive grounds. Many more pupils can be accommodated; and there is no doubt the number will soon be full. The children are not required to be orphans, or very poor, but are admitted from that class of society which, though respectable, find it impossible to give their children a good education, and are glad to be relieved from their support.

The Leper Hospital, founded by the exertions of Dr Carey, is located on the road to Barrackpore, a little north of the city. Instead of a large building, it is an enclosed village, with neat grounds and out-houses. Any lepers may resort there, and receive maintenance in full, with such medical treatment as the case may encourage. It generally contains several hundreds; but many prefer to subsist by begging in the streets.

Besides these institutions, there are several others, such as orphan asylums, a floating chapel, &c., of a character similar to those of our own country, and which therefore do not need any description.

In 1813, parliament required the East India Company to devote £10,000, or a lac of rupees, annually, for the education and improvement of the natives; but nothing was done for fifteen or sixteen years. The funds, with other appropriations, which had accumulated to nearly 300,000 rupees per annum, were then placed under the control of a "Committee of Education," who proceeded to work in earnest. The Hindu, Mahometan, and Sunscrit Colleges in Calcutta, were taken under the patronage of the committee, and schools and colleges at Benares, Delhi, Hoogly, Agra, Moorsheadabad, Bangalore, Saugor, Maulman, and Allahabad, were soon founded. In 1835, a new impulse and direction was given to these operations, and there were established the Medical College of Calcutta, and schools at Pooree, Gowhatte, Dacca, Patna, Ghazepore, and Merut. The following are now in course of being established:—Rajshahi, Jubbulpore, Hoshungabad, Furruckabad, Bareilly, and Ajmere. The whole number of pupils at present is 3398,\* of whom 1891 study English, 218 Arabic, 473 Sunscrit, and 376 Persian. Most of the rest are confined to the local vernacular. Of the students 1881 are Hindus, 596 Mussulmans, 77 Christians, and the rest are Burmans, Chinese, &c. A summary view of those in Calcutta will give a general idea of the whole.

some a perpendicular line, others two or three lines; some a horizontal line, or two, or three. Thus every one carries on his front a profession of his faith, and openly announces to all men his creed.

\* The number of pupils has now (January 1839) increased to nearly 7000; but those studying Arabic, Sunscrit, and Persian, are fewer than in 1835.

The Hindu college (called by Hindus the *Vidyalyaya*), established in 1816 by wealthy natives, contains 450 pupils. About sixty are on scholarships; the rest pay from five to seven rupees per month for tuition. It has two departments; one for imparting education in English, and English literature, open to all classes and castes; the other for the cultivation of Sanscrit literature, and open only to persons of the Brahminical order, who are not admitted under twelve years of age. In the English department, instruction is given in reading, writing, arithmetic, composition, mathematics, history, natural philosophy, geography, &c. The institute has a valuable library in English, which serves to give efficacy and expansion to the system of instruction. The fact that natives are willing to pay so much for tuition, and support themselves, shows the prevailing anxiety to acquire our language. Scholars are received into the English department as young as six years.

The Sanscrit College has about 135 pupils; part of whom study English, with the other branches. They are instructed in Hindu literature, law, and theology. The fewness of scholars seeking instruction in this worthless stuff is a good sign. Even of these, fifty-seven are paid monthly stipends of from six to eight rupees. The rest are not charged for tuition. The term of attendance is twelve years; namely, three for grammar, two for general literature, one for rhetoric, one for logic, one for theology, one for mathematics, and three for law. All the forms and distinctions of caste are observed at this school.

The Mahometan College (generally called the *Madrassa*) is for the instruction of that class of natives in their own literature and faith. Formerly, the students were allowed stipends of seven or eight rupees per month; but as those who hold these fall off, they are not renewed to others, so that the number is annually diminishing. It has two departments, Oriental and English; the former containing 91 students, and the latter 130. The studies are reading, writing, spelling, grammar, arithmetic, geography, history, natural philosophy, and the Mahometan laws and religion.

The Hoogly (or Mahometan Muhsin's) College, situated about twenty-five miles above Calcutta, has grown out of the Hoogly School, which flourished several years, teaching chiefly the English language to about 130 pupils. Large endowments from the above-named Baboo have lately become available, and yield an annual revenue of no less than a lac of rupees. It was re-opened on an enlarged system in August 1836, and already enrolls more than 1500 students, who have entered the western department, that is, to prosecute English and English literature exclusively; and 300 who have entered the Oriental department. About 100 of the latter study English in connection with eastern languages, and 200 study Arabic and Persian exclusively.

The Medical College was instituted by a general order of the supreme government, in which it was directed that the native Medical Institution, then existing under Dr Tytler, and the medical classes at the Sanscrit and Mahometan Colleges, should be abolished, and a new institution formed. Medical science is here on the most enlightened principles, and in the *English language*. Instruction commenced in June 1835, with forty-nine students, selected from numerous applicants. All were required to be able to speak, read, and write English with ease and accuracy. The institution is a great favourite with Britons in Calcutta, and promises very important benefits to Bengal, besides raising up suitable doctors for the native regiments. None but native students are admitted, but these may be of any creed or caste; and for fifty of them, a competent support is provided. They are received between the ages of fourteen and twenty, and such as are allowed stipends are required to remain five or six years.

For each of these institutions a good English library and philosophical apparatus have been ordered from London, towards which object a wealthy Baboo has given 20,000 rupees. Persons of all ages, religious opinions, and castes, are admitted as pupils in all the

government institutions except the Hindu, Mahometan, and Sanscrit Colleges at Calcutta, and the Sanscrit College at Benares. The effect of these last-named institutions is regarded by many as wholly tending to support the national systems of religion and literature, and, therefore, so far as the eternal well-being of the pupils is concerned, decidedly injurious.

The circumstances of the country make these colleges not what a cursory reader would infer from the name, but *schools*, or at the best, academies. Education has not long enough prevailed to have produced a race of young men prepared by elementary studies to pursue the higher branches. The pupils of these "colleges" are taught to read, write, and cipher, as well as grammar, geography, logic, mathematics, &c., from the rudiments upwards.

Until 1835, the policy of the committee was to encourage the study of Persian, Sanscrit, and Arabic literature, as the best means of elevating the general intelligence of the natives. Hence the endowment of schools and colleges expressly for these studies, and *paying* the students liberal monthly stipends. A great number were thus induced to study these dead languages, who felt no interest in them, and made no valuable proficiency. While modern science was enlightening all Europe, these students were learning Ptolemy's astronomy, Aristotle's philosophy, and Galen's medical institutes, and reading the shockingly lascivious stories of the Mricchakata, and the Nol Damayanti. Bishop Heber examined some of these students at Benares, and says, "The astronomical lecturer produced a terrestrial globe, divided according to their system, and elevated to the meridian of Benares. Mount Meru he identified with the north pole, and under the south pole he supposed the tortoise 'Chukwa' to stand; on which the earth rests. He then showed me how the sun went round the earth once in every day, and how, by a different motion, he visited the signs of the zodiac." As Hindu literature has been highly extolled by some, I will add a specimen from Ram Mohun Roy's account of it.† "Khad signifies to eat; Khaduti, he, she, or it eats: query, does Khaduti, as a whole, convey the meaning, he, she, or it eats, or are separate parts of this meaning conveyed by distinctions of the word? As if, in the English language, it were asked, How much meaning is there in the *eat*, and how much in the *eat*? And is the whole meaning conveyed by these two portions of the word distinctly, or by them taken jointly?" "In medicine and chemistry they are just sufficiently advanced to talk of substances being moist, dry, hot, &c., in the third or fourth degree; to dissuade from physickeing, or letting blood, on a Tuesday, or under a particular aspect of the heavens; and to be eager in the pursuit of the philosopher's stone, and the elixir of immortality."‡

The Rev. Mr Wilson, in a sermon on behalf of the Scotch Missionary Society, and dedicated to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Grant, governor of Bombay, preached in Bombay, November 1835, touches this matter briefly; and I quote some of his remarks, because of the high authority on which they come. Speaking of the appropriation of the lac of rupees, he remarks, "We, the representatives of the British nation in India, instead of applying this grant wholly to the diffusion of a knowledge of the literature and science of the west, as, we must suppose, was intended, employed most of it in the support of colleges for teaching  *pensioned* students the elements of the Sanscrit and Arabic languages, and inculcating through them the immoral precepts of the Vedas and Purannas, the aphorisms of dreamy and obsolete legislators, and the prescriptions of quack doctors and alchemists; or in printing oriental books to fill the shelves of the learned and curious, but illiberal and unphilanthropic confederacy, of English and French antiquaries."

\* Travels in India.

† Letter to Lord Amherst, Governor-General of India.

‡ Heber.

This policy of the committee led also to the expenditure of enormous sums in procuring translations of elevated scientific works into those languages, and printing original Arabic, Persian, and Sanscrit works hitherto unknown to Europe. Of the books printed by the committee up to 1832, there were of Sanscrit 13,000 volumes, of Arabic 5000, Persian 2500, Hindu 2000. A large proportion of these are quarto volumes, of 700 to 800 pages, and printed in editions of 500 copies. Of course, were they ever so valuable, they could not be generally diffused over an empire of two millions of inhabitants. Not a single work was printed in the prevailing and spoken languages of India! The books thus brought forth as treasures of oriental literature were indeed such to some philologists of Europe; but false philosophy, fabulous histories, and impure romances, could do no good to Hindus, even supposing the mass of the people could have read them.

The policy of the committee, as at present constituted, is to cultivate western rather than eastern literature, and to diffuse modern science and arts, by extending a knowledge of the English language, and by multiplying valuable works in the vulgar tongues. In accomplishing this important change, perhaps no man has been more instrumental than C. E. Trevelyan, Esq., of the Bengal civil service, to whom India is, in many other respects, greatly indebted.

The stipends which were paid to pupils in the Arabic, Sanscrit, and Persian languages, are now refused to new applicants, and expire as vacancies occur. This change not only adds to the available funds of the committee, but leaves the dead languages to be cultivated just so far as their intrinsic worth shall induce the native. In all the new institutions, pupils are admitted without distinction of caste.

The prospect now is, that English, with its vast stores of knowledge in every department, will become the classical language of the country.\* The holders of office, and influential natives generally, of the next generation, will be enlightened beyond what could have ever been hoped for under the old system. Some of those who give themselves to literary pursuits, will no doubt acquire such a mastery of certain sciences, as to become able to bring forth works of great utility in their mother tongue. By such works, and not by translations made by foreigners, light may spread to all the people, and this vast continent be brought forth into a worthy place among the nations.

Missionaries long since saw this subject as the education committee now see it, and thousands of natives, in Calcutta alone, have been taught in their schools to read English. There are probably now in that city not less than 4000 youths receiving an English education. In the Hindu College established in 1816, and conducted wholly with reference to English, there are 407 students, of which 356 pay from five to seven rupees a-month for tuition, while in the Sanscrit College, where fifty-seven students receive a stipend of from six to eight rupees per month, and the rest are taught gratuitously, there are but 135 pupils. In the Arabic College are 200 students, 134 of whom study English, and most of the remainder receive stipends. The Hoogly College has grown out of the Hoogly school, in which the English language was always a primary object. Having received endowments from a native gentleman, yielding annually 100,000 rupees, it has recently been thrown open to receive more pupils; and already 1500 students have entered the "western department," that is, to study English and English literature exclusively. About 300 have entered to study English, in connection with

Oriental literature, and 200 to study Arabic and Persian exclusively.

A further evidence of the present demand for English, is seen in the operations of the Calcutta School-book Society. This institution prints elementary books, in all the languages required by schools in the presidency, at the cheapest possible rate; and from its depository most schools are supplied, in whole or in part. The following summary of sales is from the last annual report, viz:—English, 31,649 books; Anglo-Asiatic (that is, in the Roman character), 4525; Bengalee, 5754; Hindui, 4171; Hindustani, 3384; Persian, 1454; Oriya, 834; Arabic, 36; Sanscrit, 16.

With this impulse in favour of the English language and European literature, has sprung up, chiefly through the same instrumentality, another, equally strong, in favour of using the Roman letters for Indian languages. I regard this as scarcely less important than the other, and have briefly handled the point in some remarks on "The mode of conducting missions," in Chapter IV.

That the elements of society are not stagnant in Calcutta, and that light is breaking in upon the public mind, is evinced, among other proofs, by the present state of the native newspaper press. Formerly there was no such thing in the city; now there are seven or eight. Among them are the "Durpin," published in Bengalee and English, by nominal Christians, but somewhat neuter; the "Chundrika," strongly in favour of the entire idolatrous system; the "Cowmoodee," temperate and conciliatory, and rejecting the grosser Hindu superstitions, but decidedly polytheistic. The "Reformer," in the English language entirely, and the first newspaper conducted in English by natives, advocates the Vedant system, but is temperate. The "Inquirer," also in the English language, is the organ of the education party among the natives. The "Gyananeshun," wholly in the Bengal language, resolutely attacks the Brahminical order, and all the monstrous rites and ceremonies of the Hindus. There is another, published in the Persian language, which is conducted with considerable talent, but chiefly occupied with matter not generally interesting to Hindus or English. All these are in addition to the various newspapers, journals, and other periodicals published by Britons, of which there are not few, and several of them decidedly pure and religious in their character. For English readers there are several newspapers and magazines, and two medical journals. The Asiatic Society, founded in 1784, continues its elevated career, and annually renders important contributions to general as well as Oriental science and literature. The Calcutta Christian Observer is an admirable monthly, sustained by all persuasions, and replete with information, not only on missionary but scientific and literary subjects.

The Hindu and Mussulman religious edifices in Calcutta are few and mean; strongly contrasting with those in some other parts of the country, and with the stupendous pagodas and splendid zayats of the Burmans. The mosques resemble Oriental mausoleums, seldom larger than a native's hut, and often not bigger than a dog-house. The dome is almost always semi-spherical, and generally the plaster, which covers the brick walls, is wrought into minute ornaments of arabesque tracery; not always tasteful, or even chaste. Tombs, both for Europeans and rich natives, are often so built that natives might dwell in them very comfortably, and remind one of some passages in Scripture, where lunatics and others are said to live in tombs. They resemble handsome summer-houses, and afford all the shelter a Hindu desires, and much more than he often enjoys.

The conspicuousness of the late Ram Mohun Roy, and the eclat given for a time to the reformation which he was supposed to be effecting, called me to his meeting with feelings of no ordinary interest. The Rev. Mr Lacroix, to whom the language is perfectly familiar, kindly took me to the *Bromha Sobha*, as the congregation is called, and interpreted for me the substance of the various exercises. We found the place to be a commodious hall, in a respectable Hindu dwelling-house.

\* When we consider the vast spread of the British empire in India, the diffusion of the English language over the whole continent of North America and many of the West India islands, the establishment of British laws and language in all South Africa and Australia, and the growing colonies on the west coast of Africa, it is not unreasonable to anticipate the prevalence of our language, at no distant day, among millions in all quarters of the globe.

There was no idol, or idolatrous representation of any kind. On a small stage, raised about eighteen inches from the floor, handsomely carpeted, sat cross-legged two respectable-looking pundits. One side of the room was spread with clean cloths for the native attendants, who sat after the manner of the country; and on the other were chairs for the accommodation of strangers. In the centre, and opposite to the rostrum, lay some native musical instruments, and a violin. The room was well lighted, and the punkas of course waved overhead.

One of the pundits opened the services by reading Sunscrit, from a loose palm-leaf held in his hand, stopping at every two or three words to expound and enforce. The subject was *knowledge*—what it was, and what it was not, &c. Abstract ethical questions were discussed, not unlike the fashion of the old scholastics; but no moral deductions were made, nor any thing said to improve the hearers. The whole discourse must have been unintelligible to most of them.

The other then read a discourse in Bengalee, consisting chiefly of explanations of their religious system, and encomiums on it. He particularly dwelt on its liberality; boasting that they quarrelled with no name or persuasion; and assuring us, that it was of no consequence whether we worshipped idols, Mahomet, Jesus Christ, or the Virgin Mary; that it was not possible to come to any certain knowledge respecting religious things; and that if any man believed his way to be right, that way was right for him. These discourses extended to about an hour, and the rest of the time, about another hour, was occupied with music. At the close of the preaching, professed musicians advanced to the instruments, and seating themselves on the mats, put them in tune, with the usual amount of discord. Two of them then sang several hymns, with instruments accompanying it. The themes were the unity of the divine essence, and the various attributes of majesty and power. No one joined the strain, nor were there any books to enable them to do so. Nothing could be less reverent or devotional than the manner of the musicians. They looked about them with all possible self-complacency, making unmeaning gestures, bowing and blinking to each other, and vociferating with such a nasal twang, that it was a relief when they were finished. I thought it was literally such music as the poet speaks of—intended “to soothe the savage breasts;” for certainly no other could well endure it.

On their retiring, a very different singer took the place, and proceeded for half an hour with great power of execution, and not a little taste. His voice was uncommonly fine. He accompanied himself skilfully on the native guitar. The violin had been well played from the beginning, and the music was now truly excellent, furnishing, I was informed, a fair specimen of the best Bengal art. The singer, as well as the violinist, is distinguished at the nautch entertainments of the city. The subject was still the attributes of God. The Bengalee language has, for this purpose, a noble advantage over ours, in numerous expressions derived from the Sunscrit, which utter in a *single word* what may be called the negative attributes, and which we cannot express with brevity; such as—“He that needs no refuge;” “He that is never perplexed;” “He that can never grow weary;” &c. The singer used these epithets with great majesty; using animated gestures, and with a countenance finely varying with the theme. At the close of this exercise, the assembly broke up.

No female was present, nor do any ever attend. Most of the congregation came in only in time to hear the music, and stood near the staircase, not without disorder. The number of the regular attendants was not over twenty. I am informed thirty is the largest number ever present. The spectators were somewhat more numerous.

Few of the professed adherents are so confident of their rectitude, as to detach themselves wholly from the common religious customs, though more negligent in these matters than their neighbours. The very

pundits officiate, not because converts to these opinions (for such they do not profess to be), but because regularly *paid* for their services. One of them, in his discourse this evening, expressly told us that there was no impropriety in worshipping idols—a doctrine which Ram Mohun Roy would not admit. The musicians also are paid, and perform here for the same reasons that they do at a nautch, so that the whole concern is sustained by the money of a few friends, and descendants of Ram Mohun Roy.

Such is the boasted reformation of Ram Mohun Roy! Not another congregation of his followers is found in all India! Of his labours as a reformer, this is the sum:—Fifty or a hundred persons rendered negligent of the national religion, or gathered here because they were so before, without being a whit the better in their private life or public influence; in some cases, adding the sins of Europeans to those of their countrymen; without being disentangled from the horrid system of the Shasters; without being ready, or without the moral courage, to restore to their own wives and daughters the rights of human nature. With all the superiority to prejudice and custom boasted by Ram Mohun Roy, he did nothing for the elevation of the sex.

A striking instance of this occurred, not very long since, in the case of D. T., one of his most intelligent followers. This gentleman is a partner in a European house, in the habit of mixing with European gentlemen, and evidently much more enlightened than most of his countrymen. Yet was he so much under the influence of Hindu public opinion, as to marry his daughter to a Ku-len Brahmin, for the purpose of elevating the family above the reproach occasioned by one of his ancestors, with many others, having been compelled to eat beef, by a Mahometan enemy named Per Ali. The young lady is well educated, reads and writes English, and is remarkably intelligent. The Brahmin is as ignorant as the rest of his class, and will probably marry others, as avarice or caprice may move him. Brahmins of this caste may marry *any number* of wives, but are not bound to live with them. They not unfrequently leave a wife after a few weeks, and never see her again. She is thus doomed to hopeless widowhood, merely to gratify the ambition of her family. Thus completely is Ram Mohun Roy's principal disciple under the influence of a thralldom which that great man professed to despise. A good school would have done more than all that has been accomplished by the Bromha Sobha. We should expect pupils who had become so far released from Hindu prejudice, to advance to a complete emancipation. But this people show no tendency to advance; they have long stood still; and every thing already wears an aspect of decrepitude and decay. What a monument of the entire inefficacy of unassisted reason to ameliorate the religious condition of any people! Already may the undertaking of this truly great man be pronounced a failure, and soon all traces of it will be lost from earth.

Ram Mohun Roy established a weekly newspaper, called the “Reformer,” which was intended chiefly to excite among those Hindus who understand English a desire for improvement in their civil condition. It is yet continued, edited by an intelligent native; though incorporated now with a Calcutta paper, conducted by a European. It has often contained well-written papers against Churruck Pooja, Ku-len marriages, and the other abominations of the Hindu system, and is, doubtless, as at present conducted, a valuable journal.

Ram Mohun Roy was not a Unitarian Christian, but a Unitarian Hindu. He believed that there was such a person as Jesus Christ, and that he was the best moral teacher the world ever saw, but regarded his death as having no efficacy of atonement. His capacious mind, and extensive knowledge of the Shasters, impelled him to abhor the abominations of the Veda, and the monstrosities of its thirty-three millions of gods. But he found in the Vedanta Sar (an exposition of the four Vedas) a sort of Unitarianism, which he endeavoured on all occasions to disseminate. The doctrine



might as well be called pantheism; for it maintains the old Pythagorean doctrine, that God is the soul of the world, and that every animal, plant, or stone, is therefore part of Deity. It makes perfect religion to consist in knowledge alone, or the realising in every thing the Supreme Being, and excludes ceremonies of all kinds.

There was formerly a Unitarian Christian congregation in Calcutta, established under the care of the Rev. W. Adams (previously a missionary), which met for a short time at a private house. The first Sunday they had sixty or seventy persons present, the second fifty, and soon only five attended. Mr Adams, thus disconcerted, became the editor of a paper, and subsequently accepted an appointment under government to visit various parts of India, and to report on the state of education in the interior. In this last capacity he has acquired honourable distinction, and increasing usefulness. His reports are exciting great attention, and show not only unwearied industry but superior talents.

The population of Calcutta is ascertained, by a census just taken, to be 229,000 within the ditch; and 500,000 are supposed to reside in the immediate suburbs. Within a circuit of twenty miles, the population is generally set down at *two millions*. Of the number within the city, about 130,000 are Hindus, 60,000 Mussulmans, 3000 English, and 3000 Portuguese, or Indo-Britons; the rest are French, Chinese, Armenians, Jews, Moguls, Parsees, Arabs, Mugs, Madraesees, &c. The whole number of houses is 66,000, of which nearly 15,000 are brick; the rest are of mud or mats. Officers stationed at the principal avenues into the city, found that about 100,000 persons enter daily from the surrounding villages, chiefly sircars, clerks, servants, fruiterers, &c.

The means now in operation for the education and religious instruction of this vast population, have in part been mentioned. That they are so great, is matter of devout thanksgiving and encouragement; but their distressing inadequacy to the wants of such a multitude is obvious.

Society in Calcutta, like that of other places where a large portion of the gentry live on stated salaries, has a tendency to extravagance. Most families live fully up to their income, and many, especially junior officers, go deeply in debt. The expenses of living are, in their chief points, as follows:—Servants' wages, from four to six rupees, without food or lodging; rent of a small, plain house, fifty to eighty rupees a-month; rice, three, and a half rupees a maund; fowls, two to three annas each; ducks, five to six annas a-piece; washing, three rupees per hundred pieces; board and lodging of one person, per month, in a plain way, fifty rupees.

A few years since the state of morals was generally bad, both in the city and Mofussil. Scarcely any officers or civil servants were pious, and the marriage tie seemed held in contempt. Gross immoralities are now more rare, and, where they exist, less shamelessly exposed. A considerable number of distinguished individuals, both in the civil and military service, are not only avowedly but earnestly pious. The strong and constant resistance lately made by the government of India to the spread of the gospel, is within the memory of every reader. This resistance was enforced and stimulated by almost every European resident, especially among the higher classes. They really believed, that to permit missionary operations was to hazard their possession of the country, and that violent commotions on the part of the people would follow any attempt to overturn their religion. Now, the missionaries, in every part of India, meet kind and respectful treatment from Europeans, and in many places liberal contributions are made towards their schools. It is found that the natives can hear their religion pronounced false, and even hold animated debates on the subject, without dreaming of revolt. No convulsions have ever resulted from evangelical labour, nor have any chiefs taken offence, on this account, against the government.

There is still room for great improvement, especially in regard to the observance of the Sabbath. Merchants, tradesmen, and mechanics, generally, keep their people at work on that day as usual. Buildings go on, ship-yards resound with the hammer and axe, goods are borne through the streets, bazaars are open, the gentry take their usual drive, and Sunday is as little discoverable by appearances as in Paris. The general reason given is, that the religion of the labourers is not infringed. But it should not be forgotten that the commandment is, "Thou shalt not do any work, thou nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates."

The state of religion, as we commonly understand that phrase, is very low. I attended most of the principal Protestant places of worship, and, by actual enumeration, found the largest audience not to exceed 250 persons. Several of them were not more than one-third of that number. The church in the fort, being attended by troops, according to regulation, is full. The monthly concert of prayer is held unitedly by all the churches except one. At one of these meetings which I attended only sixty persons were present, and in the other about eighty. During the week there are few prayer-meetings; and those which I attended seldom had more than from six to ten persons present. I could not hear of a single Sunday school in the city. The announcement of the anniversaries of the Tract and Bible Societies awakened the most pleasing expectations; but at neither of them were there more than seventy-five persons present, besides the ministers.

Benevolent institutions are numerous, and generally supported with great liberality. Besides those which have been named, are the Bible Association, the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Association, the Diocesan Committee for promoting Christian Knowledge, the Auxiliary Missionary Society, the Bethel Union, the Seaman's Friend Society, the Military Orphan Society, the Military Widows' Fund, Lord Clive's Fund, the King's Military Fund, the Marine Pension Fund, the Civil Fund, the Mariners' and General Widows' Fund, the Presidency General Hospital, the Native Hospital, the Hospital for Native Lunatics, the Government Establishment for Vaccination, the Charitable Fund for the Relief of Distressed Europeans, the European Female Orphan Society.

Calcutta has sixteen Episcopal clergymen, namely, six Company's chaplains, two chaplains to institutions, two professors in Bishop's College, and six missionaries. There are also one Scotch Kirk chaplain, one pastor, and three missionaries of the Independent persuasion, two Scotch Presbyterians, and six Baptist missionaries, and several others; making, in all, with the bishop, mariners' minister, &c., about thirty-five Christian ministers, besides those of the Armenian, Greek, and Catholic churches.

There are in the city eleven Christian places of worship, generally large, where services are held every Sunday in English. Of these, five are Episcopal, two Baptist, one Scotch, one Independent, and a floating chapel for seamen. There are also three Roman Catholic churches, one Armenian, and one Greek. At Howrah, Kidderpore, and other adjacent villages, preaching in English is also regularly maintained. Each of the Baptist churches has handsome brick meeting-houses. Mr Yates is pastor in Circular Road; Mr Robinson was till recently settled over Lallbazaar; and Mr Pearce over the Bengalee. A vast printing-office and type foundry, gradually enlarged to its present dimensions at a cost of nearly 100,000 dollars, with three excellent dwelling-houses, have been erected, without pecuniary aid from England, and chiefly through the profits of the printing-office. This establishment not only prints largely in English for government and individuals, but in all the written Oriental languages, and casts type in most of them. Six presses, on an average,

are constantly employed in printing the Scriptures. Mr Yates, besides officiating as English pastor, has acquired great celebrity for skill in Bengalee and Hindustanee, and for his admirable revision of those versions. He seems raised up to complete the labours of Carey in these important translations. Many recollect with pleasure his visit to this country.

Besides the places of worship for foreigners, there are, in and around the city, various preaching bungalows and chapels for the natives. Of these, four are maintained by Episcopalians, four by Baptists, five by Independents, and one by the Scotch Kirk. Some of these are daily occupied, and, in general, with encouraging attendance.

I was several times present on these occasions, in different parts of the city, and was deeply interested with the decorum and earnestness of attention shown by the auditors. As a specimen of these occasions, I will describe one which I attended with the Rev. Mr Lacroix, a German missionary, who has acquired such a command of the Bengalee as to be as much at home in it as in his mother tongue. He devotes himself wholly to preaching and other evangelical labours, and unites great bodily vigour to untiring energy, and ardent interest in his work.

On arriving at the place, no one had assembled; but no sooner were we seated, than some passers-by began to collect, and the number gradually increased, during the services, to seventy or eighty. Some sat down, but the greater part remained standing, and scarcely advanced beyond the door. For a while, the preacher went on expounding and arguing, without interruption; but at length some well-dressed persons proposed objections, and but for the skill of the missionary, the sermon would have degenerated into a dispute. The objections showed not only acuteness, but often considerable knowledge of the Christian Scriptures. Some countenances evinced deep anxiety. Sometimes there was a general murmur of applause, when strong arguments were advanced, or satisfactory expositions given. At the close of the meeting many accepted tracts, selecting such as they had not seen before. One of the most venerable hearers, and a chief speaker, approached us as we came away, and pronounced upon us in his own manner, but very solemnly, a cordial benediction; declaring, at the same time, that what we advanced was all good; that, no doubt, Christianity was the best religion, but that too many difficulties were yet in the way to permit him and his countrymen to embrace it. I am sure no Christian could be present on these occasions without being satisfied of the importance of maintaining these efforts, and cheered to exertions for their extension.

I attended worship, on several occasions, at the Rev. W. H. Pearce's native chapel, and was highly gratified, not only with the number present, and their deportment, but especially with the psalmody. All united, with great animation, in this delightful part of Christian worship. Two of their tunes I was enabled to obtain in writing. The following is a translation of one of their hymns, written by Krishnu, a native preacher:—

He who yielded once his breath,  
Sinful man to save from death,  
Oh, my soul, forget not Him,  
Forget not Him.

Troubled soul, forget no more  
God's best gift, thy richest store—  
Christ the Lord, whose holy name  
Now saves from shame.

Cease thy fruitless toil and care;  
Christ will all thy burden bear;  
Grace and love shall soothe the breast  
That sighs for rest.

He is truth, and mercy mild,  
He in death with pity smiled,  
Shed his crimson blood abroad,  
Leads man to God.

Faithful friend! on thee I call,  
By day, by night, my all in all.  
Thy name, sweet Jesus, brings relief,  
And stays my grief.

ANOTHER HYMN—LITERAL TRANSLATION.

Oh, my soul, be steady, be steady, be not unsteady!  
The sea of love is come!  
The name of Jesus bears thee over.  
Oh, my soul, there is no Saviour but Jesus.

CHORUS. Oh, my soul! See!  
There is no Saviour but Jesus.

In some places, numerous individuals have openly renounced caste, and become nominal Christians, but without indicating or professing a change of heart. These form a class at once encouraging and troublesome—encouraging, because they have broken from a fatal thralldom, and placed themselves and their children in the way of religious instruction—troublesome, because while they come, in some degree, under the control of the missionary, they are not reclaimed even to a strict morality, and are naturally regarded by the heathen as exemplifying our religion.

In a few cases, the native Christians have been gathered into villages, together with others, who, for various reasons, have renounced idolatry. One of these is near Serampore, superintended by the missionaries there; another is at Luk-yan-il-pore, thirty-five miles south of Calcutta; another at Kharee, fifteen miles farther south. The two latter are under the superintendence of the Rev. George Pearce, of Seebpore, and contain 170 families. It is but eight years since any of these people professed Christianity, and the baptised now amount to about fifty. The Rev. Mr De Monte, an East Indian, and three native preachers, have the immediate charge, Mr Pearce visiting them once a month. The most promising children are taken to the Seeb-pore and Howrah boarding-schools, where about ninety of both sexes, who of course are all nominal Christians, are now receiving a regular course of mental and moral culture. Persons who join these villages, under a nominal profession of Christianity, are received and treated as catechumens. They are required to promise obedience to certain rules respecting fornication, theft, fighting, attendance on public worship, abstaining from heathen rites, observance of the Sabbath, &c. Themselves and their children are thus brought immediately under the eye of a Christian teacher and the means of grace. None are baptised but on a satisfactory evidence of conversion to God.

Besides the stations in connection with the Baptist missionaries, there are similar villages patronised by other sects, namely, Ram Makal Choke, and Gangaree, under Mr Piffard, of the London Missionary Society; Nursider Choke, under Mr Robinson; Jhan-jara, under Mr Jones; Ban-i-pore, under Mr Driberg; and Budg-Budg, under Mr Sandys; the three latter in connection with the church of England. The whole number of converts at these stations I could not learn, but am assured that it exceeds 2000. The degree of knowledge and piety must be small among converts possessing so few and recent means of spiritual improvement, exposed to so many snares, trained from infancy to every vice, and belonging, for the most part, to the lowest classes. Still there is an evident superiority, on the side of even the nominal Christians.

Christianity is certainly gaining a footing among the natives of Bengal, though the rate of advancement is slow. There is the fullest evidence that the Hindu system has received, in this presidency at least, a great check. Few of the numerous individuals who have received education in the missionary and government schools, retain confidence in the system of their fathers. This class of persons is now rapidly multiplying, and the standard of their education becoming more elevated. A smattering of geography and astronomy is itself sufficient to break the power of the prevailing belief on the mind of the pupil. The preaching of missionaries,

the distribution of bibles and tracts, and the natural inquiries elicited by the presence of so many intelligent foreigners professing Christianity, have tended to diffuse still more widely the knowledge and claims of true religion. Multitudes are convinced that their system is wrong, who are yet retained in the ranks of idolatry or Mahometanism by a fear lest possibly the faith of their fathers may be best for them, and a want of principle, sufficient to encounter opposition and suffering. But their stated observances are coldly rendered; their children are not brought up with the old enthusiasm for the national faith; and a thousand acts and expressions apprise those children of their parents' true sentiments. These, together with the numerous youths who are receiving education from Europeans, already form a considerable body of the rising generation. Looeed, in a good degree, from the intellectual bondage which has gripped preceding generations, and prepared, in various other ways, to hear preaching with profit, they form an increasing class, to which the friends of truth may look with hope.

Brahmins are not venerated as heretofore. Though thousands still find a luxurious competency in the offerings of the people, thousands more are compelled to pursue callings which throw them into society divested of their aristocratic exclusiveness and spiritual influence. I have often seen the sacred thread over the shoulders of common sepoys, market-men, mechanics, and door-keepers. Enjoying many advantages, and given to polygamy, they multiply faster than the herd, who are pinched for subsistence, and often suffer from actual famine. Such increase must, of itself, tend to the reduction of their supposed sacredness of character.

The name of Serampore is so intimately associated with the history of modern missions, especially those of the Baptist denomination, that I of course spent some time there. A pleasant ride of fifteen miles brought me to Barrackpore, a military station on the river side opposite to Serampore, and the seat of the governor-general's country residence. The road is bordered with fine trees the whole distance, and the country, as far as the eye can reach, is in high cultivation. Many labourers were ploughing—an operation which stirs up but a couple of inches of soil, and would call forth the surprise and contempt of a New-England farmer. The plough costs but fifty cents, and the miniature oxen which draw it but five dollars the pair. The latter are generally marked all over with lines and circles, burnt upon their skin. The view of Serampore from the river is exceedingly attractive. The same architecture which prevails at Calcutta gives the houses the appearance of elegant marble villas; and the huge college, with its superb columns, confers dignity on the whole scene. The river is here about eight hundred or a thousand yards wide, placid, and full of boats.

The population of Serampore is 15,000. About 100 of the houses are designed for Europeans, but nearly half of them are empty. I was kindly received by the venerable survivor of that noble triumvirate, which will never be forgotten while missions retain an advocate. Though in his sixty-ninth year, Dr Marshman's eye is not dim, nor his step slow. He leads the singing at family worship, with a clear and full voice; preaches with energy; walks rapidly several miles every morning, and devotes as many hours every day to study, as at any former period. His school for boys, and Mrs Marshman's for girls, are continued, though less lucrative than hitherto, from the number of similar ones now established in the country.

Every walk through the town and its environs, presents objects which awaken tender and serious thought. There is the Ghaut, where, thirty-six years ago, Marshman and his family landed, friendless, and discouraged by the opposition of the Company's government. There, twenty-four years ago, landed Harriet Newell and Ann H. Judson, whose feet now tread the starry plain. And up those steps, for many years, missionaries of all names and parties have ascended, to receive a fraternal welcome to India.

Close by are part of the foundations of the houses of Carey and Ward, long since overturned by the encroachments of the river. Farther down is the printing-office, whence so many thousands of thousands of portions of the word of God, in languages spoken by *more than half the pagan world*, have been produced. Still farther is the college, a superb and vast edifice, the principal hall of which is said to be the largest in India. It is a chaste and noble building, constructed of the most durable materials throughout. The staircases are of ornamental cast iron, imported from England at great expense. Its library is exceedingly valuable, and contains the immense collection of dried botanic specimens by Dr Carey. Connected with the institution are about 100 pupils, but for the most part young, and studying only preparatory branches. At this time there are but two regular students in the college proper. The building was erected when there were no similar institutions in India, and shows the capacious plans and noble spirit of its founders. But the starting up of so many schools of similar character, and other causes, have prevented the expected accession of students. There is reason to hope that the active operation of the numerous elementary schools in the vicinity, will ere long create a race of scholars prepared to proceed in the elevated course of studies intended to be here pursued.

In the rear of the college are two professors' houses, in one of which Carey spent his last years. The room in which he died called up indescribable sensations, and I trust wrought improvement upon my spirit. Behind is the extensive botanic garden, where that wonderful man, by way of relaxation, gathered a vast collection of trees, flowers, fruits, and vegetables, from every part of India, and from whence he diffused a taste for natural science which is now yielding invaluable results.

A handsome church was built in the town, by the Danish government, many years ago; but no chaplain has ever been appointed, and the missionaries have always officiated there. They have, besides this, a commodious chapel of their own, where worship is performed on week days and Sunday evenings, and a considerable church of natives. A mile and a half from town is another.

A little to the north of the town, in a calm and retired spot, is the mission grave-yard, surrounded with palm groves. It contains about an acre, enclosed with a good brick wall; and along its nice gravel walks are mahogany trees, set at proper distances. The monument for Ward is a circular pavilion, beautiful and chaste, with a suitable inscription on one side, read from within. Carey's is a plain cenotaph, built many years ago for some of his family, and now bearing additional inscriptions for himself and his widow. His own epitaph, by his express direction, is merely this:—

WILLIAM CAREY.

BORN 17TH OF AUGUST, 1761.

DIED 9TH OF JUNE, 1834.

"A wretched, poor, and helpless worm,  
On thy kind arms I fall."

Mrs Carey, his third wife, died about a year after her husband. Mr Ward's widow survived him ten years. Carey's son is now a missionary in the upper provinces. Ward left two daughters, both of whom are pious, and have been married several years.

This mission was commenced in 1793. Its history is too well known to leave me the necessity of describing it, or dwelling on its fruits. It was the commencement of those grand operations, which we trust the church will never relinquish till the earth be filled with the knowledge of the Lord. With the exception of what had been done in the Tamul and Malayalam languages, the whole of India was then entirely destitute of the Scriptures in their vernacular tongues. Few in number, and sustained by their own resources, the missionaries have given the world the whole Bible in Sanscrit, Chinese, Bengalee, Hindu, Mahratta, Oriya, Sikh, Pushtu or Afghan, Cashmere, and Assamee; and the new Tes-

tament in the Gujeratee, Kunkun, Multanee, Bikaneer, Bhugulcund, Maruar, Nepal, Harotee, Kanoja, Mugudh, Cojuy-i-ne, Jumbo, Bhutneer, Munipore, Bruj, Kemaon, Shree-nagur, and Palpa; besides portions of the New Testament in various other languages. Some of these versions have been repeatedly revised, and successive editions printed.

There are now eighteen mission stations, and twenty-two churches, connected with Serampore; at which are labouring five Europeans, and twenty-two Indo-Britons, with twenty-five native preachers and catechists. Of the eleven members which constituted the first church in India, Mr Marshman and wife alone remain.

The late transfer of the printing-office and steam paper-mill, to Mr John C. Marshman, has been matter of much discussion, and seems not clearly understood. The explanation given me on the spot amounted to this: Some years before Dr Carey's death, the concern was deemed bankrupt. The printing-office, paper-mill, and other property, valued at about 126,000 rupees, was made over, in fee simple, to Mr J. C. Marshman, in consideration of his assuming all the debts. To whom these debts are due, and for what, and what portion has been paid, were not mentioned, and I felt unauthorised to ask. It is much to be regretted that this transfer was not made public till so long after its execution, and till Carey was no more. No one could so satisfactorily have explained the matter to the public. The controversy is now useless as a question of property. The lots and buildings are reduced to a value almost nominal. Since the place ceased to be an asylum for debtors, who fled hither from the British territories, it has constantly decayed. At this moment, Mr J. C. Marshman is about to remove the printing-office to a new building of his own, not on the Society's land, and the old office is almost a ruin. One dwelling-house, now in good order, and valuable, is nearly the sum of all the English Society's acknowledged property.

One thing is certain—that there have seldom appeared men so disinterested as Carey, Marshman, and Ward. Carey received, for upwards of thirty years, more than 500 dollars a-month, as professor to the College of Fort William, and Bengalee translator to government. Ward earned equally large sums in the printing-office, as did Mr and Mrs Marshman by their school. Yet, as Dr. Marshman assured me, they ate at a common table, and drew from the common fund only the paltry sum of twelve rupees per month each! The rest went for the support of out-stations, casting types, and the translating and printing of the sacred Scriptures. The expense of the Chinese version alone, for pundits, types, &c., exceeded 100,000 dollars!

The agreement made at an early period by the Serampore brethren, one with another, and published to the world, is worthy of all praise; especially the following extract: "Let us give ourselves up unreservedly to this glorious cause. Let us never think that our time, our gifts, our strength, our families, or even the clothes we wear, are our own. Let us sanctify them all to God and his cause. Oh that he may sanctify us for his work! Let us for ever shut out the idea of laying up a covey for ourselves or our children. If we give up the resolution which was formed on the subject of private trade when we first united at Serampore, the mission is from that hour a lost cause. A worldly spirit, quarrels, and every evil work, will succeed, the moment it is admitted that each brother may do something on his own account. Woe to that man who shall ever make the smallest movement towards such a measure! Let us continually watch against a worldly spirit, and cultivate a Christian indifference towards every indulgence. Rather let us bear hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, and endeavour to learn in every state to be content."

Never were there more laborious men than the Serampore missionaries, and never shall we see stronger temptations to amass wealth relinquished for the cause of Christ. The arrangement for drawing six dollars a-month for personal expenses was discontinued in 1817,

and each drew what he needed; but neither of them laid up property for himself. Carey died without leaving his widow any thing. Ward left only about 5000 dollars, the proceeds of his *private* property, put to interest on his first leaving England. Marshman is known to be poor; and his style of living, now at least, is more frugal than that of almost any other missionary I saw in Hindustan. Many of his measures are generally disapproved, but his diligence and true greatness must stand confessed. It cannot be said the glory of Serampore is departed. Though it has now become a mere unit among missions, its history will ever be one of the brightest pages in the records of modern benevolence. The benefits it has produced are lasting as the world. It has been swallowed up in more diffused endeavours, like the morning star giving place to day, swallowed up in brighter light.

## CHAPTER II.

Madras. Catamarans. Difficulty of Landing. Black Town. Esplanade. Population. Illustrations of Scripture. State of Religion. Catholics. Telogoes. Travelling by Palankeen. Pondicherry. Cuddalore. Tranquebar. Combaconum. Tanjore. Kohlhoff. Swartz. Trichinopoly. Heber. Seringham. Slavery in Hindustan. Idolatry supported by Government. Brahmims and Brahminism. Progressive Poverty of the Country. Modern languages of Hindustan.

A VOYAGE of fourteen days in a small trading vessel, without a white face in it but my own, brought me to anchor in the roads of Madras, January 26, 1837. It was a fortnight of great discomfort; but I could not waive my rule of going in the first vessel when my work at any place was done. Generally, if an opportunity is allowed to pass in India, weeks, and even months, elapse before the occurrence of another. Our captain, in this case, was a quiet native of Chittagong, and, though he had no means of ascertaining longitude, made a short and safe voyage by dead reckoning. By taking such a vessel instead of an European, I saved three-fourths of the customary price of passage.

There being no indentation of the coast, nor any island to break off the sea, a heavyswell loins in throughout the year. Vessels anchor in the open roads; the large ones keeping a mile or two from shore. The swell keeps them pitching and rolling as uncomfortably as when at sea. The danger is so great, during the south-west monsoon, that vessels are not allowed to lie here for several months in the year, and the anchorage seems deserted. Cargoes are loaded and unloaded, by boats adapted for passing through the surf. Among the first objects that struck me, were the *catamarans*, gliding in every direction. These are exactly like a New England stone-sled. Three flattened timbers, eight or ten feet long, are tied together horizontally, and sharpened a little at the point. One or two men propel it with a paddle flattened at both ends, and dip first on one side, and then on the other. They sit on the calves of their legs, with the toes inward, and in this position, which is the only one the case admits, they often remain for hours. The water, of course, comes up between the timbers, and washes over the little raft, so that the men are kept wet to the middle. If they would carry any articles dry, which is seldom attempted, they construct a high pile of bushes in the centre. When no boat could live five minutes, these catamarans go about in perfect safety. The men are, often washed off, but instantly leap on again without alarm. A water-proof cap, for the carriage of letters to and from newly-arrived vessels, is almost their only article of dress. The rest is but a strip of cotton-cloth, two or three inches wide, fastened, front and rear, to a twine tied round the loins.

Landing seemed so difficult, though the weather was fine, that it was hard to conceive how goods could be conveyed without getting wet. Yet these boatmen do it, and display energy and skill scarcely to be surpassed. Keeping time to a rude tune, they now take long pulls, and now short ones, as the waves run past; they at

length push the boat forward on a foaming surf, and she is thrown upon the beach. As it recedes, some jump out with the ropes, and at every returning wave get her a little higher, till she lies still upon the sand. The operation is sufficiently disagreeable, especially to the timid. The passenger is not only almost thrown from his seat by the heavy and repeated striking of the boat upon the beach, but is generally well sprinkled by the breakers dashing against her before she can be hauled up sufficiently. The boats are large and deep, made, without ribs or timbers, of thin wide planks, warped by fire to a proper shape, and fastened together by strong twine. Against the seams, straw and mud are fastened strongly by the twine which ties the planks together. No nails are used, for none could keep a boat together with such thumping.

The city presents from the sea nothing to create large expectations. Only a few public buildings are visible, and not much of the town, as the site is quite level. It is, however, a noble city, and has many fine streets. The Black town, so called from the colour of the natives who reside there, is well laid out, and is defended by a substantial brick wall. The houses are far better, on the whole, than those of the natives in Calcutta. Though there are not so many fine residences of rich Baboos as in that city, there are some scarcely surpassed in elegance by any in America.

A space of several miles in the rear of the Black town is occupied by the Europeans. Their houses are not placed in rows, but scattered about, and embosomed in gardens and shrubbery. Trees are planted in rows along the principal avenues, and the number of pleasant drives surpasses those of any city I have yet seen in the east.

The fort is on the shore south of the Black town, with a large open space between, reserved as an esplanade. On the margin of this opening, next to the sea, and also below the fort, is the fashionable evening drive. Here, weary of lassitude or labour, come all the gentry to enjoy the freshness and glory of sunset. The rushing of the ceaseless surf, the numerous vessels of varied make, the cool sea-breeze, the majestic ocean, the wide sweep of western sky, the superb equipages, the cheerful faces, and the cordial greetings—make it every way charming. In going to "the course," you meet, along the less pretending roads, merchants on their camels, Arabs on their steeds, Burmans and Moguls on their ponies, native gentlemen in their handsome bullock



Hindu Gentleman's Carriage.

carriages; while the sircars, &c., are drawn by a single ox, in an indescribable sort of wheelbarrow, or are borne in palankeens.

While in this city, famous for snake-charmers, I sent for some to show me their skill. They brought a boa constrictor and several cobra de capels; the latter being, as is known, highly venomous, and generally fatal. They were in shallow baskets, coiled up as close as possible. The keeper had a simple flageolet; on hearing a few notes of which, the snake gracefully erected half its length, and spread out its beautiful head

and neck to a breadth of several inches. The keeper sometimes ceased his music and irritated the creature with his hand; which it bit violently, but without injury, its fangs having been extracted.

These men are often employed to draw forth from their holes snakes which infest gardens and old buildings. Playing on their flageolet, they pass round the suspected places, and if serpents be there, are sure to bring them forth. Without permitting the music to cease, an attendant seizes the snake by the tail, and whirls it round so rapidly that it cannot bite; sliding one hand up gradually, till he gets it firmly by the neck; then, taking a little stone or shell, he crushes out the fangs, and puts it in his basket or bosom, and carries it away. The transaction forcibly reminds one of the passage, Psalm lviii. 5, which compares the wicked, who persist in their ways in spite of counsel or entreaty, to serpents that will not be charmed. This text, as well as Jeremiah viii. 17, where Jehovah threatens to send among Israel "serpents which will not be charmed," shows that the trade of these men is of no recent date.

The population of Madras, including all the villages within several miles, is generally reckoned at 420,000. But a census made in 1823 gave only 27,000 houses. This, at seven inhabitants to a house, would make the population about 190,000. Large spaces, even within the walls, are wholly vacant. Allowing for houses omitted in the census, the population is perhaps 200,000. There are populous villages in the neighbourhood, containing 100,000 more. One of the most striking peculiarities in the town is the universality with which males and females, old and young, bear upon their foreheads, arms, and breasts, the marks peculiar to their religion, or sect of it.\* Some have a red or blue spot on their forehead; others blue, red, white, or yellow perpendicular lines; others horizontal lines. Some, in addition to these, have ashes or clay rubbed in lines on their arms and breast. I could not help recurring continually to that text (Deuteronomy xxxii. 5), "Their spot is not the spot of his children." The allusion is doubtless to a similar custom. The highest classes wear much the same, but of far costlier materials.

Men of distinction have servants running before, and at least two always run beside the carriage. Even persons on horseback are never without one of these runners, who are called *sycer*. It is astonishing how long these men, accustomed to the business from childhood, can endure. The rider never slacks his pace on their account, and they keep up during the whole drive. For a long time, the sight of these poor men destroyed the pleasure of my rides. They, however, do nothing else, and their labour, on the whole, is certainly far less than that of a mechanic with us.

The incident of Elijah running before the chariot of Ahab (1 Kings xviii. 46), has been continually brought to recollection by this custom, wherever I have been in India. He had assumed an attitude of great grandeur, in mocking the national faith before the king, and

\* Those know little of the world, who advance the existence of sects as an objection to Christianity. Over all Hither India, the same books are held sacred, yet the community is divided into many sects, holding their preferences with bitter zeal and exclusiveness. Brahma has no followers, because, as the supreme God, he is above all concern with mortals. Vishnu and Siva have each their sects, and even these are far from harmony. The worshippers of Vishnu are divided into twenty sects; those of Siva into nine. There are four sects who adore Doorga, and ten devoted to various other objects, which, with some subdivisions, swell the number of Hindu sects to nearly seventy! Collisions among these are perpetual and rancorous. At Hurdwar, and many other places, scenes of violence and bloodshed invariably occur at the great annual festivals. The feuds of similar kind which prevail among Mussulmans, are well known, and the bloody character of their conflicts. It was thus also with Jews. Even the followers of Zoroaster are stated by Gibbon to have been divided into seventy sects, in the time of Artaxerxes. The truth is, man will have diversity of opinions, to the extent that opinion is free. Despotism alone makes unity in such matters.

denouncing his sins before all the people; and, after so long a famine, he had now been praying for rain, and already the heavy thunder announced rescue to a starving nation. But in all these honours was he proud? Was he disposed to refuse his lawful king the proper homage of a subject? He would let all Israel see how he honoured the ruler of his people, and how far he was from vain-glory amid such triumphs. Gathering his robes about him, therefore, and mixing with those who ran before the king, he did nothing out of the way, nothing for effect, nothing in the least supernatural; but testified, in the happiest manner, not merely his own humility, but that even a wicked king had ceremonial claims which a good subject should not deny.

My stay in Madras extended from January 26 till March 17, 1837, including journeys into the interior. The weather during this period was truly delightful. Instead of remarks resulting from my own experience, I transcribe a table, showing the highest and lowest state of the thermometer, and the mean temperature, for every month in the year:—

| January...  | Max. 86. | Min. 65. | Mean height, 75.5. |
|-------------|----------|----------|--------------------|
| February... | 87.      | 66.      | 77.3.              |
| March.....  | 90.      | 69.      | 80.7.              |
| April.....  | 94.      | 75.      | 83.7.              |
| May.....    | 99.      | 78.      | 86.                |
| June.....   | 98.      | 79.      | 88.4.              |
| July.....   | 95.      | 73.      | 85.                |
| August....  | 83.      | 72.      | 84.6.              |
| September.. | 92.      | 72.      | 83.                |
| October.... | 91.      | 70.      | 82.                |
| November..  | 87.      | 67.      | 78.                |
| December... | 84.      | 65.      | 76.                |

The state of religious feeling in Madras, at this time at least, is little better than in Calcutta. The concert of prayer, which is held, *unitedly*, at different churches in rotation, was held, while I was there, at the Scotch Kirk. One city minister only was present, and but thirty-five other persons, though the evening was delightful. The services were just those of public worship, so that it could not with propriety be called a *prayer-meeting*. But religion seems to be exerting its blessed influence in the city more and more, and recently there have been among the troops in the fort some forty or fifty cases of conversion.

I was happy to find several Sunday schools, though only that of the Wesleyans seems flourishing.

This city is the seat of several missions, by various societies in England and America. There are Episcopal, Scotch, Independent, and Wesleyan churches, with excellent places of worship, where pastors are regularly settled, who conduct services in the English language. Besides the bishops and six Company's chaplains, there are fifteen missionaries, Episcopal, Scotch, Wesleyan, and American, besides several who support themselves, and are not connected with any board. Of all the regular missionaries, there are but three who are devoted wholly to the natives. The rest preach in English, or take charge of schools, printing, agencies, &c. There are also in Madras fourteen Catholic priests, and congregations of Armenians, Jews, &c. Some thousands of native youth are gathered into schools under missionary superintendence, and several printing establishments are owned by the missionary boards. The language of the region is Tamul, and in this there are printed the whole Old and New Testaments, and 200 tracts, besides the Pilgrim's Progress, Ayah and her Lady, Swartz's Dialogues, &c. Many of these publications, however, need revision, and many are wanted on other subjects.

As regards Christianity among the natives, Madras is behind Calcutta. I inquired of several ministers, and most of the missionaries, but no one knew the state or number of native converts. The nominal Christians are few. As to real converts, one missionary thought there were but two or three in the whole city and suburbs! Another thought there were not half a dozen at the utmost. No one supposed there were more than that number. Some hundreds have been baptised, with

their children, and many have grown up who were baptised in infancy; but the conduct of this body is not always honourable to the cause. Of the Catholics, there are some thousands; but they are distinguished from the heathen, it is said, not by better morals or manners, but only by not smearing their bodies and faces with idolatrous marks.

I had the pleasure of attending the anniversary meetings of the Wesleyan Mission, the Madras Bible Society, &c. They brought me into a pleasing acquaintance with many missionaries from distant stations, and thus enabled me to enlarge my stock of official memoranda.

I was particularly pleased with the Wesleyan plan of having a second anniversary for the natives, in which the services and speeches were in Tamul. The body of the chapel, cleared of the settees, was well filled with natives, who sat, after their fashion, on the floor. They behaved with perfect decorum, and listened with attention. It certainly is a plan happily calculated to enlighten and improve the converts, while it instructs and informs the heathen.

A case has recently occurred, which has excited a great interest among the natives, far and near. Arumuga Tambiran (literally, the six-faced god), a distinguished devotee, has been converted to Christianity. He is now very old, having been for fifty years a prominent pilgrim and teacher. Dressed in a yellow robe, the sacred beads round his neck, smeared with ashes and clay, and bearing the various insignia of his high station, he made pilgrimages to many and distant places of distinguished sanctity, and was every where received with profound veneration. Eleven others, who had begun this course with him, had died. Scarcely any man, far and near, stood so high as Arumuga. His very appellation—*Tambiran*—struck awe to the bosom of every Hindu, for "Tambirans rank higher than Brahmins, and inferior only to the invisible gods."\* His public baptism, last August, has created a strong sensation through the entire peninsula. Being a poet, he has written several pieces, which have been printed in large quantities, and are sought after with great avidity; this being the style of the sacred books. His case, however, is an additional evidence, that though the people are disposed to ask if any of the great have believed in Christ, yet that such an event has little other visible effect than transient wonder.

It was my intention to proceed immediately to Chicaole, and settle with Mr Day his future position. But, on taking steps for a *dak* to that place, I learned that Mr Day was daily expected at Madras. This report afterwards proved to be erroneous; but the repose which it gave me was very providential, as my health, which had been declining continually for some weeks, now became so poor that I should have been arrested on the way.

The ministers and missionaries of the city urge Mr Day's location here. This opinion, which had been previously expressed by various brethren in Burmah and Bengal, I now adopted as my own, for reasons which it is not important to rehearse. Mr Day had previously resolved to leave Chicaole; and on communicating my opinion, it met his cordial approbation, and he immediately prepared to embark for Madras, with his family.

Learning that Telooogs abound in Southern India, and anxious not only to learn about them, but to measure the degree of the missionaries' success in a region where Ziegenbalg, Swartz, and others had laboured for more than a century, I availed myself of the time which would intervene before Mr Day's arrival, to make an excursion to Tanjore and Trichinopoly, through the districts of Chingleput and South Arcot. Instead of leaving the reader to pick out detached remarks, scattered through the journal of this tour, I will, while speaking of Telooogs and their new missionary, throw

together such facts respecting them as seem to be requisite here.

This people, whose name is often written *Telinga*, or *Kalinga*, are generally called, by European writers, *Gentios*; but this name is unknown, I believe, to any Indian language. They occupy a considerable part of Hindustan, but have now no country entirely to themselves, or bearing their name. The region where theirs is the prevailing spoken language, is about 500 miles long and 200 wide, embracing all the Northern Circars, a large part of the Nizam's dominions, the districts of Cudapah and Bellary, and all the northern part of the Carnatic. The political divisions of the Telooogo country are Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Rajamundry, Masulapatam or Bunder, and Guntoor.

Telooogo families and villages are scattered over the whole of India, between the above-described region and Cape Comorin, and are particularly numerous in the Mysore and Tanjore countries. The sea-coast, from Pulicat to Ganjam, is chiefly occupied by Telooogos.

The largest Telooogo city is Masulapatam, which has a population of 80,000. The next largest are Nellore, Guntoor, Vizagapatam, Chicacole, Burhampore, and Ganjam. The latter cities have each about 12,000 inhabitants.

In Madras, one-sixth of the population are reckoned to be Telooogos. They are scattered over all the city, but some streets are almost wholly inhabited by them, and in the suburb Wonarapetta are about 15,000, settled together. Most of them, however, understand Tamul, as well as Telooogo: some read in Tamul, and not in their own language.

The number of Telooogos is not known. There are probably about 3,000,000, of which 1,000,000 are Mahometans.

Of this nation was the dynasty which, before the Mahratta conquest, ruled the whole region of Madura, Tanjore, and Trichinopoly, besides their peculiar country. In these districts, many of the rich chitty, or merchant caste, are Telooogos at this day.

It is remarkable, that in Japan, and the islands of the China Sea, the only name for India is *Telinga*, or, as they pronounce it, *Kalinga*. It is always so called in their ancient books, and the introduction of Hinduism into their country is ascribed to the Kalings. As it would appear, from the history of Java, that a considerable emigration from the Coromandel coast occurred in the thirteenth century, it is not improbable that at that period the Telinga or Telooogo dynasty was in its glory. Another, and still stronger indication, is found in the fact that the Telinga calendar, which differs from that which prevails in the Deccan, and Hindustan generally, is precisely the calendar of the Japanese.

Their religion is Brahminism, and the system of caste is in full force. Their principal classes are Brahmins, Chetries, Vysias, Shoodras, and Pariahs. These are subdivided into distinct castes. Of Brahmins, there are four castes; of Chetries, three; of Vysias, three; of Shoodras, eighty-five; and some even among the miserable Pariahs. Some of these are again subdivided, as, for instance, of that class of Shoodras who cultivate the ground, there are no less than twenty castes! Every separate trade and calling is a caste. The children of a barber must not marry the children of a washerman, or any but of the barber calling; so of smiths, carpenters, &c.

All classes pay the parents for their wife. The gift of a wealthy Brahmin is about half a pound of gold, and some other things. Even a poor Pariah must give ten rupees. When a man is too poor to pay a wife's price, he goes out to beg, saying, "I want to marry such a girl; give me some money." Poor Brahmins do this most frequently, and are insolently importunate. Polygamy is practised by nearly all who can afford it. It is believed that their religious system is on the wane, and, whether from poverty or neglect, it is certain that no new temples have been built for many years.

The first effort in India of the London Missionary Society, was made in favour of the Telooogos; but the measure has not been pursued with ardour. In 1805, Messrs Cram and Des Gran arrived at Vizagapatam, but they both died soon. In 1819, Messrs Gordon and Lee, from the same society, arrived, and some time afterwards, Messrs Pritchard and Dawson.

After the death of Mr Dawson, the station was vacant till early in 1834, when Mr Gordon, son of the late missionary, returned from England, whither he had been sent for education, and assumed the operations. In November 1834, the Rev. Edward Porter joined the mission, but has laboured a good deal of his time among the English.

There are now in this field four ordained missionaries from the London Missionary Society, and Mr Day from America. Four other pious and active gentlemen, unconnected with any missionary society, are acquiring the language, and have devoted themselves to the good of this people. One excellent native convert, Poor-shu'them, is ordained, and labours extensively. Besides these, several Tamul missionaries speak Telooogo, and do something in the way of giving tracts, &c. The London missionaries have published an appeal for aid, in which they state that there are not less than 300 Telooogo towns, where missionaries might be advantageously settled under the full protection of the British government.

There are six schools connected with the mission at Vizagapatam, containing 250 pupils. This department of effort has been maintained from the beginning, but neither this nor any other has been apparently made the means of conversion; and though thirty years have elapsed, no poor Telooogo has at this station been brought to a saving acceptance of the Lord Jesus. The lives of those brethren who have laboured here, have, however, not been spent in vain; they have done much in preparing translations and tracts, and have doubtless sowed seed, from which others will reap, that "both may rejoice together."

At Chittoor, there are about fifty Telooogo families, who have become nominal Christians. Two-thirds of the inhabitants are Telooogos.

At Cudapah, the London Missionary Society have another station, occupied by the Rev. Mr Howell, an Indo-Briton. He has baptised 150 persons (adults and children), and settled them on lands owned by the mission. The houses cost eight or ten rupees each. Each family is expected to pay its own taxes, and support itself. He has three schools; one for Christian children, and two for heathen. A few of the baptised, probably twenty, Mr Howell hopes, are really converted. The rules binding on nominal Christians, are—to attend worship every morning and evening at the school-house; to attend public worship on Sunday, and two evenings in the week; to settle their disputes before a committee of five brethren, and not go to law; to send their children to school, &c.

At Bellary, in the northern part of Mysore, a mission was begun, in 1810, by the London Missionary Society. Strictly, this is a Canarese mission; but the Rev. Mr Reed has acquired an extensive knowledge of the Telooogo language, and has translated and written in it to some extent. He occasionally labours personally among the Telooogos, who form about a third of the citizens.

The whole Bible is translated into Telooogo; and the New Testament, Genesis, Exodus, Psalms, and Isaiah, are printed. The remainder of the Old Testament will be printed at the London Missionary Society's press at Bellary, but how soon is uncertain. Thirty tracts are printed, but some of them are very poor. A large supply might be advantageously distributed, but the Tract Society of Madras is feeble, even with considerable aid from the parent society in London.

The language is confessedly difficult of acquisition, but has many beauties, and bears a strong resemblance to the Sanscrit. Missionaries now have the aid of an excellent grammar and dictionary, besides translations of Scripture and tracts. Two translations have been

made of the New Testament, one by the Serampore missionaries, and the other by Mr Pritchard, of the London Missionary Society.

The only mode of inland travelling in India is by palankeen; and, in the hot season, at night only. Bungalows are built by government, on some principal roads, where travellers may spend the day, and where a servant is retained, who gets what you require to eat. They are generally comfortable brick houses, having several apartments, and furnished with chairs, tables, and sometimes bedsteads.

In this part of India, a "set of bearers" consists of twelve men; ten to carry the palankeen, one coolie to carry the baggage, and a musalche. Six bearers carry at a time, and four trot along to take their turns, and relieve the others, about every quarter of a mile. The coolie carries the baggage in tin boxes, made for the purpose, called *banguy* boxes, suspended from a pole on the shoulder. The *musalche*, or torch-bearer, has a hard roll of rags, four or five feet long, as thick as one's wrist, and oil in a copper goblet, with a very small mouth. When he trims his lamp, he has only to knock off the snuff against a tree, and pour on a little more oil—a process which reminds one constantly of the parable of the virgins. Every traveller is obliged to have his own palankeen, in which he takes his carpet bag and some books, &c., hanging on the outside his tea-kettle, hat-box, and goblet of drinking-water. Notwithstanding the loss of time incurred by changing hands so frequently, your speed averages about four miles an hour; often more. In travelling post, as I did, fresh bearers are had every twelve or fifteen miles. By starting when the sun gets low, and not stopping till eight or nine o'clock next morning, you may go sixty or seventy miles of a night. On roads where no bearers are posted, and where special expedition is not wanted, a single set of bearers is employed, who go journeys of any length, and average thirty miles a-day, travelling either in the day or night, as you prefer. I chose to travel by night, not only because the sun was oppressive during the day, but because it prevented loss of time, and gave me the day to be with missionaries at the different stations.

On two or three occasions I was obliged to spend the day at bungalows, and greatly enjoyed the cool quietude of these resting-places. The solitude was delightful and refreshing to my spirit, as well as advantageous in enabling me to bring up arrears in my memorandums.

This mode of conveyance has indeed the advantage of a recumbent posture; but the motion was to me excessively wearisome, and, with some bearers, even painful. I liked a palankeen in Calcutta very well, where the bearers are accomplished, and the distances short. But this hasty journey of 500 miles wore me out, so that I could scarcely stand. The expense with post-bearers is twenty five cents per mile, which, though dear for the traveller, is an extremely small sum to be divided among fourteen men, who have also to walk back again; making their pay but about a cent per mile for each, for very severe labour. To take one set of bearers for a whole journey costs less.

Leaving Madras, February 13, 1837, I proceeded from forty to sixty miles each night. The road led through Villacherry, Caliahacum, Trepaloor, Allatoor, Maubilliveram, Sadras, Alumparva, Canjimere, Collacoopum, Pondieherry, Cuddalore, Poondiacoopum, Chillumbrum, Sheally, Myaveram, Trivellungaud, Combacum, Paupanasum, and numerous smaller towns; and across the rivers Paular, or Palaur, Cunnabaur, Gaddelum, Pettanaur, Vellaur, Coleroon, Cavery, &c. Several of these are mouths of the Cavery.

The first stage kept us along the seaside, every surge laving the bearers' feet, and my old acquaintance, ocean, the only object of my regard. The rest of the way is through a wild and poor country, though with many towns and villages. Immediately around Pondieherry, and all the country from thence to Tanjore, is a garden.

From Tanjore to Trichinopoly is a desert, which extends in a broad stripe to Cape Comorin. The district of country through which this road carried me, forms the central portion of the Carnatic, and comprehends the former dominions of the nabob of Arcot. It came under the British power in 1801.



Palankeen Travelling.

A few hours were devoted to a rapid survey of Pondieherry, reputed to be much the handsomest town in India. No native huts disfigure the streets, as these are all placed separately in the suburbs. There is but little business now done here, and but one foreign vessel lay in the roadstead. The Jesuits have a college and a church here, and the Capuchins a church. Many of the natives have adopted the Catholic faith; but it has done little for their improvement. The French are prohibited by treaty from keeping many troops, and the whole city looks silent and languishing.

Cuddalore, on the Panaur, fifty-two miles from Pondieherry, is the first station on this route where there are English. It is one of the great stations where soldiers are placed, who, from having married native women, or other causes, choose to remain in the country after serving out their time, or becoming invalids. A few effective troops also are stationed here. The Episcopal chaplain, the Rev. Mr Hallowell, received me with great kindness, in the absence of the missionary. The invalids and pensioners are obliged to attend worship, and with the gentry, form a large and attentive congregation. The missionary, the Rev. Mr Jones, devotes himself to the natives. This was a station of the Christian Knowledge Society so early as 1737, but has not been constantly occupied. Mr Jones arrived in 1834, and is able to preach in the vernacular. He found Mr Rosen's church, and ten schools, which Mr Hallowell had superintended for five years. He has baptised some adults and many children, and increased the number of schools. One of these is for girls. The whole now contain 540 children. Mr Jones has two Tamul services on the Sabbath, and two in the week. The congregation consists chiefly of nominal Christians. They amount to more than 300, among whom are many of the native wives of European soldiers.

Though I passed within an hour or two of Tranquebar, it seemed of no use to visit it, as there is now almost no visible effect of missionary labour there. Nor is there any missionary, the last one having accepted the office of chaplain to government. A few of the schools are continued by government; but there are only 300 nominal Christians, and the mission is entirely relinquished. The causes of this total abrogation of a long-established mission deserve investigation. Abundant materials exist as to the history of the men and measures; and the question is of great importance. It is the opinion of some of the best-informed persons in that region, that many of the missionaries have been unconverted men. If such be the fact, the wonder ceases.

A more beautiful country than that from Cuddalore to Tanjore can hardly be imagined. The dense population and rich soil give their energies to each other, and produce a scene of surpassing loveliness. But the taxes, and other causes, keep down the labourers to a state below that of southern slaves. The labour of carrying agriculture to perfection, under a cloudless sky, wholly by artificial irrigation, is of course immense. The water is obtained, either from the river by small canals, or from tanks and wells by peccottas.



The mechanism for the latter mode is simple and easy. A pole, like that to New England wells, is fixed on an upright beam, and worked by two men, one of whom walks a few steps backwards and forwards on the pole, and the other guides the bucket. The same plan is common in all parts of India. The water rushes through troughs into channels, which lead to every bed. Another man passes along the field or garden, and, after suffering a proper quantity of water to flow upon a bed, scrapes with his hand a little soil into that channel, and leads the water into another—passing thus from bed to bed, till the whole is watered. The services of a watering-pot would be wholly inadequate in a climate so hot, and without rain.

Such a practice is doubtless alluded to, Prov. xxi. 1, where it is said of God's easy control of human hearts, that "he turneth them as the rivers [rivulets] of water."

As there is always power enough in a tropical sun to produce vegetation, moisture alone is necessary to constant cropping. Districts, therefore, furnished as this is, with tanks and rivers, present continually all the varieties of seasons in Europe. The eye wanders over large fields, in some parts of which men are ploughing, in others planting, and in others harvesting, at the same time. Each field is divided, as in our own rice-growing districts, into small compartments, separated by a narrow mound of earth about a foot high. On any one of these the water is turned at pleasure, while the rest are dry; and every stage of the process, and of the growth of the grain, is seen at once. Most of the lands are cropped twice a-year; sometimes with rice, but more frequently with rice first, and then some other grain or pulse.

The scene is beautiful; but squalid poverty and miserable mendicants constantly intrude, and remind one of Pope's lines—

"In vain kind seasons swell the teeming grain;  
Soft showers distil, and suns grow warm in vain:  
The swain, with tears, his frustrate labour yields,  
And, famished, dies amidst his ripened fields."

At Combaconum I found a London missionary, Mr Nimmo, successor to Mr Crisp. The city contains 40,000 inhabitants, and was the capital of the ancient Chola dynasty, from which the whole coast of Coromandel (corruption of *Cholamandel*) received its name. It is distinguished among Hindus for its sanctity, and is one of idolatry's strongest holds in Southern India; though missionary labours have here been carried forward by Protestants for more than seventy years. Great numbers of the inhabitants are of the Brahmin caste. The pagodas, gateways, and tanks, are very fine.

The chief cause of the celebrity of this seat of idolatry is the general belief that one of its great tanks is filled, every twelfth year, by the waters of the Ganges, which enter by a subterranean passage. Thousands of people, unable to go so far as Bengal, rush hither, from all parts of Southern India, at these favoured times, and bring vast profit to the Brahmins. The efficacy of the water is deemed sufficient, at these times, to wash away, from all who bathe in it, all manner of sin and impurity, even though contracted in many former transmigrations. Papists are numerous in this region, and add much to the difficulties of a missionary.

The station has not been without fruit; and some souls have evidently been born of God. The Danish missionaries at one time had a congregation of 500 persons. But, among other causes, frequent intermissions of labour, by the death or removal of the missionary, have been very pernicious. Mr Nimmo settled here in 1833, and has 200 nominal Christians (that is, baptised persons) under his care, and a church of twelve members. Besides the chapel in the city, he has three others in the vicinity, and employs five readers, mostly from Tanjore. He has twelve small schools, eight of which are maintained by friends on the spot. Only four of his teachers are Christians. The Rev. Mr Combs, from Tanjore, is about to settle in this city.

At Tanjore, a hearty welcome awaited me to the house of the venerable Kohlhoff, the protégé, friend, and fellow-labourer of Swartz. For more than fifty years he has been a missionary. I was charmed with his purity and simplicity of character, and enjoyed, during three days spent under his hospitable roof, not only a valuable opportunity of acquiring authentic knowledge of the history of missions in this region, but the deductions of his own long experience and observation, and many delightful facts respecting the private life of Swartz.

The city is the residence of the rajah, who still reigns over the kingdom of Tanjore, paying three-fifths of the revenues to the Company. He is son of Serfojee, the rajah who was brought up by Swartz, and who so sincerely loved that admirable man. His residence is within the fortress, which is reputed to be very strong, and which contains not only the palace, but a population of many thousands.

The district of Tanjore was never actually occupied by Mahometans; therefore the Hindu structures remained uninjured, and the religious revenues were not sequestered. Thus it is, that in no part of India does the Brahminical faith show itself more imposingly. Almost every village has its brick pagoda and lofty gateway, covered with statues in mortar. Brahmins hold all the power, are the chief landholders, and fill almost every lucrative office.

Swartz lived within the fort, where both his dwelling-house and church yet stand. The former is almost a ruin, but is used as a school-room. It consists merely of three small rooms, raised a little from the ground. Similar humility and moderation are displayed in the house he afterwards built, within the yard of his church. The church is well built and handsome, and, having been lately repaired, at much expense, by the rajah, is likely to last for ages. It is of little service, as but two or three Christian families live within the fort. To these, however, a catechist preaches every Sabbath. Swartz's pulpit remains unaltered; and in the wall, at the opposite side, is the marble tablet by Flaxman, representing his last moments, with the faithful Geriké at his head, and the affectionate rajah and others by his side. Oh that this spacious church may again contain such audiences as listened to its blessed founder!

In visiting these interesting spots, we passed the rajah's palace, and saw his tigers, &c., kept for show. He had gone to a distant part of the fort, and we therefore witnessed his displays of royalty. The cavalcade was resting near the gate of the inner fortress, where he had entered. It consisted of a score of war elephants, caparisoned, a troop mounted on camels, and a small park of artillery. Men and beasts looked dirty and shabby, and all the pomp seemed poverty-struck. The dens of the wild beasts, originally elegant, and each having a fine tank of brick and mortar, where the animals might bathe at pleasure, were dilapidated, and the handsome iron balustrade nearly mouldered away.

We passed on to the huge pagodas, extensive gardens, and paved yards, devoted to the national superstition. Here, too, idolatry has made one of its "high-places." Though all is grand and large, quietude and decay seem to be nearly in possession. A few fat supercilious Brahmins stalked along the deserted walks; but, except at certain seasons, worshippers are few. The traces of recent repair are few and partial. Other shrines in the city are more readily reached, and thither the crowds repair.

The city itself seems flourishing. It is regularly built, and is said to contain a greater proportion of good houses than any other native city in Southern India.

The first visit of a Christian teacher to this important city and province, was that of Pressier, from Tranquebar, in 1728; but he was not allowed to preach except at his own residence, and remained but a short time. The next effort was made by Wiedenbrock, in 1753. He accompanied an embassy of the government of Tranquebar to the rajah, and staid but twelve days. His diary, preserved in the mission library, states that he

had some little opportunity of declaring the system of salvation before the assembled court, in reply to questions from the rajah.

The first regular missionary efforts were made by Swartz and Klein, who began in 1762 their labours at Trichinopoly, making occasional visits to Tanjore. Ten years afterwards, Swartz removed hither, and the mission may be said to have commenced. The blessings which attended his efforts may be seen in his memoir. Oh that his spirit had descended on all his successors! 2000 persons embraced a profession of Christianity under Swartz, many of whom, no doubt, were truly pious. But he allowed them to retain caste, and the sad consequences of his so doing are felt to this day. Caste is not even yet wholly done away among the Christians, and its injurious effects are many.

In the province, mostly collected in villages, there are now about 4000 Protestant Christians. Of course, among such a population, a missionary enjoys many of the advantages of a pastor in our own country. It secures, too, to those who may choose to abandon idolatry, the means of subsistence. The children are brought up in the knowledge of the true God; and various other benefits accrue. Still it is doubtful whether the evils do not overbalance the advantages. The baptising of such as embrace Christianity, without becoming pious, and of receiving to the Lord's supper all such as exhibit a due measure of outward rectitude, and possess a certain knowledge of the standards of the church, confounds the church and the world in the sight of the heathen, keeps down the standard of piety, brings forth unconverted assistants, and makes church business a matter of civil police. This mode of conducting missions has now been long tried, and is practised by nearly all the missionaries in India, except those of the Baptist persuasion, and those from America. It deserves the serious consideration of the friends at home. Out of the 734 communicants belonging to the Tanjore mission, a very small part are deemed pious; nor can many, even of the native assistants, lay claim to this character. Tyerman and Bennett affirm that "no vital religion is found in any of the preachers or native Christians."

The present missionaries at Tanjore are Mr Kohloff (Lutheran), and Messrs Calthorpe and Brotherton (Episcopal). All are in connection with the Christian Knowledge Society. The two latter are young, and have but just arrived. The mission, as a whole, wears an encouraging aspect. Three of the native preachers have received ordination, two of whom are evidently converted men. One of these, Visavarnarden (mentioned in Mr Hough's reply to Abbe Dubois) is still active and faithful, though nearly sixty. His labours have been particularly blessed.

The schools, to which government contributes 100 pagodas [more than 300 dollars] per month, are in active operation. This allowance, with the avails of Swartz's bequests, nearly supports the whole mission, with the exception of the salaries of Messrs Brotherton and Calthorpe. The whole number of catechists and schoolmasters is seventy-eight. These come monthly to the mission-house, where their reports are received, and where they are catechised and otherwise instructed. The whole number of scholars is about 1000, of whom 60 are boarded in the mission compound. The houses for the missionaries, the schools, &c., are excellent and ample. These, with the church now used, are in a pleasant suburb, composed, in a considerable measure, of the native Christians.

Worship is maintained in the church on Sundays, both in English and Tamul. No audience could behave more properly than did the poor natives. Their knowledge of Christianity, however, is very small. It will probably be long before heathen churches will possess the measure of light, zeal, and devotion, which are often seen in more favoured lands.

Behind the pulpit is the grave of Swartz, marked by a flat slab, with an inscription in English poetry, ascribed to the rajah, his friend. The lines are affecting; and the spot will ever be, to the Christian, hallowed

ground. Fragrant and blessed will the memory of this holy man be, while earth stands. How glorious is the society of heaven becoming! How blessed it will be to meet there all the good who ever lived, and none but such!

There are about 12,000 Romanists in the province, and in the city about 400. Their priests are generally of the Jesuit order, from Goa. Within a few years, a large party have come over to Protestantism.

The country between Tanjore and Trichinopoly is almost a desert, and I could not place a relay of bearers on the road. One set of men bore me the whole distance, thirty-eight miles, between nine o'clock in the evening and sunrise next morning, without apparent fatigue. This is the customary arrangement.

Trichinopoly, once the capital of a small kingdom, stands on the Cavéry river, and is strongly fortified. It has a population of 80,000 souls. None of that importance is now attached to this stronghold, which made it the theatre of such sanguinary conflicts, between the English and French, from 1751 to 1755. The Company maintain now five or six full regiments of troops here; but chiefly for the salubrity of the spot, and its ready intercourse with other points on the peninsula.

The mission here was begun by Swartz in 1762, and he laboured in this field ten years. Since that period it has not been constantly occupied, and previous to 1827 there had been no missionary here for ten years! The injury of these repeated intermissions has been very great. The Rev. Mr Schreivogel now has charge, but the work moves on languidly. There are about 500 nominal Christians, some of them the descendants of Swartz's followers; but very few give evidence of piety. One of my informants thought there might be forty; but another, who had better means of knowing, could not make out ten.

The church and mansion-house of Swartz are within the fort. The former is still used; the latter is empty, and going to ruin. Here, as at Tanjore, it was sweet to linger in the rooms where he prayed, studied, and reposed; to handle his books; to look abroad on the objects on which his eye had rested; and to console myself with the thought, that though so vastly his inferior, and so unworthy of his society, I belong to that company of redeemed ones, among whom he is conspicuous. What a goodly fellowship! How will that company rejoice and shine, when the memory and the works of the wicked shall have perished for ever!

The last days of Heber were spent laboriously in this city; and here, "as a thief in the night," his hour came. Though his published "Travels in India," contain little or nothing to indicate piety, yet no one can follow in his steps, as I have done, without hearing enough to prove that he walked with God. I stood over his grave in the church, and surveyed the bath from whence his lifeless body was taken,\* with feelings of sacred brotherhood. Up to the period of Bishop Heber's visit, in 1826, all the missionary operations of this region were maintained by the British Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. Since that time, this society takes charge of all the schools; and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel assumes the support of the missionaries.

Being within five miles of the famous pagoda at Seringham, I of course made an excursion thither. It is the most distinguished of the renowned seven; and the expectation of seeing it induced me to omit any remarks on those of Combaconum and Chillumbrum. Hindu architecture is too uniform for numerous descriptions of it to be either interesting or useful.

This proud monument of Hindu art, wealth, and

\* He had gone into a large and deep cold bath, which he had before used; and, remaining longer than common, his servant entered, and found him a corpse at the bottom. As he could swim, it was thought he had fallen in an apoplexy.

superstition, stands on an island, made by the Cavéry river dividing itself into two branches, and forming a junction again a few miles below. The *sanctum sanctorum* of the numerous structures around, is scarcely larger than a native's hut, but is highly adorned, and in some parts gilded. It is enclosed within seven successive walls, 120 yards apart; the outer wall being four miles in circumference. These walls are of great strength, twenty-five feet high, and besides common gateways, have *twenty* stupendous towers or pagodas over as many entrances. One of these is here delineated, and furnishes a fair specimen not only of the twenty here, but of similar structures throughout India.



Seringham Gateway.

A multitude of sacred edifices are scattered about, among which are some vast halls. The flat roof of one of these is supported by a *thousand* slender pillars of carved granite. The pavements, stairs, and lower parts of the buildings generally, are of red and grey granite and sienite. The rough slabs had evidently been split, in the manner now practised in New England. I was surprised to find that what is thought among us to be a modern invention, had been practised here for ages.

Griffins and tigers, gods and men, tolerably sculptured, adorned various parts; and the trumpery of display days, with the cars on which the idols are drawn forth, stood in the bye-places. We saw no one performing any kind of worship.

The intervals between the walls are occupied by streets of well-built houses, and present the common aspect of a busy town. The population is about 8000. Persons of all grades and occupations reside here, and carry on their business. A very large proportion are Brahmins. The other inhabitants seemed chiefly to subsist by little shops, in which are sold the various articles connected with the idolatry of the place. They made no objection to selling me unconsecrated idols, and whatever else I chose.

A singular aspect is given to the place, by scores if not hundreds of huge monkeys, which are seen at every glance. They are held sacred to Hunimaun, the divine ape, who conquered Ceylon for Rama. Of course they are not only unmolested, but well fed, and multiply without restriction. They looked on us from every wall, and frolicked on the trees, the images, and carved sides of the towers, often coming within a yard of us without the semblance of fear. They are by no means peculiar to this temple, but abound in most Hindu sacred places, and for the same reason.

Pilgrims from all parts of India resort to this place for absolution from their sins; and as none come without an offering, the Brahmins live in voluptuous ease. The establishment receives also from the Company an

annual stipend, stated by Hamilton to be 15,600 pagodas (27,300 dollars). Still their rapacity is insatiate. A half dozen of them, pretending to act as guides, followed us every where, begging with insolent pertinacity. With idolaters, as with Papists, clerical mendicity is regarded as a virtue rather than a fault.

The number of slaves in the Carnatic, Mysore, and Malabar, is said to be greater than in most other parts of India, and embraces nearly the whole of the PUNCHUM Bundam caste. The whole number in British India has never been ascertained, but is supposed, by the best informed persons I was able to consult, to be, on an average, at least one in eight, that is, about *ten millions*. Many consider them twice as numerous. The number is kept up not only by propagation, but the sale of children by their parents. Manumissions, however, are frequent among the opulent in the northern provinces. Forbes says, "I believe most of the tribes of Pooleahs and Pariars in Malabar are considered as slaves. The number of poor people who come down to Anjengo, and the other seaports, from the inland countries, during a famine, either to sell themselves or dispose of their children as slaves, is astonishing. During the rainy season, even when there is no uncommon scarcity, many are weekly brought down to the mountains to be sold on the coasts. They do not appear to think it so great a hardship as we imagine."

It is strange that the British public should be so slow to open their eyes to this great subject. For twenty years appeals and pamphlets have frequently appeared. In 1828, a volume of 1000 pages of parliamentary documents on East India slavery was printed; and within four or five years some strenuous efforts have been made to call attention to this enormity; but as yet, nothing has been done to purpose. Surely the zeal which has achieved the freedom of a few hundred thousand slaves in the West Indies will now be exerted in behalf of *twenty-five times the number* in the East.

The countenance and support given by government to the prevailing forms of religion is a weighty subject, and calls for the solemn consideration of British Christians. I cannot but sympathise deeply with the missionaries in the trials and obstructions they meet on this account. They have little doubt but that the pernicious influence of the Brahmins would wither, and their system lose its power, if government did not render its aid, both by open countenance and direct taxation.

An extreme fear of creating political disturbances, if efforts were made to convert the natives to Christianity, seems to have possessed the Company's government from the beginning. Hence the refusal at first to allow missionary effort. Hence Chamberlain, though in the service of her royal highness the Begaum, was deemed pestilent for preaching at a fair, and her majesty was reluctantly obliged to send him down to Calcutta. Happily, the little band that found a refuge under the Danish flag at Serampore, lived to prove, practically, that such fears are groundless.

But though the government now permits and protects missionary effort, it has not wholly lost its early fears; and these, together with a desire to be strictly neutral, lead to measures directly favourable to idolatry. It levies and collects the revenues for supporting Brahmins and temples, as the former rulers did; thus virtually making idolatry and Mahometanism the established religions of the country! The annual allowance from the public treasury for the support of the temple of Juggernaut, is 56,000 rupees (about 26,000 dollars), and many other temples have allowances equally liberal. C. Buller, in his letter to the Court of Directors on this subject, says, "Large pensions, in land and money, are allowed by our government, in all parts of the country, for keeping up the religious institutions both of Hindus and Mahometans." Lord William Bentinck, governor-general of India, under date of August 1835, speaking of the tax laid on pilgrims, which yields the Company

a handsome revenue, says, "As long as we maintain, most properly, in my opinion, the different establishments belonging to the Mahometan and Hindu religions, we need not much scruple about the tax in question."

In the district of Tinnevely, an examination on this subject was made by Mr T., who found 2783 temples, and 9799 petty kovils, of male and female deities, and some inferior religious stations; making a total of 14,851 places of idolatrous worship. The total charge of these on the government amounts to £30,000 sterling (about 145,000 dollars) per annum!

Besides this regular support, there are numerous other modes in which the national systems are countenanced. Mr Rhenius has stated, that in 1831 government contributed 40,000 rupees towards the performance of a certain ceremony in the temple at Tinnevely, and to repair the idol's car! At the principal festivals guns are fired by national ships, and by the Company's troops, and the military bands of music are loaned to grace the occasions. Thus *Christian* soldiers are compelled to do honour to the false prophet and to dumb idols! A letter of the Rev. William Fyvie, dated Surat, September 1, 1836, published in an English periodical, mentions one of these cases, which are constantly occurring in every part of India. It was the annual *cocoa-nut day*—a festival in which cocoa-nuts are thrown into the river as offerings. "This Hindu festival was ushered in by a salute of guns from the honourable Company's ship, lying in the river opposite to Surat. The castle guns fired a salute at the same time. About four P. M., after the Brahmin had consecrated the cocoa-nut with prayers, the European magistrate presented the offering to the river, amidst the poojas (worship) of the Brahmins and other Hindus present. While this vain and idle ceremony was going forward, the ship before alluded to first moved down and then up the river, displaying her colours and firing salutes. The British flag was waving on Surat Castle all the day, in honour of the festival. In this way our rulers and their agents directly and publicly countenance idolatry and superstition in this place. The new moon, excepting twice in the year, when the Mussulmans are mourning, is regularly saluted by five guns, to please the Mahometans. 2000 rupees are annually given to the same people by government to assist them in the celebration of their Eeds (festivals). When shall these practices be brought to a perpetual end?"

Various idolatrous temples and gateways have been built or repaired by government. Vast sums have been spent on colleges and schools for the inculcation of heathen and Mahometan doctrines and customs. By these same laws and customs British judges and magistrates regulate their decisions, instead of the pure and equitable laws of their own land, and of the Christian Scriptures! When the cars of certain gods are to be drawn in public procession, there has been for some years back, in various places, a deficiency of people. In such cases, the officers of government send out magistrates, and constables, or peons, who with whips and rattans beat the wretched people, and force them to quit their work and drag at the ropes! Mr Pegg, formerly a Baptist missionary at Cuttack, has fully shown in a pamphlet on the pilgrim tax system, published in England in 1835, that the temple of Juggernaut, of which we hear so much, is wholly supported by the British government; and that a large premium is paid by the government to "pilgrim hunters," who pass throughout the land, enticing persons to make a pilgrimage to the idol, and receive twenty per cent. of the tax laid upon them! In regard to these agents, "The Friend of India" very forcibly observes, "We have a body of *idol missionaries*, far exceeding in number all the Christian missionaries, perhaps, in the world, going forth, from year to year, to propagate delusion, and proclaim (what perhaps not one of them believes) the transcendent efficacy of beholding a log of wood; and all this through a perversion of British humanity and good faith, paid from year to year, by the officers of a Christian and a British government."

Until lately, the appointment of native Christians to any office, however low, was wholly prohibited. That prohibition is now removed; but as the local officers are not bound to employ them, and the general feeling is against it, they are still excluded. How impressively does this say to the natives, that their rulers do not want them to become Christians! I have heard several officers declare, that a man who would change his religion is not worthy of confidence! After many inquiries, I could never find any one who knew of a Christian sepooy being ever raised above the ranks.

Corporeal punishment has been abolished in all the native regiments. Recently a native drummer committed an offence which formerly was punished with flogging. The question was started, whether this man, being a Christian, came under the new law. The decision was, that he was not a native in the eye of the law, and he was made to undergo the lash! I take this fact from the Calcutta newspapers of the day.

Public offices are closed entirely on various native festivals; but on the Christian Sabbath, native officers and servants, and many Europeans, are employed as usual. I have been in no part of the Company's territories where public works, carried on by native labourers, are not continued on the Lord's day.

By Mahometan and Hindu laws of inheritance, the son who changes his religion loses patrimony. British judges, therefore, deciding by these laws, are compelled to turn the convert from his home a beggar. The very records of these courts are *inscribed to Shree, to Ganesha, and other false gods*. Brahmins and others have been appointed and employed by government to make intercessions and invocations to pagan gods for rain, and for fair weather! It is so customary for British officers to subscribe to one Hindu and one Mahometan festival annually, that some who recently declined, from conscientious scruples, gave great offence to their superiors.

I speak in no spirit of bitterness in narrating these facts. The government has, in the main, good intentions, I have no doubt; and, next to the profit of the Company, and the preservation of these countries to Britain, desires the well-being of the people.

Two incidents have just occurred which will be likely to attract attention. Mr Casamajor, a distinguished civilian, has resigned his appointment, rather than collect revenues for the support of idolatry. Of course, those who hold similar appointments are anxious to quiet their consciences and sustain their reputation; and a thousand arguments are brought forward against Mr Casamajor's course. The present commander-in-chief on the Madras presidency, principled against countenancing idolatry, yet not able to forbid the attendance of troops on festive occasions, which is a government regulation, issued a circular forbidding the music to accompany them. This order has created him much trouble. Sir F. Adam, the governor, repeatedly and positively required him to issue a countermanning order. This Sir P. Maitland would not do, choosing rather that the governor in council, who has the power, should himself countermand the order. After some days of sharp contest, the governor's time to embark for England arrived, and nothing was done.

Facts on the subject have for many years been constantly laid before parliament, and the court of directors of the East India Company and the British public been widely appealed to by powerful pens. We may therefore cherish the hopes expressed by the editor of the *Bombay Oriental Spectator*.\*

"We trust that the time is now at hand when our rulers will cease to be the bankers and factors of the idols and their prototypes, the abortions of those who became 'vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened;' when they will no longer grace heathen and Mahometan revelries by attendance, and participation in their unholy rites and ceremonies, nor rend the heavens and provoke the thunders of Omni-

potence by firing salutes in their honour; when they will suffer no document dedicated to 'the lord of devils,\* or profaning the name of Jehovah,† to leave the public offices; when they will cease to appeal to the 'vanities of the heathen' for rain and fruitful seasons; when they will neither in respect 'make mention of the name of heathen gods, nor cause to swear by them,‡ nor regulate the affairs of their worship, nor settle the rank of their deluded votaries; and when they will no longer bewilder the minds of the 'twice-born' youth by the exploded and absurd science of the Vedas and Purānas, taught in Sanscrit colleges, and qualify them for dexterously poisoning the souls of the people throughout the length and breadth of the land, by compositions prepared under the auspices of the great destroyer. We hope, we say, that this, the most happy day which India has seen, and the prelude of one still more glorious, will speedily arrive; and we invoke the blessing of God on all, in India and Britain, who by remonstrance with man, and prayer to God, may seek to hasten it."

My personal knowledge of Hindustan and the Hindus, though too limited to authorise me to pronounce new opinions, is abundantly sufficient to satisfy me of the truth of portraits drawn by others. I read much on both sides, and constantly marked whatever tended to show up the native character, and the tendency of Brahminism, and at every step was more and more confirmed in the opinion of Lord Teinmouth, whose personal knowledge of India was so extensive, that "the Gentoos are as degenerate, crafty, superstitious, litigious, and wretched a people, as any in the known world, and especially the common run of Brahmins;" and of Claudius Buchanan, who pronounced the Hindus to be "destitute of honesty, truth, and justice;" and of Sir James Macintosh (quoting Sir William Jones's opinion as his own), who, among the evidences of their depravity, speaks of "the general prevalence of perjury, which is, perhaps, a more certain sign of the general dissolution of moral principle than other daring and ferocious crimes, and much more horrible to the imagination." Of the same mind with these distinguished men is Forbes, author of the "Oriental Memoirs," already several times quoted. He says, "I cannot praise a religion which encourages thousands, perhaps millions, of idle vagabonds, who practise no virtue; but under the mask of piety, with a sort of stoical apathy and pharisaical zeal, undergo needless austerities and penances near their celebrated temples, or pervade the provinces of Hindustan, singly, and in large bodies, to make depredation on the hard-earned property of the poor villagers, and violate the chastity of their wives and daughters, under a cloak of sanctity and religious perfection."

I will only add the very temperate remarks of the celebrated Wilkes.§ "The Hindu character, like all others, is of a mixed nature; but it is composed of strange and contradictory elements. The man who may be safely trusted for uniformly unfolding the whole truth to an European in whom he reposes confidence, may be expected to equivocate, and even to contradict, every word he has said, if called on to repeat it in the presence of a third person, whom he either fears or suspects; and in one of these descriptions he usually includes all strangers. The same individual, who, from pique, and often without any intelligible motive, will perjure himself without shame or compunction at a public trial, is faithful, kind, and respectable, in the intercourse of society."

Were all such testimony rejected as partial or vindictive, the fine rhapsodies on Hindu innocence and happiness would be exploded by the slightest inspection of their declared religion. The utter contrariety of the whole system to all mildness, purity, benevolence, and peace, may be seen on opening any of their sacred books.

\* Ganesha.

† Or Hu.

‡ Josh. xxiii. 7.

§ History of Mysore.

"The abode of the chandalas must be out of the town; they must not have the use of entire vessels; their sole wealth must be dogs and asses; their clothes must be mantles of the deceased; their dishes for food, broken pots; their ornaments, rusty iron; and continually must they roam from place to place. Let food be given to them in pottsherds, but not by the hands of the giver; and let them not walk by night in cities or towns."

In the code of Menu, it is declared, that if one of the Shoodra caste reads the Vedas, or listens to them, heated oil, wax, or tin, shall be poured into his ears, and the orifice stopped up. And if a Shoodra gets by heart any of the Vedas, though he may not have seen the book, he shall be put to death. The same code affirms, that the only things in which Shoodras, and other low castes, need be instructed, is the superiority of Brahmins, and that the great means of obtaining favour from the gods is giving them charity.

The following turgid and shocking account of the Brahmins is quoted from their own Ramayana:—

"Even he who cannot be slain by the ponderous arms of Indra, nor by those of Kali, nor by the terrible Chackra of Vishnu, shall be destroyed if a Brahmin curse him, as if he were consumed by fire." In other parts, brahminical potency (almost it may be said omnipotency) is strongly enforced.

"Let not a king, although in greatest distress for money, provoke Brahmins to anger, by taking their property; for, once enraged, they could immediately, by sacrifices and imprecations, destroy him, with his troops, elephants, horses, and cars."

"Who, without perishing, could provoke these holy men, by whose ancestors, under Brahma, the all-devouring fire was created; the sea, with waters not drinkable; and the moon with its wane and increase?" "What prince could gain wealth by oppressing those who, if angry, could frame other worlds, and legions of worlds—could give being to new gods and mortals? When a Brahmin springs to light, he is born above the world; the chief of all creatures; assigned to guard the treasury of duties, religions and civil."

"He who through ignorance of the law, sheds blood from the body of a Brahmin not engaged in battle, as many particles of dust as the blood shall roll up from the ground, so many years shall the shedder of that blood be mangled by other animals in his next birth; or so many thousand years shall the shedder of that blood be tormented in hell."

The accompanying picture of a Brahmin shows the marks of clay, &c., on his forehead and breast. In his hands he holds a native book.



All the writers I have been able to consult, and most of my friends in various parts of Hindustan, declare India to be in a state of progressive poverty and depression. The following observation of Hamilton embodies the general idea. After stating many facts, and adducing public records to prove his assertion, and remarking that the nature of the connection which binds the country to Britain will sufficiently account for this tendency to deterioration, without resorting to local mismanagement, he says—"All the offices of emolument, civil and military, and the highest lines of commerce, are in the hands of strangers, who, after a temporary residence, depart with the capital they have accumulated. Under native rulers, even the extortions of rapacity, and the drains of tribute, returned into circulation, and promoted in some form, territorial industry. Under its present constitution, the remit-

tance, or rather tribute to Britain, carries off every year a large share of the produce, for which nothing is returned.\*

It may be interesting to some, and seems necessary in order to give a general idea of British operations in India, to state the salaries of a few of the government officers. From these the general scale of salaries may be deduced.—The governor-general receives 250,000 rupees per annum; members of council (each) 100,000; judge of native supreme court 50,000; members of head board of revenue 50,000; secretaries to government of India (each) 50,000; salt agents from 50,000 to 56,000; commissioner of revenue 36,000; secretaries to government of Bengal (each) 36,000; judge of a zillah or city 30,000.

While such salaries are paid to the civil servants of the Company, they are by no means niggardly to their military officers; and when it is recollected that they maintain constantly a standing army of 200,000 men; that the military pensions are already enormous, that the recruiting and bringing to India of each British soldier costs the Company on an average 500 dollars; that all the clothing and equipments of the army, and most of the luxuries of the officers and gentry, are manufactured in England, and that every expense of the Company, to say nothing of profits, must be drawn from the natives, we can scarcely wonder that the country should be gradually sinking into desperate poverty. Tennent, author of "Thoughts on British Influence in India," estimates the annual savings of the Company's servants, sent home to England, at 10,000,000 of dollars.

From time immemorial, the land has constituted the chief source of revenue in India; and for plain and obvious reasons. The habits of the great body of the people are simple and uniform; their diet is spare, and confined generally to a few articles of the first necessity; their clothing is scanty and mean; their habitations poor and unfurnished; what we term luxuries are confined to the opulent few. In all this the keen eye of the financier sees nothing to touch, and he is compelled to have recourse to the expedient of taxing produce in the aggregate.

The government share of rice crops is, on an average, about fifty per cent. ! But the mode of collection causes the cultivator to pay about three-fourths of his crop. The public treasury is replenished by monopolies; duties on exports and imports, for the most part heavy; licences for the sale of arrack and toddy; stamps; fees on judicial proceedings; &c. The entire revenue of the Company is probably about a *hundred millions* of dollars.

But the taxes on India are nothing compared with the oppressions and miseries inflicted by her religion. No statistics can measure these—no eloquence describe them. They must be seen to be understood. In vain poets describe her citron breezes and palmy woods, her consecrated rivers, balsamic gums, fragrant spices, and trickling manna. One wide-spread shade rests on the scene. It is the kingdom of the god of this world—an empire where darkness reigns, and the shadow of death. At every glance, one is reminded of the prophet's forcible description of a people who have forsaken God—"They hunt every man his brother with a net; that they may do evil with both hands, earnestly; the prince asketh, and the judge asketh a reward; and the great man uttereth his mischievous desire; so they wrap it up. The best of them is as a brier; the most upright is sharper than a thorn hedge." (Micah vii. 3, 4.)

The following are the modern or living languages of Hindustan:—Hindustanee, Bengalese, Cashmerian, Dogura, Ooch, Sindy, Cutch, Gujerattian, Concan, Puna-jab, Bicanere, Marwar, Jeypore, Odeypore, Harowty, Malwa, Bruj, Bundelcund, Mahratta, Magadha, Koshala, Maithila, Nepaul, Orissa, Telooogo, Carnata, and Tamil. Except the Hindustanee, which is the universal language of intercourse, all these are local.

## CHAPTER III.

Voyage to Singapore. Coasters. Prices of Passage in India. Straits of Malacca. Harbour and Town of Singapore. Climate. Productions. Commerce. Islamism. Population. Moral Character of Population. Orang Louts. Chinese Wedding. Missionary Operations. Malacca. History of the Settlement. Extent. Population. Progress of Christianity. Anglo-Chinese College. Common Schools. Malay Peninsula. Origin of Malay Race. Divisions. Keda. Perack. Salengore. Johore. Rumbo. Pahang. Tringano. Calantan Patani. Lgore. Character of Malays. Slavery. Language.

MARCH 18, 1837.—Again at sea. The lapse of ten days since Mr Day's arrival enabled me to arrange with him various plans of action, and to feel, on leaving Madras, that my work there was done. I had already procured him a house and some furniture in the midst of Telooogo people, and near to the residence of George Vansomerin, Esq., than whom he could not have a warmer friend; so that he entered at once on house-keeping, and his knowledge of the language will enable him at once to commence some parts of his work. Few are the missions blessed with so devoted a missionary, and few are the missionaries blessed with so devoted a wife.

The "Thames," in which I this day embarked for Singapore, is one of the huge vessels lately belonging to the East India Company, and has now a cargo of 1700 tons. The ample decks, the cleanliness, the little motion given by the sea, the size of my cabin, the excellent table, and all other circumstances, form an agreeable contrast to the small coasters, in which all my voyages in these seas have, with one exception, been made. I feel truly thankful for this relief. Continued inconvenience, and exposure for so many months, and especially my inland journey to Trichinopoly, had seriously impaired the small stock of health with which I left home, and made me doubtful of living to return. The truly paternal hospitalities of Mr Vansomerin and family in Madras have set me up, and my present voyage is carrying on the improvement. As the rest of my tour will be performed in large vessels, I now set forward, not only with a fair prospect of finishing the work assigned me, but of regaining established health.

In taking my leave, as I hope, of "country vessels," as the coasters are called, I will just "show up" a fair average of their *comforts*, drawn from my experience in seven such voyages. By this plan, I shall not hurt the feelings of any of those captains whose eye may meet these pages, and at the same time avoid telling the same story "with variations" seven times over.

You find, on getting aboard, a cabin five or six feet square, and are fortunate if in it you can stand erect, and still more so if it have a port-hole, or any ventilation, except through the scuttle by which you enter. Here you eat with the captain, or perhaps off a stinking hen-coop on deck. There can be no awning on deck, because it would be in the way of the boom; so that you stay below, while the sun blazes on the plank over your head, and keeps the thermometer in the cabin about blood heat. Your mattress is laid on a locker at night, and rolled up in the day. Perhaps you may be able to swing it. The seams on deck, neglected and parched up during a six months' dry season, let the salt water on you in rapid drops when the decks are washed. If it be rainy season, your confinement below is scarcely less unpleasant. Trunks and small stores must occupy the margin of the cabin, or be stowed where you cannot come at them. If you attempt to write, three times a-day you must huddle together your papers, that the trunk or table may be spread for meals; or if you eat on deck, and so have uninterrupted use of the table, the heat and motion make study difficult. Your cooking is by no means scientific. The fowls, sometimes without the privilege of a coop, and lying on the deck tied by the legs, "get no better very fast." The smallness of the vessel makes her toss about most uncomfortably, when a larger vessel would be quite still; so that if you take any thing out of its place, it must be

\* Walter Hamilton's Gazetteer of India.

"choked" again with care, or it will "fetch way." As to walking the deck, there is hardly room to turn; and if there be, you must have either the sun or dew upon you. But your worse time is at night. Several must sleep in the tiny cabin; and the heavy damp air, coming down the gangway, gives you rheumatism, without producing ventilation. You perspire at every pore till nature is exhausted, and you sleep from very inanity.

There are other disagreeables, which, though worse, are happily not quite so common. Some of the captains have no means of ascertaining latitude, and still fewer their longitude. Sometimes there is no chart on board. The cables, anchors, and general inventory, are apt to be poor. Vessels in the habit of carrying rice, timber, stick-lac, &c., have always mice, cockroaches, centipedes, scorpions, and ants, in great abundance. In one of my voyages I killed nearly thirty scorpions in the cabin, and in another, eight or ten centipedes. Thrice, on taking out of my trunk a clean shirt, I found a centipede\* in its folds. Large winged cockroaches infest all Indian vessels: but in some they creep about in every direction, day and night. I had one full specimen of this. Such crowds lighted upon the dinner-table, that we could hardly tell meat from potatoes. To drive them away and eat at the same time was impossible, for they would keep off a dish no longer than it was agitated. The captain and I just dined patiently, each contenting himself with being able to keep them out of his own plate. At night they swarmed in thousands on the boards and on the bed, eating our fingers and toes to the quick. A hundred oranges, tied up in a bag, had not been on board thirty-six hours, before it was found that these cormorants had left nothing but the skin. It was a bag full of hollow globes! Uncomfortable and confined as were the voyages up and down rivers, in Burman canoes, they were every way more pleasant than these little voyages at sea.

These things ought not, perhaps, in strictness, to be called hardships, but they are inconveniences, which I found tended rapidly to make me old, and convince me that voyages of this sort cannot be a wise resort for invalid missionaries. I might indeed have gone more comfortably, had I chartered for myself some proper craft, or waited for larger vessels; but I could not think of so greatly increasing the expense, or prolonging my absence. Those who pass only between great seaports, may generally, with some delay, obtain good vessels, and the usual marine comforts.

The prices paid for passages in India are startling to an American, accustomed to cheap locomotion. In general, they are two or three times dearer in proportion to distance, than those of our splendid New York and Liverpool packet-ships. Freight is charged at rates equally exorbitant. Even at these prices, the accommodations between unfrequented ports are generally much worse than our little coasting packets.

The passage through the Strait of Malacca furnishes much to interest the lover of wild scenery. Lofty islands, covered with forests perpetually verdant, are continually in sight. Equatorial temperature spreads its delightful uniformity, and a smooth sea imparts feelings of safety. Heavy squalls, however, often occur from the west, which the people here call *Sumatras*. One is constantly reminded of being in the region of the Malays, by the recurrence of the name *Pulo*, which is their name for "island."

The whole strait has long been notorious for piracy, and shocking instances of it are even now often committed on small vessels. Malays are far from considering piracy dishonourable, and many of their princes openly engage in it. Their old romances and traditions constantly refer to such cruises, and invest them with all the glories of a crusade. According to their Mahometan notions, no doom is too bad for "infidel dogs," so

that Christians and pagans are robbed, murdered, or enslaved, without compunction. Whatever else of the Koran their sheiks may conceal, they take abundant pains to proclaim the decrees of merit for the foe of infidels.

Singapore, where we arrived April 19, 1837, lies in latitude  $1^{\circ} 17'$ , longitude  $103^{\circ} 51'$ . The harbour can scarcely be surpassed for extent, safety, and beauty. Lofty islands keep the water perpetually smooth, and seem to lock it in on every side. The town has not an imposing appearance from the anchorage, but the fine hill in the rear, covered with vigorous grass, is a charming object to one coming from other parts of India at the close of the warm season, and who has scarcely seen grass for six months.

Numerous vessels, of various uncouth shapes, lie at anchor, while more numerous boats ply in every direction over the still surface. The aspect along shore is busy, and the few European houses handsome and oriental. The settlement was made here at the suggestion of Sir Stamford Raffles, in 1819. The next year it was declared a free port, and in 1825 its sovereignty was confirmed to Britain by the Dutch government, which held claims upon it, and by the sultan of Johore, within whose territory it is embraced. The latter had a pension of about 24,000 Spanish dollars per annum settled upon him. Captain Alexander Hamilton says, that at his visit in 1703, the then sultan "made me a present of the island of Sincapure; but I told him it could be of no use to a private person." A miserable village of fishermen and pirates was at that time the only remains of what was, some centuries before, a flourishing Malay city, engrossing the commerce of these seas.

The lapse of more than a month, in daily expectation of a vessel for Siam, my next point of destination, gave me leisure to become acquainted with the place, and to learn from the best sources what is known of the tribes occupying the peninsula and adjacent archipelago.

Singapore is divided from the southern point of the Malay peninsula by a strait, in some places not over a quarter of a mile wide, but formerly the highway of ships passing to and from the China seas. The island is of unequal breadth, twenty-seven miles long, and containing about 275 square miles. A very considerable part has not yet been explored by the English, and is probably uninhabited. Some twenty or thirty other small islands adjacent belong to Singapore, but they are mostly uninhabited. The town is on the south side of the island, and the direct track of vessels to and from the China seas is within the roads of the harbour. It is surrounded by abrupt red sandstone hills, enclosing small, sterile, marshy valleys. The highest of these hills is computed to be 350 feet high. On some of them are gentlemen's residences, but the rest are rugged and dreary. The plain on the southern side is a low sandy marsh, presenting those successive ridges which indicate that the sea, at no very distant period, has dammed itself out. Though without rivers, the island is well watered, and has some boatable brooks and small nullas, extending a few miles into the interior. One of these, navigable for a mile or two by large boats, passes through the heart of the town, and greatly contributes to the convenience of commerce.

The town is more attractive than it seems to be from the harbour, and some parts are really beautiful; but Martin, in his "British Colonies," has drawn upon imagination in making his picture. Instead of the houses being "generally of stone," with "superb granite stairs," neither one nor the other can be found in the city! The best houses are of brick, and will not compare with many in Calcutta and Madras.

Lying almost under the equator, the variation of seasons is scarcely perceptible. The heat is the same night and day all the year round; seldom greater than eighty-nine degrees, or less than seventy-five. A fresh breeze is always felt, though there is no very regular monsoon. There is no rainy season, but a cloudy atmosphere prevails a good deal, and a fine shower falls

\* These are generally about two inches long, and the thickness of a pipe stem. The bite is never fatal, but more venomous than our spiders.

almost every day in the year. Such causes give an energy to both animal and vegetable life scarcely found in other latitudes. Plants of innumerable varieties crowd the forest, rendering human entrance impossible; and myriads of insects and reptiles people both land and water. Corals, madrepores, and mollusca, charm by their novelty, beauty, and simplicity, and excite admiration of him who causes the earth to teem with happy existence, and with evidences of infinite wisdom and goodness. One of these curious productions, a species of alcyonum, called "Neptune's cup," is said to be found nowhere else. It is a beautiful, tough, hard, sponge-like goblet, capable often of holding from one to two bushels.

A more delightful climate there is not probably on earth. Storms and hurricanes are rare, though showers occur almost daily.

The following table is constructed from precise meteorological observations for the year 1835:—

|                 | 6 A. M. | 3 P. M. | 8 P. M.             | Fall of Rain. |
|-----------------|---------|---------|---------------------|---------------|
| January - - 78  | 96      | 83      | 18 inches 8 tenths. |               |
| February - - 79 | 85      | 82      | 1 .. 5 ..           |               |
| March - - 78    | 84      | 80      | 10 .. 8 ..          |               |
| April - - 80    | 84      | 82      | 3 .. 2 ..           |               |
| May - - 80      | 84      | 82      | 5 .. 0 ..           |               |
| June - - 81     | 84      | 82      | 6 .. 5 ..           |               |
| July - - 80     | 87      | 82      | 4 .. 6 ..           |               |
| August - - 79   | 82      | 82      | 6 .. 9 ..           |               |
| September - 82  | 84      | 81      | 3 .. 6 ..           |               |
| October - - 80  | 83      | 82      | 10 .. 8 ..          |               |
| November - 79   | 82      | 80      | 7 .. 4 ..           |               |
| December - 77   | 80      | 79      | 20 .. 7 ..          |               |

The reader will do well to examine this table closely, and mark how little is the variation of temperature, either between day and night or the different months. I have omitted the maximum and minimum, and will only remark, the greatest cold known in the year is about seventy-three degrees, and the greatest heat eighty-eight! The total fall of rain in a year averages about 100 inches; which, though much greater than in most parts of the world, is but half that of Rangoon.

Every species of tropical production would probably thrive here, but the English have occupied it too short a time to make fruits abundant. For mangoes, durians, and all the finer fruits, they depend on Malacca. Experiments are now in progress for raising the sugarcane and nutmeg on an extensive scale; but the latter, at least, will require eight or ten years before the result is decided. I visited some of the nutmeg plantations. The tree is of moderate size, and the fruit very like the peach. Outside is pulp, a third of an inch thick, then the mace, spread over a thin round shell, and inside that shell the nutmeg. When ripe, the pulp opens.

Almost the only products for export are gambier, sago, and agar-agar. Gambier, or catechu (formerly called terra japonica, from its being supposed to be an earth, and coming from Japan), is produced by boiling the leaves of a species of *uncaria*, and inspissating the decoction. It is used for chewing, with betel-nut, over all the east; and exported largely to England for tanning leather. Sago is brought in a crude state, resembling sour arrow-root, from many islands, and is here refined and granulated for the foreign market. There are eight or ten sago refineries at Singapore, some of which I visited. The price of the prepared article here is generally about two cents a pound. Most of the powder, or crude sago, is brought from Borneo, and the islands round Sumatra. It is the pith of a species of palm-tree. A good tree is said to yield about 2000 pounds. Agar-agar (*fucus saccharinus*) is a seaweed abundant along the shores of the islands, chiefly exported in a dry state to China, where it is converted into a rich jelly for the table, and sizing for cotton goods and paper.

The commerce of Singapore consists in buying and selling the commodities of different parts of the world. The imports for consumption are very trifling, and, as has been stated, little is produced for exportation; but almost every article of Indian, Chinese, and European

industry, passes through the hands of the merchants. Native vessels, from every part of the archipelago, find here a market, and obtain their supplies. A large part of these are manned by Bugis, who are the maritime men of the islands. They come in prows carrying from ten to 100 tons, and carrying from twenty to sixty men. They begin to arrive in September, and to depart in December. The whole number in a year is about 200; having in them, men and women, at least 20,000 persons. The name *Bugis* properly belongs to one tribe, on the Island of Celebes, but is generally applied to the traders from every part of Celebes, from the coasts of Borneo, and from Booton, Bali, Lombok, and Sumbawe.

The commerce of the countries in and around the China Sea, would form an important and interesting theme for the political economist. From the elegant and civilised Chinese to the wildest tribes which roam the interior of the most unknown islands, all are animated and benefited by an honourable commerce, which existed for ages before the European found his way into these seas. The savage Batta collects camphor; the Daya and Harafoora gather diamonds and gold; the Sulu dives for pearl; the Malay explores his lonely shores for edible birds' nests, or gathers the nutmeg and the clove, or sweeps the shore for tripang and agar-agar; the Bugis acts both as merchant and mariner, bearing these gatherings from port to port; the Sumatran furnishes pepper for all the world; the more civilised Japanese smelts ores, and constructs articles of elegant utility; the still more refined Chinese gives impulse to the whole by his luxury and his capital; while the western world shares the precious commodities, and returns the thousand productions of more perfect sciences and arts. This vast, populous, and favoured portion of the earth, is that which the ancients, even so late as the time of Constantine, regarded as untenable by man; inhabited only by satyrs, centaurs, headless monsters, and human pigmies.\*

The extensive prevalence of Islamism among the islanders is another subject yet untouched by the historian, and well worthy of investigation. We are accustomed to ascribe the triumphs of the false prophet almost wholly to his arms. But here, the *sword* has not made way for his doctrine. At this very day, while Christianity waits to send forth her teachers, the Mussulman, without support and without delay, insinuates his faith, and idolators turn in tribes. While in Singapore, I saw not less than 200 of these islanders, then on their pilgrimage to Mecca.

The present population of Singapore amounts to 30,000, of which there are only 7229 females. Of Europeans there are 105 males and 36 females; Malays, 5122 males, 4510 females; Chinese, 12,370 males, 879 females; Klings, 2246 males, 102 females. The rest are Bugis, Balinese, Bengalese, Negroes, Javanese, Arabs, &c.; with a few Indo-Britons, Armenians, &c. I saw one or two of the Papua, or negro race of the Indian islands. They resemble the African negro in every particular, but are smaller. To account for the existence of two races so perfectly distinct as the black and brown population of these islands, has not been successfully attempted.

The growth of the place has not been equal to the expectations originally cherished by Sir Stamford Raffles, its founder. Within the first two years of its settlement by the English, no less than 2889 vessels entered and cleared from the port; of which 383 were owned and commanded by Europeans. Their united tonnage was 161,000 tons! During the same period, the value of merchandise, arrived and cleared in native craft, was about 5,000,000 of dollars, and in ships about 3,000,000 more, making about 8,000,000 as the capital turned. It has not grown for some years at a similar rate, if at all; and it is quite uncertain whether the place can become of much greater importance, till the

\* See Pliny and Strabo; Homer's Iliad, book iii.; and a learned note in Robertson's America, vol. i.



various tribes in these seas become more civilised and numerous, and consume foreign products more largely.

As in every other part of India, each class of community preserves the costume, manners, and religion of its ancestry. This has long ceased to look odd to me. It requires but a short residence in the country to get accustomed to every sort of fashion in dress and cast of countenance.

The striking disproportion of females, who are but about one-fourth of the population, is owing partly to the laws of China, which forbid the emigration of women, and partly to those circumstances which make the male sex preponderant in all new colonies, and purely commercial places.

In going through one part of the town, during business hours, one feels himself to be in a Chinese city. Almost every respectable native he sees is Chinese; almost every shop, warerom, and trade, is carried on by the Chinese; the hucksters, coolies, travelling cooks, and cries common in a great city, are Chinese. In fact, we may almost call Singapore itself a Chinese city; inasmuch as the bulk of the inhabitants are Chinese, and nearly all the wealth and influence, next to the British, is in their hands. A large part of the Klings and Bengalees are hostlers, servants, washermen, &c., to Europeans; and the Malays and Bugis occupy portions of the city by themselves.

As to the moral character of this mixed population, it is difficult to obtain accordant testimony. Some gentlemen in Singapore considered the morals of the people at large quite equal to those of similar sized towns in Europe. Others regarded them as far worse. Certainly opium-smoking, gambling, and uncleanness, are quite prevalent.

Among the population of Singapore is a very large number of those wretched Malays called Orang lout, or "men of the water;" and sometimes Orang salat, or "men of the straits." Without any home on shore, they are born and die on miserable boats, scarcely large enough for a man to lie down in at his ease. Roaming about for fish and coarse fruits, they pick up shells and coral for sale, and sometimes are sufficiently successful in fishing to barter with landmen for sago, clothes, or a little rice. They procure sago at about half a cent a pound, or less, so that the whole expense of a common family of Orang louts does not exceed two dollars a-month. The agricultural Malays of the straits are a grade higher in civilisation, but deeply degraded. They contrive to live by the soil, or by bringing in wood; but scarcely one acquires the least skill in any sort of trade. The average height of Malay men is five feet three and a half inches.

A Chinese population of so many thousands gave me many opportunities of observing the manners of this singular people. One of these was a wedding, to which I had the pleasure of being invited, through the kind offices of Mr Ballistier, our American consul, to whom I was much indebted in other respects. As I had no hope of such an opportunity in China, I gladly availed myself of this. The family of the bride being wealthy, the room containing the family altar was decorated both with costliness and taste. The "Jos" was delineated in a large picture surrounded by ornamental paper-hangings. Huge wax candles, delicate tapers, and suspended lamps, of elegantly painted glass, shed around their formal light, though it was broad day. On the altar, or table, before the idol, were trays of silver and rich porcelain, filled with offerings of sweetmeats and flowers, while burning sandal-wood and agilocha diffused a pleasing fragrance.

After the elders had performed their devotions, the bride came slowly in, supported by attendants, and went through tedious gestures and genuflections before the idol, without raising her eyes from the ground, or speaking. Her robe was both gorgeous and graceful, covering her in loose folds so completely, that neither her feet nor hands could be seen. Besides the numerous ornaments and jewels which bound up her profuse hair,

she wore several heavy necklaces of sparkling jewels, apparently artificial. When she had finished, an elder placed on her head a thick veil, and she returned to her apartment. We now waited for the bridegroom, who "tarried" a little, and the interval was enlivened by tea, sweetmeats, betel-nut, &c. Three bands of music, European, Malay, and Javanese, sent sounds of gladness through the halls and corridors; the friends passed about with smiles and greetings; the children, in their gay apparel, danced joyously; they knew not why;—all was natural and pleasing, except the slow and extravagant movements of a Javanese dancing-girl, who, in a corner of the porch, earned her pay, little regarded.

At length it was heralded, "the bridegroom cometh," and immediately many "went forth to meet him." He came with friends and a priest, preceded by another band of music. His devotions before the Jos were much sooner and more slightly done than those of the lady; and he sat down with the priest, and a friend or two, in front of the altar, where had been placed chairs, covered for the occasion with loose drapery of embroidered velvet. Refreshments were handed, till a movement from within announced the approach of the bride, and all eyes were turned to meet her. She advanced very slowly to the centre, veiled, as when she retired, and, after a few gestures by each towards the other, the happy pair sat down together, her face still invisible. Refreshments again entered, and each partook, but with evident agitation and constraint. Presently, she retired to her chamber, followed by the bridegroom, and most of the guests dispersed; but we were permitted, with some particular friends, to enter with them. It was doubtless a handsome room in Chinese estimation, but its decorations would scarcely please a Western eye. The bedstead resembled a latticed arbour; and from the roof within was suspended a beautiful lamp of chased silver, burning with a feeble light. Standing in the middle of the room, they renewed their bowing, and passing from side to side, with a gravity and tediousness almost ludicrous, till he finished the ceremony by approaching and lifting the veil from her head. We were told that till then he had never seen her! She blushed, and sat without raising her eyes; but, alas for the romance of the thing—she was ugly! A leisurely repast followed, shared by themselves alone, and probably forming the ratifying feature of the solemnity, as in Burma. Fifty dishes or more were before them, a few of which they tasted with silver forks; but of course the occasion was too ethereal to be substantiated by veritable eating and drinking. When they rose from the table, the bridegroom, aided by his servant, removed his outer robe, which had been worn as a dress of ceremony, and threw it on the bed, as if marking it for his own. Then, advancing respectfully to the bride, her attendant raised the folds of her dress, and he unclasped the cincture of the garment beneath. This act, so gentle, delicate, and significant, closed the ceremonial. He then returned to his own house till evening, and every guest retired—a capital system, allowing the bride some repose, after the trying and tiresome ceremonies she had performed. This was about four o'clock. In the evening a sumptuous entertainment was given to the friends of both parties, after which the bridegroom remained as a son at home.

More refined deportment cannot be, than was exhibited by all parties on this occasion. The guests were not all at one table, nor even in one room; but many tables were spread, each accommodating five or six persons, and all diverse in their viands. Servants were numerous, the silver and porcelain handsome, the deportment of the guests unexceptionable, and sobriety universal. Every thing testified the high claim of the Chinese to the character of a civilised people.

I readily accepted an invitation, a few evenings afterwards, to an entertainment at the same house. Order, delicacy, abundance, and elegance, reigned throughout. Of course many of the dishes were new to me, but there were many also in exact English style. Among the

novelties I tried sharks' fins, birds' nests, fish-maws, and Biche-de-mer. I think an unprejudiced taste would pronounce them good, but only that of a Chinese would consider them delicacies.

From the first settlement of Singapore by the British, operations for the moral and religious improvement of the natives have been carried on. Translations into Malay, and the printing and distribution of tracts and Scriptures, engrossed most of the time of early missionaries. In this department a good deal has been done; but, so far as can now be seen, with very little success. Great efforts have been made also in the way of schools; not only by the missionaries, but by the British residents, and the government. The latter has allowed, from the public treasury, 100 dollars per month. Several Chinese schools, and still more Malay ones, have been constantly maintained. The principal authorities have at times exerted their influence to induce the people to send their children, and even gone from house to house to procure scholars. A multitude of children have been in the schools, first and last; and some hundreds have received more or less instruction. But it has been found impossible to secure the attendance of scholars for more than a few months; and almost none have learned to read. What is more lamentable, no case of conversion has occurred among the pupils.

No place in the east offers greater facilities for tract-distribution, or a greater variety of nations and languages accessible; and perhaps at no point has this species of labour been carried to greater extent. Thousands and tens of thousands of tracts and portions of Scripture have been given away. Not only have the Malay inhabitants been fully supplied, but thousands of Bugis, Javanese, Sumatrans, Chinese, Mussulmans, Arabs, Kelings, Balinese, &c. So early as 1830, the Singapore Christian Union reported that "in Singapore and neighbourhood our friends have gone round, half a dozen times, passing from house to house, and scattering tracts abundantly." Ever since, it has been vigorously continued.

Not a single Malay in Singapore has made even a nominal profession of Christianity, nor are there any hopeful catechumens. For a long time past, no one competent in the language has resided here; so that the only missionary efforts are the distribution of tracts, and some unpromising schools. Indeed, this has been very much the case from the beginning, as previous missionaries were chiefly devoted to these labours and to authorship, and very little has been done in the way of direct preaching. The history of this mission, now twenty years old, is an item of consequence, in our reasoning upon the modes of missionary labour.

The Catholics have two churches here—a French and a Portuguese; with several priests. They not only take charge of those of their faith who reside here, but have brought over a number of Malays, Chinese, and others, and have full audiences on Sundays. Popish missionaries through India, so far as I could learn, are men of good morals. They live far more humbly than any other missionaries, and mix much with their people. Their stipend, in all cases which came to my knowledge, is 100 dollars per annum. Their converts are taught, from the first, to contribute to the support of religion, and their teachers, being unmarried, have few wants which these cannot supply.

The Singapore Institution, founded by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1823, has maintained a feeble existence, but is now likely to be put on a footing of vigour and expansiveness. A new building, large and commodious, has been prepared for it, to which it will soon be removed, after which its course of study will be more collegiate, and the number of its pupils increased.

Singapore has, from the first, been a station of the London Missionary Society. It became a station of the American Board of Commissioners in 1834, and is now occupied by Messrs Tracey, Dickinson, Hope, Travelli, and North, from that society—the three former giving themselves to Chinese, and the others to Malay. Mr

North is a practical printer, and has charge of a well-built and amply furnished printing-office. These missionaries have all been here so very short a time, that their chief occupation has been the acquisition of language. They have, however, a Malay and a Chinese school, and superintend the labours of a large number of Chinese printers, who have been constantly employed on the revised Chinese New Testament, and various tracts, by Mr Gutzlaff and others.

The Church Missionary Society have recently made this a station for the Chinese, and the American Baptist Board are about to do the same. The Rev. Mr Squier, from the former society, has been here a few months. While China remains inaccessible, missionaries for that country must prepare themselves in other places. Great commercial emporiums must be considered common ground to all persuasions of Christians, in their operations for the heathen; and in several instances, such as Calcutta, Bangkok, Smyrna, &c., the missionaries of various sects live together in harmony and good understanding. In such places property is safe, the press free, workmen plenty, and exchanges easy, while uncertainties and delays in procuring paper and transmitting books are avoided.

A little country brig, of thirty or forty tons, carried me to Malacca in four days, and back to Singapore in six, allowing me a stay of one week. The steam-boat demanded 100 dollars, while this vessel would take me for fifteen; and I could not forbear, by the choosing the latter both ways, to save 170 dollars. But sorrow to the man who goes often in country brigs! We were crowded with Chinamen and Klings; and though the accommodations did very well for their habits, they ill accorded with mine. Noise, stench, and heat, ruled by day, and confinement, dampness, and vermin, by night. My camp chair was the only seat; and as there was no table, I ate from a board on my knees. But eating was a brief business; for boiled rice, and dried fish-roses, all day and every day, furnished no temptation to gastronomic excess. There were indeed lots of stews for the Chinamen, to which I was quite welcome; but either their smell or their looks satisfied me to keep to the salt fish-roses, for in them there could be "no mistake."

Through the prompt and abundant hospitalities of the British resident and his lady, whose house, carriages, and attentions, were put at my fullest service, and the kind communicativeness of the missionaries, I was able, during the week, to see and hear all that concerned my official objects.

The city of Malacca, formerly embraced within the kingdom of Johore, was taken possession of by Portugal in 1511; but her authority was never well established in the interior, and the possession neither benefited her commerce nor enhanced her dignity. It was held by the Portuguese till 1641, when it was taken by the Dutch. It was, after two years, taken by the English, in 1660 reverted again to the Dutch, and finally passed over to the English in 1825, and so remains. Why this location of the settlement was chosen, it is difficult to imagine, unless because it was previously the chief town of the sovereignty of Johore. The harbour is very bad, being on the outside a mere roadstead, and all within so shallow, that ships cannot approach the town nearer than three or four miles. At low water the sands are bare, a mile from shore. The trifling river, on which the town stands, keeps open a narrow boatable channel to the town, when the tide is out. The location is eminently salubrious; but the commerce, which once made this place so conspicuous, has passed to Penang and Singapore. I found only a small cutter, like our own, lying at anchor, and was told there was seldom more at one time.

The view of the town from the water is picturesque and attractive. An old fort and church in ruins occupy the prominent elevation, while handsome houses, fronted by great trees, extend along the shore. The roads are finely Macadamised with a ferruginous clay, soft when first dug out, but very hard after exposure to the air.

The district of Malacca extends about forty miles along the coast, from Salengore to Moar, and inland to Rumbo, about thirty miles. The population within these limits amounts to 22,000, of which much the larger part reside in the town and suburbs. The Chinese form about one-fourth of the whole; the rest are Malays, Klings, Arabs, &c. About 500,000 pounds of tin, and the same quantity of pepper, are annually produced and exported; besides some gold, preserved fruits, and smaller articles. Rice is not raised in sufficient quantity for consumption.

The city continues, fallen as are its fortunes, to be head-quarters to the military force in the straits. The officers of six companies of native troops, and the usual civilians, make a pleasant circle of English society; which brings with it, as usual, all the artisans and shops necessary for a missionary's convenience. Living is remarkably cheap; and as to fruits, no place on earth, perhaps, transcends it in number or excellence. A gentleman, not long ago, disposed to see how many varieties were in season at once, ordered his Kansuma to procure all that might be in the bazaar; and the result was a dessert comprising *seventy-two* different fruits. Few places in India have such a variety of agreeable drives, and, perhaps, none a more salubrious and pleasant climate. It, however, is fast fading away. The stillness of death reigns through the streets; and even the laborious Chinese seem here to catch the general spirit of quiescence. If the military head-quarters should be removed to Singapore, as is not improbable, it will scarcely hold a place among English settlements.

The reproach which attaches to the European colonial system in India lies strongly on this city. For three centuries Christians have ruled here, yet we look in vain for evidences of an amelioration in the general condition of the people. Their troops have maintained rule, and their tax-gatherers have scraped revenues, but our holy faith is not yet established; nay, scarcely can even a nominal Christian be found among the Malay inhabitants.

The class called Portuguese\* amounts to 2000 souls, and are, for the most part, very ignorant and degraded. One-tenth of these are professed Protestants, probably the fruit of intermarriages with the Dutch in former times. The want of any minister to baptise, marry, visit, and instruct, this class of persons, and the ignorance and poverty of most of them, have caused a continual falling away, for a series of years, to the Romish church. They certainly deserve a larger share of attention than they seem to receive. A regular service is held for them on Sabbath afternoons, and schools are open for their children; but a pastor of their own caste, and daily ministerial services, are indispensably wanted.

The late Sir Stamford Raffles, who took the deepest interest in the welfare of these regions, at that time under his control, remarks—"In our present settlement of Malacca, the impossibility of procuring servants for wages, compels almost every person to have recourse to slaves, and a considerable proportion of these are pagans, being chiefly Battas from the centre of Sumatra, Balis from Bali, Dayaks from Borneo, besides natives of Timor, and the more easterly islands. Of all these that fall into the hands of the English, there is perhaps not a single one that becomes a Christian; but the whole of them become Moslems, and despise and hate their masters as infidels! Such is the woeful effect of our supineness and indifference, which, if they should extend to the east, would certainly not tend to the progress of general improvement among the Malays."

I was glad to spend as much of my time as possible with the Rev. Mr Dyer, lately removed here from

\* This cognomen is assumed by every man in India, black, brown, or red, native or mixed, who aims at superiority over the general mass, and can contrive to wear a hat and trousers. As to any descent from Portuguese parents, it is, in thousands of cases, utterly out of the question.

Penang. He is far advanced in the Chinese language, and preaches fluently, but has devoted most of his time, for some years, to the preparation of a font of Chinese metallic type. Wholly untaught, he has devised his own way, with great labour and patience, and has now, nearly completed, punches and matrices for a beautiful font, which is to embrace 3000 characters. Each punch costs about fifty cents. The size is three times larger than that of Marshman's Bible,\* and will be useful chiefly in the text of commentaries and sheet tracts.

The mission to Malacca was commenced in 1815 by Milne, who immediately established a Chinese school, took charge of the Reformed Dutch church, and commenced the "Chinese Magazine." Mr Milne brought with him from Canton a Chinese teacher and printers; and next year Leang Afa, the teacher, professed the Christian faith. He was then thirty-three years old, and has ever since maintained a holy and diligent career. I saw much of him at Singapore, and derived from him many valuable facts. In 1817, Messrs Medhurst and Slater arrived, and an English periodical, called the "Indo-Chinese Gleaner," was established. Mr Slater, after a year, went to devote himself to the Chinese in Batavia. In 1818, Messrs Ince and Milton came, and assumed so much care of the schools, as to leave Milne more at liberty to pursue the translation of certain parts of Scripture agreed on between him and Morrison. In 1818, Dr Morrison founded the "Anglo-Chinese College;" giving from his own purse about 6000 dollars, and obtaining large assistance from various quarters. In 1820, Messrs Fleming and Hutmman arrived, and, the year following, Mr Humphreys; and in the next year Collie was added, and Milne died. The subsequent history of the mission is known to the readers of missionary magazines.

During the above period, several other brethren settled in Malacca, to devote themselves to the Malays, by whom large schools were established. At the period of Messrs Tyerman and Bennett's visit in 1826, the Chinese schools contained 250 boys, and the college 20. No instance of the conversion of pupils had then occurred.

Malacca is chiefly conspicuous in the missionary world for its college. It has ample buildings and highly improved grounds, with about 10,000 dollars at interest. The location is within the city, on the margin of the sea, and was granted it by government. There have presided over it, in succession, Milne, Humphreys, Collie, Kidd, Tomlin, and Evans. The last arrived in 1833.

Like other "colleges" in the east, it is rather an elementary school. The pupils are taught from the alphabet upwards, and retire from a full course with a decent knowledge of English, and the common rudiments of science. About sixty or seventy thus educated have left the institution, who generally reside in the straits, employed as porters, runners, and under-clerks. I could not learn that any of them are more than nominal Christians. Until lately, the school has for some years been very small, but it is now increased to above seventy, of all ages, from six or seven years upwards. Mr Evans not only has large experience in teaching, but is a skilful financier; and the prospect of utility was never so great as at present. He has lately baptised several pupils, on their fully embracing the Christian system, some of whom he hopes are truly pious. The whole cost of an in-door student, including food, apparel, washing, &c., is four dollars per month.

The system of common schools has been largely pursued by the London Missionary Society for twenty years. By the kindness of Mr and Mrs G., I was able to visit most of them. They form a curious variety—Chinese, Malay, Tamul, Portuguese, and English; some for boys, and some for girls; and numbering in the whole not less than 800 pupils. The resident English

\* This Bible is partly printed with metallic type, invented by Lawson, of Serampore, about twenty years ago, and used from that time successfully.

have not only liberally contributed to the expense, and shared the labour of management, but have been unceasing in their pains to gather and encourage scholars. Little benefit has resulted in comparison to the means and the money employed. I regretted to see so much charity-money bestowed on *Portuguese* schools. The cause of benevolence is not concerned to perpetuate this language in the east; and the spoken language is so corrupt that the pure *Portuguese* learned at school is almost useless. It has not been possible to obtain in this language a proper supply even of school-books; much less will the pupils find valuable reading, even if they become able to understand it. Nearly 300 pupils, the descendants of Chinese fathers married to Malays, &c., study Chinese. No objection is made by these parents to the use of Christian school-books, nor to the pupils attending worship on the Sabbath, and other religious services.

A number of German brethren have recently settled at Malacca to labour for the Malays, some of which are supported by individuals in England and elsewhere. The school formed by Mr Tomlin (and still principally supported by him), for all sorts of boys to be taught in English, is still maintained, taught by one of these. Its plan is happy, and many have learned not only the English language, but the rudiments of geography, grammar, arithmetic, &c.

As to conversions to Christianity, Malacca has few instances—so few as to call for anxious inquiry. As to the natives, it remains a moral wilderness. The schools, so vigorously and so long maintained, have not been prolific of spiritual good. Thousands who have attended them are now heads of families, and ample time has elapsed to allow the efforts to show mature results; but no Malay Christian that I could learn, is to be found in the place! Even the Protestant, *Portuguese*, and Dutch inhabitants, have diminished in number.

The Malay race is classed by itself, in geographies, as the fifth great division of the human family; but with what propriety I do not see. They have certainly no peculiarity of form or feature to entitle them to this distinction, and history, so far from furnishing a claim, shows them to be a mixed race of comparatively recent origin.

The original country of the Malays is not known. The evidence is in favour of Sumatra. Both at Celebes and Sumatra there are prevalent traditions, which assign the period of their origin to the middle of the twelfth century. About that time, a celebrated chief of Celebes went on an exploring and trading voyage to the westward, from whence he had occasionally seen natives. In the course of the expedition he put into a river of Sumatra, where a large number of his followers absconded in a body, and passing into the interior, settled the region of Men-an-ká-bo. Obtaining wives from the adjacent tribes, and possessing more civilisation, they gradually formed a new race and rose to dominion. Most of them had been slaves obtained from the Moluccas, and employed as wood-cutters and drudges to the fleet. Hence they were called Malays, from *mala*, to bring, and *aya*, wood. Sir Stamford Raffles affirms, that to this day the people of Celebes look with great contempt on Malays, and are in the habit of repeating the origin of the name. A general similarity between the Malays and the inhabitants of the Moluccas has been often remarked; and, what is more remarkable, the Malay language is spoken more purely in the Moluccas than on the Malay peninsula.

If this origin of the Malays be true, it accounts for the similarity which has been remarked between them and several of the tribes of the archipelago, such as the Eidahans and Dayas of Borneo; the Sabanos of Magindano; the Tagats and Pampangoes of the Manillas; and the Biscayans of the Philippines.

On the arrival of the Arabs in Sumatra, the Moslem faith rapidly supplanted paganism, and this by proselytism, not by force. Whether their language had before

been reduced to writing, is not clear; but it now was written in the Arabic characters, which continue to be used. Since the introduction of European influence, the Roman alphabet is becoming prevalent, and the larger part of those who can read, do so in that character.

The new nation extended their conquests and colonies till all Sumatra yielded them feudal homage. In the thirteenth century they passed over to the peninsula, and took or built Malacca and Singapore. Gradually extending their dominions and colonies, the chief seat of their power was transferred to the new territory; and the chiefs of Sumatra began to throw off their yoke. Proceeding to acquire power and numbers, they at length not only regained Sumatra, but conquered the Sunda, Philippine, and Molucca islands, with many smaller groups, and are now found in all these regions, as well as Borneo, Luconia, and many other islands; but without any centre of unity or power, without literature, freedom, or civilisation. They have sunk to insignificance, and are apparently still sinking in national character.

To elucidate and establish the filiation of the Malays, and many of their neighbour tribes, a full comparison of the languages of Farther India is greatly wanted. Dr John published a work on this subject, but it is much too imperfect to be of any value. No one man can do more than contribute to the undertaking. The Rev. Mr Brown, missionary at Sudiya, in Assam, is making exertions to obtain comparative vocabularies of as many of the eastern languages as possible, and, we presume, will succeed in presenting a valuable contribution towards this desideratum.

At what period the people of Menangkabo embraced the doctrines of the prophet, does not appear. The conversion of Malacca and Acheen took place in the thirteenth century, but it is uncertain whether Menangkabo was converted previous to this date, although the religion is said to have been preached at Sumatra as early as the twelfth century. About A. D. 1160, a colony issued from the interior of Sumatra and established themselves at Singapore, where a line of Hindu princes continued to reign until 1276. Whatever may, in more remote times, have been the nature of the intercourse between foreign nations and Menangkabo itself, we know that Singapore, during the period noticed, was an extensively maritime and commercial state, and, at the time when the *Portuguese* settled at Malacca, embraced the largest portion of the commerce between the Bay of Bengal and the China Sea.

The Malay peninsula (called by the natives *Tanah Malayu*—"the land of the Malays") is the only great country wholly occupied by this race, and is now divided into the kingdoms of Keda, Perak, and Salengore in the west; Johore in the south; Pahang, Tringano, Calantan, Patini, and Ligore, in the east. There are states in the interior less known; namely, Rumbo, Johole, Jompole, Gominchi, Sungie-Ojong, Serimenanti, Nanning Ulu, Calang, Jellye, Jellaboo, Segament, Kemoung, &c. Some of these are divided into separate tribes; as, for instance, Jellaboo consists of the tribes of Bodoanda, Tannah-dottar, Muncal, and Battu-Balang. Serimenanti embraces twelve tribes, though the population does not exceed 10,000. Sungie-Ojong, Johole, Serimenanti, and Rumbo, are called "Menangkabo states." The entire population is very small, some of the states numbering not more than 2000 souls. The whole peninsula, except Rumbo and Johore, is claimed by Siam; but many of the tribes are independent, and of others the subjection is but nominal.

Scattered over the peninsula, without specific districts and locations, are several wild tribes, of whom almost nothing is known. East of Malacca are Udai, Sak-kye, and Rayet-Utan, and some negro tribes. These all go under the name of *Orang-Benua*, or country-people. These have each a language or dialect, but largely tingured with Malay. Farther north, on the mountains, are negro tribes, but evidently distinct from the Afri-

can race. Of these tribes we hope soon to know more. They seem to be a distinct variety of the human race, differing both from the African and the Papuan of New Guinea, and inferior to both. The average height of the men is about four feet eight inches. These Malay negroes are thinly spread over a considerable district, in and in the rear of Malacca, and thence northward to Mergui, amounting in the whole to but few thousands. There are at least five tribes of them—the Joo-oons, Sa-mangs, Oo-dees, Sak-ais, and Ry-ots. All of them are much below the Malays, and some scarcely above the apes, dwelling in trees and clefts of the mountain. A few have learned a little Malay, and occasionally venture among adjacent tribes to purchase tobacco and utensils; but of letters they know nothing, nor have any religious observances been discovered among them. Their only weapon is the sumpit, a small hollow cane, about eight feet long, through which they blow short arrows, often poisoned at the tip. One of these, together with the quiver full of poisoned arrows, was presented to me by the British resident at Malacca. The sumpit is somewhat ornamented, but as a warlike weapon is quite insignificant.

I cannot insert a tenth part of the memoranda, gained from travellers and merchants, respecting the different principalities of the Malay peninsula. A few geographical notes for the use of those who would closely survey the world as a missionary field, I feel bound to insert.

Of MALACCA I have already spoken.

KEDA, generally written Queda, is divided from Siam by the Langa river, in lat.  $6^{\circ} 50'$ ; and from Perak, on the south, by Kuraio river, in about lat.  $5^{\circ} 30'$ . It extends from the seaboard but nine or ten miles, but embraces several large islands. Many rivers enter the ocean along its coast, some four or five of which are large for a little way. The population does not exceed 200,000, embracing four classes—the Malays, Siamese, Samsans (or Mahometan aborigines), and Samangs.\* The latter resemble the Rayet-Utans, farther south, in the region of Rumbo; but their complexion is darker, and hair generally curled. From the earliest knowledge of Europeans, it has been tributary to Siam. But "it does not appear, either by writings or tradition, that Queda was ever governed by the Siamese laws or customs. There would then have been some remains, had there been any affinity between them. The people of Queda are Mahometans; their letters Arabic, and their language Jawee; their kings originally from Menangkabo, on Sumatra. But, as Queda was very near Ligore, a province of Siam, they sent, every third year, a gold and silver tree, as a token of homage to Ligore. This was done to preserve a good correspondence; for at this period the Siamese were very rich and numerous, but no warriors, and a considerable trade was carried on between Ligore and Queda. After the destruction of Siam, the king of Ava demanded the token of homage from Queda, and received the gold and silver tree: when Pia Tach drove away the Burmans, and built a new metropolis, the king of Queda sent the trees to Siam, and has kept peace with both; paying homage sometimes to one, sometimes to the other, and often to both."†

The British province of Penang was given by the rajn of Johore in 1785 to Captain T. Light, as a marriage portion with his daughter. Captain Light transferred it to the East India Company, which received also a section of territory on the mainland, now called Wellesley Province, and allowed the raja 10,000 dollars. The city of Keda stands at the mouth of an inconsiderable river, in lat.  $6^{\circ} 5'$ .

PERAK is bounded by Keda on the north, and by the brook Runkup, which divides it from Salengore, on the south, making about 100 miles of sea-coast. The nominal boundary to the west is Tringano; but the

central region is little known, and the frontier indistinct. The population, exclusive of tribes in this central region, is 35,000. But little of the land is cultivated, the inhabitants depending on the sale of tin, and on fishing, for the purchase of rice and other necessaries. Nearly all the people are slaves, and perhaps not one in 500 can read.

This country was, for 150 years, under the Dutch. No trace of them remains but some ruins of forts on one of the Dinding islands, and on the adjacent coast.

SALENGORE is divided from Perak by the brook above named, which enters the sea about lat.  $3^{\circ} 59'$ , a little to the north of a larger stream called the Bernam. It extends along the coast about 100 miles, but has a very trifling population. Some Bugis from Celebes have held the government for half a century past. The people are notorious for piracy, man-stealing, and ferocity. The town of Salengore has but about 400 inhabitants.

JOHORE embraces the whole point of the peninsula below lat.  $2^{\circ} 10'$ , and all the contiguous islands in the Straits of Malacca and China Sea as far as the Natunas. It formerly extended much farther north. Some of these islands are from five to ten miles in diameter; but most of them are small, and too sterile to be inhabited. The province seems to have gradually diminished, in consequence and populousness, since Europeans first knew it. Its numerous inlets and harbours afford shelter to swarms of pirates, the fear of which has destroyed the native trade which once enriched the province. Among western Malays, the term *Johore* is synonymous with pirate. The city of Johore, to which the raja resorted when driven by the Portuguese from Malacca, lies ten miles up a river of the same name, which opens at the eastward of Singapore island. It is no longer the residence of the raja, and is now a miserable fishing village, of about thirty houses. It is, however, the only place where, at present, a mission could be established. The surrounding country is champaign and fertile, but scarcely inhabited.

Singapore island was purchased from the sultan of Johore, at an enormous price; and a pension is still paid him of two or three thousand dollars a-month. He is, however, strongly suspected of being prominently concerned in the piracies of his subjects. Former sultans, coveting foreign commerce, had sought to have a colony of the English on Singapore island. Captain Alexander Hamilton declares that the whole island was offered to him as a free gift.

RUMBO is the only important inland state. It lies back of Malacca, about sixty miles from the coast, but the boundaries are not settled. The population does not exceed 10,000. The people are quiet industrious agriculturists, strikingly diverse from the daring inhabitants of the coast. Their dialect has the peculiarity, among other particulars, of substituting *o* for *a* in all terminations. Besides the Malays, who occupy the fertile portions of country and bear rule, several of the Orang-Benua, or country people, are scattered over the rugged sides of the mountains, preserving their clanships inviolate, and speaking each a several language. It is doubtful whether a foreigner could reside in Rumbo during the rains; but missionaries might be stationed at Malacca, and spend the dry season on the hills, as those of Tavoy do among the Karens.

PAHANG extends from Johore to Kamamang, in latitude  $4^{\circ} 15'$ , and is supposed to contain about 50,000 souls. It produces annually about 100,000 pounds of tin. The Chinese who procure it spend the entire proceeds in opium, of which they consume annually about twenty-five chests. The chief town lies on the Pahang river, and is a wretched place, of 8000 or 10,000 inhabitants, of which 200 are Chinese, mostly opium-smokers, and degraded. It has constant intercourse with Singapore, and would be a healthy position for a missionary. The interior is wholly unknown, and very thinly peopled.

TRINGANO extends from Kamamang to the river Basut, which divides it from Calantan; and extends

\* Descendants of the intermarriages of Malays and aborigines.  
† Grieg's Report to Sir S. Raffles.

from the China Sea on the east to Perak on the west. It is a champaign country, of low hills, producing a great variety of delicious fruits. The Siamese do not send governors or make laws, but are content with the annual present of a gold and silver tree, and the acknowledgment of vassalage. The population is about 40,000. The principal product is tin, of which they gather annually about 600,000 pounds. The men not only wear a krees, like other Malays, but often two, and sometimes a sword also; quarrelling much, and working little. Their women do most of the business, and Chinese work the mines.

The town of Tringano is at the mouth of the river of the same name, at the head of a shallow bay. Ships may approach within two miles. The river is not so wide as that of Pahang. The town is ill laid out, and dirty, but contains nearly half the population of the state. In the time of Captain Hamilton's visit (1720) it contained 1000 houses, about half of which were Chinese. About 3000 Chinese occupy a quarter to themselves. The only brick buildings are a mosque and a custom-house, neither of which are respectable. The country has long enjoyed foreign commerce, and the rulers are intelligent. The present sultan or raja is friendly to foreigners, and anxious to have them settle there. He would probably receive and protect missionaries, except they were Dutch.

CALANTAN extends from the Basut to the Barana river, being the next petty state north of Tringano. It is probably more populous than Pahang or Tringano, but has never been explored by foreigners. Siam has allowed them to retain their native princes, and make their own laws, and this right is now guaranteed by the treaty between Siam and England. More than 1,000,000 pounds of tin are annually exported, besides a considerable amount of gold, most of which is carried to Singapore in prows. The city is close to the sea, but several miles from the mouth of the river on which it stands. The position is salubrious at all seasons, and foreigners are safe under the present government. Intercourse with Singapore is not unfrequent.

PATANI extends from Calantan to about latitude 8° north, and is divided from Keda on the west by high mountains. It was once the most populous and well-cultivated part of the peninsula, yielding much tin, gold, grain, and salt. The English had a factory here so long ago as 1612, and James I. sent the queen a letter and presents. It was for 100 years the chief port in these seas for Surat shipping, and maintained a trade not only with Western India, England, and Portugal, but with Goa, Malabar, the Coromandel coast, Siam, Cambodia, and China. Their commerce attracted pirates from Borneo and Johore, and gradually failed. Few traces now remain of its ancient prosperity. A few years since, the district fell under the displeasure of Siam, and war ensued, which was terminated by the present Prah Klang, who, in 1824, laid waste the country, and brought away all the inhabitants he could find. These were distributed to the principal families in Bankok as slaves, and this fine region now lies almost depopulated and desert.

LIGORE.—This part of the peninsula is rather a section of Siam than a tributary. The governor is a Siamese, appointed by the king. His authority extends to the border of Penang, and since the devastation of Patani, that district is part of his territory.

The Siamese call this country *Lacon*. Its only seaport is the city of Ligore, which for a long time enjoyed a large foreign commerce. The Dutch had a good brick factory here, and resident agents, in all the early part of last century. The foreign trade is extinct, but the town is still flourishing, and keeps up trade with all the chief places in the Gulf of Siam.

The dialect resembles that of Keda, and seems to be corrupt Siamese, scarcely intelligible to the people of Bankok.

All these provinces are, we hope, soon to receive the gospel; but at present only Pahang and Tringano offer positions for new missions, and these by no means

promising. Whoever commences in these places should first learn Malay, and commence the mission unmarried.

The Malays are every where Mahometans. The period of their becoming so must be placed near the commencement of their existence as a nation on Sumatra, but is not known with exactness. Wherever they have spread, they exhibit a vigorous spirit of proselytism; and even where force has never been attempted, they have drawn many thousand pagans to the worship of the true God.

Commercial and piratical in their character and aims, they have seldom settled far from coasts and harbours, so that the language does not prevail among interior tribes, either on the peninsula or the islands of the Indian Archipelago. Over these tribes they claim some authority, and take precedence by superiority of civilisation, but their language, manners, and government, remain unchanged.

A general character can hardly be assigned to a people scattered over so many countries, and intermingled every where with indigenous tribes. They have generally been set down as distinguished for villainy and treachery. This opinion has doubtless been derived from mariners; for till recently few others knew much about them, and the piratical tribes alone have brought themselves into general notice. It cannot be denied, however, that European and American captains on the coast of Sumatra and elsewhere, have, by their frauds and oppressions, contributed not a little to drive these people to make reprisals.

Disregard of human life, revenge, idleness, and piracy, may perhaps be considered common to Malays. The universal practice of going armed, makes thoughts of murder familiar. The right of private revenge is universally admitted even by the chiefs, and the taking of life may be atoned for by a small sum of money. Treachery has been considered the leading trait of Malay character, but probably the idea is exaggerated. Their religion teaches them, like other Mussulmans, to use treachery and violence towards infidels. But there is full reason to believe, that in intercourse with each other, domestic and private virtues prevail to as great an extent as among other heathen. As to piracy, it is deemed not only a pure and chivalrous occupation, but religiously meritorious. It is carried on by prince, people, and priest, and is not less a matter of pride than of rapacity.

In the arts of peace they are greatly inferior to their neighbours of Java, Japan, Cochin-China, and Siam. They have even less mechanical ingenuity and skill than the Bugis. No portion of the Malays are much civilised, and some are truly savage. The feudal system prevails every where in all its integrity. The chiefs claim the time and services of the people at any time, and for any purpose, warlike or peaceful.

In no part of the east is slavery more common than among the Malays. Not only do princes sell their vassals, often without fault, parents their children, and debtors their creditors, but a *slave trade* is kept up with activity both by sea and land, and in various places. One of the chief resorts for this purpose, on the west coast of Sumatra, is Pulo Nias, the largest and most populous island of that region. The Acheens, and several other maritime tribes, both in Sumatra and elsewhere, have for many years been systematic and vigorous in this horrid business. Sir Stamford Raffles took measures to collect authentic and exact statements, on which the British government might act, but left the island before much was done, and the effort has not been renewed. A late writer in a Singapore newspaper says—"Board any of the numerous prows between Nias and Acheen, and you will not fail to find young men and women, either kidnapped or purchased from the petty rajas, who obtained them by similar means, or more frequently by the laws which give in pledge to creditors the bodies of debtors." Such slaves are often

seen exposed for sale in the villages of Sumatra. The permission of this traffic is a deep disgrace to the Dutch authorities on that island, who have power to prevent, or at least greatly to curtail it. It is generally asserted in the straits that Dutchmen themselves engage in this trade, and it is certain that they are often slave-holders.

The whole mass of the common people are virtually slaves, under the native governments. Every chief not only consumes the labour or the property of his people at pleasure, but sells the services or the persons of his vassals to whoever will purchase them.

Such as desire to read further in regard to the natives of the Malay peninsula, may consult Blancard, Commerce des Indes; Valentyn, Oud und Nieu Ostindien; Van Wurmb, Memoire de Batavia; Popham's Prince of Wales's Island; Asiatic Researches; Marsden's Sumatra; and Crawford's Indian Archipelago.

The Malays have long had missionaries, few of whom have done much in the way of preaching. Preparing and distributing the Scriptures and tracts, have engrossed most of them. No less than seven versions of the Malay Scriptures have been printed; and so early as 1820, Dr Milne stated that forty-two Christian books had been prepared. Many thousands of these have been distributed; but, so far as I can learn, with scarcely any perceptible benefit. I did not hear of a single Malay convert on the whole peninsula. In examining into the reasons for this failure, two considerations occur, which sufficiently account for the want of conversions, in the case of those who have been devoted to making and distributing books, rather than preaching the word. The books are not intelligible to the generality even of good readers; and the number of those who can read and understand a book on an unaccustomed subject (except those taught in missionary schools), is probably not much more than one in 500.

Schools, also, have from the beginning engaged, to a considerable extent, the attention of Malay missionaries; and the English residents at Penang, Malacca, and Singapore, have strenuously aided. But the jealousy of the Hadjees, which cannot be overcome, the difficulty of retaining pupils long enough to acquire any valuable knowledge, the habits learned by the children at home, and the cessation of all literary pursuits from the time of leaving school, have almost neutralised the benefits conferred. Very few of the pupils have so much as learned to read well in their own language, and still fewer received such an education as some of the Bengal schools confer.

The Malay language is allowed, by all who attempt it, to be an easy language to acquire. This is doubtless true, to a certain extent. It has no sounds difficult for Europeans to pronounce; its construction is exceedingly simple, and its words are few. There is no change made in words to express number, person, gender, mood, and time; and the same word is often used as a noun, adjective, verb, and adverb. Even the tenses to verbs are seldom varied. Hence, so much as is necessary for common purposes is soon learned. But whoever would speak on literary or religious subjects, finds great difficulties. The absence of grammatical inflections and particles creates great ambiguity, and makes the meaning so dependent on the juxtaposition of words, as to make great skill necessary to propriety in discoursing on any critical or novel subject. Besides this, the language is so poor in abstract terms as to make it impossible to avoid using a host of new words. These are adopted by one from the English, another from the Arabic, another from the Greek, and another from the Portuguese, according to the learning or fancy of his teacher.

In translating the Scriptures, it has been most common to adopt from the Arabic; and sometimes, I am told, this class of words amounts to *one fifth of the whole!* It may easily be conceived that, as these must be, in general, the very words which give meaning to the whole sentence, the mere Malay reader is utterly unable to

understand the book. It would be well if only one-fifth of the words were other than pure Malay; but Walter Hamilton, in his East India Gazetteer, states that, after repeated trials, one hundred words in a Malay book were found, on an average, to contain twenty-seven primitive Malayan, fifty Polynesian, sixteen Sanscrit, and seven Arabic; leaving thus only one quarter of the words proper Malayan!

The preparation of books ought certainly not to be made prominent, in a case like this, but rather the preaching of the gospel. The poverty of the language, and the necessity of using new terms, though embarrassing in oral communication, is much more so in writing. In speaking, explanations may be made; sentences may be uttered in half a dozen different ways, and truth effectually imparted. Thus, in time, the way will be prepared for books, which will be hastened by a proper attention to schools.

#### CHAPTER IV.

Take leave of British India. European Manners. Voyage to Bangkok. River Meinam. Paknam. Audience with the Governor. Situation of Bangkok. Floating Houses. General Appearance. Visit to the Pra Klang; Servile Forms of Politeness. Chow Pah; Singular Custom. Pra Nai Wai. Pra Amramole. Present of an Elephant; of a Cochinchinese Slave. Population of Bangkok. Police of the City. Climate. Wats. Houses. Streets. Bridges. Somona Codom. History of Siam. Extent of the Empire. Population. Personal Appearance of Siamese. Dress. Amusements. Military Force. Commerce. Prices of Provision. Fruits. Currency. Character. Degree of Civilization. Slavery. Language. Establishment of the Mission. Mission Premises. Worship. Converts. Bangkok a Station for the Chinese. Distribution of Scriptures. Need of more Labourers. Constitution of a Church. Harmony of Sects. Roman Catholics.

As I am now taking my leave of British Indian society, and have but slightly alluded to the mode of living, it is incumbent on me to say a few words on that point. The houses are large and airy, with whitewashed walls; the floors are matted; as little furniture as possible kept in any room; and punkas depend from every ceiling. Every bed has its mosquito curtain of gauze, which is tied up during the day, and let down about sunset, before the insects get abroad. A taper, in a tumbler of oil, burns all night in each room, by which, before day-dawn, you dress negligently for the morning drive. At dawn,\* a servant brings a cup of coffee, with a slice of dry toast, and announces that the horses are ready. An hour's ride brings you home again, and you shave, bathe, dress, and read, &c., till breakfast, which is at ten o'clock. Here the family meet, and enjoy social intercourse during a leisurely repast, when they separate again, the gentlemen to their place of business, and the ladies to their domestic employments. Calls of ceremony are made about noon; always, of course, in some close carriage, to avoid the sun. About one or two o'clock comes tiffin, or lunch, as we say, consisting of plantains and other fruits, with nice bread and butter and water, bottles of which have been cooled in tubs of moist saltpetre.

Merchants, and gentlemen whose business is at a distance from their dwelling, do not come home to this meal, but have it brought to them. As to dinner, there is a diversity, the plainer sort taking it at five o'clock, and then riding out; the more fashionable riding first, and dining about half-past seven or eight. But the sunset drive all regard as indispensable. Indeed, European life in India seems a constant struggle to keep off death. The standing and favourite dish, both at breakfast and dinner, is rice and curry; the former boiled plain and dry, the latter consisting of prawns, fish, or fowl, stewed with abundant gravy, seasoned almost to burning heat, with ground chillies, ginger, and onions. Instead of water, the curry is mixed with the expressed

\* It will be recollected, that between the tropics the sun always rises about six o'clock.

juice of rasped cocoa-nuts. The dinner is generally sumptuous, and the etiquette quite ceremonious, but far removed from stiffness and reserve. The waving punka overhead entirely prevents discomfort on account of the heat. So far as my experience goes, English society in India is far more intelligent and agreeable than among the same grade in England, perhaps because they are all travellers; and travelling not only instructs and polishes, but tends strongly to promote liberal and enlarged feelings. After dinner, music and rational conversation fill up the evening, and all retire in good season. A cup of tea is generally handed round in the course of the evening, but spirituous liquors are sinking into disuse.

Missionaries in Hindustan live in a similar manner, only as much more plainly as ministers in this country live more plain than their wealthy parishioners. The missionaries in Burmah have breakfast and dinner earlier, and omit tea. They do not keep horses, and take their morning and evening exercise on foot. They seldom get any other meat than fowl, or any other vegetables than rice, sweet potatoes, stewed cucumbers, and pumpkins. Plantains are often fried or roasted, and are very fine. At stations where there are English officers, there are always bakers and herdmen, who daily furnish excellent bread, and plenty of butter and milk.

Leaving Singapore on the 24th of May 1837, I arrived off the river of Siam, without accident, in eleven days. We came to anchor on the edge of the bar, amid numerous junks just leaving Siam, but could scarcely discern the low shore, distant fifteen or sixteen miles. The river, called by the natives *Meinam*, or "mother of waters," is difficult to find, as the coast is a dead level, scarcely above low-water mark. The bar is ten or twelve miles broad, with but one and a half fathom's water at low tide, and extending many miles east and west. Vessels, therefore, can pass and repass with only part of their load. Even thus lightened, they generally ground once or twice, but the bottom being soft mud, except at its outer edge, they sustain no injury. The south-west monsoon, concentrating here as in the end of a funnel, raises a heavy sea, and makes it a wild place for vessels to remain, as they must for several weeks. Formerly, ships trading to the Meinam river anchored in the fine harbour of Ko-ci-chang island, where wood and water are easily procured; but the great distance renders it inconvenient. A small fleet, however, in possession of that cluster of islands could effectually blockade Bangkok, and cut off all its commerce.

Taking a seat with the captain in the pinnace at dawn of day, on the 4th of June, we crossed the bar in about three hours, scarcely discerning the mouth of the river till we were in it. I looked in vain along the beach for the *nocto*,\* said to be taller than the ostrich. The mouth of the river is about a mile and a half wide, and presents nothing but gloomy mangroves, the deadly silence of which was only broken by the occasional screams of unseen birds. The region is precisely similar to the Sunderbunds of the Ganges.

We had scarcely ascended a mile, before there came on one of those violent squalls of wind and rain common here at this season. On every side had been seen boats; but now, in a minute or two, they were either upset, or, being near the shore, had run aground for safety. Being in the mid-channel for the benefit of the tide, we were near being overturned. As we dashed on before it, using every effort to reduce sail, and expecting at least to lose the mast, we passed some of the natives swimming with perfect coolness beside their boats, and preparing to right them. It was difficult to feel that we must not stay to aid them, but the offer would have been matter of ridicule.

Three miles above the mouth of the river, we reached the town of Paknam, where all foreigners are required to stop and report themselves. The first impressions of Siamese towns were by no means exhilarating. Led

through rain and mud, along narrow, filthy passages, called streets, and a stinking bazaar, we reached the mean and dirty house of the governor of the province. The hall of audience presented a burlesque on official pomp. It was a large room open in front, with part of the floor raised, as usual, a few feet, destitute of carpet or matting. From the lofty ceiling hung an odd diversity of small chandeliers, apparently never used, and against the very tops of the pillars stood Dutch and Chinese mirrors, leaning forward, in which one sees himself drawn out into more shapes than Proteus ever knew. Chinese paper-hangings and pictures, neither new nor nice, covered most of the rest of the roof and walls; the whole grim with dust and smoke. His lordship, perfectly naked, except the cloth round his loins, sat on a mat, leaning on a triangular pillow, covered with morocco. The attendants crouched as before the highest monarch, and we alone dared to assume any position by which the head should be more elevated than his. A multitude of questions were asked, respecting the ship's size, cargo, armament, crew, &c., and my name, office, countries I had seen, objects in coming to Siam, and intended length of stay; all which were carefully written down to be forwarded post haste to Bangkok.

Preferring exposure to the rain, in the open pinnace, to our catechetical tedium, we embarked as soon as released, and arrived at Bangkok (distant about twenty-five miles) a little after dark. At Paknam, and several places above, are forts on well-selected points, and somewhat in European construction. Most of the way, the shores are uninhabited, and appear to be in process of being redeemed from the sea, the high tide laying them under water. Almost the only growth, at first, is the attap, or dennee, called by Siamese chak (*Cocos-nypa*), and of which the best thatch is made; and the mangrove (*Rhizophora*), in several varieties. This latter plant grows over all the east, on the boundary between salt and fresh water, and sometimes in the salt water itself, and is a principal agent in extending the deltas of great rivers. It grows down to low-water mark, its thick strong roots resisting almost any wave. The fruit, club-shaped, and a foot long, bending down the branch to which it hangs, reaches the earth, vegetates, and forms an arch. These arches, roots, branches, and strong stems, obstructing all currents, the quiet water deposits its sediment, and earth gains on ocean.

The latter half of the way presents almost a continued succession of houses, embowered in a dense growth of various palms and other fruit-trees. Behind, as I afterwards found, are rich and extensive paddy-fields. The river at the mouth is, perhaps, two miles wide, but half way up lessens to one, and at Bangkok to less than half a mile.

Bangkok is about twenty-five miles from the sea; latitude  $13^{\circ} 58'$ , longitude  $100^{\circ} 34'$ . It covers a considerable island in the river, and extends along both shores for several miles above and below. Its aspect differs from that of any other city, and but for its novelty, would be rather repulsive. Little is seen on ascending the river but a row of floating houses on each side,



Floating House.

small and mean; most of them open in front, and containing a little shop. The goods are arranged on a

\* So called by the Siamese, from *noc*, great, and *to*, a bird.



succession of shelves, like stairs, to the height of about three feet, and the shopman sits alongside on the floor, as seen in the picture. The front of the centre part, or shop, opens with hinges at the top, and is propped up in the day-time with a bamboo, making a good awning. The sides and rear of the building are occupied by the family. The whole stands on a raft of large bamboos, which is renewed every two or three years. They are kept in place, not by anchors, but by large poles on each side, driven into the muddy bottom.

The Chinese junks, which make annual voyages to Bangkok, had not all gone when I arrived (early in June), and a large number lay moored in the mid-river; some of great size, probably 800 or 900 tons. A few handsome pagodas, and other sacred edifices, rise from what seems to be a forest, but is in reality a great city. Innumerable boats, of every size, move about the river. The larger ones are at once boat, dwelling-house, and shop. The smallest are scarcely so large as a coffin. Hucksters, and retailers of all sorts, ply about with their wares exhibited on the deck of their battery; one person paddling at each end, generally a woman. Cargo-boats, yawls, sampans, pleasure-boats, &c., make up a scene of extraordinary variety, animation, and novelty. Canals and ditches, navigable a part of every tide, are ramified in all directions, and reach almost every house. The river is the highway, the canal, the exchange, the market, and the pleasure-ground.

It was always interesting to see how a little good nature prevented all confusion and danger. No one resents occasional concussions. Smaller boats always give place to larger. The paddles, held perpendicularly, occupy much less space than oars, and all ply with consummate dexterity. If a man or woman be knocked into the water, there is a laugh on both sides, and no one is alarmed. If a skiff is upset, the boatmen soon hold it edgewise, and, with a sudden toss, throw it up into the air. It comes down quite dry, and they get in and proceed as if nothing had happened. Even children of five and six years push about, wholly alone, in boats not much larger than themselves, with the edge hardly two inches above the water. I sometimes saw these overset; but no one offered assistance, and the child showed no apprehension. On one occasion, as I was passing up the river, a little girl, of six or seven years, coming suddenly out of a little passage between two houses, struck her skiff so hard against my boat, that hers was upset, and she was thrown off several feet, while her little paddle flew in an opposite direction. She looked for a moment perfectly amazed, and then burst out into a fit of laughter! My boatmen never thought of stopping, and I soon perceived, on looking back, that she had recovered her paddle, and was swimming behind her boat, still upside down, pushing it towards the shore. A case of drowning is seldom heard of.

The memoranda sent up by the governor of Paknam to the Pra Klang, or minister of foreign affairs, produced me an early invitation, through one of his writers, to call and see him. As soon as the ship came up the river, and put me in possession of proper clothes and a present, Mr Jones and myself waited on him, at an hour agreed upon.

The great man, the apartment, and the ceremonies, differed little from the scene at Paknam, except in being more respectable. His lordship seemed about fifty years old, and possessed that important item of honourable distinction in the east—corpulence. His entire dress being only a cotton *pa-nome*, or wrapper round the loins, corpulence seemed any thing but attractive in this case. He held his present office during the embassies of Colonel Burney and Major Crawford from England, and of Mr Roberts from our country, and is certainly a clever and enlightened man.

We were not required to take off our shoes, or hold down our heads; but those in attendance, among whom were native princes and a Portuguese interpreter, crawled about on hands and knees, with demonstrations of the deepest homage.

My reception was kind, frank, and respectful. He put many questions respecting my age, clerical rank, objects in coming, what other countries I had ever seen, what I saw and heard among great men at Ava, the condition of Burmah, probable successor to the throne, &c. He had heard, but in a very vague manner, of the death of the Burman king, and was delighted to obtain information from one who had so lately visited Ava. The answers were all written down by a secretary, and read over to him to be sure of their exactness. They were probably to be communicated to the king. Fruits, sweetmeats, and cheroots, were frequently handed; and for drink, tea in little cups, and the juice of pine-apples in flowing bumpers. How dignified, rational, and virtuous, such beverages, compared to the spirituous potations demanded by the hospitalities of more civilised races! I found it difficult to introduce religious subjects, except to present him thanks, on behalf of our Board, for his kindness and protection to the missionaries, which, though scanty, has been valuable; and to descant a little on the nature of true religion, and the policy and justice of free toleration.

I discovered none of that dislike of Burmah, which Crawford mentions as so great that any allusion to that country was a breach of politeness. On the contrary, my having recently spent several months there, and seen "the great government men," led to numerous questions, not only now but at each succeeding audience.

At a subsequent visit, I saw my first Siamese acquaintance, the governor of Paknam, submitting to the same servilities. Before the king, this lordly Pra Klang, himself and the highest nobles, creep as abject as the poor slaves do here. With us an inferior stands; but in Burmah and Siam he seats himself if we stand, squats if we sit, and leans down on his elbows if we sit on the floor. To hold the head higher than a superior or equal is an affront. Hence, when the servants bring in refreshments, they are obliged to place the waiter on the floor, as soon as they reach the apartment where the master and guests are, and come in crawling on their elbows and bellies, shoving the refreshments before them. I always observed the attendants on the young nobles walk about on their knees, to avoid the elevation of their heads above that of the young master.

There was less of dignity and intelligence displayed by Siamese nobles than I met with in those of Burmah. The magnitude and value of the diamonds and rubies I had seen in Burmah, in what country I had seen the best, and the exact size and hue of the young white elephant I had seen at Madras, seemed topics of primary interest! The Pra Klang produced some of his gems, which were indeed of astonishing size and brilliancy. A full band of Siamese music played during the interview, at a little distance, in a manner far from disagreeable.

Subsequent visits introduced me to Chow Fah Noi, or his royal highness Prince Momfanoi, Pra Nai Wai, Pra Am-ra-mo-le, &c. The circumstances did not so differ from those to the Pra Klang, as to afford new views of national character, and I therefore offer no description. One of the present king's sons, and other "nobles," as they are called, visited the mission-house during my stay, but neither in dress, deportment, intellect, nor information, inspired the least respect. Mr Hunter, the only European merchant in Siam, offered to introduce me to the king, but for various reasons I thought it inexpedient.

Chow Fah Noi is the probable successor to the throne, and in fact is now entitled to it, rather than the present monarch, who is an illegitimate son. Should he assume the government, Siam must advance from her present lowliness and semi-civilisation. No man in the kingdom is so qualified to govern well. His naturally fine mind is enlarged and improved by intercourse with foreigners, by the perusal of English works, by studying Euclid and Newton, by freeing himself from a bigoted attachment to Buddhism, by candidly recognising our superiority, and a readiness to adopt our arts. He

understands the use of the sextant and chronometer, and was anxious for the latest nautical almanack, which I promised to send him. His little daughters, accustomed to the sight of foreigners, so far from showing any signs of fear, always came to sit upon my lap, though the yellow cosmetic on their limbs was sure to be transferred in part to my dress. One of them took pride in repeating to me a few words of English, and the other took care to display her power of projecting the elbow forward. This singular custom, as has been mentioned, prevails in Burmah, and is deemed very genteel.

Pra Nai Wai (or Koon Sit, as his late title was) is son of the Pra Klang, and resembles Chow Fah in many points both of character and attainments, but does not speak English so well. They are intimate friends, and will probably rise together. His influence must prove auspicious to the best interests of his country.

Pra Amramole is superior of a principal monastery, and finishes the list of Siamese who understand English. Gutzlaff speaks much of him, in his journal, as his *pupil*. He reads English, but does not speak it, and has, in addition to the extensive and costly library of his institution, many good English books, maps, &c. I greatly admired his pure and simple manners, and extraordinary good sense. His knowledge of the system of Christianity is not small. He has read our Scriptures, and heard much of them explained and enforced by Gutzlaff, Jones, and others, but, alas! he remains a heathen.

None of these distinguished personages manifested any other than the most friendly feelings. On making my farewell visit to the Pra Klang, I noticed some slaves pushing a young elephant through the gate into the yard in front of the audience-hall. He was just weaned, and came reluctantly but gently into the midst of the prostrate crowd, manifesting no dislike to the strange costume of Mr Jones and myself. When I had caressed him a moment, and admired his smooth glossy skin, I was told that he was a present for me! What could I do! The vessel had dropped down, and passed the bar, and it was too late now to get water or provisions for such a passenger. Fearful of giving offence by refusing so great an honour (for only nobles are allowed to own and use elephants), I showed why it was not now convenient to take him, and begged that they would give me, instead, an *ankus*, or elephant-hook, such as is used in Siam. The poor little elephant was accordingly withdrawn, and the hook sent to my boat. I brought it home as a keepsake and curiosity. But it is a formidable instrument. The iron head or hook weighs four and a quarter pounds, fastened to a handle of very heavy wood, about four feet long. A blow might be struck with such an instrument which would break any elephant's skull.

The most interesting gift was a slave-boy, about fifteen years of age, brought from Cochin-China, a prisoner of war. The king had given him, with others, to Prai Nai Wai, who, finding him to be a boy of uncommon cleverness, had lent him to the Rev. Mr Jones, that he might learn English. Having noticed him in that family, and hoping that he might, at some future day, carry the gospel to Cochin-China, or at least prove a blessing to Siam, I asked the prince, his master, to set him free, that he might return with me to America, and receive a trade and education. He chose not to set him free, lest it might offend the king, but gave him to me before witnesses. After accompanying me to Singapore, Malacca, and China, he came home with me to the United States, and is now engaged in acquiring the trade of a carpenter. If it should hereafter seem proper, he will be sent to an academy a few years, before he returns to Bangkok.

Few places have their population so variously estimated as Bangkok. Gutzlaff makes it 410,000; a writer in the Singapore Chronicle 150,000; Crawford, very trustworthy in his statistics, 50,000; Hamilton, from 30,000 to 40,000. Mr Tomlin makes the whole Siamese

population 8000; but Mr Abel computes the priests alone at 10,000. I took some pains on the subject, inquiring of the chief men, counting the houses in some sections, ascertaining the real number of priests, &c., and am of opinion that the city and immediate suburbs contain at the most about 100,000 souls. Within the walls there cannot be more than 3000 or 4000 people. The 350,000 Chinese, who have, by Gutzlaff and others, been set down to Bangkok, I was assured by several of the princes, is the sum of all such residents in the kingdom. In the city and vicinity are probably,

|                                                            |         |         |
|------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|
| Chinese and descendants                                    | - - - - | 60,000  |
| Siamese                                                    | - - - - | 30,000  |
| Cochin-Chinese, Peguans, Tavoyers, Malays, Portuguese, &c. | - - - - | 10,000  |
|                                                            |         | 100,000 |

There is, however, no mode of ascertaining the true census, and every traveller will make his own guess.

The number of Chinamen increases, though a large part of them go back to their country after a few years. Loubiere, who visited Siam in 1677, estimated all the Chinese then in the country at 8000 or 4000. The price of their passage is but six or eight dollars, and it is thought that 1000 emigrants arrive annually. The variety of their dialects drives them to clan-like associations, which not only keep them reserved and cold towards each other, but often engage them in injurious animosities. The three principal classes speak respectively the Mandarean, Canton, and Tay-chew dialects; the latter being much the most numerous.

The city has no mayor, and little police of any kind. Each great man exercises supreme power over his slaves, which often amount to several thousand. Each class of foreigners have their head man, before whom causes are heard. There is little litigation among the Siamese. No one dare carry a complaint to a ruler without a bribe; and most persons choose rather to suffer indignities and injuries than complain. Gambling prevails to a frightful extent, especially among the Chinese. The licensing and management of the "hells" is farmed out by government to an individual, who is said to pay about 33,000 dollars per annum for the privilege. He generally grows rich on his bargain, though his income is only an eighth of all sums won. Opium-smoking is very common, and the practice increasing.

The climate of Bangkok may be called hot, but as pleasant and salubrious, probably, as almost any city in the east. The suite of Mr Crawford, when here as English ambassador, amounted to 180 persons. They were very inconveniently lodged, and their stay was during the four worst months of the year; yet no death, or even indisposition occurred, except a casualty.

November, December, January, and February, are the winter months. March, April, and May, are hot. The rains begin the last of May, and continue through September, and occasionally till the beginning of November. Even in the height of the wet season, it seldom rains so much and so long as to be tedious. In the beginning and close of the season, most of every day is fine, and often several days successively. It is, on the whole, a very pleasant part of the year. The following is an abstract from a register kept for one year by Dr Bradley:—

*Cool season*.—Mean temperature of November, 79.51; do. of December, 77.83; do. of January, 79.86; do. of February, 80.77. Mean temperature of cool season, 78.99.

*Hot season*.—Mean temperature of March, 84.38; do. of April, 86.33; do. of May, 84.58. Mean temperature of hot season, 85.09.

*Wet season*.—Mean temperature of June, 84.78; do. of July, 83.76; do. of August, 84.02; do. of September, 83.62; do. of October, 83.29. Mean temperature of wet season, 83.95.

Mean temperature of the year, 82.57. Mean range of thermometer, about 13 degrees.

The sacred places in Bangkok are called *Wats*. They

consist of a spacious grove, containing pagodas, temples, image-houses, dwellings for the priests, and various minor structures used in particular observances. The pagodas do not differ greatly from those of Burmah, but are smaller and less numerous. The priests' residences are generally less sumptuous than those of Ava, but are oftener built of brick, and have tiled roofs. I saw some not only well furnished, but elegant, and as imposing as carving and gilding, in bad taste, can make them.

In and around Bankok are more than 100 Wats, occupying all the best locations. As some of them embrace several acres, they cover no small part of the site of the city, and are the only pleasant parts of it. Paved and shady walks, clean courts, and fragrant shrubberies, form a strong contrast to the vile odours, rude paths, and spreading mud, encountered every where else. The style of building and decoration is in all more or less Chinese, but generally with incongruous additions of Portuguese, Siamese, or Peguan artists. Griffins, balustrades, granite flagging, &c., imported from China, are found in the best Wats. Most of the buildings are of brick, plastered on the outside, and wrought into an absurd mosaic, with Chinese and Liver-pool cups, plates and dishes of all sizes, broken and whole, so set in as to form flowers and figures! A more grotesque mosaic there could not be.

One trace of Egyptian architecture is universally found, both in sacred and private structures; namely, in the tapering shape of doors and windows. Pagodas here, as elsewhere, are plainly of the family of the pyramids. The Burmans make stupendous pagodas and monasteries, while the image-houses and zayats are comparatively small, and often trifling. On the contrary, the Siamese construct trifling pagodas, and small and detached priests' houses, and bestow their wealth and labour in erecting vast image-houses or temples. These are made beautiful to Siamese taste, by pillars, gilding, historical paintings, and Chinese tinsel. If ever Christianity become prevalent in this country, it will find in these structures an ample supply of churches.

One cannot avoid contrasting the size and costliness of the sacred edifices with the meanness of the city in other respects. The houses are small and rude, and the streets in general nothing more than foot-paths, overgrown with bushes, bamboos, and palms. Every species of filth and offal is thrown among these bushes; and the state of the air may be supposed. Every few rods, a canal or ditch is to be crossed; and a log, or plank or two, without a handrail, is generally the only bridge; those of the principal thoroughfares are better, but none are good or neat. Of the numerous canals, not one is walled up or planked, except sometimes to secure a Wat. Most of them are left bare at half-tide, presenting a loathsome slime, and filling the air with stench, besides being useless half the time. Not an effort seems to be made by the authorities to improve the city. Hindus make tanks, wells, bridges, and choultries, for the public good; but no such efforts are known in Siam. Such works are so much less meritorious, according to Buddhism, than the erection of sacred edifices and supporting priests, that private munificence is led by superstition thus to expend itself; and the rulers are too selfish to supply the deficiency.

Several writers speak of the Siamese worshipping a god called Somona Kodom. Among others is Finlayson, who attempts to translate the name, and says, "The founder of the Siamese religion has various names, one of which is *Somona Codom*, that is, 'He who steals cattle!'" How he got this interpretation he does not say. The American ambassador, Roberts, adopts the same mistake. He says, "Somona Kodom, the cattle-stealer, a Singalese, was the missionary who first propagated this religion in these parts!" Somona Codom is but another name for Gaudama, and the Siamese have no other deity. Their language having no letter *g*, *c* is substituted; and as final vowels are generally omitted, Gaudama becomes Caudam, or Codom. Somona is merely a title, and means "priest"—the priest Codom.

In the word *Boodha*, they change *b* into *p* and *d* into *t*, making it *Pootah*, or *Pshūta*. They generally write it *Pra Pootah Chow*, or the "Lord God Boodh."

The Siamese call themselves *Tai* (pronounced *tie*); the Shyans they call *Tai-Yai*, or "the Great Tai." By the Burmans, Siam is called *Yudia*, from the name of the former metropolis, and the people they call *Yudia Shyan*, or *Yudias*. The Assamese, the Shyans, and the Siamese, evidently spring from a common stock; the Shyans probably being the parent. Their existence, as an independent people, is probably of no very ancient date. They have history carrying back its dates to the time of Somona Codom, B. C. 544; but their credible records reach only to about 1350, at which time Ayuthia, the old capital, seems to have been founded. Before this, their capital was Lakontai, in the Laos country. They seem to have been at one time subject to Camboja, as is declared in the records of that country. The fact that the Cambojan language was once that of the court, and remains so to a considerable extent, tends to confirm this position.

The region of Siam seems to have been known to the early Romans. There are good reasons for supposing it to be the country called *Sina*, by Ptolemy and Cosmas, though that term may include also Camboja and China.

The first notice of Siam, by European writers, is an account of an overland expedition against Malacca in 1502. Crawford states that, from 1567 to 1596, Siam was subject to Burmah. In 1612, an English ship ascended the river to A-yūt-hia, then the metropolis. Nine years afterwards, the Franciscans and Dominicans introduced Popery. In 1683, Phaulcon, an enterprising Greek, became prime minister, and introduced a respect for European customs and nations, but was cut off before he had accomplished any great improvements in society. In 1687, the misconduct of some English merchants at Mergui, ended in their being massacred; and in the following year, some who had settled at Ayuthia were expelled the kingdom. Contests for the throne distracted the country from 1690 till 1759; and during this interval, namely, about 1750, Alompra, the victorious founder of the present Burman dynasty, seized Mergui, Tavoy, and Martaban, and overran the whole valley of the Meinam. During the war, some of the principal citizens moved to Chantabon, a province on the east side of the Gulf of Siam, and thus escaped the presence and exactions of the Burman armies. Among these was Pye-ya-tak, son of a wealthy Chinaman by a native woman, who gradually gathered followers, and made successful resistance to the new dynasty, till at length he drove the Burmans from the country, and assumed the throne. With a view to commerce, he made Bankok the metropolis, instead of Ayuthia, and, after a successful reign, died in 1782.

The kingdom is now larger and in a better state than ever before. The Tenasserim provinces are indeed lost; but it has acquired Keda, Patani, Ligore, and most of the Malay peninsula. It has recently acquired one of the most valuable and fertile sections of Camboja; embracing the rich province of Bata-bang. The present boundary in that direction is on the Camboja river, extending from about lat. 12° to 14° north. Including the districts just named, Siam extends from 7° to 19° of north latitude, bounded by the Tenasserim provinces on the west, Burman Lao and China on the north, Cochin-China on the east, and the Gulf of Siam on the south. The extreme length is about 800 miles, and the average breadth about 100.

The population of Siam is probably about 3,000,000. Of these about 800,000 are Shyans, 195,000 Malays, and 450,000 Chinese, leaving the number of proper Siamese, 1,500,000.

In 1750, the whole population was computed by the French missionaries at 1,900,000. Our late ambassador to Siam, Mr Roberts, estimates the proper Siamese at 1,600,000; Siamese Laos, 1,200,000; Chinese, 500,000, Malays, 320,000.

The country is described by Mr Gutzlaff as one of

the most fertile in Asia, and by the *Encyclopædia Americana* as very mountainous. Both statements are true in part. The Meinam valley, nowhere over fifty miles wide, the district of Chantabon, recently taken from Cambodia, and some other level spots, are exceedingly productive. But most of the empire is mountainous, poor, and scarcely inhabited.

In personal appearance they come behind any nation I have yet seen, especially the women. Among the thousands of those that came under my notice, I never saw one who was comely. The men are often good-looking. The national characteristics seem to be a broad and flat face, long and square lower jaw, large mouth, thick lips, small nose, forehead very broad and low, cheek bones prominent. A striking peculiarity is the size of the back part of the jaw, the bone and flesh projecting laterally, as if the parotid glands were swollen. The average height of the men is five feet two inches. Both sexes wear the hair close, except on the top of the head, from the forehead to the crown, where it is about two inches long, and, being kept stroked back, stands erect. The rest is kept shaved by men, and cut pretty close by women. As the shaving is not often done, it is generally difficult to tell a man from a woman. The principal mark is, that a woman has a line round the edge of the top-knot, made by plucking out a breadth of two or three hairs, so as to show the white skin. Only those who are nice about their persons, however, take this trouble. Roberts declares, in his Embassy to the East, that he never could tell a man from a woman when numbers were seated together.

The raiment of both sexes is alike; consisting of a cloth wrapped round the loins, with the end passed between the thighs, and tucked in at the small of the back. It descends below the knees, and is generally of printed cotton. At a distance it resembles trousers. Young women, and those of the richer sort, wear also a narrow kerchief, or scarf, crossed on the breast, and passing under the arms.

Unlike most Asiatics, the Siamese reject ornaments in the nose or ears, but are fond of bangles, bracelets, necklaces, and finger-rings. Turbans are not used; but in the sun a light hat made of palm-leaves, precisely in the shape of a large inverted milk-pan, is set upon the head by an elastic bamboo frame, which holds it up several inches, and permits the air to pass between. Neither sex tattoo any part of their bodies, deeming it a mark of barbarism. The universal mode of carrying small children, as in every other part of the east visited by me, is astride on the loins. It certainly is more easy thus to carry a heavy child than in the arms, at least when the infant is divested of all raiment.

Play-acting, cock-fighting, and flying kites, are prominent amusements. In the two latter, princes and priests, both old and young, engage with delight. They have also a small pugnacious species of fish, the fighting of which is a very admired pastime.

In regard to buildings, food, agriculture, education, literature, medical practice, priesthood, religion, crimes, punishments, government, laws, marriage, divorce, burial, and many other topics, the statements made respecting Burmah apply so nearly as to make further remarks in this place unnecessary.

They have no standing army, but every able-bodied male is liable at any time to be called into the field by the mere will of his chief. The king has, for a good many years, made large annual purchases of muskets, which must amount now to more than 80,000 stand. Of cannon they have plenty. They make good brass cannon, some of them very large, but seldom have proper carriages. At Bangkok there is the semblance of a respectable navy, consisting of scores of war junks, galleys, and other vessels of various sizes, built on the Cochinese model, and mounting heavy guns. But the Siamese are no sailors; and when brought into service, these vessels are manned by the promiscuous populace, and officered by Chinese or other foreigners. No crews are now attached to their vessels, and they

stand in rude wet-docks, covered by regular ship-houses, as in our navy-yards.

The commerce of Siam has narrowly escaped the fate of that of Tringano, Batani, &c. Hamilton states that he visited Siam in 1719, "on the foundation of a treaty of commerce, made in 1684, between King Charles and the King of Siam's ambassadors in London." His ship went up to Ayuthia, leaving the guns "at Bankok, a castle about half way up the river." The Dutch trade must even then have been considerable, as they had a factory about a mile below Ayuthia, and a resident company of merchants. It appears that, long previous to the said treaty with England, some British merchants had a factory near Ayuthia; but a quarrel with the governor who commanded in 1684, resulted in their expulsion, and only within about twenty years has that trade regularly recommenced. American, Dutch, and Bombay vessels, now resort to Bankok; and though the trade is not likely soon to be large or important, it will probably be steady. A new treaty of commerce was made with England in 1826, and another with the United States in 1833.

The number of Chinese junks regularly trading to this city, cannot be less than 200 annually. Many of them are of 500 or 600 tons, and some are not less than 1000. Thirty or more trade to Canton and vicinity; nearly as many are from Hainan; and the rest from other places. 70 or 80 sometimes lie in the river at a time. Some of these vessels are owned by Siamese, and still more by Chinamen, residing in Bankok; but the crews are never Siamese. None of the larger ones make more than one voyage a-year, going in one monsoon, and returning in the other. Most of them arrive in December and January, and depart in May and June. Numerous prows and small junks keep up a constant intercourse with the coasts of the Gulf of Siam, and principal neighbouring islands.\* Two or three Siamese ships, built on the European model, trade to Singapore. Cochinese vessels were formerly numerous; but the late war has suppressed that trade, for a time at least. An artificial canal, kept in good order, connected with the Cambaja river, brings some trade from that direction. Bankok has certainly the largest commerce, next to Canton, of any place in the world, not inhabited by white men.

During the presence of the junks in the river, the city exhibits a very active scene of buying and selling, many of them retailing their cargo from the vessel. The shops furnish, at all times, almost every article demanded by European or Indian customs.

The total value of exports per annum from Bankok, is not less than 5,000,000 of dollars. The chief articles are sugar, sapan wood, tin, timber, rice, stiek-lac, gamboge, benzoin,† ivory, pepper, and cotton; and small quantities of betel-nut, dried fish, lead, gold, silver, gems, tonbac,‡ shagreen skins, and buffalo horns. The export price of sugar is about four cents a pound.

The imports are arms, ammunition, anchors, piece goods, cutlery, crockery, mirrors, and many other productions, for European, Chinese, and other foreign consumption.

Sugar, the principal export, is wholly made by Chinamen, and most of the other staples are the fruits of their industry. Indeed, to these emigrants Siam owes much of what elevates her from among barbarians; not only in commerce, manufactures, and improved husbandry, but in domestic habits.

The Siamese have coined money, but use cowries for very small change. The coins are merely a small bar of silver, turned in at the ends so as to resemble a bullet, and stamped with a small die on one side. 400

\* The chief of these are, on the eastern shore, Banplasoi, Banpakung, Banpra, Banponung, Rayong-Pateth, Chantabon, and Kokung; and on the western side, Ligore, Sangora, Champon, Kalantan, Tringano, Talung, Patani, and Pahang.

† Crude frankincense, sometimes called *Benjamin*.

‡ Native copper with a small mixture of gold.

cōwries make 1 p'hai; 2 p'hai 1 songp'hai; 2 songp'hai 1 fuang; 2 fuangs 1 saloong; 4 saloongs 1 bātor tical; 4 ticals 1 tamloong; 20 tamloongs, 1 chang.

The two last are nominal. They sometimes have a gold fuang, equal to eight ticals. The tical, assayed at the mint of Calcutta, yielded about one rupee three and a half annas, equal to 2s. 6d. sterling, or about sixty cents of American money.

For weights they use the catty and picul. The catty is double that of the Chinese, but the picul is the same.

Living is not dear, as the following prices show:—Servants' wages, per month, 3 dollars; fuel, 500 small sticks for 1 dollar; fowls, each, 5 to 10 cents; ducks, each, 10 to 15 cents; pork, per pound, 7 to 8 cents; butter (made in the family); lard, same price as pork; oil, for lamps and cooking, per gallon, 30 to 40 cents; rice, per pound, 1 cent; milk, per quart, 8 to 10 cents; sugar, per pound, 5 cents; tea, per pound, 30 to 40 cents; pine-apples, per 100, 70 to 100 cents; oranges, per 100, 30 to 60 cents; cocoa-nuts, for curry, per 100, 18 to 30 cents; common labourers, per month, 1 dollar 50 cents.

No part of the east is more celebrated for the abundance and quality of its fruits. Here are united the fruits of China, the Indian islands, Hither India, and tropical America. During my stay, the mango, mangosteen, durian, rambutan, pomegranate, guava, pine-apple, and, I presume, fifty other fruits, were in season. About taste there is no disputing. Many Europeans disparage Oriental fruits, but I deem them incomparably superior to those of high latitudes, to say nothing of their vast variety, and their being enjoyed every day in the year.

I learned nothing, during my seven weeks' residence in Siam, to induce me to dissent from the character hitherto given to this people by all travellers. They are crafty, mean, ignorant, conceited, slothful, servile, rapacious, and cruel. As to truth, "the way of it is not known." No one blushes at being detected in a fraud, or a falsehood, and few seem superior to a bribe. Quarrels are common, but as no one is allowed to go armed, they seldom result in mischief. They are cowardly, and shrink from an air of resolution in a foreigner. The Abbé Gervaise said of them, a century ago, that "though as enemies they are not dangerous, as friends they cannot be trusted."

But "God made man upright," and the fall has not obliterated all semblance of good from any portion of the human race. The Siamese have some redeeming traits. They are exceedingly fond of their offspring, and cherish reverence to parents almost equal to that of the Chinese. They are temperate, inquisitive, and, except on great provocation, gentle. Women are not reduced, on the whole, below their proper level; for, though custom forbids them to rank with men in some things, yet in others they are allowed an influence greater than is accorded them with us. They are always their husbands' cash-keepers; they do most of the buying and selling, and are not made to share as largely in laborious drudgery as in most countries of Europe.

The Siamese are certainly a grade lower in civilisation than the Burmans. They make none of those beautiful cottons and silks which the Burmans wear, and are destitute of several other arts and handicrafts common in that country. For utensils of brass, iron, and porcelain, and almost every prevailing luxury, they depend on China. Even the coarse brown pottery is made chiefly by Peguans. Malte-Brun mistakes in attributing to them skill in jewellery and miniature painting. In the first they are more clumsy than Burmans, and in the second horrible.

Still the Siamese are much above the semi-barbarians of the Malay states, and the islands of the adjacent seas. They produce a surplus of sundry articles for exportation, and they have an important and well-conducted foreign commerce. Their religious edifices show sur-

plus resources in subsistence and labour, which barbarous tribes never possess. The government, though despotic and ill arranged, is regular and firm, conferring many advantages upon society. In music, they use the same instruments as the Burmans, and excel even the Javanese. I have often listened with pleasure both to single instruments and full bands. Their houses, dress, habits, and entire condition of the nation, are those of a people far above the rudest forms of human society. Such considerations as these give them a dignified position in the grade of nations, and will give momentum to their influence in behalf of Christianity, when they shall have "turned to the Lord."

Slavery prevails in Siam. Many chiefs have hundreds, and some of them thousands. In war, the chief objects are prisoners and plunder. They have almost depopulated some conquered districts, to bring the people to Siam. Around Bankok are whole villages of Peguans and others taken in war. Their national history mentioned above, states that in one of the wars with the Shyans of Zemmai, they took 120,000 captives.

At all times, a slave-trade is carried on along the Burman frontier by wild tribes, who find a ready market for any Burmans or Karens they may catch. Persons are daily sold into hopeless slavery by their creditors, for, once sold, they have no means of paying the debt but by getting a new master. Men may sell their wives, parents, and children, at pleasure, and often sell themselves.

How large a proportion of the people are slaves, no one could help me to guess. It is probably much greater in and around the metropolis than elsewhere. With many of those kept about the person of the master, the slavery is almost nominal, but in most cases it is severe. A common custom is for the master not to support the servant, but to allow him two or three months in a year to work for himself, to obtain food and clothes for the rest of the year. Often they are hired out by the year, receiving food and clothes, but no part of the wages. Children inherit their parents' bondage. As in Burmah, debtor slaves are entitled to freedom on presentation of the amount due, which, however, being generally borrowed, only secures a change of masters.

The Siamese language is exceedingly simple in its construction, and is doubtless an original. It is destitute of terminations to signify gender, number, person, mood, or tense. A few particles supply the place of these, but they are almost universally omitted, not only in conversation but by the best writers. This renders it easy to learn, but often ambiguous, and makes a considerable knowledge of the language necessary to carry on nice discussions. Foreigners soon acquire it sufficiently for the common purposes of life. The Chinese, being of various dialects, use it in intercourse with each other, as more convenient than their own, and their wives being Siamese, the progeny speak it as their mother tongue.

Except as improved from other tongues, the language is monosyllabic. Many terms which seem to be disyllables, are only words joined. Thus, *namta*, "tears," is from *nam*, water, and *ta*, the eye. *Lukwai*, "fruit," is from *luk*, offspring, and *wai*, wood. Many words, particularly in the language of the upper classes, are from the Cambodian. This is a polysyllabic language, and abounds more in complicated combinations of consonants. Terms to express mental operations, and all religious technicalities, are from the Pali, which is also polysyllabic. These terms undergo various changes, the most common of which is the contraction of the two last syllables into one.

The languages of Siam, Assam, and the Shyans, are essentially the same, but which dialect is primitive is not known. Our missionaries at Sudiya and Bankok, and those soon to go to Zemmai, will be able to investigate the origin and capacities of this language, which,

being one of the chief in Farther India, deserves more attention than it has yet received. Captain Low published, in 1808, a Siamese grammar, but he had never been in the country, and has fallen into so many errors that the missionaries deem his work nearly useless.

The form of the characters differs little from the Pali. There are thirty-four consonants, only five of which are regularly used as final, and twelve vowels, with several diacritical marks. It has intonations like the Chinese, which makes the difficulty of speaking well much greater than that of learning it. Thus, *ma*, according to its tone, signifies "come," "a dog," and "a horse." *Ha* means "to seek," "ghost," "five." *Kow* means "to enter," "rice," "a horn," "a mountain," "he," "she," "it," and "them."

The Catholics of Bankok use the Roman alphabet in writing Siamese. I noticed also that the Pra Klang's secretary wrote in that character. Chow Fah Yai, eldest legitimate son of the late king, and who retired to a convent rather than contend for the throne, has not only written but printed Siamese in our letters. He has a press made by himself, and types, most of which, probably, were obtained from Italy, through the Catholic priests. It is certainly of great consequence to follow up this beginning. If the number of Siamese who can read be as small as now appears, there will be a necessity for Christian philanthropy to raise up readers, as well as proper books, and these may be better taught in the Roman characters than any other.

The Baptist Board of Foreign Missions established the mission to Siam in 1833. Mr Gutzlaff had visited Bankok in 1828, and remained about three years, but was twice away to Singapore, and studied the Chinese language principally. Mr Tomlin, the London Society's Missionary at Singapore, made a visit with Mr Gutzlaff, and remained eight months. He afterwards came with Mr Abeel, and both remained six months. Mr Abeel made a second visit of six months, and then returned in ill health to America. None of these brethren contemplated a permanent residence in Siam, and in the report of their first six months' labours, Messrs Gutzlaff and Tomlin called upon the Baptist brethren to "pass the boundary line of Burmah, and come forward to Siam." Mr Tomlin also wrote urgently to Maulmain for a brother to be sent at once. He considered the Baptist Board called upon more than any other to establish a mission here, not only because their stations in Burmah were but a few days' march from Bankok, but because they had begun with the Shyans, whose language was so similar, and a large part of whom belonged to Siam. The project was seriously entertained by our Board, when Mr Jones was appointed in 1829; but it was left to be decided by the brethren at Maulmain. Mr Jones was designated by them to this service, and sailed from Burmah for Bankok in September 1832. He found the station had been wholly vacant for six months, and he remained entirely alone for sixteen months longer. In the meantime, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (without knowing of the movement from Burmah) resolved to make Bankok one of their stations, and Messrs Johnson and Robinson were sent out, who arrived about the 1st of August 1834. Dr Bradley, from the same society, arrived the next year. Mr J. studies the Chinese, and the two others Siamese.

Mr and Mrs Jones may be said to have mastered the Siamese language, and can freely impart to the people the knowledge of the truth. Mr Jones has translated Matthew, Acts, and part of Luke, and Mr Judson's tracts—"Balance," "Catechism," and "Summary of Christian Religion," and prepared a tract on astronomy, and a brief grammar. Matthew, Acts, the Catechism, and the Summary, have been printed and distributed; besides sheet tracts, containing the ten commandments, the sermon on the mount, &c. Two school-books for Siamese have also been printed. Mrs Jones has prepared the History of Joseph, of Nebuchadnezzar, and other reading books, together with a copious dictionary,

in Siamese and English, which future students may copy to their great advantage.

Mr Davenport superintends the printing, and studies the language. The issues of the office, within the year, have been 13,124 books, containing 1,439,720 pages, comprising the Summary of Religion; Acts of the Apostles; Ten Commandments, with explanations; Scripture Parables; A broad-sheet Parable; First Lessons in English and Siamese; Lessons in Arithmetic; Lessons in English; and several publications in Chinese.

It has been found impossible to have satisfactory schools in this city. By no device can the scholars be retained long enough to imbibe any useful measure of knowledge. During the period of their continuance, they cannot be made to attend regularly. A few have lately been redeemed from slavery, and will be thoroughly instructed. But the cost of children is from forty-eight to sixty, and for an adult about 100 dollars; so that this mode of obtaining scholars cannot be extensively pursued. Chinese scholars may be had with somewhat less difficulty.

Mrs Davenport, besides her daily studies, has a school of twelve or fifteen children, which Mrs Jones daily opens with prayer and religious instruction in Siamese. Such of them as are not Catholics, with a few others, are formed into a Sunday school.

The mission premises, although pleasantly and healthfully situated, are so confined in space as to be very inconvenient. The land, too, is only hired, and with no assurance of permanence. The buildings consist of three dwelling-houses, a printing-office, fifty-two feet by twenty, and a small fire-proof building for paper, books, &c. The dwelling-houses are similar to those of natives in construction, only larger, and cost each about 300 dollars. There is scarcely any possibility of walking for exercise in or around Bankok, from the bad state of the streets, so that the missionaries are obliged to content themselves, for the most part, with being rowed upon the river to get a little fresh air.

The printing-office in charge of Mr Davenport has one press, which has been kept in constant operation since October 1836, and another is now on the way. Nine of the natives are learning the business, besides some engaged in the bindery. There are several small fonts of English letter, one of Siamese, and one of Chinese. With the latter, some extracts from the Bible will be printed as broad-sheet tracts, and other works where a large type is wanted, but a smaller one is ordered from Serampore for the printing of common books. A set of blocks for Milne's tract, called "The Two Friends," has been procured, and some Chinese workmen are constantly engaged in working off impressions. Some others will soon be issued in the same manner.

Regular public worship on Sundays has not been commenced in Siamese. Mr Jones spends part of his Sundays in visiting the Wats; preaching to such as he can gather there, and distributing portions of Scripture. I of course accompanied him; anxious here, as in every other place, to see missionary services performed in all its modes. Though I have accompanied many brethren in this highway, open-air preaching, I have seldom described these occasions, partly because they are so often narrated in the journals of missionaries, and partly because I am anxious to maintain the greatest brevity. The plan pursued in this city grows out of the nature of the service, and is not materially different from that pursued by various other missionaries. Things take just that course which they would in our own cities, if a respectable foreigner were to go about the streets and public places to disseminate a new religion. Generally, the audiences are poor people; objections are raised, and disputes often ensue; sometimes only two or three can be induced to give their attention; at others, a little crowd gathers, and listens with interest. The fruits of these exertions in Bankok do not yet appear, but we must watch unto prayer. As the time has now come to make efforts for a permanent

congregation on the mission premises, happier results may be expected. When it is recollected that we have only Mr J. who can preach in Siamese, and that Mr D.'s engagements in the printing-office obstruct his acquisition of the language, it is evidently of great consequence to re-enforce speedily this branch of the mission.\*

Of the various individuals mentioned as encouraging, in the published journals of Messrs Gutzlaff and Tomlins, none have continued so. None attend worship, or seem particularly friendly to the missionaries. Buntz, who was baptised by Mr Jones in 1833, and who for a while seemed a true disciple, grew cold, and about a year ago left the ministry to go into business, not without bitter feelings against the missionaries. He led away another disciple, who has now fallen into the deadly habit of opium-smoking. Of the six Chinese who have been baptised, three have died under the observation of the missionaries, giving full evidence of triumphing over the last enemy. Of the two who remain, one is an intelligent but poor old man, whose three sons not only attend the public service on Sabbath and unite daily with their father in family worship, but have ceased to make offerings to idols. The other is in bad health, but exceedingly useful by his holy example, a great comfort to Mr Dean, and a cheering token of future ingatherings.

Both the Baptist Board and the American Board of Commissioners make this a station for efforts upon the Chinese. With a population of this description in and near the city, amounting to half a million, and at least eight or nine thousand Chinese sailors, arriving annually and remaining many weeks, there can be no lack of scope. The whole number of many tribes, who enjoy strong missionary establishments, is not half so great as that of the Chinese in this region. Nor are the circumstances more discouraging than in average cases.

Mr Dean, of the Baptist Board, gives himself to the Tay-chew dialect, which has never been attempted by any other. He is as yet, of course, but a student in the language, but has attained such a knowledge of it, that with the help of his teacher he conducts worship every morning for the benefit of the block-printers and others on the premises, and on Sundays has a regular audience of forty or fifty persons. He has considerable knowledge of medicine, and is daily engaged in practice. About twenty or thirty patients, mostly Chinese, meet daily in his porch at four o'clock—chiefly cases of ulcers and wounds. Before opening the dispensary, he holds worship with them, and gives tracts. Some come several days' journey, and remain till cured. When the junks are in the river, his number is often much larger. Mr Johnson, of the American Board, pursues the study of the Hokëen or Fokien dialect.

The distribution of Scriptures and tracts may be carried to almost any extent in Bangkok, both to Chinese and natives. A very small proportion, however, can read intelligently. Even of this small number, few can understand more than the plainest narratives.

It seems of little use to give books profusely, without abundant personal preaching. In China, where missionaries may not live, and in Burmah Proper, or other countries, from whence they may at any moment be expelled, a liberal dispensation of books seems called for. But in general the direct preaching of the gospel cannot be advantageously deferred, after books have been so far diffused as to excite a spirit of inquiry, and a general knowledge of the missionary's objects. The full power of the press will be best seen in its following the preacher. The people are then made capable of understanding what before would be as unintelligible to them as the book of Isaiah was to the eunuch before Philip instructed him. It is quite evident, too, that the apostles proceeded in this manner.

No place is, on the whole, so favourable for diffusing Christian books into China as Bangkok, as is evident

from the statements I have made touching the trade by junks. It is important, however, to make the publications more idiomatic and intelligible before we spend heavy sums of money in this work.

There should be at least eight Chinese missionaries in Siam, without reference to supplying China itself hereafter. Each of the four principal dialects, namely, Mandareen, Canton, Tay-chew, and Hainan, should have two brethren, that a single death may not abolish a whole department. The adjacent villages, and even some of the ports in the Gulf of Siam, would engage their attention in part. The junks would not only supply opportunities for sending into China any number of tracts, but regular congregations, for several months together. The great difficulty in multiplying missionaries at this point, is the refusal of government to allow them to rent or purchase land for residences.

It has been erroneously supposed, that from Bangkok direct overland intercourse might be had with the frontier of China. No part of the Siam frontier approaches China within less than about 300 miles. The intervening space is inhabited by various tribes, living insulated from each other, and is traversed by mountains probably not passable by caravans. Zemmai is the nearest point to Bangkok, from whence the western borders of China may be approached, and that station must necessarily depend upon Maulmain, in Burmah, both for epistolary intercourse with America, and supplies of clothing, printing paper, &c.

Deeming it important to form the brothers and sisters of this station into a regular church of our Lord Jesus Christ, I convened them in council, and, after full consideration, it was unanimously resolved upon. After devoting a day to fasting and prayer, and drawing out, in full, the platform of doctrine and discipline, I proceeded, on the following Sabbath, to preach and perform the appropriate solemnities. Nine persons,\* of whom two were the Chinamen already mentioned, formed the material of the church. In the after part of the day I administered the Lord's supper to this precious band of pioneers. The text was, "From the uttermost parts of the earth have we heard songs, even glory to the Righteous One." It suggested topics of joy and hope, in the contemplation of which all our hearts overflowed with pleasure. Most of the brethren and sisters were accomplished singers, and our voices sounded to each other like almost celestial music. The strange and depressing sensations of being at the utmost possible earthly distance from those we love, gave place to pleasure, on hearing in our own language the praises of the Lord. The sad "Farewell for ever" to the sacred fraternities of home, lost half its bitterness while partaking of church privileges and communion with Christians from our own land and of our own persuasion. The promises of God, touching the triumphs of his truth, shone with tenfold brightness amid the gloom and thick darkness of a pagan land, where yet hope has little encouragement in the things that are seen. The visible encouragements to faith in the presence of two Chinese, gave distinctness and glow to our visions of hope. Our souls magnified the Lord, and our spirits rejoiced in God our Saviour.

The first Lord's day in July 1837, was, by this solemn event, rendered memorable in the history of Siam, as the birth-day of the first Protestant church of Christ in the kingdom. It was indeed a small room, and a small company, but an occasion full of present benediction and future promise. Hereafter centennial jubilees will celebrate the event, sacred orators dwell on it with glowing tongue, and unborn generations bless the auspicious hour. The "little one will become a thousand," and the day of small things give place to periods of power, extension, and triumph.

I was happy to find the brethren of the two missions

\* Two of these are already gone up on high—the Rev. Mr Reed and Mrs Jones; but Messrs Slafter and Goddard, who, with their wives, sailed from Boston in 1836, will more than make the number good.

\* Mr and Mrs Slafter left Boston, as missionaries to the Siamese, in 1836.

in Bankok living not only in Christian unity and peace, but personal friendship. Their worship in English, both on Lord's days and week evenings, is held together. So far as I could learn, their Christian intercourse, except at the Lord's supper, is like attached members of the same church.

The same is happily the case at some other places where missionaries of different sects labour together. Party differences look small to those who stand on missionary ground. A feeble labourer on the field of paganism harbours no jealousy, lest the wide harvest will be reaped ere he can snatch his sheaves. He would not prefer the field to lie waste, if those of his shibboleth do not till it. He would not lose the noblest aim of the church rather than have it attained by persuasions not quite so pure in faith or practice as his own. In the advanced camp of the Lord's hosts, there will be the same preferences and conscientious competitions which exist at home. But as yet none have betrayed the cause to the enemy, by allowing sectarian preferences to engross their strength, and engage them in contentions with their friends.

The Papal church has maintained missions in Siam for 170 years. The adherents, in the whole country, amount to 2240, including about 300 Cochinese, recently arrived. There is a congregation at Ayuthia, another at Chantabon, and three at Bankok. Many of these are descendants of Portuguese who lived with native women, and some few are converts from Buddhism. In civil condition they are below the Siamese. No part of the population of Bankok are more degraded. Their children are not taught; their manners are not improved; their knowledge of Christianity is very small; and, as a body, they are neither industrious, cleanly, nor moral. Processions, guns, drums, bells, and crackers, distinguish their holidays, in much the same manner as those of the heathen around them. During my stay in Bankok, a priest, newly arrived in the country, died at some days' distance on a journey. His body was brought to the city and carried in procession, first at one of their places of worship, and then at the others, with nearly such ceremonies as mark the burial of a Buddhist priest.

The entire salary of a Catholic priest is 100 dollars per annum; not only here but wherever else I have been in India.

## CHAPTER V.

Voyage to Canton. China Sea. Mouth of Pearl River. Outside Pilots. Lintin. Bocca Tigris. Whampoa. Innumerable Boats. Evidences of dense Population. Dollar Boat. River Scenery. Population of Canton. Foreign Factories or Hongs. Walks in the Suburbs. Streets. Shops. Vacant Spaces. Placards. Perambulatory Trades. Booksellers. Circulating Libraries. Map of the World. Beggars. Small-footed Women. Trades. Labour-saving Machinery. Chinese Piety. Tombs. Visit to a Hong Merchant. Restrictions on Foreigners. Temples. Priests and Nuns. Pagodas. Chinese Sects. Introduction of Buddhism. Jos. State of Morals in the Foreign Society. Opium Trade. Missionaries. Dr Parker's Hospital. Macao. Appearance from Harbour. In a state of Decline. Missionaries. Mr Gutzlaff. Voyages along the Coast. Interesting School. How far China is open to Missionaries. Dr Colledge's Hospital.

THE pain of frequently parting from missionaries and other friends, to meet no more on earth, has been no small part of the trials of this long and wearisome tour. In leaving Bankok, the case was peculiar. Mr Jones had received baptism at my hands; he had been called to the ministry in my church; and under my roof he and his wife had their last home in the United States. Their feeble health and oppressive labours impressed on me the conviction that their labours on earth, important as they are, will not be much longer enjoyed. Two of the others and their wives had been my fellow passengers from the United States. To part with them cheerfully was a duty, but the lonesome hours of ship-board kept fresh for many days the sadness.

A long and tedious passage from Bankok to Singapore is always expected against the monsoon. Some ships have been six or seven weeks. One vessel with missionaries, after being out forty-two days, was obliged to return and wait for the change of monsoon. I was favoured to get down in twenty-six days without accident. Our ship also staid at Bankok a month less than is usual; so that I saved, in the whole trip, at least three months. The Rev. Mr Robinson, whom I left at Singapore anxious to return to Bankok, but not then quite ready, was still there, and found no opportunity for the next five months.

My stay, this time, in Singapore, amounted to but a few days, as I availed myself of the first vessel for Canton. I embarked in the *Jessie Logan* on the 21st of September 1837, with a prospect of a tedious passage, as the monsoon was changing. We were happily disappointed, and reached China on the 16th of October. Rains and squalls, however, rendered the voyage comfortable, and my want of an amanuensis rendered it difficult either to improve or beguile the time.

The China Sea has an extraordinary number of shoals and petty islands, making its navigation unpleasant and dangerous, except when the monsoon enables a vessel to proceed through the centre. The boundary of the sea on the eastward is a succession of large islands, scarcely known by name, even to the well educated in our country. It seems reserved for missionary enterprise to bring to light the numbers and condition of mankind in Luçonia, Palawan, the Baihee, Babyuanes, and Busvigan clusters, Mindoro, Balabac, Banguey, Borneo, &c., besides the multitude of the other Philippines, the Moluccas, the Bandu and Aroo archipelagoes, &c. Oh, how long must it be ere the tardy and stinted charities of God's people shall spread Christian teachers over all these seas!

Approaching the coast of China in a day literally cloudless, the fine headlands of the vast entrance of the Choo-Keang, or Pearl River, wore their best attractions. No river in the world, it is said, is so easily found and entered as this. No bar obstructs its entrance. No alluvial deposits spread dangerous flats along the shores. Scores of small but lofty islands afford at once distinct landmarks, and a choice of channels. The entrance, thus marked and defended, extends nearly sixty miles along the coast from east to west; and for nearly forty miles towards Canton, the river preserves an average breadth of fifteen miles. At that point, called by Europeans the Bogue, or Bocca Tigris, the breadth is two miles, divided in the centre by an island. This is considered by the Chinese the entrance of the river, and is defended by several forts of no great strength.

We were boarded, many miles from land, by fishermen offering to act as pilots, and by one of them was conducted to our anchorage, while his boat went to Macao for the usual permit to proceed up the river, and the inner pilot. These boats, though *outré* to us, are admirably constructed of pine, decked, and schooner-rigged. Under the deck they keep provisions, water, &c., and sleep in bad weather. On the quarter they put up, in fine weather, a slight house of bamboo and mats. The sight of these men was not novel to me, as I had already mixed with so many in Burmah, Singapore, and Siam. Their costume is a pair of very wide blue nankeen trousers, reaching but little below the knee, without buttons or flaps. Its diameter at the waist would embrace a barrel, so that they take a turn in the waistband, and tuck in the ends, which keeps them on. Of labourers at work this is the whole dress: when not employed they add a glazed cotton jacket, reaching to the loins, with very wide sleeves. The dress of the genteel classes is not transcended in beauty, costliness, or delicacy, by that of similar classes in any country upon earth.

Lintin is an island, nearly in the centre of the outer harbour, and, though large, has few inhabitants, and is noted only as the theatre of the execrable opium-smuggling. Sheltered by its dreary heights lay the "receiving ships," which take the drug from vessels



as they arrive, and get rid of it by means of native fast boats.

At the extreme western side of the entrance, twenty miles distant from Lintin, is the city of Macao, occupying the extreme south point of Heangshan island. From thence to Canton is an inner passage, chiefly used by native boats.

Fifteen miles below Canton is Whampoa, beyond which foreign ships are not allowed to proceed. The anchorage extends two or three miles, along a reach of the river, lying east and west. In ordinary shipping seasons, 100 or more vessels ride here, chiefly English and American. Owing to the recent commercial embarrassments, there were at this time but about twenty-five. Innumerable sampans, occupied by marketmen, fishermen, fruiterers, washerwomen, &c., with the ships' boats, and here and there the ornamented barge of a mandarin, or a huge crowded passage-boat, kept the scene busy and cheerful. Whampoa is a considerable village, on an island of the same name. Its chief business is connected with the supply of vessels and the smuggling of opium.

Boats lie before the town, literally in thousands, and almost every one the permanent habitation of a family. The occupancy of these boats by a family, so far from preventing active employment, seems rather a qualification. The wife steers, while the husband rows, aided by children of both sexes, if they have any. Such as are not quite old enough to row, play about the boat with a great gourd fastened to their waist behind to secure them from drowning, in case they fall overboard. Those a little younger are carefully tethered, so that they have the entire use of the deck, but cannot pass the gunwale. If there be an infant, it is fastened on the mother's back like a knapsack, without appearing to impede her motions or be annoyed by them. Any one conversant with boatmen about other seaports of the east, or even in our own country, cannot fail to be struck with the superiority of these. Their dress, the structure and appointments of their boats, their quiet, order, industry, and good manners, are worthy of all imitation.

The published accounts of the populousness of China are strongly brought to mind when one looks around on these boats, and on the green fields and barren islands which make up the scene from the deck of the ship. Every level spot is subdued for paddy, and the sides of every desolate island exhibit not only patches of cultivation, but houses and even villages. The same impression is created by a host of fishing-smacks, which sweep the waters of the vast harbour. They literally swarm. I have stood and counted 200 at a time from the deck of the ship.

From Whampoa to Canton, the boats of foreign ships are allowed to pass up and down without examination at the custom-houses. Passengers, however, generally use native boats, called "dollar-boats," as affording better shelter and more conveniences.

I found mine to be exceedingly neat, clean, and commodious; divided into three compartments; the centre being handsomely panelled and roofed, so as to form a nice cabin, with lockers, windows, &c. Here I was placed with such of my trunks as I needed, and, though long since hardened to the sensations of a foreigner, felt a little more foreign than usual. In one corner of my cabin was "Jos," in grim dumbness, pointing upwards with his finger, and looking as fat and contented as Falstaff. Before him smoked tapers of sandal-wood powder, and round about were inscriptions on red paper. His little closet or shrine had latticed doors to keep him from harm, and was the most ornamented part of the boat. Behind, sheltered by a roof, which upon occasion could slide over that of the cabin, was the kitchen and pantry. Here the wife, with an infant on her back, steered and sculled; at the same time watching her dinner and a youngster or two. Forward of the cabin, a flat deck, extending beyond the bows, and of the same width as the boat, afforded ample space to two oarsmen, who sat on stools about six inches high. Between

them and the cabin was a small veranda, on one side of which stood the ever-steaming tea-kettle and cups; and on the other the neatly lacerated tray of joss-sticks or slow matches, from which ever and anon they lighted their cheroots. The men were stout, though short, and pulled with vigour, sheltering their naked backs with a broad palm-leaf hat. We passed hundreds of boats built and manned in precisely the same manner.

The scenery of the river, though monotonous, is attractive. On each side are rich rice-fields, with villages embosomed among orange-trees, liches, and palms; while the rugged hills in the rear, irreclaimable even by Chinese industry, are dotted with tombs. Some fine pagodas are visible most of the way. The dikes are for the most part paved with excellent stone masonry, and planted with oranges, liches, and bananas.

Just before reaching the city is the anchorage of junks or native vessels trading to Canton, and of an imperial fleet. The latter may create a smile, but can awaken no terror. A little farther on, other trading-boats of large size lie in hundreds. Then come long rows of floating houses, and these, with every sort of boat, increase in number as you advance, till it becomes difficult and even dangerous, to thread the maze with a row-boat.

Arriving at length opposite Kwang-tung, or, as we call it, Canton, nothing is seen of the city except the river-suburbs and portions of the wall. Here boats of every description, and small junks, are so crowded together, that the utmost skill, as well as caution, is required, in order to avoid disaster. Cables stretch out from a hundred junks; huge tea-boats, of fifty or sixty tons, lie side to side, scores in a row. Dwelling-houses of elegant and convenient construction, built on scows, are disposed in regular streets of great length. Mandaroon boats, with gorgeous and beautiful ornaments and fleet as the wind, move slowly round, acting as a river police. Boats from the European ships, floating tradesmen, mechanics, hucksters, shopkeepers, and thousands that seem to be mere dwellings, are multiplied on every side; so busy, so noisy, so crowded, so strange, that it seems as if one had suddenly dropped upon another planet; and a man must be vain indeed who does not feel himself an insignificant unit among such legions of busy ones, who merely regard him as a foreigner.

It is computed that 84,000 families live in boats at Canton, and that the whole population of the city and suburbs is about 1,000,000.

The sails of a Chinese junk are of mat; three little cabins, each just large enough to contain a man at his length, occupy the stern; over the side hang the hencoops; a great eye glares upon the bow, and a snake beneath warns you of the "touch-me-not" pugnacity of the crew. I saw many of these both at Bankok and Singapore; and off the mouth of the Hoogly passed several which had ventured even to that distance.

In all other parts of the east, Europeans bear themselves so haughtily before the natives, and so transcend them in wealth, luxury, and intellect, that the contrast at Canton is most striking. Here are generally about 300 foreigners permanently resident, and often more, kept so completely under, that they may neither bring their wives nor take native ladies, nor build, buy, ride, row, or walk, without restrictions; wholly forbidden to enter the gates of the city, and cooped up in a spot which would be considered in Calcutta or Madras barely large enough for one good dwelling and compound. The foreign factories, or hongs, are thirteen in number, under the names of different nations, but occupied somewhat promiscuously by the merchants and shopkeepers. They form a close front along the river, about 300 yards in length, with an open space towards the water, which is here about a quarter of a mile wide. The buildings extend towards the rear about 200 yards. Each hong is divided into several separate portions, entered by a narrow alley, which passes through to the rear, and is thus made to consist of five or six tene-

ments, generally three stories high. The heat, smoke, noise, and dreariness of the interior of this mass of buildings, with the total absence of female society, gives it, in no small degree, the aspect of a prison. The front rooms, however, are pleasant, and some of them have fine promenades on the roof. An open space in front, about one hundred yards long and fifty wide, serves both as a wharf and a promenade. But the first of these uses obstructs it for the other; to say nothing of barbers, cooks, pedlars, clothes-menders, coolies, and boatmen, who crowd it most of the day.

I was kindly made welcome to the American hong, or, as the Chinese call it, the "hong of extensive fountains," where at the table of the American missionaries, and of Messrs Oliphant and Co., I enjoyed, for several weeks, daily opportunities of acquiring authentic information, on all the points which concern my agency.

Fortunately for me, there existed, during my stay in Canton, no particular jealousy of foreigners. Accompanying the missionaries and other gentlemen in their daily walks for exercise, I was enabled to ramble not only over all the suburbs, but among the villages and fields adjacent. We were not specially ill treated, but I have nowhere else found quite so much scorn and rudeness. Nearly all the time, some of the youngsters would be calling out as we passed, "Foreign devils!" "barbarians!" "red-bristled devils!"—often adding obscene expressions, and sometimes throwing light missiles; all which the parents seemed to think very clever. Often, indeed, they would direct the attention of very small children to us, and teach them to rail. Our clerical profession seemed known to many; and these would shout "Story-telling devils!" "lie-preaching devils!" In streets much frequented by foreigners, these things rarely occurred, but in others we attracted general attention; and if we stopped for a few moments, a crowd would immediately choke up the street. Sometimes Dr Parker's patients would recognise him, and we would be asked to sit down; tea and pipes would be offered, and a strong sense of confidence and gratitude manifested. But the crowd would soon become disagreeable, and we were glad to pass on to get fresh air, and to exempt our friends from annoyance.

The width of the streets is seldom more than four or five feet, and often less. The houses rarely exceed one story high; and, except on business streets, all the better ones are invisible, being built, like those of Paris, within a walled enclosure. The streets are all flagged with large slabs of smooth stone, principally granite. The breadth excludes wheel carriages, of course, and the only vehicles are sedan chairs, which are constantly gliding along at a very rapid rate; those for ladies being closed with blinds, or gauze, but not so as to prevent the occupant from looking through. As these chairs, or loaded coolies, come rushing along, a perpetual shouting is kept up to clear the way; and unless you jump to the wall or into a shop, you are rudely jostled, for though they are polite and kind, their headway and heavy burden render it impossible to make sudden pauses. As to walking arm in arm, it is quite out of the question. I saw none of the unbroken ranges of piazza spoken of by geographers; but in some places mats are spread across the street, which exclude the sun. The end of each street has a strong gate, which is shut up at night, chiefly for security against thieves.

The shops are often truly beautiful, but the greater number are occupied as well by the workmen as the wares. Such minute subdivision of callings I have seen nowhere else. Not only are trades subdivided into the most minute branches, but the shops are often limited to one or two species of goods. Some of those which I entered would vie with those of London for style and amount of capital invested. In each, the idol has a handsome and conspicuous situation. As Chinese is read perpendicularly, the sign-boards are suspended downward, and are thus well adapted to narrow streets. They are generally beautifully executed, and often, after announcing the name and occupation, close with sage sentences; such as, "Gossiping and long sitting injure

business;" "No credit given; former customers have inspired caution."

The vacant places present a mixture of incongruities—attractive, pitiable, shocking, and ludicrous. Hero is a doctor, surrounded by roots, spreading his plaster on a man's shin; there is an astrologer, disclosing fortunes. Here is a group of happy children, purchasing smoking comfits; and there is a meat stall, surrounded by stout fellows, swallowing pork stews. Here are some hungry mendicants, gloating upon the dainties; and close by are some of their fraternity, unable any longer even to ask charity, lying unheeded, to die of hunger. Mountebanks, clothes-dealers, musical beggars, petty auctioneers, gamblers, &c., make up the discordant aggregate.

At these openings, and other conspicuous places, placards cover the walls; and as with us, quack medicines, government proclamations, and business cards, were the principal. Some were novel, and showed the want of newspapers, namely, lampoons and criticisms on public men. Some of these were intrepid and severe, but none seemed gross and libellous. Alas, that our country should be so much behind China in the treatment of official characters!

Many trades are here perambulatory, which are so nowhere else. Among these moving mechanics I noticed barbers, coopers, timmen, blacksmiths, shoemakers, and tailors, besides a medley of fruiterers, hucksters, fish-mongers, confectioners, pedlars, rat-catchers, pastry-cooks, butchers, picture-men, and I know not what. The throng and confusion of these narrow streets is thus much increased, while their various bells, drums, gongs, and cries, keep up a perpetual din.

In these walks I observed, what I believe is not to be seen in any part of India, regular native bookellers. They generally display a considerable assortment of works, at astonishingly cheap prices. The moral tendency of these works is said to be in general good, but the intellectual benefit is small. This was often illustrated by the close proximity of some grey-bearded fortune-teller, with five times the custom of his literary neighbour. I was often amused to see the ludicrous gravity with which these men of destiny drew wonder and cash from their gaping patients, and to mark the diversified countenances of those who retired. The doleful, drawmouth visage, or the arch chuckle and rubbed hands, plainly told which had received "dampers," and which brought off animating assurances. As usual, these worshippers of fortune seemed to be those she had hitherto least favoured.

Besides, the bookstores are circulating libraries, in the literal sense of the term; that is, the librarian, having his books arranged in two neat cases, bears them on a pole across his shoulder from customer to customer. Some of these have several thousand books; but the greater part being in the hands of borrowers, his burden is not excessive.

A tolerable idea of Chinese geography may be gathered from a glance at their maps. Mr Gutzlaff was kind enough to present me with one of the world, and to translate many of the names. It is two feet wide by three and a half high, and is almost covered with China! In the left hand corner, at the top, is a sea, three inches square, in which are delineated, as small islands, Europe, England, France, Holland, Portugal, and Africa. Holland is as large as all the rest, and Africa is not so big as the end of one's little finger! The northern frontier is Russia, very large.

The left corner, at the bottom, is occupied by "the western ocean," as it is called, containing the Malay peninsula pretty well defined. Along the bottom are Cambodia, Cochin-China, &c., represented as moderate-sized islands, and on the right is Formosa, larger than all the rest put together. Various other countries are shown as small islands. I should have given an engraving of this curious map, but that a true reduction to the size of a page would have left out most of these countries altogether! The surrounding ocean is represented in huge waves, with smooth passages, or high-

ways, branching off to the different countries, or islands, as they represent them. They suppose that ships which keep along these highways go safely, but if they, through ignorance or stress of weather, diverge, they soon get among these awful billows, and are lost!

The beggars are very numerous and pitiable. They are seldom obtrusive, but a donation to one will bring several upon you, and keep you annoyed for many paces. In streets so narrow, they cannot of course be allowed to sit or lie down. The open spaces near temples and other public places afford the only chance for them to rest, and here many of them, utterly houseless, lie down and die. In one of these openings, not fifty feet square, I have seen six or eight of these unhappy beings at a time breathing their last, covered only with an old mat, such as comes round goods. Many who walk about have merely such a mat, fastened round their loins by a wooden pin. With such shelter only do they pass the night upon the earth or pavement, and always after a cold night some are found dead. There seems to be no particular want of charity among those who are able to give, but the evil lies too deep for casual gifts to cure. Such as are not too sick to go about, are sure of something daily, for custom gives them a right to enter any place, and makes it disgraceful to send them away empty. They are obliged to depart, however, with the gift even of a single cash, and are often kept waiting a long time. I have often, as I passed, admired the patience both of the beggar and the shopmen. Many of them carry small cymbals, or two pieces of bamboo, with which they keep time, at a deafening rate, to a plaintive drawl. The shopman stands the racket as long as he can, or till a customer comes in, when he throws them the cash, and they are bound to go. If he give soon, the place is but so much the sooner filled by another.

Distressing as are the sights of mendicity in Canton, they are less so than I have seen in some other cities, especially Dublin and Turin; and almost all are either blind or evidently sick, which is far from being the case either in Ireland or Italy.

I had supposed that small-footed women, being of the genteel circles, would not often be seen. Instead of this, large numbers of them, evidently poor, and often extremely so, are met with in every street. Many of these, doubtless, have been reduced from competency; but many are the offspring of persons who, from fondness or ambition, had brought up their children in a manner beyond their station in life. The smallest shoes and models shown in America are no exaggerations. All, indeed, are not equally compressed, but often the foot of an adult does not exceed four inches in length, and from a breadth of two and a half inches at the heel tapers to a perfect point. They walk precisely as a person would do on two wooden legs. Other poor women often go barefoot, but these never. Either the appearance of such a foot is too bad, or the toes, turned under, are too tender. Many of these victims of a false pride sit in open spaces, as public mendicants of old clothes. A passenger can thus get a patch or a button set on, while he waits—a custom which might easily be introduced among us.

We rail at the Chinese for compressed feet with little reason, so long as we persist in compressing the waist. Nor are we wholly exempt from the folly of crushing the feet also. Our easiest shoes, though less absurd than the Chinese, are by no means patterned from nature.

I enjoyed, in walking with Mr Bridgman, what few foreigners do—the advantage of an interpreter. I was thus enabled to stop at many places, witnessing various Chinese arts, and conversing freely with the operatives. Many of these occupations are known among us, but in every case they seem to be carried on by an unique method. I was surprised to find labour-saving machinery employed to a considerable extent. One instance pleased me exceedingly, namely, a bellows for blowing glass, which almost entirely saved the workman's lungs. In every establishment, whether of an artist, mechanic, or tradesman, we were received with great civility, and generally offered some slight refreshment.

One of our walks was to the place of execution, which in China is generally done by beheading. It is part of a populous street, thirty or forty feet wide just at that point, and a common thoroughfare. On one side is a high blank wall, and on the other is a row of potteries. The drying wares are spread over a considerable part of the space, bringing strongly to mind the bloody potter's field of the New Testament. A narrow shed, twelve or fifteen feet long, stood against the wall, with shelves of open bamboo. Lifting up an old mat with my cane, there lay a row of heads, apparently three or four days old. On the ground in a corner were a few skulls, nearly bleached by time. Executions occur here every few days, and with very little notice or formality. The poor culprit kneels on the ground, his long queue is twisted up into a knot upon his head, he puts his palms together in a posture of obeisance, and leaning forward, one stroke severs his head from his body. The remains are generally allowed to be removed by friends.

The Chinese bury their dead, and are very careful of the tombs of ancestors. To these they often resort to make prayer and offerings; and so long as there are male descendants, they are kept in repair. Their mode of constructing them is peculiar, invariable, and so unlike any others in the world, that a picture alone can explain.



Chinese Tomb.

They cover many acres of ground near Singapore, Malacca, and other cities where Chinamen are numerous and land plenty; and even in China engross much space, but generally only rocky or barren spots, incapable of other uses.

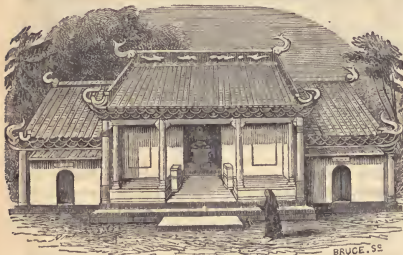
The cheapness and frivolity, as well as the universality of Chinese piety, was every evening forced upon our observation, whether we returned on foot or by boat. Not a family on shore or afloat is without its little altar, nor does a sun set without each being lighted up with tapers, and incensed with fragrant matches. Besides the gaudy domestic altar, with its flaunting mottoes and varied tinsel, nearly every house has a little niche in the wall, near the ground, inscribed with sacred characters, where also tapers and jos-sticks are burned. The air is thus loaded every twilight with sandal-wood smoke. Here and there you see men making additional offerings, by setting on fire articles of gilded paper, or making libations before the shrine. These vespers being finished, the Chinaman's religion is complete for that day; and he retires to pleasure or repose, with the full comfort of self-righteousness.

It is so unpopular to be familiar with foreigners, that an opportunity of visiting the private houses of respectable Chinese is rarely enjoyed by transient sojourners in Canton. One of the principal hong merchants, being particularly indebted to Dr Parker for removing a polypus, and at the same time a man of uncommon independence, I was glad to embrace a proposal to visit him. Dr Parker having announced our desire, we received a very cordial invitation. The house stands in a crowded suburb; nothing being visible from the street but a wall of the ordinary height. Passing

through a vestibule, attended by porters, we were ushered into a large and handsome hall, where the old gentleman soon joined us. His dress was negligent, but costly, and resembled that of the mandareen figures in our tea-shops. He saluted us in English, and the conversation was so maintained. After a little, he invited us to see his establishment, and kindly accompanied us. I was soon bewildered in passing through halls, rooms, and passages; crossing little courtyards and bridges; now looking at scores of gold-fish in a tank, and now sitting in a rustic summer-house on the top of an artificial cliff; now admiring whole beds of china asters in full bloom, and now engrossed with large aviaries or grotesque bee-hives. Here were miniature grottoes, and there were jets of water. Here were stunted forest-trees and porcelain beasts, and there was a lake and a fancy skiff. Yet the whole was compressed into a space not larger than is occupied by some mansions in the middle of our large cities.

There was not that quaint absurdity about all this, that books and pictures had led me to suppose. True, it was exceedingly artificial, and thoroughly Chinese; but there were taste and beauty in it all. Why should we break down all tastes to one standard? He that can only be pleased in a given way, is ill fitted to travel; and I am sure any one not predetermined to contemn, would admire and enjoy the grounds of Tinqua.

The style of the rooms pleased me less. They were numerous, but all furnished in the same manner, and most of them small. Besides gorgeous Chinese lanterns, hung Dutch, English, and Chinese chandeliers, of every size and pattern. Italian oil-paintings, Chinese hangings, French clocks, Geneva boxes, British plate, &c. &c., adorned the same rooms, strewed with natural curiosities, wax fruits, models, and costly trifles, from every part of the world.



Chinese Temple.

There are 124 temples in Canton, besides the numerous public altars seen in the streets. I saw the principal ones without the walls, which are said not to be inferior, on the whole, to those within. They strikingly resemble the monasteries of Europe. The handsomest is one of the Boodhists, in the suburb of Honan, on the opposite side of the river. Being accompanied by Messrs Bridgman, Parker, and Morrison, who were acquainted with the superior, I was not only shown every part by his order, but had the pleasure of his society for an hour. Cloisters, corridors, courtyards, chapels, image-houses, and various offices, are scattered, with little regard to order, over a space of five or six acres. Priests, with shaven crowns and rosaries, loitered about; but I never saw common people come to worship either at this or other establishments. Some of the priests occupied small and mean apartments; but those of the superior are spacious, and furnished not only with the ordinary conveniences, but with chandeliers, mirrors, pictures, &c., and with an extensive library. The buildings are chiefly of brick, one story high, the walks handsomely flagged, and the courtyard ornamented with large trees, or beautiful parterres of flowers. The printing-office contains stereotype plates enough to load a small vessel, so arranged as that every

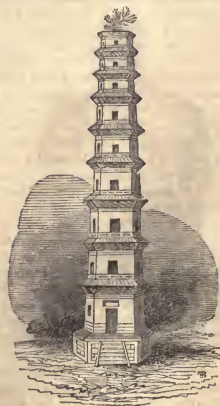
work is readily accessible. The principal apartment or temple is about 100 feet square, with the usual images, &c. We attended here to witness the regular evening service. It seemed to create little interest, for out of 160 resident priests, there were but fifty present; and these uttered their repetitions with the most obvious indifference. Their prayers are in Pali ostensibly, but I am told not truly, as their mode of writing renders it utterly unintelligible to any one. They keep time by striking a wooden drum, and occasionally a bell. At a certain stage of the process, the whole company formed into single file, and marched round the hall, without ceasing their repetitions. This gave us a full view of their countenances; and so far as these indicated, a more stupid set could not be picked out in all Canton. I have already remarked this characteristic of the Boodhist priesthood in other countries, and am confirmed in the belief of its being attributable to the character of their religion, and the nature of their duties.

Instead of the humble dress of Burman and Siam priests, these wear as handsome as they can get, with shoes and stockings. What is worse, some are in rags, barefoot, and squalid, with apparent poverty. They have, however, a common refectory, where I presume all fare alike. The buildings were erected at different times by the munificence of individuals, and by the revenues of the establishment, which amount to about 8000 dollars per annum.

While we walked over the premises, the superior had prepared us a repast of sweetmeats and fruits, to which he sat down with us. His manners were easy and elegant, his dress unostentatious, and his countenance full of intelligence and mildness. His age is but thirty-eight. We of course endeavoured to make the visit profitable to him. My heart yearned over him; and when he assured me that he meant to visit America in a year or two, I was happy to promise him a most cordial reception. Priests may leave the country and return, without the restraints which make it dangerous to others.

The whole number of priests in Canton is estimated at 2000; of nuns, 1000. The annual expense of the 124 temples is 250,000 dollars. An equal sum is required for the periodical festivals. Half a million, annually paid in one city for religion, by pagans! And the whole amount which all Christendom gives for pagans in a year is but six times as much!

I saw no pagodas at any of these establishments. They generally stand on some hill alone. Unlike the cones or pyramids of Burmah, these rise like shot-towers, with successive stories, marked by a cornice or



Chinese Pagoda.

narrow pent-house. The top is often covered deeply with earth, from which shrubs shoot up, and form a romantic finish, as is the case with that here repre-

sented. There are but two within the city. One, called Kwa-ta, or adorned pagoda, has nine stories, and is 170 feet high, octagonal. The other, called Kwang-ta, or unadorned pagoda, is 160 feet high. The first was built about 1300 years ago; the latter during the Tang dynasty, which closed A.D. 906. I believe they are not resorted to for devotional purposes, at least not commonly. As crosses are planted in some countries to mark the right of possession, so these huge and durable monuments seem only to mark a country swayed by him who claims "the kingdoms of this world, and the glory of them." How artfully, in ten thousand forms, does he, in every pagan land, confirm and perpetuate his rule! But his time is short.

The Chinese are divided into three sects, namely, those of Ju-kea-su, Taou, and Boodh.

The Jukeasists are the followers of Kong-foo-tze, or, as the Jesuits Latinize it, Confucius, who flourished about 560 years before Christ, and was therefore contemporary with Pythagoras. He was of royal descent, and a mandareen, but early resigned official life, and devoted himself to literature, morals, and political economy. Reducing the maxims of former sages to order, he added valuable extracts from current works, and prudent sayings of his own, and produced a digest which continues to be the *ultima thule* of Chinese piety. Travelling extensively as a popular lecturer, and sustained, not less by his high birth and eloquent address, than by the excellence of his doctrines, he soon founded a sect which became virtually the state religion. It is, however, much less intolerantly maintained than either Popery or Protestantism, where united with the state. The other religions are allowed, and sometimes fostered. Great officers, and even the emperor himself, build and endow Boodhist and Taonist temples.

The system of Confucius is highly extolled by European writers, and most extravagantly by Chinese. As accounts of it are accessible to all readers, I need not stop to describe it. He seems to have regarded religion less than politics, and the burden of his works relates to social virtues, civil government, and adherence to ancestral habits.

The sect of Taou (literally *reason*) was founded by Laou-Keum, a contemporary and rival of Confucius. His followers may be called the mystics of China. They profess alchemy, assume mysterious airs, read destinies on the palms, and make great pretensions to deep research and superior light. Their practical works contain, in general, the same laudable precepts which distinguish the system of the Jukeasu.



The Chinese Boodh.

The third sect follow Fo-e, sometimes spelled *Fohi*. Fo-e is said to be the old orthography of *Fuh*, which is the Chinese abbreviation of *Fuh-ta*, or Boodha. The Boodhism of China is the same as that of Burnah, which has been sufficiently described. The system is certainly far older than either of the others. It is gene-

rally supposed to have been introduced about A.D. 70. Kempfer dates the introduction about A.D. 518, when "Darma, a great saint, came from the west, and laid the foundation," &c. Chinese historians agree that the worship of Fohi was originally brought from India. Sir William Jones says confidently, "Boodh was unquestionably the Fo-e of China."

This sect probably embraces one-third of the entire population. The government acts with indecision towards it, at one time denouncing it as dangerous, and at another contributing to its support. Mr Gutzlaff saw at Pooto some placards calling on the people, in the name of the emperor, to repair to the Boodhist temple of that place, in order to propitiate Heaven for a fruitful spring. The priests are numerous, but not greatly respected. I saw some of them in the streets daily. A few were exceedingly well dressed, but generally they were both shabby and dirty, sometimes quite ragged.

The idol differs somewhat from that of the Burmans and Siamese. The above is an exact delineation of a large image, or Jos, which I obtained from Mr Roberts at Macao, and is now in the Baptist Missionary Rooms, Boston.

The state of morals among the English and other foreigners here, is delightfully superior to that of other places I have seen in the east. A particular vice, so notorious elsewhere, is indeed effectually prevented by the Chinese police. But in other respects the superiority is manifest. The Sabbath is well observed; and sobriety, temperance, and industry, distinguish a society which, but for the exclusion of females, would be excellent. Of course, the total absence of mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters, prevents any man from feeling at home in Canton; and few stay longer than they can help.

The British and American gentlemen, besides supporting the hospital, have formed two societies for the good of China, namely, the "Morrison Education Society," and the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." Both are yet in incipient stages. Their designs are fully described in the Chinese Repository. Another measure is gradually ripening for execution, namely, the establishment of a Medical Missionary Society, which promises effectually to try an experiment on which the hearts of many friends of China are strongly set. The object of this society will be to encourage medical gentlemen to come and practise gratuitously among the Chinese.\*

The great blot on foreigners at Canton, though not on all, is the opium trade. That men of correct moral sensibilities and enlightened minds should be so blinded by custom or desire of gain as to engage in this business, is amazing. A smuggler in Canton is no more honourable than a smuggler on any other coast; in some respects less so. There is less chivalry, hardihood, fatigue, exposure, and inducement, than in the case of a poor man who braves both the war of elements and legal penalty, to obtain subsistence for his family. Here, among a peaceable, and perhaps timid people, they incur no personal hazards, and set at defiance edicts and officers. No other smuggling introduces an article so deadly and demoralising. The victims of it daily meet the smuggler's eyes, and are among the patients resorting to the hospital he helps to support.

\* A Medical Missionary Society, with the above object, was formed in Canton early in 1838. It does not purpose to pay the salary of medical men, but to receive such as may be sent by missionary boards, or come at their own cost, and to furnish them with hospitals, medicines, attendants, &c. It will establish libraries and museums, and take every proper measure to spread the benefits of rational medicine and surgery among the Chinese; in the hope of thus paving the way for the relaxation of those laws, customs, and prejudices, which now exclude the Christian missionary. Of this society; T. R. Colledge, Esq., is president. The society has already received cash subscriptions to the amount of 9336 dollars, chiefly from the English and American gentlemen on the spot.

So well do they know the moral and physical evils of opium, that not one of them ventures on the habit of using it himself.

In this, as in other cases, magnitude gives dignity and sanction to the operation. No other smuggling is on so grand a scale. The annual sale amounts to a sum equal to the entire revenue of the United States, and to the whole value of teas exported to England and America! At this very time, though efforts so extraordinary and persevering have been put forth by the Chinese government to stop this infernal traffic, there are *twenty-four* opium ships on the coast. We have little reason to wonder at the reluctance of China to extend her intercourse with foreigners. Nearly the whole of such intercourse brings upon her pestilence, poverty, crime, and disturbance.

No person can describe the horrors of the opium trade. The drug is produced by compulsion, accompanied with miseries to the cultivators as great as slaves endure in any part of the earth. The prices paid to the producer scarcely sustain life, and are many per cent. less than the article produces in China. The whole process of carrying and vending is an enormous infringement of the laws of nations, and such as would immediately produce a declaration of war by any European power—the grandest and grossest smuggling trade on the globe! The influence of the drug on China is more awful and extensive than that of rum in any country, and worse to its victims than any outward slavery. That the government of British India should be the prime abettors of this abominable traffic, is one of the grand wonders of the nineteenth century. The proud escutcheon of the nation which declaims against the slave-trade, is thus made to bear a blot broader and darker than any other in the Christian world.

A subsequent chapter on missions to the Chinese shows what missionaries have laboured for this people, at different points, and who are now thus engaged. It is sufficient, therefore, here to notice those in Canton; namely, Messrs Bridgman and Parker. Mr Bridgman has not yet become able to preach in Chinese, but is making very rapid progress, and has acquired such a knowledge of the *written* language as to be able with critical ability to assist in the revision of the Holy Scriptures, now in progress at Singapore. He has also some promising Chinese boys under his daily instruction. His other engagements, besides the study of the language, are, editing the Chinese Repository, and preaching in English.

Dr Parker has from his arrival been engrossed with medical practice, for which purpose he was sent out. His hospital was commenced in November 1835, chiefly for diseases of the eye. Resident foreigners wholly support the establishment (except Dr Parker's salary), at an expense of about 1600 dollars per annum. Not only do crowds of patients with diseased eyes resort to him, but many others, only a selection of which can receive his attention.

Up to the present period, 4400 persons have been treated. The cases are described, and in some instances the treatment and results, in Dr Parker's regular quarterly reports. His labours are severe, but his health and spirits good. A satisfactory proof of his skill is found in the friendship and encomiums of seven or eight English physicians, residing at Canton and Macao, some of whom attend him on every operation day, rendering valuable aid, and highly applauding his operations and treatment. He has three native students of medicine who receive careful instruction, literary as well as medical, and through whom incalculable blessings may flow to this people.

There is no Chinese convert at Canton, nor religious services in that language, nor giving of tracts. Even conversation with patients in the hospital is ventured upon with caution. A linguist is stationed there by the local authorities, who narrowly watches every transaction. The missionaries fully believe that frequency or a little indiscretion would at once break up the institution, and perhaps cause them to be driven away.

How far the labours of these excellent brethren are to prepare the way for Christianity, or for future missionaries, is not clear. They are certainly earning for *themselves* the confidence and esteem of many individuals. But can they transfer these to others? If successors keep equally quiet in respect to religion, they will remain unmolested, without reference to the present missionaries. If they do not, these will furnish no precedent, and their character no protection: opposition might be expected, as heretofore, and the work must be commenced in fact anew.

Ten days out of my thirty in China were consumed in a visit to Macao. That it was my last point of observation, made me acquainted with Gutzlaff, and would show me Popery under a new phase, gave peculiar interest to the visit.

The sailing distance from Canton is about seventy miles. Small packet-boats, with a deck, ply regularly between the two places, which stop a few minutes at Lintin, and consume generally about twenty-four hours in the passage.

The crowds of boats and junks near Canton, the long line of English and American shipping in Whampoa Reach, the forts, towers, cultivation, and fishermen, on the way to Lintin, and the romantic islands and promontories between that place and Macao, render the voyage, under favourable circumstances, instructing and pleasant.

Macao, seen from the harbour, wears an aspect of great beauty and dignity. The crescent curve of the shore, unbroken by any wharf or jetty, whitened by the foamy surf and sloping sand: the front range of well-built houses; the town, rising behind on different hills; and the bold ridges on either side—make a scene rarely surpassed. But the shipping lie at the back of the town; not a movement of commerce is to be seen; a few sepoys seem to be the only moving objects; and as you land from the little sampan, sensations of desolation are scarcely to be suppressed. The first walk through the town dissipates all the poetic anticipations awakened by a view from the harbour. Narrow streets, ill-built houses, beggarly shops, and the total absence of the appearance of business, create a strong sense of desolation; and a few promenades leave you nothing new to see.

Decline seems stamped on every thing, civil and religious. Instead of its former population of 20,000 Portuguese and other foreigners, it has now but 4300. Its extensive commerce is almost annihilated. Several of the large churches are either in ruins or used for barracks. Few of the houses are kept in perfect repair, and the streets are no longer thronged with busy passengers. The churches are still numerous and noble; and evidence is every moment present that you are in a Papal town. The bells ring often every day; processions, with crucifixes and lighted candles, go and come; and priests, with black frocks and cocked hats, are seen in the streets.

The town is built on two ridges, forming a triangle, of which the hypotenuse is the secure inner harbour, where all the shipping lie, but which is gradually filling up. The whole site is but a section of a promontory extending to the southward from the large island of Heang-shan. A wall, built across the entire breadth, only 1700 yards from the extreme south point, effectually restricts foreigners to the limits assigned them, and enables the Chinese, by stopping the supply of provisions, always to bring the Portuguese to terms, if difficulties occur. A great majority of the inhabitants, even within the Portuguese limits, are Chinese. They have their bazaar, their temples, their commerce, and even their custom-house, and seem to be virtually rulers of the place.

For more than three centuries (that is, since 1537) have the Portuguese occupied Macao. The history of the place, during this long interval, is interesting in various respects, but I can attempt no sketch of it here. It forms not only a veritable and practical comment on Popery, but shows it up in an important aspect; namely,

as having both power and prevalence in the midst of a pagan land. It also exhibits political and commercial mistakes worthy to be scanned and weighed by statesmen.

I of course found the Baptist brethren, Shuck and Roberts, only students; so that, as to them, there was neither much for me to arrange nor learn. But though they have so recently arrived, I was assured by a competent judge that their progress in the language was very honourable to themselves. Mr Shuck studies the Mandareen dialect, preparatory to assuming some post on the western frontier of China; and Mr Roberts that of Macao, intending to make this his permanent position. I was happy to make arrangements with Mr Gutzlaff to devote a few hours a-week to their instruction.

Mr Williams, a printer in the service of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, is stationed here. He has charge of the Honourable East India Company's printing-office, and has been employed on Medhurst's Dictionary, &c. The magistrates totally prohibit the printing of bibles and tracts in Macao, so that he is at present left to prosecute his studies in the language. This office contains two fonts of Chinese character, and some English. One is of very large size, each type weighing one tael and two mace, or about an ounce and a half. Each type was engraved by itself, and cost, for cutting and metal, about seven cents. The font has but one type in each character, so that it can be of no use unless in reprinting a dictionary; 17,000 of these types have been lost, and 27,000 yet remain. The font was made at vast expense by the East India Company, for printing Morrison's great Chinese Dictionary.

The other font is of the size called "Columbian," and, like the first, was cut upon blank faces, and not cast. It contains 30,000 characters, averaging but two types for each; so that, like the other, it cannot be used in printing ordinary books.

With Mr Williams is residing G. T. Lay, Esq., an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, whose recent visits to Borneo, Celebes, Ternate, and other islands in these seas, enabled him to give me light on several subjects respecting which books left me in the dark. Mr Lay is distinguished as a naturalist, as well as for an extraordinary facility in acquiring languages; and his researches among these comparatively unknown tribes cannot fail to benefit both science and religion.

Mr Gutzlaff welcomed me with all possible cordiality, and our previous correspondence paved the way for business, without circumlocution or formality. He is a Prussian, about thirty-four years of age, small, dark hair and eyes, in fine health, of great activity, and sprightly in all his motions. His office of interpreter to the superintendent of trade seldom makes demands on his time, while its ample salary furnishes him the means of much good. No man is more devoted to the cause of Christ, and few so laborious, as his *ten* voyages along the coast since his arrival in 1831 amply testify. His chief employment at present is the preparation of tracts, and of a new version of the Scriptures, with the help of Marshman's and Morrison's versions.

I of course spent many hours with him, listening, note-book in hand, to his opinions, observations, difficulties, desires, and purposes, and his comments on mine. Without the least apparent reserve, and with exceeding earnestness and animation, he passed on from subject to subject, at the table, in the garden, and by the way-side. All was of China. Not an inquiry had he to make of where I had been, or what was doing elsewhere. Not a moment did common-place matters come up. His mind, full of one grand theme, seemed to flow over spontaneously every moment. Though unable to adopt his judgment on many points, I could not but admire his zeal, piety, diligence, and hope.

His darling plan is the multiplication of voyages along the coast for the distribution of tracts. He thinks he has in this way, himself, had access to 30,000,000 of people, and cherishes the most animated expectations

from a large employment of this method. But after listening with deep attention to all his remarks on this important theme, I could not adopt his conclusions. The distribution of tracts can only be of use on a large scale in preparing the way for living teachers. This has been done sufficiently, so far as regards the coast; and we must continue to do *occasionally* till teachers be admitted to residence. But to make it an end instead of a means—to pour annually millions of tracts along the same line of coast—to go in face of prohibitory edicts, and only as protected by cannon—and to be at the expense of both tracts and voyage, while so many of the books are yet scarcely intelligible—is at best but a very imperfect mode of conducting a mission.

Mrs Gutzlaff is an English lady, without children of her own, and has taken twenty little pagan girls into her house, where they receive every advantage, in school and out. They are allowed to come into the parlour, and are in all respects put upon the footing of pupils in our best boarding-schools. Among them are two little blind girls, of good parts. As I caressed the poor little orphans, heard their hymns and portions of Scripture, saw them read from the New England raised letter-books, and marked the deep and tender interest of Mrs Gutzlaff on their behalf, my heart rejoiced in God. Oh, how blessed and bright would this dark world become, if only the spirit of our glorious Redeemer were diffused abroad! What sweet intercourse of sympathy, generosity, love, and gratitude, would gladden life's roughest passages!

There is no body of native Christians in Macao, nor any Protestant convert but a poor gardener, baptised by Mr Shuck not long since. I accompanied Mr Gutzlaff on the first Sunday of November, to the houses of some Chinamen, with whom he conversed in a manner that showed he was no stranger to their doors. In the evening, as is his custom, he preached in English to the patients of the Marine Hospital, and a few friends; but it was evident this was not his forte. There can be held no regular meetings for Chinese, nor any open preaching, and only a scanty and cautious distribution of tracts. Mr Gutzlaff's usefulness, therefore, can extend little beyond his study and his scholars, except when on his favourite excursions along the coast.

The next evening was the concert of prayer, held at the house of C. W. K., Esq., a pious American of the firm of Oliphant and Co. We numbered but eight; yet the occasion, the place, and the circumstances of the people around us, gave deep interest to a meeting always dear to a Christian. Alas! that so many churches lose the pleasure and benefit of this hallowed evening; to say nothing of the duty of praying, "Thy kingdom come."

T. R. Colledge, Esq., of this place, an eminent and humane surgeon in his majesty's service, on joining the East India Company's establishment in 1827, immediately began a system of gratuitous practice for the Chinese, particularly in diseases of the eye. The first year his own resources supplied the funds; but in the next friends contributed, and as confidence among the Chinese increased, patients multiplied, and a regular hospital was opened, where patients from a distance were accommodated. Up to 1833, 4000 patients were relieved. At that time the retirement of a medical officer threw upon Dr Colledge such an increase of duty that the hospital was suspended. The institution, however, had so won the favour of all classes, that a very large and well-adapted house has been purchased for a permanent establishment, capable of accommodating several hundred persons.

Mr Gutzlaff's published letters have widely diffused his favourite position that "China is open." He still maintains this position, though others have risen to controvert it. To me it seems, that whether it is open to the settlement of missionaries is a matter to be decided only by experiment; to make which, there are not more than himself and three other missionaries sufficiently versed in the language. Little good could come of an attempt of this kind, made by a man unable to

teach the people, or to explain himself before a magistrate. The worst that would probably happen to a proper man making the trial, would be to be placed in a sedan chair, and transmitted to Macao. How far the sea-board is open to the *distribution of tracts*, is ascertained; that is, they may be given away in any quantity, if a ship be at hand to protect the operation. For want of such a vessel, 170 large boxes of tracts have now for months been lying in a receiving ship at Lintin, and which dare not be landed either at Canton or Macao.

I am not only persuaded that at this moment China is *not* open to the settlement of Christian teachers, but satisfied that Protestants are far from being ready to have it open. With three or four men able to preach in Chinese, what could Christendom do? Nothing, after locating these, with each 100,000,000 for his district, but what she can do now—set apart more men to study the language. It is a great mercy that China should be shut at present to Christian teachers. Were it otherwise, Protestants are without persons to send; while Popish priests abound in the east, and would instantly enter in great numbers, making the field worse for us, if possible, than now.

## CHAPTER VI.

Embark for home. Straits of Gaspar and Sunda. Petty Monsoon. Cape of Good Hope. Remarkable Phenomenon. St Helena. False alarm. Slave trade. Landing at Newport. Summary. Reflections.

BESIDES the sweets of being "homeward bound," the voyage from the east is, in many respects, pleasanter than the outward, especially when we embark in the fall. The winds are almost all fair; the distance is much less; and the repeated sight of land breaks up the dreary monotony of four or five months' passage; and vessels generally touch at the Cape of Good Hope, or St Helena, which adds a large amount of interesting information, and furnishes refreshments to sustain both health and spirits.

The stagnation of trade is now so complete (November 1837), that but one vessel is loading at Canton for the United States, and no other expected to sail for six or eight weeks, if so soon. She belongs to Messrs Brown and Ives of Providence, and in her I take passage, grateful for an opportunity to depart when my business is finished.

Leaving Macao November 24th, we came down the coast of Cochin-China, between the Natunas and Anamba groups of islands, and passing in sight of Middle Island, St Julien, St Esprit, St Barbe, &c., reached the Straits of Gaspar in ten days. Here we saw Banca, Pulo Lat, and other islands. A day or two more brought to view the beautiful heights of Sumatra, along which we coasted to the Straits of Sunda, surrounded by noble scenery. The mountains of Java and Sumatra, the fine peaks of Cokatoa and Prince's islands, the numerous minor islands, the quiet seas, and the glorious skies, make it one of the most interesting passages I know.

Leaving Java head December 7th, we took the petty monsoon,\* and hauled close upon it, to latitude 16° south, where we reached the regular south-east trade, and rolled before it more than 4000 miles in about a month. On the 17th of January 1838, we came in sight of Africa, and sailed for two days close along the sublime outline of the mountains which form the "Cape of Storms." The winds here are almost always ahead for homeward vessels, which therefore hug the shore, for the benefit of the westerly current; but we were favoured with a gentle fair wind all the way round to Table Bay.

\* The petty monsoon is a remarkable intrusion on the south-east trade wind. It exists six months in the year; namely, from November till May, between latitude 2 degrees and 10 degrees south, and extending from Madagascar to Java. It is sometimes broader. We had it as far as latitude 16 degrees. It generally blows fresh, and often in squalls.

No sooner had we dropped anchor off Cape Town, on the morning of the 19th, than I hastened ashore to make the best of the time the ship remained to fill up her water and procure stores. Dr Phillips, the well-known and venerable superintendent of the London Missionary Society's stations in South Africa, had not yet returned from his visit to England, but I found Mrs P. abundantly able to supply his place. Her complete knowledge of the details of every station, and striking energy of character, charmed me exceedingly. Making me welcome to her home, she patiently suffered herself to be plied with questions, and, on my retiring for the night, furnished documents to read, calculated to be highly useful to me as a manager of missionary operations.

The Rev. Mr Locke, Mr Phillip's substitute, gave me his time when Mrs P. could not, so that, whether walking or sitting, my pencil had no rest. Long practice has served to stereotype my questions, so that when I fall among such as can inform, the work of gathering facts, dates, and numbers, is plain, if not easy.

Few places can be more beautifully situated than Cape Town. The city occupies a gentle acclivity, on the east side of the bay; scattered villas are sprinkled over the adjacent shores, and in the rear, upon moderate hills, are pleasant country seats, embosomed among vineyards and fruit-trees. Behind all, distant but a mile, is the steep wall-like front of Table Mountain, rising nearly 4000 feet almost perpendicularly, without a tree or scarcely a shrub to hide the frowning rocks. In the placid bay about twenty vessels were lying at anchor, of which no less than eight were American. There is a small fort, and some other defences, but none which would be of any avail against an enemy which might land elsewhere and take these batteries in the rear.

The streets of the city are regularly laid out and well built, but narrow. The population is about 25,000, the great majority of which are negroes and mulattoes. These swarm about the town, their wretched trousers and jackets contrasting very disadvantageously with the graceful and snow-white drapery of servants in India.

It is the middle of January (1838), and here, the height of summer. The markets abound with grapes, peaches, apricots, apples, plums, figs, oranges, lemons, strawberries, mulberries, melons, &c., at very low rates. Our supply of oranges from China had just run out, so that such an opportunity of replacing our antiscorbutic luxuries was most welcome. The vineyards are not trelliced like the Italian, or tied to stakes like the German, but suffered to grow alone, like currant bushes. This plan is probably necessary, on account of the fierce winds which often prevail, but as it suffers many of the grapes to lie on the ground, is perhaps the cause of the earthy taste of the common Cape wines.

There are at Cape Town two Episcopal ministers, four Dutch, two Lutheran, one Scotch, two Independent, two Methodist, one supported by the South African Missionary Society, and four engaged wholly or partially in schools or secular business, making eighteen. The following list of charitable and religious institutions, though perhaps incomplete, will show that Christians here are not unmindful of the calls of enlightened philanthropy:—Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; South African Missionary Society, instituted 1799; Auxiliary London Missionary Society; Auxiliary Wesleyan Missionary Society; Bible Union, instituted 1818; Infant School Society, with three schools; three schools on the British system; Ladies' Benevolent Society; Tract and Book Society; Orphan Asylum; Sick and Burial Society; Widows' and Old Women's Society; School of Industry for girls; and ten Sunday schools, containing about 1500 scholars.

Had the Dutch, who settled this colony nearly 200 years ago, been as zealous for the conversion of the natives as they were for the introduction of their language, there would no doubt have been a far different state of things among that part of the population.



But though Dutch is now the vernacular of all the negroes in this part of the continent, Christianity is the religion of comparatively few, while more than 9000 have adopted the faith of the false prophet. Indeed, it is affirmed that they rather preferred that the Hotentots should become Mussulmans, being unwilling that their slaves should acquire such a ground of familiarity as would be produced by a common Christianity! Even now, a large number of blacks annually go over to Mahometanism.

On leaving the Cape of Good Hope, a delightful breeze from the south-east brought us at once into the regular trade-wind, so that we scarcely started tack or sheet till off St Helena on the 31st of January. Squalls and calms, produced by the proximity of this lofty island, kept us near it for twenty-four hours, making us familiar with its gloomy outline, and allowing us leisure to philosophise on the fate of bloody men. Heavy clouds lowered on its summits, while dreariness and solitude seemed the only tenants of its worthless valleys. May ambitious rulers never forget the impressive lesson of St Helena's exiled emperor! We left the island to the westward, and catching "the trade" again, reached the equator in about twenty days. He who most dislikes the sea, must love it in the south-east trade-wind. Such skies, such air, such gentle waters, such quiet in the ship, such glorious nights, such security from all shoals and coasts, and such steady progress, make up the very poetry of life upon the sea.

The north-east trade met us south of the line, blowing with double the force of the other. Its haziness prevented my noticing at what latitude the Magellan clouds ceased to be visible. We however saw them till within two or three degrees of the equator. They appeared then about 15° above the horizon. Since leaving the Cape, the thermometer has ranged about 80° to 85° in the cabin.

For a number of days after crossing the line, we noticed a fine yellowish sand deposited on every part of the vessel and rigging. It could be wiped from the decks like dust from a table. This of course was from the coast of Africa, above 1000 miles distant! I am told this phenomenon is not uncommon, but do not recollect to have seen it noticed in books.

In the latitude of the West Indies, a suspicious-looking schooner came in sight, and leaving her course, boarded a vessel a few miles ahead. Soon after, she bore for another; changing her course again, came down upon us, and ranged alongside at musket shot distance. She carried the flag of Donna Maria, was of the fastest model, too small to be engaged in commerce, and had other indications of being a pirate. It seemed evident, too, she had no particular course, for she had been boxing about since daylight. To be captured, and perhaps murdered, was now a reasonable expectation, and I began to think this book would never see the light. After sailing with us a while before the wind, keeping us in constant expectation of a shot, she sheared to, and an officer in half uniform hailed us, saying, "With your leave, we will come on board." Of course it was of no use to resist, and our captain sulkily hauled up his courses. We were somewhat relieved by seeing her boat shove off with but a small crew. Our ladder and man-ropes were put over the side, and presently a ruffian-looking man, with side arms, stood upon our deck. We stood ready to learn our fate, but he seemed in no hurry to announce it. However, after looking about at every thing, and asking our cargo, destination, &c., he settled our surmises by saying, that he wished merely to know his longitude!

The schooner was a slaver, recently captured off Jamaica by a British cruiser, and this personage was prize-master. The slaves had been apprenticed on the island by government, as is the custom in such cases, and the vessel was on her way to Sierra Leone to be condemned, having the late captain and one or two of the crew on board. Being destitute of a chronometer, he took this opportunity to ascertain his position, by comparing the reckoning of the vessels in sight. The

vessel was about eighty tons burden (not so large as many of our river sloops), and when taken, had on board 326 slaves. Between her decks was but two feet four inches, so that the unhappy negroes could scarcely sit upright. They were stowed in a solid mass, in a sitting posture, amidst filth and stench so horrid, that the place was insupportable for days after they were removed. These vessels are generally fitted out at Havana, and if they escape capture one voyage out of four, the profits are abundant. As the officers and crew are not punished, much less the merchant, there is no want of tools for this infernal business. As soon as the vessel is condemned at Sierra Leone, she is sold by auction, and not being wanted there, the captain himself becomes the purchaser, and with all his irons, gratings, and other apparatus, already on board, passes down the coast, takes in another cargo, and tries his chance again.

Lord Brougham has affirmed, in a late speech in parliament, that 185 slave-vessels were fitted out from Havana in the year 1835; and that in 1836, the number of slaves imported into that single city exceeded 23,000. In the month of December 1836, two vessels arrived at Rio Janeiro, one of which brought 500 slaves, and the other 780. The average import of slaves into Rio is about 53,000. In 1837, there were imported into one city of Brazil 45,000 slaves. It has been recently published, without contradiction, that nearly 200 slave voyages are made from Cuba every year, and that many of these are owned by Englishmen and Americans. It is to be feared that this awful business is now conducted almost as extensively as at any former period.

On the 25th of March 1838, the shores of my native country once more received me, having made the voyage in 120 days, without disaster. I have abstained from speaking of dangers, escapes, hardships, and inconveniences, except where they might make the reader better acquainted with the country or people through which I was passing; but an open acknowledgment is now due to the Father of mercies, and to my friends whose prayers were not intermitted. In the east, opportunities of going from port to port are often not to be had for months; yet I was never hurried from any place till my work was done, nor in a single instance detained uselessly. During an absence from the United States of two years and a half, I made nineteen voyages by sea (which consumed 464 days), fourteen voyages by rivers, and a land journey of 500 miles, besides smaller trips by land and water. The whole distance travelled, including actual courses at sea, is somewhat more than 53,000 miles. In all these wanderings, often in dangerous and ill-fitted vessels, and regions unhealthy or infested with robbers, I was never hurt nor molested, nor was any person hurt or taken sick where I was. In one of these journeys, it will be recollected, I was supposed to be armed with a pair of horse pistols, for which I afterwards found I had no bullets. On all other occasions, I went without the semblance of a weapon, except a cane.

The entire expense of my mission, including voyages out and home, presents to chiefs, purchase of curiosities for missionary rooms, and salary, amounts to about 5000 dollars—scarcely half of the sum I had supposed would be requisite. Part of this may be regarded as falling within the usual expenses of the Board, as on all occasions I acted the part of a missionary, by preaching through interpreters, conducting the services of native assistants, and distributing Christian books.

The wide field gone over in my weary way is now traced, and thousands of facts concerning it are fairly spread out. Much more remains unsaid; but nothing is kept back which would materially alter the nature of the reader's impressions. Deeply conscious of the imperfections which have attended the discharge of this engagement, I am, nevertheless, cheered by the fullest conviction that such an agency was essential to the welfare and vigour of the mission; that no part of my life has so effectually promoted the blessed cause for which

alone it is desirable to live; and that the divine presence and aid were never more manifestly vouchsafed upon any of my endeavours.

It only remains for me to declare my deep and solemn conviction that the missionary enterprise is of God. All I have seen, read, and heard, has served to impress me more and more with the rectitude, practicability, and usefulness of the work. Our duty, as revealed in Scripture, is illustrated and urged in every part of the field. The missionaries, as a body, are holy and diligent men. I have satisfied myself that the translations are continually improving; that the tracts are orthodox and scriptural; and that a large part of them are intelligible to the natives. Evidences of the divine favour are visible, and are numerated in a subsequent chapter, though not completely, yet so abundantly as that unprejudiced Christians must deem them encouraging.

The personal examination of numerous missionary stations in the east (some of them the seat of several distinct bodies of missionaries); a minute knowledge of many adjacent ones; a personal acquaintance with nearly ninety ordained missionaries—Episcopalian, Lutheran, Scotch, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Independent, Congregational, and Baptist, besides wives, assistants, and native helpers; visits to schools and the houses of converts; seeing many heathen in their native state; witnessing much missionary labour; attending committees, conferences, prayer-meetings, and catechisings; and almost confining my reading to this subject for three years—has satisfied me that the measure of missionary success is equal to just expectations. The particular grounds of this decision will be found briefly spread out in Chapter III. of the "Dissertations."

Opportunities of usefulness are more extended than ever before. There are not only more presses and more missionaries, but better tracts; more of the Scriptures are translated; more of our brethren understand the languages where they are; the native assistants know more of the plan of salvation; and the schools are better conducted.

Our incentives to increased action are very strong. Many young men of great promise, who have devoted themselves to missionary work, are deterred from presenting themselves to the societies, because of the uncertainty when they can be sent out, if at all. This ought very seriously to engage the attention of the churches. Men are prepared and willing to go, and

the church does not supply the means. In the meant time, promising fields remain unoccupied; a proper division of labour is not effected at existing stations; and at some points the whole labour and expense, and the entire services of some missionaries, are in danger of being lost, for want of men to take the place of those now engaged, in case of sickness or death. In some instances, there are for a whole nation but one missionary.

Our visible encouragements are greater than at any former period. The number of converts within the year 1837, connected with missions from the United States, exceeds the whole number of converts, during the first twenty years of the existence of missionary operations. In the same missions, religious truth is now being printed in nearly sixty languages, and at the rate of millions of pages per annum.

Reader, could you have stood with me over the graves of Swartz, Carey, Boardman, or Heber, or could you stand beside the departing ship, where weeping parents give up dear children to many hardships, and to be seen no more, how would your sacrifices appear in the comparison! What are you doing for the spread of Christianity which compares with these; or with the widow's mite, which was "all her living?" Oh, examine this matter. The blood of the heathen may be on your soul. Have you properly satisfied yourself that it is not your duty "to go to the heathen?" Are you sure you are not required to give more to this cause? If it be the duty of some to go abroad, and of others to give up their sons and daughters, what ought you to do? Must the whole body of Christians do their duty; or will the services of a part excuse the remainder? Either those who go on missions are egregiously misled, and might without guilt have remained at home, enjoying all the sweets of civilised society, religious privileges, and family intercourse, or you are fatally deluded in supposing that you acquit yourselves of all obligation by paying a paltry dollar or two, per annum or per month. What shall be said, then, of those who do not contribute towards spreading the knowledge of God and truth among the nations, so much as the price of a gewgaw, or a ribbon, in a whole year? Oh Lord, lay not this sin to thy people's charge! Let thy church arise and shine, that the Gentiles may come to her light, and kings to the brightness of her rising.

## DISSERTATIONS, TABLES, &c.

### CHAPTER I.

#### MISSIONS TO THE CHINESE.

Stations now occupied. Sudiya. Mogoung. Bamoo. Umerapoon. Zemmal. Pontiana. Sambas. Banca. Other Bodies of Chinese. Versions of the Holy Scriptures. Proportion of Chinese who can read. The importance of distributing Tracts and Bibles overrated. Comparison of the modes of Printing. Difficulty of the Language. Dictionaries, Grammars, &c. Present Missionaries to the Chinese. Other Sinologues. Number of Converts. Best Authors on China.

The accounts given of Canton and Macao in a preceding chapter show to what extent those cities can be regarded as missionary stations, and how little prospect there is of an early toleration to missionary efforts in China Proper. Hence the necessity of establishing missions for this people in other places, where they are found residing in large numbers. Stations now exist only at Canton, Macao, Malacca, Singapore, and Bankok, of which I have detailed the facts; and Batavia, which I did not visit. Penang has been occupied by Mr Dyer, but he is now of Malacca. The general and deep inter-

rest felt by the Christian public on behalf of the Chinese, induces me to present, at one view, the other points which seem now to invite missionaries. Others have been named which I know to be unsuitable; there may be some of which I know nothing.

By placing missionaries at these places we carry the gospel to the Chinese, though not to China. Besides the numerous body of permanent residents, are thousands who return to their own country after amassing a competency; and thousands who never cease to be citizens of China, come and return annually in the junks and caravans. Tracts may be sent by such to every part of the coast. Converts may be made at such stations, who shall become at no distant period the best of missionaries to their own land; a quiet abode is secured where the Holy Scriptures may be translated; schools may be taught; and many other services rendered, quite as important as any which could be performed in China itself.

1. SUDIYA, a station of the American Baptist Board in Upper Assam, on a branch of the Burampooter. Several missionaries and a printing establishment are

located here, prosecuting labours among the tribes of the vicinity.

The frontier of China is not now accessible from Sudiya. Some rude tribes of Singphoos intervene, who preserve their independence, and render travelling by this route highly dangerous. British influence, however, seems fast extending in that direction, and a free intercourse for whites may ere long be secured.

Some of the chiefs, for an established compensation, grant a free passage and escort to an annual caravan of Chinese to Thibet. It generally amounts to about 600 persons, who collect on the borders of Yunnan, and proceed to Lassa, making the journey in six weeks. Credible natives affirm that a good road extends the whole distance from Lassa to Peking, and that letters are carried from one capital to the other in twenty days.

We may hope that Christian zeal will soon make this road and this caravan the means of conveying divine truth to China. Perhaps even now the caravan might sometimes be reached from Sudiya, for the distribution of tracts.

2. MO-GOUNG, or MONG-MAORONG, is a large fortified city, on a branch of the Irrawaddy river, about 25° 20', inhabited chiefly by Shyans, Chinese, and Singphoos. It is said by some to be the ancient capital of the kingdom of Bong, but whether there ever was such a kingdom is not clear. It is more probable that Mogoung was at an early period a part of the Tai or Shyan country, and the metropolis of the northern section. Good roads, for horses or bullocks, extend in various directions, particularly to Assam, Yunnan, and Bamoo. The trade to China is almost equal to that of the latter city. The resident Chinese are of a respectable class. The contiguity of the famous amber mines\* brings numerous merchants from Yunnan, Munipore, and other adjacent countries. The traders from China stay some weeks, and generally return from year to year; so that successive instructions might be given them.

Beesa, called by the Burmans *Beejanoung*, and by the Shyans *Hukung*, is but about eighty miles, north by west, from Mogoung. This is one of the principal Singphoo cities, between which and Sudiya there is constant and free intercourse. I had the pleasure of meeting at Ava the famous Duffa Gam, prince of the Beesa Singphoos, who assured me that missionaries to his country should be well received and protected. He imparted many of the facts I now give respecting that part of Burmah and its various tribes.

3. BAMOO.—This city (lat. 24° 17' north, long. 96° 55' east) lies on the Irrawaddy river, near the junction of the Tapan, or Bamoo, or Pmlang river, which comes in from China. It is called by Hamilton *Bhanmo*, and by some writers *Damau*. The old town stood on this branch, but the modern one is a mile below. The present population is 14,000, of whom one-tenth are Chinese. Each side of the river, for miles above and below, presents the appearance of a continued village; and the surrounding country is one of the most wealthy and populous portions of the Burman empire. About twenty-five miles to the southward, but much more by the course of the river, is the confluence of the Lung-Shun, which also rises in China, and which, as well as the Bamoo, affords a boat navigation into Yunnan during the rainy season. Boats come up from Ava in twelve days; and when the waters are high, vessels of 150 tons may proceed 130 miles farther.

A great trade is carried on from Bamoo to China, part of it *en route* to Ava. From five to six thousand Chinamen arrive every cold season from Yunnan, causing a resort at the same time of traders from all parts of Burmah and Munipore. This intercourse was found existing when Europeans first visited the country, and the Portuguese are said to have established factors here in the sixteenth century.

As the caravans travel in the dry season, they proceed by land, crossing several ridges of mountains, and

a country occupied by Shyans, to Santa; from whence they disperse. Santa, though in China Proper, is peopled principally by Shyans, who are also numerous in most other parts of Yunnan. They spread also over all the country eastward of Bamoo, and are called by the Burmans *Tarouk*, or Chinese Shyans. A large part of them speak Chinese.

Bamoo would be a more pleasant location than either Rangoon or Ava, except for its distance from the sea-board. The people are more refined than in most parts of Burmah, dress more completely, live in large comfortable houses, have peaceful habits, and seem particularly intelligent. The Chinese occupy a part of the city to themselves, chiefly one wide, clean street. They have about a hundred shops, built of blue brick and tiled, and a handsome temple. The Shyan quarter contains 800 houses, well built, chiefly of wood. Most of the streets are paved, and all have fine shade-trees. The vicinity is highly improved; and Mr Kincaid speaks of an iron suspension bridge.

Besides its reference to China, this is obviously an important point for a mission, not only to the Burmans and Shyans, but the Kah-Kyens. Large numbers also of Assamese, Singphoos, Muniporeans,<sup>3</sup> Yos, and others, resorting here for trade, demand attention. At least four missionaries, one for Chinese, one for Shyans, one for Burmans, and one for the Kah-Kyens, are wanted here; or more properly two missionaries to each of these classes. It is not certain that operations, or even a residence there, would now be permitted, but every day increases the probability.

4. UMERAPOORA, six miles above Ava, and formerly the metropolis of Burmah, has a population of about 10,000 Chinese, mostly married to Burman females. It is also the resort of many young men from China, who remain only a few years. During all the dry season, small caravans arrive every few weeks, amounting, in the whole, to several thousand in a season. The route is principally through Thencee, in about latitude 22° 40', longitude 98° 10', said by natives to contain 3000 houses, and destined I hope, at no distant period, to be a missionary station. By the caravan, a regular communication with Ava could be maintained. Near the city are extensive sugar plantations wrought by Chinese, and furnishing a considerable quantity for different parts of the country.

Many considerations invite to the early location of a missionary at this city, who should acquire the dialect spoken in Yunnan\* and the west of China, and be prepared to cross the frontier at the first favourable moment. A good teacher, if not procurable in the place, might probably be obtained easily from the caravans. Among the traders are educated men, who would gladly engage for two or three years at the usual wages. The city itself furnishes ample scope for the labours of several missionaries to the Chinese, and the government would not probably offer obstructions, as they permit all foreigners to exercise what religion they choose. Mr Kincaid has several times been invited to accompany the caravan to China, and promised every attention.

5. ZEMMAI, about 400 miles north from Bangkok, is called by the natives as above, by the Siamese *Chang-mai*, or *Changmy*, by Loubiere *Chamé*, in Modern Universal History *Jangoma*, and in Malte Brun's atlas *Shaimai*. It contains 25,000 inhabitants, and is the residence of the prince or chobwaw of all the southern Laos. The river Meinam is navigable thus far for boats.

Part of what is now Siam appears to have formerly belonged to this district, and formed an independent kingdom, but the period of the dismemberment and reduction of their country does not appear. For several

\* The province of Yunnan, of which mention is made so often, is one of the fairest and most populous in all China, and forms the eastern boundary of Burmah. Du Halde sets down its population at 8,000,000, and that of Sechuen, the adjacent province, at 27,000,000. Gutzlaff, from the government census, gives Yunnan 15,000,000 and Sechuen 21,000,000.

\* The price of the best kind, on the spot, is about three shillings sterling or seventy cents a pound.

generations, they have been alternately tributary to Siam and Burmah. At present they are virtually independent, but pay a nominal homage to both countries.

Very considerable intercourse is kept up by caravans with China. These go and come during six months of the year in small companies, making an aggregate of several thousand men, each trader having twelve or fifteen loaded mules or ponies; and sometimes elephants are employed. A large male elephant costs 250 dollars, and carries about 1200 pounds. A small female costs about 40 dollars, and carries one-third the weight. The route is over mountains and deserts, and is performed with difficulty.

Zemmai has the advantage of regular and frequent intercourse with Ava, Maulmain, and Bankok. Standing on a branch of the Meinam river, the intercourse with the latter city by boats is very considerable. The flood-tide not being felt much above Ayuthia, the voyage up occupies twenty-five days. Boats come down in less than half the time.

Dr Richardson of Maulmain has several times visited Zemmai, and has made valuable communications, respecting the route and inhabitants, to the supreme government of India. He met with no difficulty, and performed the journey in twenty-five days, travelling, as caravans generally do in these regions, about ten miles per day. Drove of bullocks have been several times brought hence to Maulmain for the troops, and the intercourse is likely to increase.

Merchants from Zemmai visit Ava every year, and sometimes civil and military officers. They reach Monay or Mong-ny (lat. 20° 40', long. 97° 40') in twenty days, and thence to Ava in fifteen more. Monay is a large city, and the seat of government for another division of Shyans. I met the governor, or chobwaw, in Ava, at the morning levee of the principal woongyee, who encouraged me to send missionaries to his people, and made many kind assurances.

Besides the claims of Zemmai as a station for the Chinese, it presents still more in relation to the natives. The whole country round is peopled with a density very uncommon in Farther India. Within a circle of fifty miles are the cities of Lagoung, Moungpai, and Mounghnam, each with 20,000 inhabitants; Labong, with 14,000; and several smaller cities. The people are mild, humane, intelligent, and prosperous. Opium-smoking and gambling are almost unknown. Almost every article wanted by a missionary can be had in the bazaars, and at low rates. A fat cow costs but one dollar.

The tracts in course of publication at Sudiya would probably be intelligible to the people of Zemmai and vicinity. Four unmarried men are urgently needed at this station; two for the Shyans, and two for the Chinese.

6. PONTIANA, on the west side of the island of Borneo, stands on a river of the same name, nearly under the equator. Being a Dutch settlement, protection and the comforts of civilised life are secured to the missionary. Its distance from Batavia is 400 miles, and from Singapore 300; the trade with each place being constant, both in native and European vessels.

The city contains only about 300 Chinese, but in the interior are 30,000, engaged in working the gold and other mines. There were formerly Catholic priests here, but they have left no proselytes. This station is salubrious, safe, accessible, cheap, and every way promising. Numerous junks constantly trade from here to different ports on the coast of China, by which any quantity of tracts may be distributed.

7. SAMBAS stands on the same side of Borneo, about eighty miles northward of Pontiana. As a position for a Chinese missionary, it resembles Pontiana in all important respects. There are about fifty Dutch inhabitants, and many Malays, Dayas, Bugis, &c. The Chinese in the city do not exceed 200, but there is another body of 40,000 in the rear. Like the others, they are nominally subject to the Dutch, because lying within territory claimed by them; but they pay no tax, justice is

administered by their own rulers, and they are in fact independent. They hold daily intercourse, by an inland route, with the above-named body of Chinese on the Pontiana river.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions have stationed here the Rev. Messrs Arms and Robbins, as missionaries to the Dayas.\* They commenced the study of that language, but finding the Malay would be more useful, have turned to that. The Daya language is divided into some thirty different dialects, none of which are reduced to writing, and is so poor in words, that the Scriptures could scarcely be made intelligible in a translation. As missionary zeal must create all the readers, it has been thought preferable to teach Malay, and give them a literature in that language. I am satisfied that it would be better to make English their learned language, rather than Malay. In this case, so soon as readers were raised up, they would have access to all literature and works of piety. In the other, ages must elapse before there can be a valuable literature in that language. The teaching to read is but a fraction of labour compared to enriching a language with valuable books.

8. BANCA is an island about 130 miles long, and 35 broad, lying in the strait of the same name. The inhabitants are Malays, Chinese, aboriginal mountaineers, and Orang Louts. The Malays are not very numerous, and prone to indolence. The tribes of the interior reside in a state of great rudeness and poverty. The Orang Louts, or "men of the sea," reside chiefly in little prows along the coast, deriving their precarious subsistence from the waters. The Chinese are the strength of the colony, carrying on almost all the trades, but especially the operations of mining for tin. Their exact number is not ascertained, but they amount to many thousands, and keep up constant intercourse with their mother country.

This island is not deemed particularly unhealthy; and being in the very highway of commerce, offers many facilities for a Chinese mission.

Of Singapore and Bankok, as stations for missionaries to Chinese, I have spoken elsewhere. Penang has been occupied by the London Missionary Society, and may be resumed. It had, in 1836, 9000 Chinese inhabitants.

There are other large bodies of Chinese, with some of whom missionaries might probably be stationed. On the Island of Java are probably 200,000, 32,000 of which are in Batavia; on Bintang, 7000; on Sumatra, 3000. Tringano, Patani, and other towns on the east coast of Malaya, have each several hundred or more, but offer no encouragement at present as stations.

The facts exhibited in this sketch seem meagre, but comprise all the valuable result of diligent inquiries, omitting, however, what has been made public by others, or mentioned in other parts of this work.

So far as the salvation of the bulk of Chinese *resident* in foreign countries is concerned, the missionary in some of these places need not acquire their language. They consist, in great part, of the progeny of Chinamen married to natives, whose mother tongue, therefore, is the local language. Many of them, wearing the full Chinese costume, know nothing of that language. Most of them learn to speak it on common subjects, and some few are taught to read a little, but they could not be usefully addressed by a missionary in that language.

Perhaps the best plan would be, besides stationing missionaries (two or three in a place to learn the language, distribute tracts, &c.) at these various outposts, to collect a considerable number at some eligible point, say at Malacca or Singapore, where in classes, and under competent teachers, native and others, they might pursue their studies without the interruptions incident to the occupancy of a missionary station. Much money would thus be saved, as well as much time and

\* This word is often written *Dayak*. But the final letter is *a*, gutturally and suddenly pronounced. The same is the case with *Pontiana*, *Batta*, and all that class of words.

much health. The ladies not keeping house, could study in class with their husbands. Persons of experience, observation, and ability in the language, would thus be raised up, qualified to assume all the practicable stations in China or out of it.

There are two entire versions of the Holy Scriptures in Chinese—Marshman's of Serampore, in five vols. 8vo.; and Morrison and Milne's, in twenty-one vols. 8vo. The former was commenced about a year before Dr Morrison arrived in China; but both were finished and printed about the same time (1823), and have been largely distributed, in successive editions. Both versions are verbal and literal; so much so as to prove objectionable to present missionaries. Though not likely to be reprinted, they are eminently valuable, as the bases of a new version.

A third translation is in progress, by Messrs Medhurst and Gutzlaff. The New Testament, which was revised in concert with J. R. Morrison, Esq., and the Rev. Mr Bridgman, has been printed from blocks at Singapore, and lithographed at Batavia. It is in process of revision for a second edition. Genesis and Exodus are also in press, the Pentateuch ready, and the rest of the Old Testament in progress. Objections have been made to this version, as being too loose and paraphrastic. The translators of course deny the charge, but the British and Foreign Bible Society have as yet withheld their aid. The character and attainments of the translators, and the immense advantage of having two distinct and independent versions before them, seem to authorise a confidence that it is a great improvement.

There have been printed in this language, besides the above-named editions of Scripture, about ninety-five different tracts, and twenty-five broad-sheets; amounting in all to about 2000 octavo pages of reading matter.

The number of portions of Scripture and tracts already distributed amounts probably to millions; but the exact quantity cannot be ascertained.

The distribution of Scriptures and tracts from out-stations, to be borne by trading junks to the coasts of China, is not unimportant, but has I think been over-rated. Christians seem disposed to regard our duty to China as likely to be accomplished cheaper and easier than it really is, and to hope that Bibles and tracts, with merely a few missionaries, will do the work. We are in danger, on the other hand, of being discouraged, because greater fruits have not resulted from all the labour and expense bestowed in this way. Two facts must be borne in mind—First, that few Chinamen can read understandingly; and, secondly, that our books and tracts have been for the most part so imperfect in their style, as to be far less likely to make a proper impression than a tract given in this country.

The ability to pronounce the characters, or rather some two or three hundred of them out of the many thousand, is very general. Hence a man taking a tract, will proudly begin to read off what he can, that is, call off the letters; but this does not prove him to understand one word of what he reads, as I have ascertained many times. He may not even understand a word when the book is correctly read to him. The written language and the spoken are in fact two different languages. After having questioned well-educated Chinese in various places, heard the opinions of judicious missionaries, and personally examined many through an interpreter, I am deliberately confident that not more than one Chinese man in fifty can read so as to understand the plainest book, and scarcely any females, except among the very highest classes.

A few instances of the difference between the written and spoken language will make this plain. In the Tay-chew dialect, the word *nang* means "man;" in the written language it is *chev*. *E* means "chair;" it is written *Ke*. *Leng* means "besides;" it is written *jong*. *Toah* means "large;" in writing it is *ty*. *Aw* means "to learn;" it is written *hacking*. In the Hokken dialect, *naw lang* means "two men;" in writing it is *ye jeen*.

*Ngeo lay* means "brother;" in writing it is *baw*. Hence, when the Scriptures are read in Chinese worship, it is as necessary to go over it in the vulgar tongue as it was to the Jews to have a Chaldee paraphrase and interpretation.

It will naturally be asked, Why not translate the Scriptures and print tracts in each colloquial dialect? One reason is enough—There are no characters to express the words. Strange as it seems, there is no way of writing a multitude of words used every day by every body.

The advantages of book distribution are further abridged by the imperfections of style and manner, from which few of them are free. I am assured by missionaries, by Leang Afa, and by private Chinese gentlemen, that neither Marshman's nor Morrison's Bible is fully intelligible, much less attractive. The same is the case with many of the tracts; and some of them have been found wholly unworthy of circulation. Sufficient time has not elapsed to make the books accurate, intelligible, and idiomatic. The snatching away of shiploads can have had little other effect than to prepare the people to expect efforts to propagate Christianity, and to awaken inquiry. If these efforts are not soon made, the effects of what has been done may cease to be useful, and even become obstructive. Exertions therefore should at once be made by all Christian sects, to place men in safe and advantageous places to study the Chinese language.

It is known that the Chinese print from wooden blocks, and have possessed the art for 800 years. Some good judges still prefer this system for the printing of the Scriptures, and it certainly possesses advantages in some respects. The process is to write the words on thin paper, which is then pasted upon a proper block, and the cutter removes with a chisel all but the black face of the letter. It is thus a safe and simple mode of stereotyping. Alterations are made by cutting out the error, inserting a plug of wood, and engraving again the proper words. When the size of the letter is not very small, a set of blocks will give 20,000 perfect impressions; it may then be retouched at an expense of one-fifth the original cost, and give 5000 copies more. A small table, two or three simple brushes, and a little China or Indian ink, form all the apparatus necessary for printing from blocks. A set of blocks for the New Testament may be cut at Singapore for about 350 dollars. The expense of each copy complete, including paper and binding, is about fifty cents.

The use of moveable metallic type was introduced by Mr Lawson, of the Serampore mission, many years ago; and from such were Marshman's Bible and some other works printed. The great expense of cutting punches induced the Serampore printers to have the most rare letters cut on the face of blank types, so that out of 3000 letters only 1400 were cast from matrices. The work of completing punches for the whole has been lately resumed, and they will soon be able to cast all the required letters. The size is what our printers call "English," and is greatly admired by the natives.

The labours of Mr Dyer, now of Malacca, have been already mentioned in my journal of the visit to that city; and the character and extent of the fonts at Macao have been stated in the last chapter. M. Pauthier, at Paris, has cut punches, and cast a font about the size of that at Serampore. It is exceedingly beautiful, but somewhat strange to a Chinese eye, from the use of different punches to make the same matrix. It extends to about 9000 characters, and will no doubt prove an important aid to missionary operations.

A fair statement of the comparative advantages of block printing, lithography, and moveable type, is given in vol. iii. of the Chinese Repository. Stereotyping from wooden blocks has been done on a small scale in Boston, but is utterly out of the question. Many years must elapse before any version of Scripture, or other productions, will deserve such perpetuity. Stereotyping is never economical except where frequent and small editions of the same work are required.

Books can be manufactured by the Chinese method, at a cost not exceeding that of metallic type, besides saving the salary of an American or European printer.

The impression very generally prevails that almost insuperable difficulties lie in the way of the foreigner who attempts to learn Chinese. But the contrary opinion is maintained by various persons with whom I had conversation. The late superintendent of British trade, who resided many years at Canton, acquired great proficiency in the language, and has published the best general account of China now extant, says, "The rumoured difficulties attendant on the acquisition of Chinese, from the great number and variety of the characters, are the mere exaggerations of ignorance. The roots, or original characters, or what, by a species of analogy, may be called its alphabet, are only 214 in number, and might be reduced to a much smaller amount by a little dissection and analysis. To assert that there are so many thousand characters in the language, is very much the same thing as to say that there are so many thousand words in Johnson's Dictionary. Nor is a knowledge of the whole at all more necessary for every practical purpose, than it is to get all Johnson's Dictionary by heart in order to read and converse in English."

This opinion seems corroborated by several facts. In printing the entire Bible only about 3500 characters are required. Mr Dyer, in ascertaining the most important letters to be cast, caused a large quantity of Chinese histories, poems, and other books, to be examined, and found only 3200 characters employed. The Chinese penal code contains less than 2000 different words. The New Testament contains less than 3000. Of the 40,000 characters in Morrison's Dictionary, more than half are entirely obsolete, and most of the remainder very uncommon.

To gather a sufficient number of words, therefore, for all the ordinary labours of the missionary, cannot be difficult. To master the language fully, so as to write critically in it, must be exceedingly difficult. Dr Morrison, who probably proceeded farther in the acquisition of the language than any other European, always declared himself far from the goal. His advice to students is, not to undertake Chinese as though it is a *very easy* thing to acquire, nor be discouraged under an impression that the difficulty is *next to insurmountable*. Medhurst declares, that "the formidable obstacles which have frightened English students are considerably reduced by a comparison with our own language, and vanish entirely before the patient assiduity of the determined scholar." And Dr Marshman affirms that "the Chinese language is little less regular in its formation, and scarcely more difficult of acquisition, than the Sanscrit, the Greek, or even the Latin."

Helps to the study of Chinese are now somewhat numerous, though few are of much utility to a beginner. The following list is nearly or quite complete. Scarcely any of the works being procurable in the east, except at one or two places, missionaries should collect what they can before leaving home.

De Guigne, Dict. Chinois, 1813. French and Latin. One large folio of 1200 pages: contains 13,316 words.

Morrison's Chinese and English Dictionary, 6 vols. quarto. Part I. follows the imperial Chinese Dictionary, made in 1714, and contains 40,000 words. Part II. is a selection of 12,000 words, which alone are now used. Part III. is English and Chinese. This great work was printed at the expense of the East India Company, at their press in Macao, and cost £12,000. The first part was issued in 1816, and the last in 1823. It is for sale in London at sixty dollars per copy. One half of the edition, say 350 copies, remain on hand.

Medhurst's Dictionary of the Hokkō or Fuhkōen dialect, in 1 vol. 4to., very valuable. The printing was begun at Macao in 1830, and finished in 1836. Three hundred copies only were printed, many of which are on hand. The cost of the edition, not including types, was 6000 dollars. It is sold at ten dollars per copy.

Gonçalves, a learned Catholic of Macao, has published a good Dictionary, Chinese-Portuguese and Portuguese-Chinese.

Premare, Notitiæ Ling. Sinicæ, printed at Malacca, is valuable to beginners, though very imperfect.

Remusat, Elemens de la Gram. Chin. Paris, 1822, is an improvement on Premare; but those who can afford it will do well to have both.

Marshman's Chinese Grammar is a learned and very practical treatise; valuable both to the beginner and the advanced student.

Morrison's Chinese Grammar is very brief, and has been superseded by the preceding works.

Gonçalves' Chinese Grammar is written in Portuguese, and is valuable.

Klaproth, Chrestomathie Chinoise, is one of the best elementary books a student can procure.

Besides missionaries, there are other gentlemen prosecuting Chinese literature, whose labours cannot fail to aid our holy cause. The list is not long, and deserves to be noted. The universities of Munich, Paris, and London, have each a professor of Chinese. F. C. Newman fills the first, M. Julien the second, and the Rev. S. Kidd, late missionary at Malacca, the third. M. Pauthier, at Paris, has furnished several translations. There are also Huttman, Manning, Davis, Staunton, and Thoms, in England; all of whom have published translations of Chinese works.

Several Chinese works have been published with translations, which offer great assistance to the student. I will name only such as can be readily procured.

M. Julien has given in French, "Mengstien, seu Mencius;" "Blanche et Blue;" and other pieces of light Chinese literature.

Remusat has published, in the same manner, the Chung-yung, one of "the four books" entitled "L'Invariable Milieu," also the "Two Cousins," and some others.

"The four books" are also given in English by the late Mr Collic of Malacca.

"The Sacred Edict," translated by Milne, is exceedingly useful; as the original, instead of the ancient and difficult style, is in the most modern colloquial diction.

The "Study for Grown Persons," a very famous classic, is published in English by Marshman in his "Clavis;" and very lately by Pauthier in French.

The "Life and Works of Confucius" were published by Marshman at Serampore in 1809; both the original and a translation.

The "Chinese Dialogues," by Morrison, have not only a literal rendering of every word, but a general rendering of each sentence, and the pronunciation given in Roman letters, according to the Mandereen dialect. They are an invaluable assistance.

The "Life of Mencius" is given in English by Milne.

J. F. Davis, Esq., late superintendent of British trade at Canton, has published "Chinese Novels and Tales," "The Happy Union," "Moral Maxims," and some smaller pieces.

J. R. Morrison, Esq. recommends that the student, after mastering Remusat's Grammar and Klaproth's Chrestomathy, should study Marshman's Grammar and Morrison's Dialogues, and, after that, any of the rest he can procure. Davis's Moral Maxims are the best substitute for the Dialogues.

A multitude of works upon China are extant, both in Latin and several of the languages of Europe. Davis gives a catalogue of about *sixty*. The general reader will find the best and latest information in Macartney's Embassy, by Staunton; Barrow's China; Morrison's View; Abel's Narrative; Ellis's Journal; and superior to all, Davis's "General Description of the Empire of China." A large amount of interesting facts may be had also from the Chinese Gleaner, printed at Malacca from 1817 to 1821; The Royal Asiatic Society's Transactions, published at London after 1823; The Asiatic Society's Journal, printed at Calcutta; and the Chinese Repository, published at Canton since 1822.

No heathen nation has so little excuse for idolatry as China. Her civilisation and commerce ought to set her

above it. Her literature is far from contemptible, and stands distinguished from that of every other heathen people, in not being wrought up with mythological legends. The system is thus left to itself. The priesthood have less influence than in other countries, and are in many cases not above general contempt. There are diversities of faith, which should awaken a spirit of inquiry. Her learned men are fully aware that the nations who interchange commodities with her hold to the Divine Unity, and they should diligently investigate the evidences on so momentous a theme. But much more is she deprived of excuse by the fact, that from the earliest periods of the church messengers of salvation have been freely sent to her. The Tartar provinces were taught the truth by the first Nestorians. There are strong reasons for believing, that up to the eighth or ninth century the Syrian churches continued to send preachers into the heart of China. Under Innocent IV., in the thirteenth century, the Mongols were made acquainted with Christianity. When Portugal spread her power over the east, her ministers everywhere carried the knowledge of the true God; and every Catholic country in Europe furnished missionaries and money. Whatever may be said of the priests who from that time pressed the introduction of Christianity, and of the corruptions they mixed with it, still it was the glorious doctrine of the Divine Unity. The true God was set before them. Every part of the empire was pervaded by the discussion of the new faith. Prime ministers, princesses, queens, and emperors, became converts and patrons. Thousands and tens of thousands saw and acknowledged the truth. Numerous distinguished youth were taught and trained by a body of priests distinguished in all ages for learning and science. True, they were Jesuits; but that very many of them were holy and devoted men is proved by their pure lives, severe labours, innumerable privations, and serene martyrdom. The youth thus taught formed the flower of the country, and never could have divested themselves of the conviction of the folly of Boodhism. It was not till the comparatively late period of 1722, when the emperor Yung Ching set himself furiously to the work, that persecution became wholly destructive; nor was Christianity wholly put down, and the places of worship demolished, till the reign of Kea-king, who came to the throne in 1795. Even now there are Catholic Christians scattered over the country. Many of their priests remain, and almost every year fresh ones contrive to enter; while native preachers keep together, here and there, little bodies of disciples. Thus, almost without cessation, has China been summoned to forsake her abominations. Yet in no country is there a more universal and assiduous addictedness to the frivolous rites of their worthless superstition. It may be most truly said to her, in the language of Ezekiel, "Thou hast built unto thee eminent places, and hast made thee a high-place in every street."

## CHAPTER II.

### THE MISSIONARY FIELD IN AND AROUND BURMAH.

Burma Proper. Peguans. Tenasserim Provinces. Arracanese. Karens. Shyans. Toungthoos. Tswahs. Kahs. Wahs. Selongs. Karen-nees. Lowas. Ecabat-Kulas. Quacs. Bongas. D'hanooos. Kadoos. Yaws. Eengees. Kyens. Palungos. Kah-kyens. Singphoos. Phwoons. Kantees. Mumporeans. Kachars. Jyntees. Cossyas. Garrows. Tipperas. Lalongs. Nagas. Joomeas. Chakmas. Rajbungsees. Arings. Kookies. Kumaons. Mroongs. Kubos. Gorkas. Kirauts. Bijnees. Assamese. Meekirs. Abors. Meerees. Bor-Abors. Ahoms. Kolitas. Mishmees. Kantees. Bor-Kantees. Singphoos. Kunungs. Muttucks. Laphas. Dufas. Akas. Kupa-chowas. Booteas. Tangkools. Kons. Anals. Poorums. Mueyols. Munsangs. Murings. Luhoppas. Rumbos. Joholes. Jompoles. Gominchis. Oojongs. Scrimenantis. Ulus. Calangs. Jellabos. Segamts. Kemoungs. Udals. Sakkyees. Utans. Joocons. Semanus. Oodees. Sakals. Reyots. Simongs.

Reegas. Paseses. Mizongs. Bibors. Barkans. Uniyas. Marchas. Jowaries. Suryabans. Koiboos. Longphoos. Champungs. Kapwis. Korengs.

To complete the foregoing notes on Burmah, and to show the extent and character of the missionary field, in and adjacent to this empire, the following sketch is submitted. With some exceptions, these tribes have been hitherto unknown; neither geographers nor missionaries having so much as given their names. My extended journeys brought me into contact either with the people themselves, or with persons who knew them, being neighbours; and constant inquiry has produced the following catalogue, which surprised the best informed persons in India to whom it was submitted. That a document, compiled, to a considerable extent, from natives unacquainted with geography, and unaccustomed to minute investigations, should be imperfect, is unavoidable. My object is to show the extent of the field and the necessity of more vigorous exertions; and this no mistake in detail can affect. My memorandums would furnish a much greater amount of information respecting the manners of several of these tribes, but the present purpose does not require further details.

1. BURMAH PROPER contains about 3,000,000 of inhabitants to whom the language is vernacular. Information as to these is so amply furnished in this work and missionary periodicals, that nothing need here be said. For these, there are at Ava, Messrs Kincaid and Simons, and at Rangoon, Messrs Webb and Howard. Stations might be formed at Sagaing, Umerapoora, Bamoo, Mougong, Prome, Bassein, and other important places. At least ten missionaries are now needed for Burma Proper.

2. THE PEGUANS, called by Burmans *Talains*, or *Talings*, and by themselves *Moons*, amount to more than 70,000 souls. Their language has been very much superseded by the Burman; the men speaking it in all their business, and most of such as learn to read, doing so in Burman. It will not be proper to expend missionary time and money in preserving it from extinction; but as many of the females speak only Peguan, and all can understand it better than Burman, it will be necessary to preach the gospel in their language, and perhaps print a few books. At least one missionary, therefore, is wanted to sustain and succeed Mr Haswell, who now occupies this department and is located at Amherst.

3. THE TENASSERIM PROVINCES (as the British possessions south of Rangoon are called) contain about 100,000 souls. For the *Burman* part of these, the labourers are Messrs Judson, Osgood, Hancock, and Bennett. Mr Judson is wholly engrossed with translations and tracts, and in the pastorate of the native church; Messrs Osgood and Hancock are printers; and Mr Bennett has full employ in the government school. There is therefore not a single effective out-door missionary to this whole people, nor one on the ground preparing to become so! Maulmain, Tavoy, and Mergui, should each immediately have a missionary devoted to public services.

4. IN ARRACAN, containing 300,000, there is only Mr Comstock, stationed at Kyook Phyoos. The population is twice that of the Sandwich Islands. Ramree and Sandoway ought at once to be occupied. These stations should at least have two missionaries each. The Rev. Mr Ingalls is designated to one of them.

5. THE KA-RENS inhabit all the mountain regions of the southern and eastern portions of Burma Proper, and all parts of the Tenasserim provinces, extending into the western portions of Siam, and thence northward among the Shyans. It is impossible to form a satisfactory estimate of their numbers. In the province of Tavoy, a British census makes the number 2500. Around Maulmain and Rangoon, there are perhaps 20,000 more. In Siam and Lao there are probably 10,000; making in all about 33,000.

There are known to be at least two different tribes, speaking diverse dialects, namely, the *Sgaws* or *Chegyaws*, and the *Pos* or *Pgwos*. The former reside chiefly in

the Tenasserim provinces, and are called by the Burmans *Myet-ho*. Their language has been reduced to writing, in the Burman character, by Mr Wade. Among this tribe have occurred those triumphs of Christianity which have been so remarkable, and with which all the friends of missions are acquainted. The *Po* tribe (called by the Burmans *Myet-kyan*) reside in Pegu, and have adopted many of the words and habits of the Talains. With this tribe Miss Macomber has commenced labours.

Missionaries knew nothing more of these people than that there were such, until the visit of the sorcerer in April 1828. The heart of Boardman was immediately touched with sympathy, and his judgment convinced that Providence pointed them out as entitled to his future labours. An early visit to their jungle confirmed him in his decision; and thenceforth his life was spent in their cause. On his second tour, he was called from his labour, amid those touching scenes described in his memoir; having seen nearly seventy persons added to the church. He died February 11, 1831. Mr and Mrs Mason had joined the mission in the preceding January; and Mr and Mrs Wade, returning from America with Miss Gardner, were added in 1835.

The Tavoy station has hitherto been made almost wholly subservient to the interests of this people. God has opened among them an effectual door of entrance, and granted them the services of as devoted missionaries as have ever blessed a people. In July 1836, they had in charge five Karen churches, embracing nearly 350 members, more than 20 native assistants, about 200 inquirers connected with the several congregations, and 15 schools. Mr Abbott is now successfully labouring here with Mr Vinton.

There are three churches, not far from each other, about forty miles north of Rangoon; namely, *Mawbee*, *Yea-tho*, or *Ray-tho*, and *Poung-nen*, or *Ponan*. These have been founded wholly by native assistants, and have for several years walked steadfastly in the truth. They have endured the spoiling of their goods and cruel tortures, and live amid continual threats of violence from the Burman officers, but not one among several hundreds has drawn back through fear, though a few have relapsed into sin, as might be expected.

We have been perhaps too much disposed to esteem the importance of a mission in proportion to the amount of population. We ought rather to regard the indications of Providence. In this aspect, so far as I know, no other mission of modern times holds out such encouragements.

The several sections of Karens have each some peculiarities, but such general similarity that they may be described together.

Their houses are like the Burmans', only much higher from the ground; and as there is little distinction of rich or poor, the model, dimensions, and materials, differ but slightly. They cost only a few days' labour, and are admirably suited to the climate. One of the rooms has a hearth for cooking, made by laying earth in a shallow box. Chimneys are unknown; but the high roof and open floor prevent all inconvenience on account of smoke. Each has a veranda, or porch, raised to the same height as the floor of the house, where much of the laborious work is done. The loom, agricultural implements, &c., as well as the fowls and pigs, find a place under the house.

They cultivate the ground with more care and success than Burmans, and furnish no small part of the rice consumed in the country. Their instruments of tillage are, however, particularly rude. Having no plough, they are unable to prepare the soil for a second crop on account of its baking hard. Their custom is, therefore, to clear and burn over a new spot every year; which, being soft and light, and stimulated by the ashes left upon it, yields largely. Hence in part arises their habit of roving from place to place. They raise hogs and poultry in abundance, so that with honey (obtained plentifully from wild bees), fish, esculents, and indigenous fruits, they have no want of the

necessaries of life. Many of them are expert with the bow and arrow, and shoot guianas, monkeys, squirrels, and other game common in their forests. They seem to exempt nothing from their catalogue of meats. Animals which have died of themselves, or game killed with poisoned arrows, are not the less acceptable. When I have expressed disgust at the swollen and revolting condition of such meat, they seemed to wonder what could be the nature of my objections.

Their dress forms a more complete covering to the body than that of the Burmans, but is neither so graceful nor of so rich materials. The universal robe, for both sexes, is a strong cotton shirt, made loose, without sleeves, and descending a little below the knees. Women wear beneath this a petticoat, descending to the ankles, but young girls and old women dispense with this last garment. The women are distinguishable chiefly by their turban, which is made of a long, narrow, figured scarf, with the fringed ends thrown back, and falling gracefully on the shoulders.

They are exceedingly fond of ornaments, and wear a great variety on the neck, arms, and ankles. Some of these necklaces are made of the hard, dry wing of a magnificent beetle, found in their forests. A young lady, of special pretensions, will sometimes wear ten or fifteen necklaces of various kinds, often suspending a little bell to the longest, so that she has "music wherever she goes." They never wear silk, and seldom any foreign fabric except book muslin, which some of the men wear for turbans, in the same manner as the Burmans. Their ears are not only bored, but the aperture so stretched as to become, in many cases, capable of containing a cylinder the size of a dollar. When women have obtained an age when such ornaments cease to be valued, this great empty wrinkled aperture has a disagreeable aspect.

Their domestic manners are less exceptionable than those of most heathen. Truth, integrity, and hospitality, are universal. For a Karen to lie or cheat, is scarcely known. Females are in no respect degraded. They are neither secluded nor kept at an unseemly distance, nor required to perform labour beyond their strength, nor treated with severity. Polygamy, though allowed by the government under which they live, is accounted dishonourable, and seldom occurs. Their distinguishing vice is intemperance. Unrestrained by religious prohibitions, men, women, and children, use strong drink, and the miserable consequences are seen in every village. The Christians are of course emancipated from this baneful practice.

In musical taste and skill they excel all the other orientals with whom I became acquainted, although their instruments are few and rude. Young and old practise vocal music on all occasions, and the psalmody of the disciples is truly delightful. Every word in the language ending with a vowel, renders their versification peculiarly soft.

Their manufactures, though few, comprehend all the articles in use among themselves. Without the advantage of a regular loom, they make excellent cotton fabrics, often with beautiful figures. One end of the warp is fastened to a post of the house or a tree, and the other wrapped round the waist. A neat shuttle holds the woof, but the figures are interwoven with the fingers.

None of the tributaries to Burmah have been so oppressed as this inoffensive people. Their regular taxes amount to twelve or fifteen rupees annually for each family, besides which their goods are taken, without restraint, at any time; and where public labour is to be done, they are called out by hundreds, without compensation or provisions. Many die of fatigue and suffering on these occasions. They are, however, allowed to have their own head-men, who decide minor disputes, and may inflict minor punishments.

As to religion, the Karens may be almost said to have none. Individuals of course will have religious anxieties, and these make prayer and offerings to the *Nao-pu-ee*, or *Nats*. In ordinary times, they make



offerings to these of a little boiled rice laid on a board near the house.\* In periods of distress, a hog is offered. The mode of doing this is to chase him round, beating him with clubs till nearly dead, and then dispatching him by thrusting a sharp stick down his throat. Though so little is done to propitiate the Nats, the fear of them is universal, and gives rise to a multitude of such stories as infest our nurseries. Through fear of them, most Karens "are all their lifetime subject to bondage."

Various traditions prevail among them which have a remarkable similarity to Scripture facts. The following is a specimen: "Our race began with a married pair, who lived in happy innocence and abundance. Mo-kaw-le, or the devil, attempted to seduce them to partake of certain food which they had been commanded not to eat. They both listened and argued for some time, till the man, indignant and out of patience, would hear no more, and rising up, went away. The woman continued to listen. Mokawle assured her that if she would take his advice, she should know all things, and be endued with ability to fly in the air, or penetrate into the depth of the earth. That she might prove the truth of what he said, he begged her just to taste the least morsel, and she would know for herself. She began to hesitate, and said, 'Shall we verily be able to fly?' Upon this, Mokawle redoubled his protestations of ardent good will, and repeated the most flattering assurances, till the woman ate. Mokawle then praised and cajoled her, till she was induced to go and find her husband. He yielded reluctantly, and after much coaxing. They realised none of the promised advantages, but felt no difference in themselves till next day, when God came and cursed them, saying, 'You shall become old; you shall be sick; you shall die.'"

The only religious teachers are a sort of prophets called *Bookhoos*, who predict events, and are greatly venerated by the people. They are always bards, singing with uncommon skill, sometimes extemporaneously, verses of their own composition. The uniform burden of the prophecies is the coming of a deliverer, who is to gather their scattered tribes, and restore them to security and independence.

Besides these is a set of wizards, called *Wees*, who are far less respectable, but more numerous, and more dreaded. *Bookhoos* frequently become *Wees*, but there are many *Wees* who are never *Bookhoos*. They pretend to cure diseases, to know men's thoughts, and to converse with the spirits. Their performances are fraught with awe and terror to a superstitious people. They begin with solemn and mysterious movements; presently their eyes roll wildly; then their body trembles; and at length every muscle is agitated; while with frantic looks and foaming mouth they utter oracles, or speak to a man's spirit and declare its responses.

Let us now turn to the rest of this great field, in no part of which, except at Assam, is there a single missionary of any persuasion!

6. THE SHYANS, *Shans*, or *Laos*.—Geographers and historians know little of this numerous people, not even the number and location of their various tribes. The accounts of La Bissachere, Jarrie, Westhoff, Kemper, and Marini, are rendered worthless by the contradictoriness of their statements, the confusion of their dissimilar orthography, and the changes which have occurred since their day.

No modern traveller has explored the country. Dr Richardson alone has seen any considerable part of it. He communicated many facts respecting the Shyans of the region of Zemmai; but his whole account has been published in the *Asiatic Journal*, to which, if the reader please, he may refer. I spent many hours in examining intelligent officers and traders whom I met at different

places, and gathered some facts from the Shyan princes to whom Colonel Burney introduced me at Ava, but as memorandums became voluminous, they became also contradictory; so that, instead of giving an entire chapter on this people, as I had intended, I shall venture only a few paragraphs.

The Shyan or Lao country is bounded by Assam on the north, China on the east, Siam and Camboja on the south, and Burmah on the west. The entire length of the country is about 900 miles, and the greatest breadth about 400. The population is probably not much short of 3,000,000. *Shyan* is a Burman name, and *Lou*, or *Lao*, the Chinese, which is adopted by the Portuguese. They call themselves *Tay* (pronounced *Tie*), and their language often bears that name in books. They seem to be the parent stock of both Assamese and Siamese. Indeed, the name shows identity. Bengalees always put a vowel before every word, and make *m* and *n* convertible; so that *Shyan* becomes with them *A-syan*, which the English further altered to *Assam*. *Syam*, or *Siam*, is but another form of the same word.

The Shyans are divided into many tribes, and the language has a corresponding number of dialects. They have no alphabetical characters of their own; but a few individuals write their language in the Bengalee or Burman letters. The Roman letters have been wisely adopted by the missionaries at Sudiya. Readers will thus be more easily raised up, and vast expense saved to the mission. If the same plan be pursued in giving letters to the numerous tribes now to be mentioned, a happy uniformity in proper names, &c., will pervade all this region, and the diffusion of the Word hastened by many years.

It is impossible to enumerate the different tribes. Their chief designations seem to be from the regions they inhabit.

The *Cassay* or *Kathé Shyans* occupy a country sometimes called *Nora*, on the head waters of the Kyendween. The northern *Laos* inhabit the sources of the Meinam or Siam river. Their principal city is Kaintoun. The *Mrelap* or *Myelop Shyans* occupy the region between the upper part of the Irrawaddy and China, and are sometimes called *Shyan Waws*. Their chief towns are Momeit, Thennee, and Monay; from each of which are annual caravans to Ava. The *Tarouk* or *Chinese Shyans* reside chiefly in China. They are sometimes called *Ko-shyan-pyē*, or the "nine-tribe Shyans." The *Yunshyans* appear to be the Jangomas of the Modern Universal History. Perhaps they are the same as the *Tarouk Shyans*. The *Zemmai Shyans* occupy the region round the city of that name, and are less connected with Burmah than with Siam. Their Chobwaw is in reality monarch, and holds a very dubious fealty to his more powerful neighbour. The city of Zemmai is on the head waters of the Meinam, fifteen days from Bangkok by boat. Dr Richardson speaks highly of the mildness, intelligence, and purity of the people, and of the pre-eminent salubrity of the climate. The *Lova Shyans* are numerous scattered over the southern portion of the Lao country, and stand high for intelligence and prosperity. One of the Woongees at Ava assured me there were no *Lova Shyans*, but that the people so called are only *Lows*, scattered among Shyans, but I am led to believe he was mistaken. I saw at Maulmain some very intelligent traders who called themselves *Lova Shyans*, and gave me a list of twelve or fifteen of their principal towns. The *Lenzens*, or *Southern Shyans*, border on Siam and Camboja, and seem to be the people called by old writers *Langchan* or *Vinchang*. They were conquered in 1829 by the Siamese, and their king carried in chains to Bangkok. Their chief town is Sandapuri.

The Shyans are in some respects a more interesting people and more civilised than the Burmans. Such of their manufactures as I saw were greatly superior, and the common dress is much more artificial and convenient. They wear round jackets, short full trousers, and broad-brimmed hats; dressing, in fact, much like the Chinese. Though occasionally reduced and over-

\* The account of some individuals who worshipped a book, is familiar to the readers of missionary magazines and the memoir of Boardman. These were but a few families, and the rest of the Karens remained ignorant of such a faith. The word *Karen* is accented on the last syllable.

run by their neighbours, they have as yet maintained a virtual independence, and have to a great degree avoided those internal wars which have reduced the North American Indians to such weakness and diminution. Some of the tribes adhere to the ancient demon worship, but most of them have embraced Boodhism. Eight or ten missionaries might at once be settled advantageously in large cities, and would form an important advance upon China. One should be stationed at Ava or Umerapoora, where he would have access to very large numbers, and where his operations would probably create no displeasure on the part of the government.

7. The **TOUNG-THOOS** are sometimes called *Tampoes*. A few reside in scattered villages on the Salwen river, near Maulmain, but most of them to the northward. They amount probably to 20,000. The northern portions are said to have a written language, and books in the Burman character. The southern portion seem wholly ignorant of letters, except a few, who read and write Burman. Their name, which signifies "southern people," was probably given them about Ava. The name they themselves give their tribe is *Paho*, or *Pwo*. Thetong, or Tethong, seems to have been their ancient metropolis. They resemble Karens in migratory habits, dress, habitations, and customs, but hold themselves to be of a higher grade. They are given to trade, and travel extensively among the villages in the wilderness, selling ornaments and other articles of luxury. The upper portions of the tribe cultivate tea, cotton, and indigo. They raise also considerable *floss* silk, feeding the worm on the plant called *Puja*.

8. The **TSAHNS** reside north-east of Maulmain, and are considerably numerous. They are somewhat more civilised than Karens, and manufacture many articles requiring considerable skill.

9. The **KAHS** inhabit the Siamese frontier, and are addicted to wandering, like the Karens. They were formerly numerous in Tavoy province, but the bulk of them went over to Siam when the English took the country. They are still numerous. Their language is unwritten. Partial vocabularies of the languages of the Karens, Lowas, and Kahs, are given in the Asiatic Researches, on the authority of Dr Buchanan Hamilton. It is not improbable that this is the tribe called *Lowas*, or possibly the people called *Lowakah*, found between Thencee and the Camboja river.

10. The **WAHS** are another wandering tribe, partly in the province of Mergui, but chiefly in Siam. They amount to about 12,000.

11. The **SE-LONGS**, or *Zalungs*, inhabit islands of the Mergui archipelago, chiefly Dong, Sulke, and Lampee. On each island is a distinct tribe, with a distinct dialect; but the language is essentially the same, and resembles the Malay more than any other. Few races of men are more degraded than these. Their numbers cannot be ascertained, as they fly into the mountains when strangers visit their shores. Their food is chiefly fish and shell-fish. In seeking this, they put up their wretched huts wherever they find a temporary supply, and spend much of their time in canoes, among the small uninhabited islands contiguous. A missionary or two for these tribes might reside at Mergui, and itinerate among them in the dry season. Their unsettled residences would preclude his having access to them at any one place, till converts were made and some village established.

12. The **KAREN-NES**, or "*Red Karens*," occupy the region directly east of Maulmain. They are more fair than Burmans, and their eyes generally light coloured; which is very rare in the east. They are not a tribe of Karens, as the name implies, but seem to be descended from the Shyans. The latter universally wear trousers of blue cotton; these wear the same garment, but always of a red colour; hence the name, probably given by some one who supposed them to be Karens. Their language contains a large mixture of Peguan words. They are remarkable for living in houses connected together, like a long shed. Sometimes 100 live under

one roof. They are without large cities, but have several villages of considerable size, and practise various mechanical arts with respectable success.

They are represented to be zealous Boodhists, and exceedingly savage. This character, however, is probably given them principally from their being addicted to man-stealing. Their practice is to seize defenceless Siamese, and sell them to the Burmans; and defenceless Burmans, and sell them to the Siamese. This trade is not now so earnestly pursued as formerly.

13. The **LAWAS** are in the extreme south-east, bordering on China and Siam. Whether they have a separate country, is uncertain. There are several large tribes of these; some tributary to Burmah, and some to Siam. Their entire number probably exceeds that of the Karens. It is probable they live among the Shyans as the Karens do among the Burmans; but their laws, religion, and customs, are wholly different. They are not Boodhists, but worship *Nats*, and offer bloody sacrifices. They not only use no idols, but reject them with great abhorrence, and break them. They seem to have no large cities. Their language seems to be corrupt Burman. They are obviously distinguished from the Shyans, as an inferior and less civilised race.

14. The **EC-CA-BAT KU-LAHS** are occasionally called *Myadoes*, from Myadoo, their chief city. They are found a little north of Moke-so-bo, or Mon-cha-boo, as Symes calls it. Some of them reside in the British territory, and are called *Cachars*. They are a very short race, nearly as black as Hindoos. Among them are a number of Peguan-Portuguese Christians, brought there and colonised in a former reign, most of whom are distinguished by the light colour of their eyes. The tribe is famous for silk manufactures. The dialect is peculiar, though essentially Burman. Burman books would answer for them, but few or none can read.

15. The **QUE**, or *Quays*.—Some of this people reside twelve or eighteen miles east of Umerapoora, and two clans on the west side of the Irrawaddy, towards the Kyendween. They have been a warlike, intelligent people, and very conspicuous in Burman history, though now but a few thousands. Their language is essentially Burman, but mixed with Peguan and Siamese. The Scriptures, as already printed, might probably suffice, though it would be necessary that a missionary should acquire their colloquial dialect. The chief Woongyee at Ava assured me that they have books in their own language, written, as he thought, in a character resembling Chinese.

16. The **BONGS** are a considerable race north of Ava. Their language and customs are peculiar; but neither their boundaries nor numbers are ascertained. Nor could I ascertain whether these are the remnants of the ancient kingdom of Bong, or whether they are the same with a tribe called Phwoon. It is indeed doubtful whether the kingdom of Bong, described by Pemberton and others, ever existed as an independent nation.

17. The **D'HAN-OOS** are found from 100 to 500 miles east of Ava. They have villages, but no distinct territory. Though not numerous, they are a thrifty, industrious people, and raise much of the tea which is brought to Ava. Their language is said to resemble the Tavoy dialect.

18. The **KA-DOOS** are scattered over the province of Mougung, between the Irrawaddy and Kyendween rivers; chiefly between 24° and 26° of north latitude. They have their own villages and chiefs, and a distinct though unwritten language, but no separate territory. They are a quiet, industrious race. Their chief town is Penjala-Namo.

19. The **YAWS** are on the lower waters of the Kyendween, not far from Ava. The district is sometimes called *Yo*, or *Jo*. The language is essentially Burman, but spoken with a dialect intelligible only to themselves. Unlike the Burmans, they suffer their teeth to remain white, and the hair to flow loose. Most of the people are entirely without religion, like the Karens; the rest are Boodhists. They are an agricultural and pastoral

people, enjoying a country of extreme salubrity and fruitfulness. They manufacture sugar, and export it to other parts of the empire, and often resort to Ava for the purposes of trade.

20. EN-GYEE.—This tribe occupies the mountains towards Manipore, have a language of their own, unwritten, and are somewhat numerous.

21. The KYENS are sometimes called *Boo-as*, and sometimes *Na-gas*, and by the Burmans *Chins*. They occupy part of the Arracan and Manipore frontier, chiefly the mountains of the district of Kubo, and amount to about 50,000, divided into various tribes, as the *Changsel*, the *Kongju*, the *Chedoo*, the *Kuporee*, &c. Some of the tribes are tributary to Burmah, others to the East India Company, and some are completely independent. Some tribes wear no other clothing than a thin board, fastened in front by a string round the loins. One tribe tattoo their women's faces in a horrible manner, of whom I have seen a number. They generally call themselves *Koloun*. Hamilton regards them as one of the original tribes of Farther India, and that, under various names, such as Karens, Kookies, Cossyahs, &c., and in various stages of civilisation, they are spread, more or less, over this whole peninsula. Within the limits of Arracan are about 15,000, who might be reached through Akyab and Kyouk Phyoo. A considerable village of these people stands at the entrance of the Oo-tha-long Nullah, ten days by water from Akyab. Many of them live in the intermediate space. The hill tribes are fierce, and dreaded by all their neighbours, but the lowlanders cultivate the earth peacefully, and have settled habitations. Those under Burman authority pay their tribute chiefly in ivory, wax, coarse cottons, ginger, and turmeric. They are greatly addicted to arrack extracted from rice. I have seen cloths and other articles made by them, which display excellent skill and taste. Their language is peculiar and unwritten, and the dialects of the different tribes vary considerably.

Of religion they know almost nothing, having scarcely any idea of a Supreme Being, and few superstitions of any kind. Some offer bloody sacrifices before a certain bush, and worship meteoric stones, talismans, and a god whom they call *A-po-ra-the*. The dead are burned, the bones, &c., of poor persons remaining around the pyre being buried on the spot, while those of the rich are carried to the great Kyoung-na-tine mountain, in the Arracan range. The father is expected to marry the widow of his son, and the son may marry any of his father's widows, except his own mother. Adultery is always punished with death.

22. The PA-LOUNGS, or *Polongs*, a numerous and intelligent race, reside between Bamoo and the Chinese frontier, having separate towns and villages among the Shyans, but with little if any territory exclusively their own. Some of their villages are interspersed among the Kah-kyens, and some are found almost as far south as Ava. They are a highland race, and find security in their mountains, both from Burmah and China, paying no tribute to either. They cultivate tea extensively, and export it, both dry and pickled. The men dress in Chinese fashion: women wear trousers, and a gown reaching to the knees, with sleeves. Their own language is unwritten, but many of the males can read Shyan. The language itself seems to be Shyan largely intermingled with Chinese, and pronounced so like Chinese that the true Shyans do not understand it.

23. The KAH-KYENS, a very large and numerous tribe, of Singphoo origin, extend from the Irrawaddy to China, and from Bamoo to Thibet. It is not certain whether they have a distinct territory. Many of them reside in the province of Bamoo, particularly in and around Mogoung, and are distinguished by tattooing the space between their eyes. The Singphoos are sometimes called *Kahkyens*, but always resent it. These and the Lawas seem to be included by Du Halde in his map, under the term Lo-los. Their language resembles the Burman, but as a people they are remarkably different from Chinese or Burmans. They are much less civi-

24. The SING-PHOOS, or *Sinkphoos*, called by Burmans *Thembau*, occupy both sides of the higher region of the Irrawaddy, and spread from the Pat-koi hills to China. Duffer Gám, their principal chief, assured me that they amount to at least 500,000 souls. They are divided into fifteen or twenty tribes, the principal of which are the *Meerip*, *Beesa*, *Lutong*, *Lapay*, and *Tesam*. Some tribes are under English authority, but more under Burman, and several are independent. The Burman governor resides at Toowah; but they have no large city. They trade with the Shyans at Mogoung, and the Burmans down the Kyendween, but chiefly with China. Their exports are gems, amber, noble serpentine, small dahs, and salt. They worship Nats, and cherish a great hatred to Boodhism; but considerable numbers are annually proselytised by Brahmins from Bengal, who constantly make strong efforts for this purpose; and unless Christians act with vigour and promptitude, annually increasing numbers will go over to that dreadful system. Some of these tribes are among the finest races of men in all this part of the world. The language is unwritten.

25. The PHWOONS, or *Phwoons*, occupy parts of the region round Mogoung. There are two tribes of this name, distinguished by the terms great and small; whose dialects differ from each other considerably, and from adjacent languages totally. They are a quiet, industrious, agricultural people. They build their houses not like the Burmans and Shyans, but like the people of the Kubo valley. They have no written character. They say their original country was to the north-east.

26. KHAN-TEES, spelled variously *Kangtees*, *Khantiss*, *Kamptis*, and *Kantees*, are found on the west bank of the Irrawaddy, and are a numerous race. A small part of them only is subject to Burmah. Their language bears considerable affinity to the Burman, and is called *Tai*.

Adjacent to Burmah, but not tributary to it, are—

1. The MUN-I-FOREANS.—Their country has been so variously designated as to make great confusion in maps. By the Burmans their region is called *Kahgy*; by the Assamese, *Mekley*; by the Kacherese, *Mogtie*; and by the Shyans, *Cassay*. Some authors give them one of these names and some another, and some give them as separate countries. They hold a territory of about 7000 square miles; but the population, though known to be numerous, is not ascertained. It is at least 70,000. The great valley of Mun-i-pore is 2500 feet above the level of the sea, and eminently salubrious.

2. The KA-CHIARS, or *Cachars*, are bounded north by Assam, east by Manipore, south by Tippera or Tripura, and west by Sylhet and Jynteah. Their language is peculiar. They came under British government in 1832, and are rapidly improving in their civil condition. Surrounded on three sides by high mountain ranges, the rains during the south-west monsoon are very violent; and the inhabitants are subject to ague, diarrhoea, dysentery, and fevers. The population is rated by some authors at 500,000, and by others different numbers, down to 8000. The principal place is Silchar, on the south side of the Barak river.

3. JYN-TEAH, or *Gentea*, lies between Kachar on the east, Assam on the north, and the Soormah river on the south, containing a population of 150,000, of whom the greater part are Mussulmans, and low caste Hindus of Bengal origin. Most of this territory is now annexed to the British dominions.

4. COS-ST-AS, or *Khasias*, who denominate themselves Khyees, occupy the mountains of Assam, Cachar, Sylhet, and the Garrows. The region is about seventy miles long, and fifty miles wide, containing 3500 square miles. They are a numerous race, divided into clans, such as the *Kyryn*, the *Churra*, the *Ramryee*, the *Nuspung*, the *Murion*, &c., and are distributed in considerable numbers among each of the tribes named above. The language in all is essentially the same. They retain

some of the forms of independence, but are under the supervision of a British "agent for Cossya affairs." Some attempts have been made by the Serampore missionaries to give them a written language in the Bengalee character, but nothing of consequence has yet been done. Their religion is impure Brahminism, which has not long been introduced.

5. The GAR-ROWS, or *Garos*, occupy the mountainous region of the same name, bounded north and west by the valley of the Burampooter, south by Sylhet, and east by Jynteah. They were formerly numerous, but have been reduced by their warlike habits. The skulls of enemies are highly valued, and kept as trophies. Their territory is about 130 miles long, by thirty or forty broad. They raise large quantities of cotton, and carry on a considerable trade with the English who now inhabit the country. Their houses are very comfortable, built on piles like the Burmans'. Women do much servile work, but have a voice in all public business, and possess their full share of influence. The language is stated to be simple and easy of acquisition, but is not reduced to writing. They have a religion of their own, but no priesthood. They worship *Sali Jung*, believe in transmigration, and make offerings, but have no temples. Brahminical doctrines are daily spreading amongst them, especially the more southern tribes. Polygamy is not practised. Their temper is said to be mild and gay, but they are much addicted to drunkenness. A mission to this people is earnestly called for by Captain Jenkins, and some others of our friends residing adjacent to them. If a brother were to engage on their behalf, he might reside for a year or two at Gowhatee, where every facility would be at hand in gaining the language. This field, however, is much less encouraging in its present aspect than many others mentioned in this paper.

6. The TIP-PE-RAS, or *Tripuras*. Their country is called by Bengalese *Tura*, or *Teura*, lying on the east bank of the Burampooter, between 24° and 27° north latitude. On the north, it has Sylhet; on the south, Chittagong. It comprehends 7000 square miles, and now forms part of Bengal. In this country are made the well-known cotton goods called *Baftas*, exported to every part of the world. They are a comparatively civilised people, amounting to 800,000 souls, a majority of whom profess Hinduism; the rest are Mussulmans. They build their houses like the Burmans. Some parts of the country are covered with jungle, and abound with elephants, but the rest is fertile, and well cultivated, and the people are not only attentive to agriculture, but to manufactures of various kinds, and to commerce. They are divided into three tribes, namely, *Tipperas*, properly so called, on the banks of the Gomuty; *Alinagas*, on the river Phani, or Fenny; and the *Reangon*, on the river Monu. All speak the same language, which is peculiar to themselves.

7. The LA-LONGS inhabit the low hills of the Jynteah country, especially a tract now annexed to the district of Noagong, and are estimated at above 20,000 souls.

They resemble the Meekeers in character, have no written language, scarcely any idea of a Supreme Being, and hardly the forms of any religion. Their region is very unhealthy to foreigners six months in a year, but the missionary could then reside at the adjacent and very healthy city of Noagong, where much of his work for them could be continued.

8. The NAG-AS are a very numerous people on the borders of Cachar, Manipore, and Assam. Their country belongs partly to one, and partly to the other of these states. They are called Nagas (literally "naked people") from their almost total want of dress. There are many clans or tribes of them, differing greatly in their measure of civilisation. The better sort dwell in compact villages of well-built houses on high hills, and are reported to be a very handsome and athletic race, active both in agriculture and merchandise. The religion of the more intelligent tribes is a rude sort of demonology, but they have no idea of a Supreme Being, or the nature of the soul. Some of these tribes

are in the lowest state of humanity. The Reverend Mr Rae, of the Serampore mission, has made extensive journeys among this people and the Meekeers, and published ample and interesting details.

9. The JOO-ME-AS reside chiefly in Chittagong, on a range of hilly country, on the head waters of the Kulladine, between the mountains and the plains. There are some tribes of them in Tippera, and some in Arracan. They cultivate hill rice and cotton. Their language is wholly unintelligible both to Mugs and Bengalese, and is unwritten. Their religion is an impure Buddhism. They remove their villages every year, and always cultivate new grounds. They pay tribute to the government at Chittagong, through a native Zemindar, who lives in considerable state at Bazileah, eastward of Chittagong, and calls himself raja.

10. The CHAK-MA tribe is allied to the Joomea, and practise the same religion. They are wholly confined to the hilly interior of Chittagong, and are supposed to amount to about 17,000. They are considerably civilised, and some can read Bengalee, but generally write it in Burman character. A dialect of Bengalee is the common language, and their dress is quite that of Hindus. These and the Joomeas are a hardy and industrious people, and cut all the ship and furniture timber which is brought down Chittagong river. They are remarked also for intrepidity as hunters, and for general gentleness and probity of manners.

11. The RAJ-BUNG-SIES amount to full 30,000 souls, scattered in every direction over Chittagong, and occupying some places almost exclusively, such as Run-gaheer and Sunka river. They are mostly Bengalee Boodhists, sprung from governing families of Arracanese, who being forced to abandon their country during former intestinal commotions, settled in Chittagong, and became naturalised. Their name signifies literally "children of princes." But though they hold themselves superior to Mugs, they are a very poor people, and many of them come down into the large towns to be servants. Their language is a corrupt Bengalee. They retain the Boodhist faith, and have a few priests and kyongs, but no pagodas.

12. The A-RINGS are a tribe wholly independent. They occupy spurs of the Youmadou mountains in the rear of the Kyens, and are known to amount to at least 30,000. They reside within the limits of Arracan, but are not enumerated in the census of that province. They bring into the plains cotton, ivory, and a little cloth, to barter for salt and gnapee. They are exceedingly addicted to intoxication. The liquor for this purpose is made of fermented rice, distilled with a rude apparatus of earthenware. Their language is peculiar and unwritten. They are not Boodhists, but worship Nats; paying, however, little attention to religious forms, and only when pressed by calamity.

13. The KOO-KIES, or *Kunghis*, called by the Burmans *Langeh*, and by the Bengalese *Lingta*, are a very numerous people, having at least 10,000 men capable of bearing arms. They occupy the region of the Barak and Koompty rivers, bordered, though indistinctly, by Kacher and Tipperah on the west, Chittagong on the south-west, and Burmah on the south-east. They are divided into at least ten tribes, bearing different names, but generally live at peace with each other. The dialects of these tribes are said to be so various as to be unintelligible to each other. They have no caste, and eat all kinds of flesh. Some of the tribes go nearly naked. In general they neglect agriculture, and depend on the game and fruits of the forest. By consequence, they all collect into villages, some of which are very large, and which they remove every few years. They believe in future rewards and punishments, and worship evil genii, whom they desire to propitiate. Some are found also in Chittagong. They are exceedingly savage and warlike: strangers cannot pass safely through their country, their heads being considered a great prize.\* No young man can marry without pos-

\* See Annals of Oriental Literature, Part III; Philosophical Journal, vol. IV.

sessing one of these trophies. Some houses have many of them.

14. The KUM-A-ONS, or *Kumoons*, occupy an area of about seven thousand square miles formerly subject to the Gorkas, extending from Rohilcund to the peaks of the Himalaya—a rugged and cold district, with little level arable land. The people are in a very rude state, labouring just enough to support nature. Some of them live in stone houses. The religion is Hinduism, and many of the people are Brahmins. This country was acquired by the British in 1815, and Almora, one of its towns, was made a sanitarium for the Company's servants in bad health. A good road extends from Rohilcund to Almora, through the Bamoury pass; and another from Hawellbaugh, a civil station of the East India Company. This country is largely described by Fullarton, Raper, and Dr F. Buchanan.

15. The MROONGS, or *Mroos*, occupy the country between the Kyens and the plains, from the Cosi to the Teesta, north of Rungpore district, and formerly belonging to Nepal. From this region great quantities of timber are floated to Calcutta, chiefly the Saul tree. A number of this tribe, supposed to amount to five thousand, are found in Arracan, chiefly in the district of Akyah, and are as civilised as the people of the plains.

16. The KUBOS are of Shyan descent, and occupy the valley of the Munipore river, one of the tributaries of the Kyendween.

17. The GOR-KAS occupy a large region north of Nepal, but a warmer and pleasanter country. It has many fine mountain streams, most of which combine in the Trisoolungung. Gorkha, the former capital (lat. 27° 50', long. 84° 22'), forty-one miles west-north-west from Catmandoo, contains about one thousand houses, and Catmandoo, the present capital, twice that number. They conquered Nepal in 1768, and became a powerful people, but are now under British rule.

18. The KIR-AUTS, evidently of Tartar origin, occupy a space between Nepal and Bootan. They are now confined to the mountains, but formerly governed portions of Dinagepore and Rungpore. Their religion is a negligent Boodhism; but since their subjection to the Gorkas, many have become Brahmists. They are not wholly illiterate, and write the language in the Nagree character. Individuals of this tribe are scattered over Bengal and Bahar, where they follow the life of gipsies, and wander about, preaching and telling fortunes. These are called *Kichacks*.

19. The BIJ-NEES occupy a province east of Assam, and speak the Bengalee language. They occupy both sides of the Burampooter, part of them being subject to the British, and part independent. It is an extensive, and much of it a beautiful country. The natives depend chiefly on agriculture, and have therefore stationary villages, many of which are much neater than those of Bengal. Some idea both of the agriculture and population of the district may be derived from the fact that, in 1809, taxes were collected by the raja from 32,400 ploughs. Bijnee, the capital, is situated twenty-five miles east from Goalpara (lat. 26° 29', long. 89° 47'), and is strongly fortified.

20. The A-SSAM-ESE occupy most of the valleys and fertile portions of the region called *Assam*, while other tribes, in general less civilised, occupy the hills and mountains, especially on the frontier. Their territory became a part of Burmah in 1821-2, but is now wholly under British control. They are very numerous, estimated by some authors at a million, and are so far civilised as to secure to a missionary the immediate prospect of usefulness.

A missionary to this people might very advantageously be at once settled at Jurhath, long the seat of the Assamese rajas, and regarded as the capital of Upper Assam. Another is wanted at Gowhatte, the capital of Lower Assam, and the residence of the British agent for this region—a station now held by Captain Jenkins, a warm philanthropist, who has not only invited missionaries to this region, and rendered them important

services, but has given more than a thousand dollars toward the operations of the American Baptist mission of Sudiya. Noagong, Gualpara, &c., are now ripe for missionary labour.

21. The MEE-KEERS, or *Mikirs*, occupy a part of Assam south of the Burampooter, and amount to at least twenty thousand. They are greatly addicted to drunkenness, but are simple, honest, industrious, and inoffensive. Some of late years have become Brahmists. They are a people in every respect prepared for missionary labour. The most inviting point for a station is No-a-gong. The Serampore missionaries were very anxious to establish a mission here, but relinquished the idea for want of means.

22. The A-ABORS reside along the south side of the Himalaya Mountains, from long. 93° to long. 95°. A very numerous and somewhat civilised race, divided into various tribes, such as the *Padows, Saloos, Meboos, Gohmars, Mayings*, &c. Their country is cold and manners rude. They use, both in war and in the chase, arrows poisoned with Bissu. The article is prepared from a fibrous root which they keep secret, and is sold in considerable quantities to neighbouring tribes. They regard no food impure but beef, and are addicted to strong drink. They worship a deity called *Aph-hoom*. They dress well. Some of them annually visit Sudiya. No written character.

23. The MEE-REES, or *Miris*, adjoin the Abors, and are wholly independent. They occupy a strip of level land extending along the right bank of the Burampooter from Assam to the Dihong river, which separates them from the Abors. They are few and degraded, but somewhat industrious. They raise some opium, and have a few manufactures. The head village is *Mot-gaon*. Their language is the same as that of the Abors. The missionaries for this tribe and the Duphas would probably reside at Bishnah (lat. 26° 40', long. 93° 12'), a British station on the Burampooter, and head-quarters of the Assam light infantry; or at Tizpore, on the north bank of the same river (lat. 26° 37', long. 92° 52'), where also are British officers and sepoy. The country between these stations is beautiful. On the west side of the Barelli river, which passes through this space, is a settlement of at least 400 families of Meerces; and on the east is the densely peopled district of Noa-dwar.

24. The BOR-ABORS, a powerful tribe occupying the loftier ranges between Sudiya and the Bonash river, extending to Thibet. The word *Bor* means *great*. The people call themselves *Padam*. These and the two last-named tribes are essentially one people, and speak the same language. They have no written characters, but the language is fluent, easy of pronunciation, and readily acquired by a foreigner. Missionaries might at first reside with the Meerces, either at the station mentioned above or on the Burampooter, opposite to Sudiya, where are many Meerces, and penetrate among the Abors and Borabors, as prudence might dictate.

25. The A-HOMS occupy the eastern parts of Assam, and speak the language of Bengal. Three-fourths of them are Brahmists. They are more numerous than some of the tribes which have been named above.

26. The KOL-R-TAS, or *Kulitas*, are scattered through the Rungpore district, and part of Assam. They speak Bengalee, and have adopted that religion. They are called by Hamilton a powerful, independent, and civilised nation.

27. The MISH-MEES occupy the sources of the Lohit and Dibong rivers, to the north-east of Sudiya—a lofty and very cold region. They are a very extensive race, possessing industrious habits, and more gentleness than mountaineers in general. Missionaries would be quite safe among them. None are found on the plains near Sudiya, but a constant succession of them visit that city for purposes of trade.

They are distinguished for hospitality. When a man kills a bullock, he invites his friends to partake; all the skulls are preserved in his house, as a proof of his hospitality, till he dies, when they are piled on his grave

as an honourable monument. One branch of the Mishmees are a good deal mixed among the Abors.

28. The KAN-TEES, descended from the Bor Kantees, inhabit a triangle near the sources of the Irrawaddy, bounded by the rivers Lohit and Dibong, and the mountains of the Mishmees. They are a very intelligent and numerous race, and have many large towns, among which Mun-long and Man-sai are the principal. The language is Shyan. The Rev. Messrs Brown and Cutter are now labouring at Sudiya for this tribe and others, and thus form the exception mentioned at the beginning of this article. Sudiya stands on the right bank of the Ku-nil, or Kondil nullah, six miles above its junction with the Lohit, and has 10,000 inhabitants. It is the advance British post on the north-east frontier, and has a military force and commissioner. The missionaries have reduced the language to writing, in the Roman character, and printed various elementary books.

29. The BOR-KANTEES reside between the eastern portion of Assam and the valley of the Irrawaddy. Their capital is Manchee, twelve days from Sudiya. A numerous and interesting people. Language is nearly allied to the Shyan.

30. The SING-PHOOS. Of this people there are large numbers under British sway in the neighbourhood of Sudiya. They are divided from the Burman Singphos on the south by the Patkoi hills, and from the Bor Kantees on the east by the Langtan mountains. On the west they are bounded by a line extended from Sudiya to the Patkoi range. They worship idols, and seem to have a religion mixed up of doctrines from their neighbours. An intelligent and enterprising race. No written character. The Singphos are likely to be much better known from the fact that the tea plant, which the British are so anxious to cultivate in India, flourishes chiefly in their territory. A very inviting missionary station is found at Ningru, a beautiful village on the high bank of the Buri Dihing, three days south of Sudiya, and in the midst of a tea country. Missionaries might, however, advantageously remain a year or two at Sudiya, where are many Singphos, and where advantages for acquiring the language would be greater than in the jungle. The language is said to be singularly difficult, and full of combinations of consonants, almost unmanageable to a foreigner.\*

31. The KU-NUNGS, a wretched race, subject to the Kantees, somewhat numerous. Language not written. They occupy the mountains to the northward and eastward of the Hukung valley, towards Assam.

32. The MUT-RUCKS, a tribe on the eastern border of Assam, south of the Burampooter, numbering 25,000 men, besides women and children. Some of their villages contain 1000 houses each. It is probable they are the same people sometimes called also *Moo-a-mar-ee-as*, *Moramans*, and *Morahs*. Though occupying a region rendered cold by its elevation, they have many comforts, and are a highly thrifty and intelligent people.

33. The LAP-CHAS, or *Sikhims*, are separated from the Chinese dominions in Thibet by the Kha-wa Karpola ridge of the Himmalaya. The eastern branch of the Teesta river separates them from the Deb Raja of Bootan; and to the west, the Konki river divides them from Nepal. The length of the district is about seventy miles, and the average breadth forty, almost all hilly. The proper name of this people is *Lapcha*; the term *Sikhims* being given them from the name of the capital. They are one of the most important tribes of the Nepal valley. They generally embrace the Buddhism of the Grand Lama, but they are very lax in their observance of it, killing animals and drinking to excess. They are intermixed very much with the Bootees. The unicorn, so long deemed fabulous, is said certainly to exist in this country. The region is under British influence, though virtually independent. The raja holds an intimate intercourse with Lassa and China.

34. The DUF-LAS, sometimes spelled *Duphlas*, and sometimes *Dupholas*; an independent tribe on the north border of Assam, westward of Bootan. They are a powerful tribe, and inhabit a region which, though hilly, is fruitful both in produce and game. They are considerably civilised, and carry on a brisk traffic with their neighbours.

35. The A-KAS border on the Duf-las, and are also independent.

36. The CU-PA CHOWAS occupy a hilly range contiguous to the Akas.

37. The BOO-TEAS, an independent tribe, in the neighbourhood of the Akas and Duf-las, occupying both sides of the great Himmalaya range. Those on this side are tributary to the English, and those on the other side to some tribes of Tartars. They are evidently of Thibet origin, and the province was probably once part of that country. Much of the territory is above the line of perpetual snow. The villagers migrate to the valleys in October, and return in May. Their principal subsistence is derived from numerous flocks and herds. The villages are small and scattered. The religion is Lamaism.

Besides these there are several tribes less known, such as the Tangkools, the Kons, the Anals, the Poorums, Mueyols, Munsangs, Murings, and Luhoppas, all found on the mountain ranges to the eastward of Chittagong; the Rumbos, Johohes, Jompoles, Gominchis, Oojongs, Scrimenantis, Ulus, Calangs, Jellaboos, Segamets, Kemoungs, Udias, Sakkeys, Utans, Jococons, Semangs, Oodees, Sakais, and Rayots, all on the Malay peninsula, having different languages, though more or less mixed with Malay; the Simongs, on the Yamunee river, the Reegas, Paseses, Mizongs, Bibors, and Barkans, all on the northern edge of Assam, towards the Lama country; the Uniyas, Marchas, Jowaries, and Suryabans, on the margin of the Himmalaya, in the region of Niti Ghaut, and Suteleje river; the Khoibus, Longphus, Champungs, Kapwis, and Korengs, all occupying portions of the region of Assam.

Here, then, are twenty-six races of people in the Burman empire, and eighty in the immediate vicinity, making a *hundred and six*. The subdivision of many of these into tribes speaking different dialects, increases the number of distinct missions which demand to be commenced, to about 120. Further investigations in these regions will discover other tribes, equally entitled to missionary effort. If the survey were extended, so as to include the territories of the Grand Lama, where it is believed there is no missionary, we should enrol some sixteen or twenty tribes and dialects more.

Supposing the Baptist Tribe to be bound to supply only the field described in this paper, and which has hitherto been left to them, together with British and Proper Burmah, and to send only two missionaries to each language, what a mighty effort is required, compared to their present operations! Two hundred and forty men would be demanded immediately; and years must elapse before they could acquire their respective languages.

Should we at once enter upon these fields, and forestall the introduction of Hindu and Burman literature and superstition, we should gain much every way. As regards literature alone, promptitude is important. To commence this, among a rude but rising people, is to save mountains of obstacles in future efforts. Heathen literature is everywhere, and has always been, the *grand prop* of heathen religions. It was the curse of Chaldea, of Egypt, of Greece, of Rome, of Arabia. It is the curse of India, of Burmah, of China. The absence of it is the huge advantage of the Karens, and one great cause, under God, of missionary success with that people. The same advantage is now offered in relation to the tribes here described, but it cannot always continue. They will soon have Mahometan or Hindu legends and literature, if we give them not the truth.

These remarks are not at variance with the admitted fact that ignorance is a principal hindrance of Christianity. The educated heathen is as ignorant as the

\* The Rev. Mr Brunson left America in 1837 to labour among this people. He has also interested himself for the Nagahs.

uneducated; nay, his requisitions make him worse than ignorant. They fill him with error; they oppress him with stronger superstitions; they inflate him with pride, while they debase and harden his heart.

To give any people a written language, is not to divert the missionary from his proper work. It is a part of his work, and highly important. In accomplishing it, he gives more or less literature to the people; and this literature, being at the foundation of all their future improvements, and based not on false but on true philosophy, must even prove the handmaid to religion, to say nothing of still higher benefits gained by giving a people the written word of God. Two hundred and fifty or sixty men are wanted this moment to supply these new fields, and to reinforce the present missions in Burmah, even on the supposition that native preachers will be raised up in numbers equal to nearly all the demand for preaching.

Further remarks are unnecessary. The facts speak with sufficient eloquence. Where are the thousand young men in our churches? Will they all go to the law, to physic, to merchandise, to mechanics, or to the field, without once questioning the propriety of giving themselves to the holy ministry? Shall the heathen, the Jew, the Mussulman, and the Papist, have none of their sympathies? Must every view of a perishing world be shut from their eyes, while in their own land, and for their own ends, they seek domestic comforts, or amass property, or squabble in politics?

May those whose duty it is to embark in this blessed enterprise hear the voice of the Lord, saying, "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" and without delay respond, "Here am I, send me!"

### CHAPTER III.

#### ON THE MEASURE OF SUCCESS WHICH HAS ATTENDED MODERN MISSIONS.

Introduction. I. The number of Missionaries. II. The Kind of Labour performed: Preparatory; Collateral; Additional; Erroneous. III. Disadvantages of Modern Missions: Imperfect Knowledge of the Language; Poverty of the Languages themselves; Want of Familiarity with the Religion and People; Degraded State of the Natives; Inability to live as they live; Being Foreigners; the Structure of Society; the prevailing Philosophy; the presence of nominal Christians; Popery. IV. Efforts which do not reach the Field. V. The Amount accomplished; a large Force in the Field; Impediments removed; Translations made; Languages reduced to Writing; General Literature imparted; Tracts written; Grammars, Dictionaries, and other Helps prepared; Immense Distribution of Bibles and Tracts; Mechanical Facilities created; Schools established, and Youth already educated; Blessings of Christian Morality diffused; Idolatry in some places shaken; Effects on Europeans abroad; Actual Conversions. VI. Effects on the Churches at Home. Remarks.

MANY of the best friends of missions avow feelings of disappointment, in regard to the measure of success which has attended the enterprise. Considering the great efforts which have been made, they are ready to infer either that there is some radical error in the mode of operation, or that "the set time" to bring in the heathen has not yet come. At this we can scarcely wonder, when we consider the misstatements which are current, and the prevalent deficiency of information on this subject, even among religious persons, for want of reading missionary periodicals.

Those who stand aloof from the work, are still more disposed to regard it as a failure. Some are not backward to charge those who persist with fanaticism and folly; and a few go so far as to brand them with chicanery and corruption, and to declare their belief that most of the funds contributed for missions are retained by the hands through which they pass.

On the other hand, there are those who dwell always on animating prognostics and local successes. Reluctant to contemplate discouraging circumstances, they

anxiously exclude such details from what they say or publish, and at monthly concerts of prayer, or other public meetings, create an impression that the work is well nigh done, at least in some places. There is thus a danger of making contributions to missions the fruit rather of temporary emotion than habitual principle, and of graduating the measure of our duty more by the amount of success than the distinctness of injunction. And when, in a course of years, the expected results are not realised, there is a proneness to dejection and lassitude.

The writer cannot join with those whose tone is chiefly that of exultation. But he is persuaded that missions have succeeded, to a degree fully equal to the amount and kind of labour bestowed, and presents the following considerations to sustain this opinion.

Before proceeding to measure the absolute magnitude of what has been accomplished, it is necessary to consider the true amount of means employed, and the exact manner in which they have been applied.

1. *The number of missionaries, and the amount of time and energy they have had to bestow on their work.*

1. The English Baptist Missionary Society was formed in 1792; the London Missionary Society in 1795; the Scotch Missionary Society in 1796; the Church Missionary Society in 1800; the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810; the Baptist Board in 1814; the Episcopal and the Methodist Missionary Societies in 1820.

Of course, the first years in each of these societies produced very few missionaries. By a careful analysis of all the missionary statistics within reach, it appears that, in 1810, the whole number of stations was twenty-nine; in 1820, fifty-seven; and at the present time, about 400. If we allow two missionaries to a station, it gives us, in 1810, fifty-eight; in 1820, 114; and at the present time 800. We thus perceive that we have proceeded but slowly to the present magnitude of our operations. One-half of the present number of missionaries have gone out within so recent a period as not yet to have acquired the languages of their people.

2. The lives of missionaries are shorter than those of ministers at home; not exceeding, probably, on an average, more than eight or nine years.

3. As the highest instances of longevity are found among those who gave themselves chiefly to translations and English preaching, the average life of such as were devoted to the immediate conversion of natives is still further lessened.

4. All those who died before they had been in the field four years, are to be presumed not to have become efficient preachers.

5. Three or four years are to be deducted from the brief span of all missionaries, as time spent chiefly in study.

6. Most missions have been carried forward in regions where the missionaries were robbed of one-fourth of their effective energy by climate. Combine all these considerations, and the absolute amount of direct efforts for the conversion of heathen is reduced to a very paltry sum.

Again: the calculations which have been made on the labours of the wives of missionaries, are, for the most part, much too large. Speeches, essays, and sermons, have described the public usefulness of females in glowing terms. It has even been declared, that on this account "almost all missionaries of the Protestant churches may count for two." The seclusion of women in certain countries has principally given rise to this opinion, as they can find access to their own sex in a manner not practicable to their husbands. But it must be considered that only in a part of the field are females rigidly secluded, and then only the higher classes, with which few missions have much to do. Few missionaries' wives have acquired the language to such an extent as to enable them to be useful in this way. Their opportunities for learning are by no means so good as those of their husbands. Household duties demand

some time; their minds have been less trained to the acquisition of language; and such as have children are greatly put back in their studies, and hindered from missionary work, if ever so familiar with the language. Among ourselves, we do not reckon ministers' wives as so many evangelists, when we compute the degree to which a state or county is supplied with the means of grace. Much less can we calculate upon the wives of missionaries. The helps and facilities enjoyed by a woman at home, who essays to do public good, are not found among the heathen. There, few nurses or servants can be trusted alone with children, even for an hour; the elder ones are not safe away at school, but must be about the mother, and taught wholly by herself a great task, which few mothers in America could add to their other cares. In sickness, she is not aided by a circle of kind friends, but must nurse her husband, her child, or her scholar, day by day, alone; destitute even of the aid which servants might render, could they fully understand her commands or customs. At home, a minister's wife does good chiefly through others, by setting in motion and keeping up plans which they can execute. But not so with the missionary's wife. She has around her no circle of active and unencumbered sisters to teach Sabbath schools, to form bible classes, or to constitute societies for good objects. All she does must be carried on, from beginning to end, by her own individual unassisted energies. She must find her principal sphere of usefulness in keeping her husband whole-hearted and happy; in being a good housewife; sustaining all the domestic cares; training up her children well; furnishing her husband prudent counsel and affectionate support; and setting before the heathen the sweet and impressive example of a well-ordered Christian family, and the elevated and purifying character of conjugal life, as regulated by the New Testament. As time and opportunity offer, she should diligently and thoroughly study the language. Then let her take every opportunity of conversing with such as come to the house, form a circle of acquaintance among the native females, and faithfully visit among them as a Christian teacher.

Unmarried females, and such as have no children, may generally be regarded as missionaries in the fullest sense. Some of these have maintained for years a course of public usefulness not inferior to their masculine fellow-labourers.

## II. *The kind of labour which has been performed.*

1. Up to the present period, the principal portion of missionary labour has been *preparatory*.

He who views the lofty column is apt to forget how great have been the labours of the architect beneath the surface of the earth, and how widely the hidden foundations spread round beneath his feet. So when we survey the results of missions, most of the labour, though indispensable, is not now seen. Nor can any inspection of their present condition disclose the extent and variety of past labours.

We need not here stop to inquire whether missionaries have devoted *too much* time to translations, authorship, schools, secular business, or preaching in English. It is sufficient for the present argument that the major part of our efforts have been so expended. It is not possible to arrive at precision in regard to the exact proportion; but from careful inquiries, I am led to set down as preparatory *three-fourths* of the work done in India, much more as to China and Western Asia, and somewhat less in most other missions.

2. No small portion of time and energy has been spent on objects which may be called *collateral*.

A pastor at home looks for these labours to his church, and to benevolent societies. He has around him those who maintain Sunday schools, distribute bibles and tracts, sustain pecuniary agencies, hold meetings in private houses, visit the sick, maintain discipline, and perform a multitude of other services, which in a foreign land devolve on the missionary alone. The fraction of effort left, after making the deductions of the last head,

is therefore to be still further abridged, if we mean to measure missionaries by ministers at home.

3. He has many duties *additional* to those of a pastor in a Christian land.

In addition to all his studies and labours of a strictly missionary and evangelical character, he must erect places of worship, dwellings, and school-houses; employ and oversee native assistants and catechists; and send out agents with bibles and tracts. In the absence of physicians, friends, nurses, and trained servants, he must be surgeon, midwife, and nurse, in his own family. In many cases he must devote considerable time to the dispensing of medicine to the natives. He must be schoolmaster for his own children, as well as Sunday school teacher, and perhaps superintend native schools.

Besides this list of duties, so large as almost to seem absurd, he must correspond with his friends at home, the Society, and fellow-missionaries; keep careful money accounts; and maintain a proper intercourse with Europeans around him.

4. Many missionaries have felt obliged to imitate the example of Carey, Marshman, and Ward, and of the Moravians generally, in devoting much time to raising pecuniary resources. While the public were but half awake to their duty, there was much reason for this. There are perhaps cases now where it is proper. I only name it as another deduction from our computation of the measure of means strictly spent in converting the heathen.

5. Much time and money have been expended *erroneously*, at least in several missions.

Shops, houses, mills, farms, machines, implements, fonts of type, and books, have been made unwisely, and relinquished, or made at too great a cost. The temporal affairs of the people have received too much attention. Periodical publications have entrenched on higher duties; translations have in some cases been made prematurely; and in others great labour has been bestowed in making revisions which prove not to be improvements.

All this was to be expected. In labours not expressly patterned in the New Testament, we have no teacher but experience, whose instructions are always costly. No reasonable man could expect this item to be less than it is. Happily the pressure of such expenses has passed away with the period of our inexperience.

## III. *We will now glance at the disadvantages under which the best and purest missionary labour is exerted.*

The bigotry, superstition, and sensuality of the heathen, their want of early training in the proper theory of religion, the absence of a correct moral sense, and similar disadvantages of great magnitude, not felt by ministers in a Christian land, will not be insisted upon; because they equally impeded the apostles, who nevertheless had great success. I intend only to name those which are peculiar to modern missionaries.

1. An imperfect knowledge of the language of the people.

Scarcely one missionary in twenty has become able to preach with entire fluency, and probably never one had such a knowledge of the language as inspiration gave. A great amount of preaching has been done through interpreters, and these often unconverted heathen, who could not give full force to themes they did not comprehend. Few can acquire such mastery of a foreign tongue as to express their thoughts with the glow and intensity of a native, even when the idiom and structure of the language is thoroughly understood.

An experienced missionary in Bengal assured me, that on an average not one-half of the sermons of missionaries who undertake to preach is understood. Dr Carey, in a letter of August 1809, states, that after by years of study he thought he had fully mastered the Bengalee, and had then preached it two full years, he discovered that he was not understood! Yet Dr Carey's teachers flattered him that he was understood perfectly. This is a very common deception of pundits and moonshees. In the opinion of one of the most ex-



perienced missionaries in the Madras presidency, not one missionary in ten, out of those who live the longest, ever gets the language so as to be generally understood, except when declaring the simplest truths. This is a difficulty not to be removed. Merchants and traders may easily acquire the vocabulary of traffic and social life, and so do missionaries. They may go further, and be able to read or understand literary and historical subjects. But to have the ready command of words, on abstract theological subjects, and all the nice shades of meaning requisite to discuss accurately mental and moral subjects, can only be the work of many years of intense study and great practice.

2. There is a still greater difficulty in the poverty of the languages themselves.

For terms which are of primary importance in religious discourse, words must often be used which are either unmeaning, or foreign to the purpose, or inaccurate. It is not easy to exhibit this difficulty in its true magnitude to such as have not mixed with heathen. A few examples may, however, make the argument intelligible. Words equivalent to God, Lord, &c., must, in various languages, be those which the heathen apply to their idols, for there are no others. In Tamul, the word *pávum* (sin) signifies only "exposure to evil;" or simply "evil," whether natural or moral, and may be applied to a beast as well as a man. The word *padesuttam* (holiness) means "clearness." *Regeneration* is understood by a Hindu or Boodhist to mean "another birth" in this world, or "transmigration." The *purposes of God* they understand to be "fate." The word used in Bengalee for *holy* (*d'harma*), sometimes means "merit" acquired by acts of religious worship, and sometimes "that which is agreeable to rule or custom." When the compound word *Holy Ghost* is translated, it becomes "Spirit of rule," or some phrase not more intelligible. In the Episcopal Liturgy in Bengalee, it is rendered "Spirit of existence" (*sadatma*); and Mr Yates, in his new version of the Scriptures, uses the word *pabitru*, "clean." This last, while it avoids the hazard of conveying a wrong idea, and seems to be the best rendering, is yet evidently imperfect. In Siamese, the word most used for *sin* (*tót*) means either "guilt" or the "punishment of guilt," or simply "exposure to punishment." The best word the missionaries can get for *holy* is *boresut*, "purified," when people are spoken of; and *saksit*, or "Spirit having power of sanctity," when the Holy Ghost is meant. There is no Siamese word equivalent to *repent*, and a phrase is used signifying "to establish the mind anew," or "make new resolves." In Burman, there is no term equivalent to *our heaven*, and a word meaning "sky," or more properly "space," is used; nor any word for *angel*, and the rendering of that term has to be "sky-messenger;" nor any word for *condemna*, except the circumlocution "decide according to demerit, or sin;" nor any word for *conscience*, *thank*, &c. &c. I might add scores of such cases, given me by missionaries. There is scarcely a theological term not subject to this difficulty.

For a multitude of our terms there is no word at all. Among these are not only theological terms, such as sanctification, gospel, evangelist, church, atonement, devil, &c., but the names of implements, animals, customs, clothing, and many other things, of which ignorant and remote tribes have never heard, and for which entirely new terms are obliged to be coined.

Let a man imagine how he would be embarrassed in reading a book, or hearing a discourse, in which he constantly met with Greek or Arabic terms, and words used in a sense differing more or less from that in which he understands them, and these often the principal terms in the sentence, and he may form some conception of this difficulty. Even the native assistant, preaching in his mother tongue, is not properly understood, for he must use these terms.

3. Want of familiarity with the system and sacred books to be encountered, and with national prejudices and modes of thinking.

For exposing with freedom, and attacking with power,

a popular belief, these are eminent disadvantages. Hence, in part, the superior success of native preachers. The apostles were native preachers almost wherever they went, and we see how largely they used their intimate knowledge of the national religion and habits of thinking, not only in disputations but in formal discourses and epistles. Many years must elapse before a missionary can attain this power, and then only by the wearisome perusal of many volumes of disgusting legends, as well as contact with natives in many ways, and for a long period.

4. The rudeness and ignorance of the people sought to be reclaimed.

Idolatry tends steadily downwards, and eighteen centuries have served to degrade the heathen far below the latest and most corrupt Greeks and Romans. When mankind began to fall away from the living God, there remained some knowledge of the proper attributes of Deity, and a comparative nobleness and purity in the human mind. But the objects of worship, the rites enjoined, and the character of the people, steadily sank lower and lower. Hence all nations refer to past ages as having greater purity and happiness than the present. Iniquitous oracles, abused asylums, horrid bacchanalia, and human sacrifices, were known, even in Greece and Rome, only to later generations. With all these abominations, they possessed no contemptible amount of arts, sciences, literature, and poetry. Syria, Macedonia, Greece, Italy, and Northern Africa, forming the field of the first missions, were the centre of civilisation and intelligence. The wide intercommunication maintained by travelling philosophers and marching armies, gave impulse to intellect, and disseminated knowledge. The Roman, the Greek, the Jew, the Egyptian, was far less of a brute than the savage or semi-civilised object of our philanthropy.

For a long period before the birth of Christ, a leaven of contempt for Pagan rites had been diffused by Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and others. Every century brought forth some such writers, and increased the effect of the former works. Socrates, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, and others, had by their orations stirred up the stagnation of the public mind. Euclid, Zeno, Epicurus, Apollonius, Archimedes, and Eratosthenes, led the select few to a noble expansion and activity of the intellectual powers. Afterwards came the satires and exposures of Horace, Lucian, and Juvenal, turning a strong tide of ridicule upon the prevailing mythology. To quote more names might seem pedantic; but there was then scarcely a department of learning without writers which, to this very day, maintain not only a place among our studies, but admiration and utility. Poetry, philosophy, history, eloquence, tragedy, mathematics, geography, botany, medicine, and morals, were all cultivated. Such was the state of mankind when Christ came; and while it would have allowed a new system of superstition or error little chance of prevalence, it made a happy preparation for Christianity. Not, indeed, that any of the philosophy agreed with it, or that any of the philosophers adopted it. "The wisdom of this world," then as now, deemed the cross "foolishness." But the people were trained to think, and both Jews and Pagans were capable of examining, and disposed to understand, the nature of the new religion.

The nations among whom missions are now conducted, are in general the reverse of all this. With them the human intellect has for ages been at a stand. Improvements in any thing are not imagined. Without valuable books, without a knowledge of other countries, without foreign commerce, without distant conquest, without the strife of theology, without political freedom, without public spirit—what is left for them, but listlessness, ignorance, and pride? Such of them as attempt study, learn only falsehood and folly, so that the more they learn, the less they know. Their history, chronology, geography, physics, astronomy, medicine, and theology, are so utterly wrong, that to fill the mind with them is worse than vacuity. This is true of the *most civilised* heathen of this day; and of

many parts of the missionary field, a much stronger picture might be drawn. Such indurated ignorance is incomparably worse to deal with than fine reasonings and false philosophy. What can argument do, if not understood? The edge of truth itself is turned by impenetrable dullness.

The depreciation of morals is as great as that of intellect. We look in vain even for Spartan or Roman virtue. Except perhaps among the Cretans, it is hardly probable that the first preachers anywhere encountered such a spirit of falsehood and deceit as distinguish the heathen now. Truth is utterly wanting. Man has no confidence in man. The morality is not only defective, it is perverted. Killing a cow or an insect is more shocking than the murder of an enemy; lying for a Brahmin is a virtue; stealing for real want is no sin: a few ceremonies or offerings expiate all crimes. Transmigration abolishes identity; for, if perfectly unconscious, in one state of existence, of all that transpired in previous ones, identity is virtually lost. Sin is reduced to a trifle, the conscience rendered invulnerable, generous sentiments extinguished, and the very presence and exhortations of the missionary engender a suspicion destructive to his success. His reasons for coming are not credited; and the fear of political treachery is added to a detestation of his creed. The best supposition they can make is, that he is seeking religious merit according to his own system, and careful, not so much for their conversion, as for his personal benefit in a future state.

#### 5. Inability to live as the people live.

Except at a few points, the manners and customs are such that a missionary cannot adopt them without disadvantage. It has often been tried, to a greater or less degree; but always relinquished, for numerous good reasons which I cannot here stop to adduce. In some missions, the health and even the life of a missionary require him to live in a better house, and more expensively than the chiefs, or perhaps the king. The consequent evils may be partly conceived, by considering the effect with us of a minister living in a style superior to that of his richest hearers, without having any dependence on them for support. It is not the question here whether this evil may not be palliated in some places. It has existed as a disadvantage in many instances, and in many must probably always so remain.

6. The world is not now under a single government. The apostles were every where fellow-subjects, for the stupendous power of Rome presided over the known world. But the missionary is now a foreigner, living in foreign modes, holding his connections with foreign powers, and endeavouring to introduce a foreign religion. In one part of the field, he is either wondered at as a superior being, or feared as a political agent; and in the other, despised as coming from some barbarous island on the confines of creation. To be either a Roman or a Jew, secured to the first preachers a fraternity wherever they went. Our missionary finds none, till, by the blessing of God, he makes it. From some countries he is kept aloof by inexorable prohibitions; in some his life is unsafe; in some official obstructions are thrown in his way, so as almost to discourage effort; and in others, though protected by Christian rulers, he is almost precluded from usefulness by the influence of their example.

#### 7. The structure of society.

At first, Christians could be tolerated even "in Cæsar's household," and retain offices civil and military. The persecutions were not so much by the people as the government, and the converts could prosecute their callings, whether as tanners, tent-makers, fishermen, or centurions. Now, the adamant barrier of caste fences off into innumerable sections the two hundred millions of India; while all, from the highest to the lowest, unite against Christianity. The convert becomes an *outcast*, in such a sense of that word as Europeans cannot conceive. He is not only deprived of property, but torn from wife and children, and abandoned, without the means of subsistence. Unless the missionary de-

vide a mode of subsistence for him, he must starve. In addition to other evils, this state of things tends to keep off all who have property to lose, and draw together mendicants, idlers, and criminals, to profess Christianity for temporal ends.

Among Mahometans, Boodhists, and other Pagans, to become a Christian entails most of these trials, though in other forms. The convert is cast out as evil. His relations deny him, his business fails, his children are a bye-word, his rulers are displeased, and his life endangered.

Among still ruder nations, the distinction of tribes cuts up the human family into small, insulated portions, denying to each other common kindnesses. After spending many years to acquire a language, there are but a few thousands to whom it can be the medium of truth. Wars, wanderings, extreme poverty, and desperate degradation, seem to preclude the very hope of success.

8. The apostles were not every where met by a system of natural philosophy which directly contradicted all their teachings.

Wherever Christianity now goes, a new system of geography and astronomy must be adopted. It cannot be said that the missionary may pass by this topic, and only preach Christ crucified. His hearers will not let him pass it by. The country he professes to have left cannot exist by their system. The Shaster and the Bedagat must fall if his system be true. He will be attacked upon it. It will be regarded as a part of his religious belief, and he must clear away their cosmogony before he can build his faith.

With the few who can be so far educated as to understand and receive the Copernican system, this difficulty is converted into a facility. Such are at least rendered unbelievers in their own religion. But the mass of the people will long remain in the old belief, and as Christianity cannot wait to be preceded by schools, missionaries must meet this difficulty in all its strength.

#### 9. The presence of nominally Christian countrymen.

These are now found almost everywhere; and too many of them, by their ungodly lives, present to the undistinguishing heathen a continual ground of objection. Their lewdness, extortions, oppressions, riotous living, desecration of the Sabbath, neglect of sacred things, direct opposition, and secret obstructions, wring the soul of the missionary, fill his way with thorns, and tend to nullify his greatest exertions.

Where Christian governments have borne rule, and where his own life has been most secure, he has found those very governments arrayed against his success. When Buchanan would have given forth information touching the abominations of Hinduism, not a journal in Calcutta dared publish his communications! When he made them from the pulpit, his friends were not allowed to publish the sermons. When he returned to England and published these things, his statements were denied and his character assailed. The East India Company long opposed the introduction of missionaries, or kept them under a surveillance which defeated their object. Had not the Danish settlement at Serampore afforded an asylum, till an experiment was made, evincive of the political harmlessness of evangelical labours among the natives, it is doubtful whether India would have been opened to this day. It is only necessary to refer to the periodical accounts, to the Calcutta newspapers, and to the occasional pamphlets of that time, to show how wilfully and effectively the messengers of mercy were hindered for many years, and how large deductions fall to be made on this account, from the fruits which might otherwise have been produced. Though the Indian government no longer exerts a direct opposition to missionaries, it does many things, some of which have been named in a previous chapter, to sustain Paganism and Mahometanism throughout its dominions.

The Dutch government has been even more inimical, and still maintains its hostility. When Mr Bruckner, after many years' labour, had translated the New Testament into Javanese, he went to Serampore, and at

great expense got types cast and printed it. But he no sooner returned (in 1832) and gave away a few copies, than the government seized the whole edition, and placed it in the public stores, from whence it has never been restored. I could mention other facts of a similar character. Their own chaplains and other clergy are under such restraints as tend to nullify or obstruct their labours to convert the natives.

The Spanish and Portuguese colonial governments in India have avowedly opposed us from the beginning, on the ground of our Protestantism.

At some of the Sandwich Islands, among various tribes of American Indians, and in many other places where no governmental opposition has been made, the influence and example of unprincipled men, both residents and visitors, have been most distressing.\*

In the most favourable aspect in which the missionary meets a Christian government in Pagan lands, he finds it a government of financial rapacity and military force. The natives cannot forget that the presence and power of the white man is the fruit and proof of their subjection and inferiority. Wherever he establishes his fort and his flag, it is to the subversion of their political and civil consequence. A distinguished British writer declares, that with the exception of the obstacles which the impolicy of Europeans themselves has created against the propagation of their religion, there exist no others. "In every country of the east, Christianity has been introduced to the people along with the invariable and odious associates of unprincipled ambition and commercial rapacity."† Hence their expulsion from Japan, China, Tonquin, Cochin-China, and Cambodia; and the precarious footing of missionaries in Siam, Burmah, and other places. "It must be confessed that if the beauty of Christianity has not convinced orientals, it is principally by reason of the bad opinions which the avarice, treachery, invasions, and tyranny of the Portuguese, and some other Christians in the Indies, have implanted in them."‡

10. The resistance made by Popery.

At a large proportion of the stations there are Papal establishments. At these the priests always, and the people often, are active and implacable opposers. The missionary's character and labours are misrepresented; his bibles and tracts are declared false and pernicious; and salvation, for him or his adherents, is pronounced impossible.

Worse than this is the contempt and aversion which they create towards the Christian name. Their proselytes are seldom less degraded and vicious than the heathen, and sometimes more so. That they have not procured the exclusion of all missionaries, as they have from China and Japan, is because they are not sufficiently powerful to excite the action of government. So far as they have ability, it is exerted to keep Protestantism from Pagans.

IV. *The effect of much of the efforts at home does not reach the field abroad.*

Large sums have been spent in surveying the field, and sundry lives lost for want of a better acquaintance with the countries, climates, natives, &c.

\* Oh that immoral Christians living among idolators and finical rulers, would consider how much more reprehensible they are than those who of old professed to be his people, yet caused his name to be polluted among the Gentiles! In the days of Ezekiel, "They were dispersed through the countries; and when they entered unto the heathen, whither they went, they profaned my holy name when they said, We are the people of the Lord, and are gone forth out of his land. The heathen shall know that I am the Lord, saith the Lord God, when I shall be sanctified in you before their eyes."—Ezek. xxxvi. 19-23. In the days of Paul, it was still their reproach, "Thou that makest thy boast of [possessing] the law, through breaking the law, dishonourest thou God? For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you."—Rom. ii. 23, 24.

† Crawford's Indian Archipelago, vol. ii. book 6, chap. 4.

‡ La Loubiere, Du Royaume de Siam, tom. i.

§ Men of the world exclaim against this; but they spend money

Large expenses of both time and money are incurred for agencies; secretaryships, travelling, clerk-hire, buildings, circulars, pamphlets, &c. Objections may lie against some of these cases, and certain details. But the main question of expediency and necessity remains clear. They yield no fruits in the foreign field, but without them a beginning could not be made. Christians were ignorant of the various subjects involved in the undertaking. They were both to be induced to move, and to be taught how; so that the whole energies of some have been absorbed in awakening the co-operation of others. For this there is no present remedy but in the continuance of these very expenses.\* Even now, though thousands of pamphlets, reports, speeches, sermons, &c., have been distributed, thousands of addresses made, and thousands of committees and associations formed, there are multitudes who do not understand the movement. For want of more of this sort of expense and labour, thousands of sincere Christians have not been awakened to a proper consideration of the enterprise; and thousands, misjudging it, oppose.

In addition to these expenses, large sums are absorbed by the outfit, passages, and salaries, of missionaries who die before they acquire the language. Very costly libraries have to be furnished to stations where translations are in progress. Those who know the price of many necessary works in the learned languages, will feel the force of this consideration. This sort of expense, and all those connected with setting up a printing-office, must be renewed at every principal mission to be established.

The outlay for societies' houses, secretaries, treasurers, clerks, &c., will not increase in proportion to increased operations. Once properly organised, a set of officers can as well conduct a hundred missions as fifty. Experience will reduce many expenses, both abroad and at home. The houses, lands, presses, types, machinery, libraries, &c., now possessed, will remain as so much capital. Natives will soon learn to do printing, &c., and the cost of manipulations be reduced. The prices of passages will lessen, as facilities and improvements multiply. In short, every charge between

and life upon matters of infinitely less moment. They encounter the same perils in the same regions in pursuit of wealth, science, or fame, or perhaps prompted only by curiosity. Let but the efforts to discover the sources and course of the Niger be specified. In this one enterprise have perished Ledyard, Houghton, Park, Anderson, Horneman, Nichols, Roentgen, Tucker, Tudor, Craneh, Galway, Smith, Peddie, Kummer, Campbell, Stockie, Toole, Denham, Clapperton, Morrison, Pearce, Laing, and I know not how many more, all men of distinction and worth. With these have perished several hundred soldiers, scientific attendants, servants, &c. All these lives spent to discover the course of a river flowing through pestilential solitudes, and occupied by barbarous tribes! And for what purpose? To convey peace and eternal life to these benighted Africans? No. To add a few facts to science, and, peradventure, to open a new market for European manufactures! The settlement of many colonies, the attempts to discover a north-west passage, and a score of other such enterprises, might be named, which have involved greater loss of life than the whole missionary enterprise from the beginning.

\* This item, though large, is apt to be overrated. At an early period of missionary operations, when the total receipts were small, and great personal efforts required to collect them, the proportion was greater than at present. The average income of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions is about 260,000 dollars, and the average expenditure for agencies, salaries, travelling expenses of missionary candidates for examination, postages, rent, and other incidental expenses, about 20,000 dollars, being a fraction less than 8 per cent. The expenditure of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions is about 90,000 dollars, and the home expenses 7000 dollars, which is also a fraction less than 8 per cent. The proportion in other societies is probably about the same. Contributors ought certainly to feel gratified to know that they can collect their missionaries, place their donations abroad, and convert the money into bibles and tracts, at so small a charge as 8 cents on a dollar. Were the income of missionary societies doubled, the home charges would not be materially increased, as the present organisations would suffice.

the donor and his object may be expected to decrease. The churches will come to the work with more readiness; systematic contribution will succeed to desultory collections; few brethren will remain to be convinced and urged; and the apparatus of agencies will cease to be burdensome.

V. *Let us now look at the amount which has been accomplished.*

1. Numerous and formidable impediments have been removed.

Ignorance of the field, and of the nature of the work, have given way to knowledge and experience. An entrance and location among various strange nations has been effected. The difficulties of many languages are overcome. Several missionaries have attained, not merely a trader's fluency in the native tongues, but that minute and critical knowledge which is necessary to become authors, and to preach with advantage. Prejudices against Christianity have been overcome in many places. In some, the spirit of indifference has given way to a spirit of inquiry; and confidence in the missionary, and respect for the purity of his principles, have been created. Most missionaries who now go out, find brethren to welcome them, houses for their reception, and other facilities which do away no small amount of suffering, mistake, and delay. Had all our money effected only these preliminaries, it would not have been ill spent.

2. A great body of missionaries and native preachers are in actual service.

The reports of some societies do not distinguish between missionaries and assistants, printers, &c., so that it is not possible to state the precise number of each. It will not be far from the truth to say that there are 1000 ordained missionaries, fifty printers, 300 schoolmasters and assistants, and some hundred native preachers.

Of the ordained missionaries there are in Africa 128; other regions adjacent to the Mediterranean, fifty-three; Farther India, 168; Ceylon, twenty-eight; Indian Archipelago, Australia, &c., eighty-one; West Indies, 203; North American Indians, 118. To send out 1000 missionaries, and 350 printers, schoolmasters, &c., with their wives, at an average of 300 dollars for passage, and 200 dollars for outfit, has cost *one million three hundred thousand dollars*, to say nothing of the expense of their education and the cost of the native assistants. The labour of committees, correspondence, &c., in discovering, examining, preparing, and sending forth, this body of labourers, can only be appreciated by those who have been engaged in such services. A large proportion of these persons has been in the field long enough to develop their character and prove their suitability. Here is, then, another item sufficient of itself to reward all our exertions.

3. The word of God, in whole or in part, has been translated by modern missionaries into nearly 100 languages.

We ought to look steadily at this fact, till its difficulties, magnitude, and importance, are in some sort perceived. These translations, in many cases, have been made from the original tongues, with vast pains in collating versions, and after extensive reading in the sacred writings of the natives, to gather suitable words, true idioms, and general propriety.

Some of these versions have been printed in successive editions, each revised with a labour equal to that of the first translation. In several cases, different and independent translations have been made into the same language; thus furnishing multiplied materials for ultimately forming a satisfactory and established version.

These versions embrace the languages of *more than half the human family*, and some of them are among the most difficult in the world.

4. A considerable number of languages have been reduced to writing.

Strange sounds have been caught, orthography settled, parts of speech separated, and modes of construc-

tion determined. In doing this, it has been necessary to go into wearisome and perplexing examinations of native utterance; to collect, without helps, all the words of whole languages; and to study deeply the whole system of universal grammar, or structure of languages in general.

For some of these languages characters have been invented, in whole or in part. In most of them a considerable number of the people have been already taught to read, and an introduction is thus made to the increase of books, elevation of intellect, and extension of Christianity.

5. Missionaries have given to the heathen nearly all the useful literature they now enjoy.

With a few exceptions, they have been the introducers of the art of printing into all the Pagan nations where it now exists. Even in Hindustan, there had never been a book printed, in any of her numerous languages (except a Bengalee grammar, and one or two other works by the late Dr Wilkins), till the Baptist missionaries gave them the boon.

It is not necessary to give specifications to elucidate or amplify this argument. Every literary man, and every reader of missionary intelligence, will at once think of various countries where the facts exist on which it is founded, and will perceive that this fruit of missions, though not directly evangelical, is highly important.\*

6. Tracts and practical works have been produced in considerable variety.

In the Bengalee alone, there are *seventy-five tracts*, besides Doddridge's Rise and Progress, Baxter's Call, Pilgrim's Progress, Janeway's Token, Evidences of Christianity, Commentaries on Mark and Romans, Young Henry, and some others. The Calcutta Tract Society has printed more than 6525 pages of tracts, equal to *twenty-two volumes* of 300 pages each. At Madras have been printed, in the Tamul language, *seventy-one tracts*, besides broad-sheets; at Jaffna *eighty tracts*, and at Travancore *fifty*, making in all over 200 publications in Tamul. About *fifty tracts* have been printed in the Malay; in the Chinese about a *hundred*, comprising 5863 pages, or twice the amount of pages in Morrison's Bible. In Burman there are *twenty-eight tracts*, making about 900 octavo pages; besides portions of Scripture in tract form. It would be tedious to make further specifications.

Among these publications are hymn-books, in several languages. Every one may conceive the difficulty of writing poetry in a foreign tongue, even if the metre and mode of versification resemble our own, the reverse of which is true of oriental languages. At most missions, the variety of hymns is now sufficient for public and private worship, and some advance has been made in teaching converts to sing. I could not explain, without too many words, the labour and difficulty of this work in both its departments.

All these works are to be enjoyed by future converts, to their more speedy and effectual growth in grace; and by future missionaries, in extending the knowledge and the arguments by which Christianity is to prevail.

The amount printed forms but a fraction of what has been made. Part of the rejected or postponed matter may yet be serviceable, but a large number of manuscripts made by beginners, though useful in their places as studies, will never be printed. The amount of life and labour expended in producing the reading matter now extant, is not easily conceived. It is a labour from which fruit can only now begin to be realised. The same noiseless, and for the time, ineffective labours, must be performed in all new missions, and continued to a great extent in the old ones; but so far as idiomatic, intelligible, and adapted works, have been prepared, it is work done for ever.

7. In nearly every mission there have been prepared a grammar, vocabulary, and dictionary.

\* Our own biblical literature owes much to the researches of missionaries; not only for important illustrations from manners, customs, natural history, &c., but for criticism.

Rude and imperfect as some of these necessarily are, because in their first stages of preparation they furnish most desirable aid to beginners, saving not only months of labour, and much health and strength, to new missionaries, but forming the rudiments which future students will improve to completeness. Not a few of these helps have already advanced, under successive missionaries, to a good degree of perfection, and are among the noblest literary works of the day.

8. An amount literally incalculable of bibles and tracts has been put into circulation.

Making the fullest deduction for such of these as may have been destroyed, millions doubtless remain, to prove, as we may trust, seed sown in good ground.

I am not among those who seem to think that if Christian publications are scattered abroad, good *must* follow. But the records of bible and tract efforts most amply show that God smiles on this species of benevolence. Every annual report of these societies gives fresh facts, so that volumes might be filled with these alone. I give the following illustration, not because more striking than others which constantly occur, but because recent and unpublished. A young man came to the Baptist brethren in Cuttack, stating that in his own country, about six years before, he had received from some stranger, who wore a hat, a religious tract, which, almost without looking at, he placed in the bottom of his chest. Lately, a gentleman had come through the place, making a survey of the country. The *hat* this person wore reminded the youth that once a person with a hat gave him a tract. He brought it forth from his chest, and for the first time read it over. It proved the means of his awakening, and he persisted in his inquiries. Having unreservedly become a disciple of Christ, he had now made a long journey to join himself to his people. He was baptised, and returned, and is now a useful labourer in the missionary service.

9. Great mechanical facilities have been created.

Besides the presses employed on foreign languages by the bible and tract societies of Europe and America, there are now in full operation in heathen lands more than forty printing-offices belonging to missionary societies. Some of these have from five to ten presses, generally of the best construction. The fonts of type are numerous, and in many different characters. Each of these fonts has cost thousands of dollars, because, in addition to the usual expenses, there have to be incurred, in each case, the cutting of punches, sinking of matrices, and apparatus for casting. The alphabets, too, consist not of twenty-six letters, like ours, but often of a thousand or more, including symbols and compounds. In addition to all these facilities, we may enumerate school-houses, chapels, dwellings, libraries, apparatus, tools, globes, orreries, &c., at the different stations, and procured at an outlay of hundreds of thousands of dollars. All of the printing offices have binderies, supplied with tools sufficient to do the work of the respective establishments.

Many natives, at the cost of much labour and time, have been trained to all the branches of mechanics connected with these offices. In bringing matters to their present position, the missionaries have not only been obliged to devise, teach, and oversee, but in many cases to perform every part of the manual labour. These services and expenses are not again to be performed in the same places. The costly scaffolding is up for large portions of the growing edifice, and future labour and money on those sections may go directly to the increase of the building.

Besides the property invested in these facilities, and forming a large available capital, we are to consider the savings which will be made hereafter, by the improvements which have been effected. This point may be made plain by a single specification. In 1805, the cost of printing a manuscript Chinese version of the New Testament, then existing in the British Museum, it was ascertained would be two guineas (ten dollars) per copy.\*

\* Owen's First Ten Years of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

In 1832, Mr Hughes of Malacca wrote to the British and Foreign Bible Society,\* that the cost of 100 copies of the whole bible, from the blocks, would be 104 dollars—a difference of about 3000 per cent.! Whenever punches and matrices have been made, the casting of type may hereafter be done at a comparatively cheap rate.

10. Schools of various grades are established, and a multitude of youth have received a Christian education.

To appreciate, in any proper degree, the magnitude of this result, it is necessary to consider the difficulties which have been overcome. In almost every case the first offers of gratuitous instruction are spurned. When at length a few pupils are obtained, priestly influence has often driven them away. When even this is overcome, the children are frequently too wayward and idle to continue at school. Our victory, therefore, over the prejudices and jealousy of parents, the influence of priests, and the frivolity of the children, is a great achievement. Now, in many places applicants are far more numerous than can be received, and nothing but want of funds precludes an almost unlimited extension of the system. Even Brahmans send their sons without hesitation.

I need not expatiate on all the probable effect of these schools, many of whose pupils are adults, and many more, who, though youths when at school, are adults now. They have diminished priestly influence by raising up an intelligent body of persons, who, though ever so humble, can and do argue triumphantly with the men who had before held the sway of great veneration. They have diffused a right knowledge of Christians and Christianity, overthrown erroneous systems of philosophy and nature, arrested floods of vice, prepared intelligent hearers of the gospel, proved the superiority of the missionary, and in many cases have been the means of genuine conversion.

Some of these are boarding-schools, where the pupils are wholly withdrawn from heathen influence. Some of them are for the children of native Christians, who receive at home impressions favourable to the permanency of those they receive at school. Some of them teach the higher branches, such as form a collegiate course with us. Some are taught in languages never before committed to writing, so that the pupils are the first of their tribes who have ever learned to read. Some of them are for females, in countries where the sex has ever been left in almost total ignorance.

The whole number of pupils who have received education, or are now in the schools, cannot be ascertained. From the statistics furnished on this head by some societies, and the imperfect returns of others, I set down the pupils now in missionary schools throughout the world at nearly 300,000.

11. The blessings of Christian morality have been widely diffused.

Some whole nations have adopted Christianity. In Greenland;† in Labrador, and in more than thirty islands of the Southern Seas, Paganism has ceased to be the national faith! These have become, in the customary sense, *Christian countries*. Instead of poverty, wars, and plunderings, are found plenty, peace, and security. Instead of murdered infants, neglected children, degraded wives, and burning widows, are seen domestic peace and social endearments. Instead of idleness, are the comforts of intelligent industry. Intellectual cultivation has supplanted brutal insensibility. Rulers and kings, laying aside ferocity and selfishness, are seen governing their people by bible laws, and anxious for the general good. Wherever even nominal Christianity takes root, through Protestant efforts, it produces more energy of character, milder manners, and purer morals, than has ever been shown under any form of Pagan or Mahometan influence. I confidently refer for proof to the Philippine Islands, to Amboyna, Bengal, and Ceylon.

\* Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1833.

† In Greenland there remained, in 1834, only one hundred and fifty heathen!

There are also in the midst of heathen lands, Christian villages and districts, shining as lights in dark places; such, for instance, as at Serampore, Luckanapore, Tanjore, Tenevelly, Ceylon, Mata, and scores besides.

"Dialects unheard

At Babel, or at Jewish Pentecost,  
Now first articulate divinest sounds,  
And swell the universal anthem."

There are also single stations, where nominal Christians are reckoned by thousands. It is true, the degree to which the fruits of Christianity are produced, is not the same as in Christendom, where its influences are corroborated in a thousand ways, and matured upon successive generations. The conduct of these nominal ones is often a discouragement, and sometimes a disgrace. But the benefits preponderate. Children grow up among beneficial influences, and enlightened to know good from evil. Instead of a false, filthy, and damning mythology, commingling with their first and most lasting impressions, they are instructed and restrained by pure and blessed truth. The Sabbath is observed, and the same people assembling from week to week, afford an opportunity of impressing line upon line, precept upon precept; converts are not embarrassed for daily bread, nor scorned, abused, and abandoned by relations. Many formidable hindrances to conversion are thus removed. I need not expand this proposition. The reader will see, that among such a people the missionary labours with many advantages similar to those of a pastor in our own land.

12. In some places, the entire fabric of idolatry is shaken.

The knowledge of the one true God, and of salvation through his Son, has in several regions become general. Hundreds of the best informed persons openly ridicule and denounce the prevailing superstition, and thousands have their confidence in it weakened, if not destroyed. Conviction of the truth is established in the minds of multitudes who dare not openly confess it. Not a few of the converts have been from among the distinguished members of society, and even from the priesthood. Some of these have been so celebrated for sanctity, and so extensively known, as to have excited, by their conversion, a thrill of inquiry and alarm in all their vicinity. Education has emancipated thousands from the terrors of Paganism, who yet do not accept Christianity, nor consort with missionaries. Indeed, no man can be conversant with the heathen world, without perceiving that several large portions of the kingdom of darkness are on the eve of a religious and moral revolution.

This topic of encouragement is no doubt extravagantly enlarged upon by some. It has been assumed of countries where it is not true; and where it is true, the degree has been overrated. Still, it is one of the achievements of missions which the most scrupulous must admit. That it is found any where, and to any extent, is great encouragement; it is not only a blessing on past efforts, and the promise of a still greater, but a most animating facility and preparation for future exertion.

13. The effect of missions on the European population abroad.

Before this enterprise, there was, among those who resided in foreign lands, whether in public or private life, an almost universal enmity to religion. Carey said that when he arrived in Calcutta, he could hear of only three pious persons in India, excepting the four or five missionaries! Now, a considerable number, even among the highest ranks, in many parts of the east, openly serve God. Hundreds of soldiers, and many officers, have been converted under missionary labour. Places of worship are built, and the Sabbath observed, where Christians had long resided without giving any visible sign of their faith. Missions now have the countenance of a large number of gentlemen who make no profession of religion. Apologies for Paganism, and opposition to Christianity, are nearly silenced. In various

places, handsome contributions towards the schools, &c., are obtained from the officers and gentry on the spot.

On no theme do pious "old Indians" dwell with more fervour than this change in the religious character of Europeans since their arrival in the country. I might rehearse numerous facts given me by such, but space does not permit. It is sufficient to say that much obstruction is thus removed at certain points, and an encouraging amount of co-operation secured, which is annually increasing. Considering how large a part of the missionary field is under the dominion of Europeans, this single result of our past efforts is evidently of great consequence.

14. Lastly, and chiefly—souls have been converted to God.

Here is the great point. On this there can be no variety of sentiment, as to the value or the fruit, nor dispute as to the reality of its existence.

"Behold the midnight glory; worlds on worlds—  
Amazing pomp! Redouble this amaze.  
Ten thousand add. Add twice ten thousand more.  
Then weigh the soul! One soul outweighs them all,  
And calls the astonishing magnificence  
Of unintelligent creation, poor."—YOUNG.

Converted heathen are already numbered by *tens of thousands*. I might fill many pages with proof of the sincerity of their conversion, from the sacrifices they make, and the lives they live. I examined diligently into this matter everywhere, and have copious details in my possession. But, adhering to the studied brevity of the other parts of this work, two or three specimens only will be given. Few Christians are aware of the extent to which such facts may be adduced. The various histories of missions are full of them.

In the last report of the London Missionary Society, it is stated that Narapot Singh, a native preacher, had, by his attachment to Christianity, sacrificed, for a period of twenty-four years, an estate of 8000 rupees per annum, making in the whole *one hundred thousand dollars*. And this is "all his living." For the entire period, he has endured continual poverty and toil. Many of the Burman and Karen disciples have literally "suffered the loss of all things," and it is believed that some have died in consequence of their sufferings. At the village of Mawbee, near Rangoon, a large number of Karens became Christians, through the preaching of a native assistant, and endured persecutions, which only fell short of taking life, for many months, having never seen a white missionary. I saw various individuals in Bengal and the Carnatic, who were then suffering banishment from all their relations, and many of the hardships of poverty, in consequence of serving God. In Madagascar, Christianity was for a while countenanced by Radama, the king, and the missionaries had many seals to their ministry. At his death, the queen, who had always opposed her husband in this thing, no sooner found herself in possession of supreme authority, than she began to exercise it for the destruction of Christians. The missionaries were expelled. One after another, the prominent disciples have been put to death. One of these, Rassalama, was sentenced to death, and for several successive days was cruelly flogged before the fatal day arrived. But her faith never staggered, and she met death with a martyr's intrepidity. Her companions were sold into perpetual slavery, and their property confiscated, but not one recanted. Rafaravavy, another distinguished woman, was for a long time kept in irons, and then sold as a slave.

After this, the remaining Christians began to assemble in the night, at the house of Rafaralahy, where they read the Scripture, conversed together on spiritual things, and united in prayer and praise. They were soon betrayed to the government, and Rafaralahy, after being kept in irons two or three days, was taken to the place of execution. On his way he spoke to the executioners of Jesus Christ, and how happy he felt at the thought of seeing, in a few minutes, him who loved him

and died for him. At the place of execution, a few moments being granted him at his request, he offered up a fervent prayer for his persecuted brethren, and commended his soul to Jesus. He then, with perfect composure, laid himself down, and was immediately put to death. He was twenty-five years of age, and of a respectable family. After this, the persecution was pressed with rigour. The government determined, if possible, to secure all the companions of Rafaralahy. Several of them were seized, and afterwards made their escape. Many incidents showing the distress to which the Christians were reduced, are related. A large number conceal themselves in the houses of friends, or in the forests; numbers are sold to slavery, and some are in irons. The queen proposed to put every Christian to death; but some of her officers advised her against this, saying, "It is the nature of the religion of the whites, the more you kill, the more the people will receive it."

Such are the facts which might be multiplied to an indefinite extent. They leave no room to question the reality of the reported conversions. Defections, indeed, often occur to pain the hearts of the missionaries; but though many have fallen through strong drink, love of gain, and other temptations, I never heard of one who was driven from Christianity by violence.

It is impossible to know the number of regenerated heathen, as the returns are not furnished from some missions. Two thousand have been baptised by missionaries connected with Serampore, of whom 600 are now alive and in good standing. In the West Indies, connected with the Baptist and Methodist missions, there are 69,000 communicants. The number connected with the London Missionary Society is 5439; with the Church Missionary Society, 1514; with the English Wesleyan Missionary Society, 48,795, exclusive of members in British America; with the English Baptist Missionary Society, 18,720; with the American Board of C. F. M., 2600; with the American Baptist Board, 1900; with the Moravian missions, 47,000. Some missions, for instance the Moravian, do not require actual conversion to God as the term of church membership, so that we cannot calculate exactly from their returns in this argument.

From the best data we can obtain, we may safely estimate the present number of converts, after deducting such as may be supposed to have been received on an outward profession merely, at more than a *hundred thousand*.

In many cases, these are formed into churches, with pastors and deacons. The native preachers and catechists amount to more than 1000. Many of these have received a good education in mission schools. Some (and the class is increasing) have become authors, and produced books, tracts, and hymns, of great value. Let the reader pause and consider the facts contained in these last four sentences, for though they are barely named, they are of great importance.

In some places these churches have become so established that if missionaries should retire, the cause would probably go on. The Rev. M. Baker of Madagascar declared, in an address at Cape Town, several years ago, that there were "not less than 500 natives who had maintained a constant profession of religion amidst persecution and danger." We have just seen how, with equal constancy, they could die for the truth.

Some of these churches have already begun to contribute, even in pecuniary ways, to the furtherance of the great work. It is thus at the Sandwich Islands, in Burmah, and many other stations. Even the poor Africans at Griqua town contributed, in 1836, to the funds of the society, 130 dollars, and at Bethelsdorf, in the same year, 440 dollars.

In addition to these thousands of converts, now shining as lights in dark places, we must not forget the thousands who have died in the faith. In the case of Serampore, out of 2000 baptised only 600 survive. We ought, therefore, probably to add *another hundred thousand* for converts deceased.

It would be easy and delightful to rehearse the distinct narratives of many who have crowned a life of evident piety by a becoming death. To speak of hundreds or thousands of converted heathen sounds cold, when we think of the hundreds of millions yet left to perish. But in tracing the history and religious experience of an individual, our impressions become distinct; and to number even units seems an ample reward for all we have done or given. Such as would taste this feast will find it largely spread out before them in the Moravian and Baptist periodical accounts, the histories of missions, and the reports of societies. Separate volumes are also published, containing the memoirs of many of these. He who knows the worth of his own soul could not rise from the life of Krishnu, Petumber, Abdoel Meseeh, Asaad Shidiak, Africanoer, Peng, Catherine Brown, Karaimokee, &c., and retain enmity to the system of means which, under God, saved them from eternal death.

These glorious fruits are now safe in the garner of God. Schwartz, Brainard, David, Schmidt, Carey, and a great company of missionaries, have their converts with them before the throne. No apostacy, no temptations, no weakness, can overtake them now. There they are where we would go. Some are there to whose salvation we ourselves have ministered. Soon we shall embrace them, not only in the blessedness of a joint salvation, but in the delicious consciousness of having been the instruments of their deliverance.

If, after such thoughts, we could come down again to mathematical calculation, we might consider that the total number of conversions, divided by the number of missionaries who fully acquired the vernacular tongues, would give from 300 to 400 converts to each! Can the ministry at home reckon thus? Truly the measure of missionary success needs only to be closely scanned to become a theme of wonder rather than of discouragement.

VI. This discussion cannot properly close without adverting to the *effects of missionary spirit on the churches at home*.

I have held a telescope to direct the reader's attention to circumstances, in various parts of the heathen world, which, without this aid, he might not notice. This task is resigned, not because I have shown *every thing*, but because any one may now go into further details at his leisure. A glance at the effect of missions in our own country will conclude my endeavours, and as they lie open to the perceptions of every man, I will do little more than mention the subject.

The formation of a missionary spirit, to the extent which now prevails, is reward enough for all the labours and expense which have been incurred. To a very important extent, ignorance, prejudice, covetousness, and indifference, have been overcome. Experience is gained. Friends and supporters are organised. Thousands have awakened to the duty of spreading the gospel, and will never give over. They will inculcate it upon their children, convince their friends, and disarm objectors. The friendly host will continually multiply. Contributions are not now drawn forth by novel and affecting statements of heathen cruelties, but in many cases come up spontaneously, from sources lying among the deepest springs of Christian action.

Objectors make this item no part of their estimate when they declare that missions have failed. Had David done nothing towards the temple when he had formed the plan and secured the means? Was nothing done towards bringing civilisation and Christianity to these shores, when as yet the May-flower lay in an English dock, and the resolved colony was commending its embryo enterprise to God? Was nothing done towards our independence when the spirit of resistance had been spread through the country, and the people resolved to be free? The thing is too plain to need words. A great work has unquestionably been done in bringing the church to its present state of feeling. The spirit of missions has grown to adolescence, and is

daily acquiring strength: its implements and opportunities are ready, and its training becoming daily more complete.

It is particularly to be considered that this spirit is not a mere sudden impetus or direction, such as is sometimes transiently given to public sentiment. For *forty years* it has been growing, slowly and soundly, amidst opposition, ridicule, reproach, and manifold disadvantages. Never was there a revolution in human sentiment more obvious and positive.

Formerly, the thought of sending the gospel to the heathen scarcely entered into the minds of God's people. Many prayed "Thy kingdom come," but none felt called upon for personal action. When Carey, Sutcliffe, and Fuller, kindled the flame at the Northamptonshire Baptist Association, it became a measure supported by the zeal of a few. It grew and extended by the zeal of many. Now it is the settled point of solemn duty with the great body of believers. It is found to have the same claims as any other duty, specified or implied, in the whole word of God. Arguments to prove that a Christian ought to aid in sending out God's light and truth, are beginning to be obsolete. Instead of these, the question now is, how much, and in what manner, each individual is to aid. In these respects we are still deficient, but in a state of progress. A few years ago the whole United States had no foreign missionary; and when Judson, Newell, and others, at Andover proposed to go as such, it seemed so doubtful whether the whole church could sustain them, that measures were taken to see if they could not be supported from England. Now, the United States has in the foreign field, in the various departments of missionary service, more than 746 persons! They have forty-three printing-presses, and are already issuing Scriptures or tracts in fifty-six different languages!

No symptom of revulsion, or of a waning enthusiasm, is discernible in any quarter. The humblest advocate assumes the attitude of a man who feels that his cause will finally prevail. Discomfiture in some cases, and small success in others, have produced no check. Defeat only sends the bands of the benevolent "to inquire of the Lord." It leads them to doubt their measures, but not their object. It makes them sensible of weakness, but teaches them where their strength lies. It silences their boasting, but awakens their prayers.

The development of the missionary spirit, in the single matter of home missions, is full of grandeur and promise. Eleven hundred and three missionaries are now in the service of the American Home Missionary Society, and the American Baptist Home Missionary Society, to say nothing of those from similar institutions in these and other denominations. These are scattered among feeble churches, strengthening good beginnings, sustaining bible classes and benevolent societies, diffusing bibles and tracts, and, above all, gathering a multitude of souls. The number who have made credible profession of religion, in connection with the two societies above named, one of which has been in operation eleven years, and the other but half that time, is about *seventy-five thousand!* In Ireland it has produced effects of the most animating kind. It is now extending into the continent of Europe, and is nobly calling forth the most blessed actings of Christian zeal.

It would require a disproportionate space were I but to *enumerate* the societies and movements which have grown up as the fruit of a missionary spirit. Such an enumeration would comprise results of even greater magnitude than can be shown in the foreign field. To this spirit may be ascribed all the improvements of the church for the last forty years. For proof, contrast the state of religion in missionary and anti-missionary churches. It is the spirit which forms the essential difference between active and inactive Christians, and comprises nearly all the characteristics which make them "the salt of the earth." It has altered the character of colleges, academies, asylums, school-books, and, in fine, placed Christianity itself, so far as it has prevailed, in the attitude it maintained under apostolic influence.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.—Were more time and labour than I am able to give bestowed upon the preceding investigations, this chapter might be made more copious. But to give it completeness is impossible. Thousands of facts lie scattered about, in unpublished journals and letters, and many more are known only to Him from whom no secrets are hidden. But the facts which I have adduced do not lose their force for want of more, and can only be answered by the production of counter facts. But what facts can countervail such as have been here adduced? The last paragraph alone weighs more than mountains of objections.

That captains or merchants visiting the east often say, "We read animating missionary accounts in the papers, but see no such things on the spot," is not surprising. How should they? What means do they take to get information? Have they gone to the native chapels, or accompanied the missionary in his daily rounds, or visited the converts' homes, or the schools, or seen bibles and tracts given away? Have they so much as visited the missionary himself, except at meal times, or other intervals of labour? What would a gentleman know of the state of religion in London or New York, who had merely walked about the streets, or conversed with those who make no pretensions to piety, or with such as are hostile? Without taking pains, even residents at a station may remain almost perfectly ignorant of a missionary's operations.

Instead of naked assertions that nothing has been done, we have a right to expect objectors to come forward with the religious statistics, past and present, of specified places. They should fairly show that the work said to be done is not done, or that the effects said to have followed have not followed. If they merely point to things left undone, we concur in lamentation, and only ask larger means and further time to show greater results.

There is reason to suspect that those who most loudly assert the failure of missions, are those who would have it so. There are in foreign countries many who would shelter their vices in the gloom of surrounding Paganism, and are impatient of the restraints of missionary influence. And there are many at home, who, being inimical to Christianity, impugn its benevolent operations, for want of talent or learning to attack its fundamentals. And there are many, who, without being unfriendly to religion, are glad of a cloak for covetousness, and, in declining to contribute on the score of conscience, can save their money, and at the same time claim superior piety or keener insight into abuses.

It is quite certain, that the great body of those who complain are not persons who have most right to do so. They are not those who have given their money, their children, or themselves, to the work; and who, if there be fraud or folly, are of all others the most interested to make the discovery. They are not those who have seen most of the field, or who have most diligently read the reports of the societies. They are not those who have had the most extensive and intimate acquaintance with the men who have gone forth, and who might infer what is done from a knowledge of the agents. They are not the men best acquainted with the managers and management of the different boards. All these classes of persons are friendly.

Such considerations should restrain the uninformed from impugning our motives or disparaging this great work. They should hear the voice of reason, addressed to some in a former age, who opposed what they did not understand. "Let these men alone; for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."

## CHAPTER IV.

### ON THE MODE OF CONDUCTING MODERN MISSIONS.

Schools. Translations and Tracts. Preaching in English. Periodicals. Use of the Roman Alphabet. Missionary Physicians.



Unnecessary display and Expense. Direct Preaching to Natives. Formation of Regular Churches. Qualifications of Native Assistants. Instruction in the English Language. Intermission of Operations. Division of Labour. Concentration. Choice of Fields. Remarks.

MORE than forty years' experience in modern missions ought to furnish data for an intelligent revision of the system; and the anxious inquiries which are heard on this point, not only among friends and supporters at home, but among missionaries themselves, seem to demand some remarks on the subject, in a work like the present.

The question is, whether the whole system is so erroneous that it should be abandoned for another; or is correct in the main, with curable imperfections. The first of these opinions finds many affirmative respondents, some of whom propose definite substitutes.\* The writer embraces the other opinion, and ventures, though with sincere diffidence, to contribute his mite towards a discussion which he hopes will call forth abler pens, and result in a happy approximation to a perfect arrangement. For the sake of brevity, whatever is approvable will be passed over, and only such matters touched as seem to call for change.

1. The proportion of time and money bestowed on schools should be much less.

Schools are extravagantly extolled, and hopes are built upon them which could only be warranted by a New Testament declaration that they are the Lord's chosen and primary means for spreading Christianity. It has been declared, that "our only hope of success lies in the school system;" that "the evidences of Christianity must be understood before it can be embraced;" that "man must be civilised before he can be Christianised;" and that "the schoolmaster must precede the missionary."

Thus, a religion which God designed to convert and save even ignorant savages, is made to wait the operation of a tardy process of intellectual culture; and man is to be made wise unto salvation through the wisdom of this world. By this system, whole generations of adults must be left to perish while the youth are being instructed; and instead of boldly advancing to dislodge "the strong man armed," we are to seek priority of occupation in the human heart. Alas! by such a course we are not only in danger of losing our labours, but of awakening the jealousy of Him who "will not give his glory to another."

The extent to which schools have been established by modern missionaries is very great. There cannot be fewer than 250,000 youth now receiving instruction in missionary schools. As the school system has been actively maintained from an early period, and a full course may be presumed to include only five years, this number must be doubled to make the true total of educated pupils. And as the great majority of scholars remain but a year or two, the number must be again doubled, making an aggregate of a million of pupils, who have been, for a succession of months, subject to missionary influence.

The proportion of conversions, among this mighty host, is certainly very small. It was stated by the late Rev. Mr Reichardt of Calcutta, who laboured long in the service of the Church Missionary Society, that of the many thousand boys instructed by that society, only five or six had been converted. At Vepery, a suburb of Madras, where for 100 years this species of labour has been largely bestowed by the Christian Knowledge Society, the results are scarcely more encouraging; nor at Tranquebar, where schools have been maintained for 130 years. In all Madras, where several thousands

\* Edward Irving proposes that each missionary go forth singly, looking to God for supplies, even as he does for success. The author of the Natural History of Enthusiasm insists that our present system must be dissolved, and recomposed upon a new model; the principal feature of which is, that all existing missionary societies be absorbed into one great society, under the English Episcopacy, and using the English liturgy.

have constantly been taught in missionary schools, there are not known to be half-a-dozen converted natives. At the Anglo-Chinese college at Malacca, which has existed for twenty years, only a few have been converted, though some twenty or thirty have been brought over to Christianity. In Ceylon, where schools have been conducted for twenty-six years, and generally with more attention to religion than is common in India, few conversions occurred previous to 1830; and those since that time have been rather the fruit of protracted meetings and special pastoral efforts, than of the school system. Out of the Scotch General Assembly's School at Calcutta, which for six years has had an average of 400 scholars, and the entire and constant attention of two missionaries, there have been but five or six conversions. The Baptist schools in Bengal, numbering thousands of scholars, for more than thirty years past have produced very few conversions. That at Chittagong, taught by a missionary in person every day for sixteen years, with an average of 200 pupils, has witnessed but two of the scholars brought to a knowledge of the truth. In Arracan, no conversion has yet occurred in the schools. Among all the Burmans, I know of no Christian who is regarded as the fruit of schools. Among the Karens, many scholars have been converted; but the primary and daily object of those schools has ever seemed to be the conversion, rather than the education, of the scholar.

Let the primary and immediate object of gathering youth into a school be their conversion, and the schoolmaster may do great good. But to rely chiefly on him and his work for results which Jehovah has appointed to be done by other men and other means, is only calculated to mislead us, and ensure disappointment. Our expectations from schools are in most cases wholly different from the expectations of the teacher himself, nine-tenths of them being unconverted heathen.

In places where schools have most abounded, and for the longest time, a considerable number of pupils have rejected idolatry without embracing Christianity, and are now conceited infidels, worse to deal with than Pagans. Many of these, by means of their education, have obtained offices under government, or in large commercial houses, and exert considerable power and influence against religion. In some cases, nearly all the pupils are children of country-born Catholics, whose education only serves to make Popery more respectable; in others, a great majority of scholars are from the poorest of the people, whose knowledge of reading, writing, and ciphering, does not serve to elevate their situation, and who, having no use for these acquirements after leaving school, forget them to a great extent.

Few are so far advanced as to comprehend those evidences of Christianity which have been made such an argument in favour of schools. Even in our own country this is a study for the last years at college, and not for school-boys. But our school-boys are better prepared to comprehend these evidences than most of the students in oriental "colleges," even of an advanced standing.

It should be considered how far the diffusion of the ability to read is desirable among a people in whose language little or nothing of a valuable nature is yet prepared, or likely soon to be. The readers in Bengalee, taught by missionaries, have been furnished by unprincipled natives with a multitude of silly and pernicious books, which at the old average of readers, would probably never have been printed. The Friend of India, of 1825, contains a list of all the books issued from the native press in Bengal up to that period. They amount to thirty-one, and are all, with two exceptions, pestilent or preposterous! The issues of subsequent years have been no doubt of the same character, but I am not able to find a list.

When the happiest effect flows from schools, namely, the conversion of scholars, the influence diffused on the population is less than from conversions which follow preaching. The triumph of Christ is scarcely perceptible. The heathen see that the children have been

regularly trained to the new faith. They know that if our children were trained in the same manner by their priesthood, they would as easily become Pagans. They attribute the change, therefore, not to the superiority of our system, but to the natural effect of early education.

I am far from wishing the school system to be abandoned, especially in Hindustan. A school has many advantages in enabling a missionary to bring divine truth before his pupils; and a man whose heart glows with zeal, will find it an animating field. The error seems to be, not in having schools, but in expending upon them a disproportionate measure of our means; in expecting too much from them; in not making them sufficiently religious; in establishing more than can be properly superintended; in the indiscriminate reception of scholars; in employing heathen teachers; and in trusting to science for the overturn of idolatry.

Schools furnish an advantageous opportunity for the partial employment of fresh missionaries, whose knowledge of the language is insufficient for more direct efforts. But this very deficiency in the language must almost preclude religious influence. The plan now often pursued is for a missionary or his wife to superintend five, ten, or even twenty schools, taught by hired Pagans. These are visited once every few days in the cool of the morning, giving ten or fifteen minutes to each. In some cases they are visited once a month. The master merely teaches reading and writing, and that, too, in his own inexpert, or perhaps ferocious manner. He is naturally supposed by the scholars to understand our religion, and his not receiving it has a pernicious influence. Qualified teachers are so few, that persons have sometimes been employed who openly opposed Christianity. Secret counteracting influences by the master are still more common. In schools patronised by the British government, though taught by a missionary, it is required that instruction in religion shall not be formally introduced.

The question seems not to have received sufficient attention, whether we should multiply schools, and teach mere rudiments, to a great number, or restrict the number, and carry the education to a high point. I am in favour of the latter course. No nation has become literary by universal instruction in reading and writing. These confer no knowledge, they are only means for acquiring and diffusing it. In a country where the absence of books, periodicals, and political freedom, preclude advancement in after life, beyond the rudiments learned at school, these acquirements will not be generally retained, or if retained, are of little use. With us, common schools bring our youth to the *starting-point*, and give to genius, where it exists, a chance for advancement and honour. But where these leave a heathen pupil, there, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, he stops, and soon begins to recede, for want of use for his knowledge. Besides, the most extended system for such schools which we can hope to establish in the heathen world, can embrace, after all, but a very inconsiderable portion of the youth, so that even the argument for universality will not apply.

It seems to me, therefore, that the highest advantages of schools are to be gained by gathering select children of Pagans into boarding-schools, and all the children of native converts into day-schools (which at most stations may be united), and carrying the education of these to a high point. Such pupils will be exempt from the dreadful pollutions of a heathen home, and the innumerable associations which tend to nullify every good influence. They become subject to continuous and systematic efforts, which are impossible where the scholars are often changing. Some of them are likely to become authors in their own language, for which they will have qualifications which foreigners can scarcely hope to attain.

Such schools give the missionary a paternal relationship to the child, and a probability of securing his confidence and attachment. They furnish precious opportunities for the daily inculcation of sacred truth.

They form at once permanent congregations and attached households; opening access, at the same time, to many parents. New missionaries could usefully assist, two or three hours a-day, and rather gain than lose time in learning the language. Scholars long trained in this manner, could not but have a salutary influence on their parents, and be the means of diffusing many important truths. The systematic control of their minds, and constant example of true family order, would counteract the danger which exists in other schools, of creating a contempt for parental knowledge and government, without furnishing an adequate substitute to prevent the effects of filial disobedience. In every such school, one missionary at least, competent in the language, should devote his whole time, and hold the salvation of the pupils as his prominent aim.

In educating *converts*, particularly the younger ones, there can scarcely be too much effort. If knowledge is power, let us give it to the truly good. Let us not compass sea and land to make a proselyte, and then leave him to grope his way in ignorance, perplexity, and error. Let us form his tastes, habits, studies, and pursuits, upon the noblest principles of divine revelation. Let us do all in our power to create an impressive superiority on the part of such as bear the Christian name, and to aid them in diffusing light and peace.

2. At some stations, at least, less time might be devoted to translations and tracts.

It is eminently desirable to perfect every tract and translation; but where an intelligible and tolerably correct one exists, the perfecting of it may thenceforth be made a bye-business. There will be diversities of taste, if no more, which will prevent any production from suiting every scholar. But it is not found that the last is always the best. There have been printed seven versions and revisions of the Malay bible; and a distinguished missionary among that people assured me that the first, published at Serampore, remains the best.

It is not desirable that missionaries should in their first years devote themselves to translation and authorship, even if there be no Christian books in the language. To write and translate as exercises for themselves, is important, but they should put nothing to press till they have been years at their posts, and have revised their work many times. It would be well if every missionary, qualified, by his early studies, to translate the Scriptures, were to take some select portion, and occupy himself upon it, at leisure moments, for eight or ten years, or even his lifetime. He might sketch two or three tracts, and keep them by him in the same way. This, however, would not prevent the necessity for some individuals to make translations and authorship their prominent employment.

The anxiety for an immediate production of books has caused the publication of Scriptures and tracts so imperfect, as to be almost if not quite useless, and in particular passages quite erroneous. To prove this, and at the same time show the sort of errors to which I allude, I will give a few instances which were mentioned to me, taken from distant and different versions. John i. 1—“In the beginning was the word, and the word was with the Lord God Boodh, and the word was the Lord God Boodh.” Exod. iii. 2—“The Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire in the knot of a tree.” Acts i. 8—“Ye shall receive the power of life and death.” Matt. v. 3—“Blessed are the destitute of life.” 1. Cor. v. 6—“A little crocodile crocodileth the whole lump!”

When there are none of these mistranslations, there may be such a want of idiomatic propriety, such an infusion of new words, or such general obscurity, as to discourage if not bewilder the heathen reader. Such, it appears from Mr Medhurst,\* is the case with Morrison's Chinese version, of which the convert Lew Tso-chuen, as quoted by him, says, “I perceive there is no unwillingness to accept the books, but, failing to comprehend their meaning, they frequently throw the work aside.”

\* China, its State and Prospects, p. 443.

To the same effect is his quotation from Choo Tih-lang, a Chinese transcriber now in England. "Having perused the present translation of the Scriptures into Chinese, I find it exceedingly verbose—containing much foreign phraseology, so contrary to the usual style of our books that the Chinese cannot thoroughly understand the meaning, and frequently refuse to look into it." Marshman's version is greatly liable to the same objections.

It is a serious subject, and deserving the early attention of the managers at home, as well as biblical critics, how far our versions should conform to the pompous and unchristian phraseology of eastern languages. The language of a superior to an inferior is wholly different from that of an inferior to a superior. Shall this diversity be followed in translations? It is so in many of them, and not so in others. In one Tamul version, the Virgin Mary is always addressed as "worshipful." And instead of "said," &c., in Gen. i. 3, it is "opening his divine mouth, he said, Let light appear." In one version, "apostle" is rendered "royal messenger." These idioms give a haughty aspect to the language of apostles and prophets, and a servility to those who address them. It will be a question also whether we shall make two versions in some languages, one high and literary, and one common and plain. Henry Martyn's Persian Testament is of the former kind, and though intelligible and acceptable to all the upper classes, is wholly incomprehensible to vulgar readers. Rhenius's version of the Tamul is intermediate, and has by some been objected to as suitable for no class of society.

Yet with all their imperfections, most translations have been sufficiently good to convey a large amount of genuine truth; so that the expense has by no means been utterly wasted. Thank God, the most important texts in the bible are easily translated. It would probably be difficult to err in rendering "He that believeth and is baptised, shall be saved;" "It is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners;" "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."

The value even of a good version of Scripture is wholly overrated by such as suppose it to be as intelligible to heathen as our bible is to the unconverted. The case is far otherwise. The most intelligent Pagan finds not only words, but facts, reasonings, and allusions, which he can no better understand than the Ethiopian eunuch did the predictions concerning Christ. He has not so much preparation for understanding the bible as is acquired by our children in the nursery. Things must be explained to him as to an infant. Let the language be ever so plain and idiomatic, he will rarely understand the subject unless it be some simple parable or narrative. Hence the king of Siam, after hearing a Christian book read, threw it aside, saying, "Let the teachers go on giving these books—no man in my kingdom can understand them."

As to tracts translated from the English, very few of them can be of any service, except to some of the more advanced converts. They are all constructed on the supposition that the reader knows certain doctrines, or facts, which heathen do not know, and take for granted what a heathen does not grant. They all involve some knowledge of Christianity, while the heathen reader may never have so much as heard of it before. Tracts for the heathen must be written for them, and that by men who not only know their modes of thinking, their system of religion, their habits, temptations, &c., but by such as have so far learned the language as to think in it, and write it with idiomatic accuracy.

The number of heathen who can read intelligibly, on subjects not connected with trade and common things, is very small. This point seems not to have excited sufficient attention, and a few efforts, lately made, lead to startling conclusions. Mr North, of the mission to Singapore, has made the most efficient investigation on this subject that I know of. He examined personally the crews of many vessels trading to Singapore from the other ports of the peninsula, and the numerous

islands of the China sea. Out of 2000 persons thus examined, he informed me that he found but one who could read with ease, and four others who could spell out the sense with difficulty. The rest, though in general able to read the characters, scarcely knew the sense of a single word. These persons are not an inferior class, like European sailors, but are for the most part traders on their own account, and may be taken as a fair sample of the inhabitants of their respective countries. The Malay population of Singapore has scarcely a reader, except a mere handful who had been taught in the mission schools.\* I have already spoken of the fewness of readers even in China. The Burmans, though a reading people, as to the ability to pronounce the characters, are not generally able to read with understanding. In a late discussion of another subject in the Friend of India, it is declared by the editor that not more than one million out of the thirty millions of Bengalese can read. And this estimate is twice as high as is made by some others. Mr Trevelyan, admitting that there may be a million, asks, "And what sort of readers are this one million? How many of them understand what they read? How many can even pronounce fluently the mere words on a page they never saw before? Even Pundits and Munshes, and much more the common people, read with difficulty, stopping to spell words, and repeating over and over the last two or three words, while they are studying out the next. *There are probably not five hundred persons in all India not educated by Europeans, who could take up a translation, in their own character, of any work in philosophy, morals, or religion, and read it extempore with understanding.*"

Our expectations from the diffusion of bibles and tracts appear extravagant, if we reason upon them in the abstract. No school teacher could hope to fulfil his duty by shutting himself up in a study, and sending out among his pupils elementary treatises and cogent appeals. Cases of the benefit of bible and tract distribution have occurred in sufficient numbers to warrant our diligent continuance in this department of effort, but not enough to warrant our making it so prominent in our general system of means. It is to be considered how few it has converted, compared with the prodigious amount done in this way. Among the Malays, for instance, who have had the whole bible and more than forty tracts, distributed among them by thousands for many years, I could not hear of a decided Christian on the peninsula. The avidity with which our books are received, is not to be ascribed to a general and intense desire to know the truth. The paper, the printing, the shape, and the colour, of the book, make it as great a curiosity as a palm-leaf manuscript is to us: A heathen missionary might give away any quantity of such manuscripts in the streets of our cities, and the rush for them would continue till they ceased to be curiosities.

We certainly do well to prosecute a lavish distribution in countries like China and Japan, where missionaries are not admitted; or like Burmah and Madagascar, where their tenure is frail. But the utility in such cases consists chiefly in preparing the way for personal effort, and without its being thus followed up, permanent and general benefit can hardly be expected.

### 3. There should be less preaching in English.

At a great proportion of our stations there are some who speak our language, and these, though but half a dozen, will desire the ministrations of the Sabbath. But the missionary is sent forth to heathen, and he violates his engagement if these receive not the great bulk of his attention. Many missionaries are almost lost to the heathen in this way. These Europeans or Americans know the system of salvation, and deliberately put it away! To irreligious men of cultivated minds, common preaching has no charms. It must either be so eloquent as to make them consent to hear unwelcome truths for

\* In calling these a mere handful, I do not impeach the missionaries who have for many years laboured largely in this department. The truth is, it has been found impossible to persuade many of the scholars to remain long enough to acquire the art of reading.

the pleasure of the oratory, or so neutral as not to disturb their consciences. A young man who has practised little or none in his own country will find regular weekly services consume too much time and strength. If he deal in undigested erudities, his little audience will fall off, or no fruit ensue. Constant and close preaching to a very small auditory, unless managed as few have skill to do, will give personal offence, and inflict on the missionary both mental suffering and official embarrassment. Besides, it is seldom desirable for a missionary to appear closely connected with other foreign residents. In general, the persons with whom he becomes thus identified in the eyes of the people, live in open violation of the Sabbath and other scandalous vices, and the natives are likely to take their conduct as the fruits of Christianity. It has ever been a difficulty with missionaries to make the heathen understand that these people are Christians only in name.

This is not the place to multiply arguments on any subject. It will suffice to remark, that while a missionary should readily render his spiritual services to nominal Christians when sickness, death, or other occasions call for them, and welcome to his family worship and expositions such as may be willing to attend, his proper business is to go after the lost ones who have never known the way of peace. To these he is sent by those who furnish his support. Where it is proper to maintain an English service, there should be sent a person adapted to the work, who should make this his chief business, and whose health should not be worn down or his mind distracted by studying the vernacular. His support should be expected in great part from his auditory, and only such sums voted by the Missionary Board as may be contributed for this purpose.

4. Less effort should be spent, for the present at least, on periodicals.

Nearly every principal station, such as Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Malacca, Canton, Greece, &c., has one or more periodicals, published or edited by missionaries. It must be evident, that the getting up of these is attended with far more labour than similar works in our own country, both from manifold inconveniences and the fewness of writers. A serious amount of missionary energy is therefore expended in this way, even on the supposition that subscribers, other than missionaries, are sufficiently numerous to cover the mechanical expense. But if these periodicals do not support themselves, much less pay the salaries of editors, or if most of the subscribers are missionaries, they cost the church as a whole too much, both in money and men.

With one or two exceptions, these periodicals are in the English language, and are intended to affect English and Americans. They contain theological and missionary controversies, general literature, philology, news, translations of Pagan authors, and other matter, which, to a great extent, might with advantage be inserted in existing periodicals at home, or in some one or two established for this separate purpose. They might thus be even more extensively distributed among missionaries than they are now; for it is in general easier to send parcels from home to each station, than to send them from any one station to all the others.

If this amount of labour and expense be continued, it should be by the expressed will of the churches, just as contributions are now designated for education, for the distribution of bibles and tracts, for the support of children, or for general missionary purposes. Funds to support editors and writers for periodicals might be made a distinct account. If the amount of contributions for this object will sustain these periodicals, and brethren arise who deem it their province to go abroad and edit them, no one can object. The department of service is both useful and honourable, and some of the present works might probably be continued with advantage. But we must not, with our present small force, bestow *disproportionate* time and money upon it, nor allow the friends of missions in this country to be expecting conversions in proportion to the number of

labourers, without understanding how those labourers are employed.

5. In reducing languages to writing, the Roman letters only should be used.

The curse of Babel has been greatly increased by the variety of characters mankind have employed in expressing articulate sounds. Some of these are more philosophical and convenient than others, but none are comparable to ours. I cannot so extend this head as to argue the whole case, but will barely name a few reasons which go to show why our alphabet should be preferred.

Oriental alphabets are written with great difficulty. Many missionaries never become able to write their new language; and many, with all their pains, are so awkward and slow at it, as to prefer to employ a native hand on all occasions, during their life.

They are written at best very slowly. It may safely be affirmed, that it requires five hours for a missionary to write in the native character what he would write in one in his own. Thus four years out of five, of time spent in writing, is lost! The most expert native Bengalee writers have been found, by experiment, to require three times as long to write a page in their own character, as it does to write the same on the Roman system. Any man can see how this would operate on the progress of arts, sciences, literature, manufactures, and religion, in lands where all are to be begun. Should we, who are to raise up readers and writers for half the world, entail upon them, and all their posterity, miserable alphabets of a thousand different kinds, when, with the same labour, we can give them our own?

Oriental alphabets proceed from line to line, without any prominent mode (often without *any* mode) of marking emphatic words, proper names, quotations, pauses, accents, or even of separating words from one another. How would an English reader be puzzled in reading a page thus put together, and how likely to be led wholly astray! This argument alone should weigh against many objections, when it is considered how important it is to avoid every possible mode of misapprehension, for natives reading books on a subject so new and strange, and which inevitably contain many words they have never seen before.

In writing these characters there is often no standard. There being no other established form of the letters, than as printed, and this form, in general, being so difficult and slow, each man alters to suit himself, when writing in haste. Hence the writing of one is often scarcely legible to another, or even to himself, after the lapse of a few months. In our language, the written and printed characters are so alike, that all who read one can read the other; yet the former requires but one-fifth of the time consumed by the latter.

That our alphabet is *competent* to the expression of any language, is proved by the number and diversity of those already so written; namely, English, Welsh, Irish, German, Danish, Dutch, Swedish, French, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, Basque, Catalonian, Malay, Bengalee, Hindustanee, Malagasse, Assamese, Mahratta, New Zealand, several languages of Africa, the South Sea Islands, the South American dialects, and probably others. Except the Cherokee, for which a native invented letters, all the translations and tracts which have been printed for the American aborigines are in the Roman character, and generally, if not always, without diacritical marks; and certainly words more difficult to spell and pronounce are not found on earth. The inference is perfectly safe, that if these languages, in every part of the earth, and with every variety of articulation, can be expressed in our alphabet, so may all others. The Roman Catholic missionaries employ them even for the Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, and Burman.

The difficulties, inconsistencies, and often absurdities, of our *orthography*, form no objection to the use of our letters. So far as modern missionaries are concerned, these anomalies are avoided. English words are spelled after the fashion of the different languages from whence

they are derived; but in constructing an orthography for an entire language at once, a perfectly uniform system can be always adopted.

Another great objection to these alphabets is the expense they involve, in furnishing the nations with the word of God. A good font of our type, of the size of this, embracing both upper and lower case letter, and all the variety of points, &c., costs about four hundred dollars. There are three sizes of Burman letter, and each font cost, including the support of a missionary to superintend the work, at least two thousand dollars. The proportion is not very different in most other eastern tongues.

There are probably four thousand languages yet to be furnished with the Scriptures. If in doing this we resolve all into two thousand various alphabets, which, perhaps, is hardly possible, and give three sizes of type to each alphabet, it will cost *twelve millions of dollars!* Our type, of three different sizes for the same languages, would cost but two million four hundred thousand dollars. When done, many of them, such as Persian, Nagari, Arabic, &c., are so formed that the types are necessarily and constantly breaking, making a still greater difference in the cost of books.

But the first cost of an oriental font is as nothing compared to the subsequent expenses it entails; chiefly on account of its large size. It requires from three to six times the expense of press-work, and the same for paper, binding, transportation, &c. Judson's Bible is in four large octavos; and yet the type is scarcely half the size in which Burmans commonly write. I am satisfied, every thing considered, that the use of Roman letter would be a saving of *seven-tenths* of all the money to be spent in missionary printing.

The question, then, is not only philological. Grant all that the warmest advocates of oriental letters could affirm—nay, admit for them a great superiority over ours—it comes back to a question of dollars and cents. The whole number of languages which contain the word of God is less than a hundred, and about a hundred more have portions of it. The people of some of those languages have not yet been supplied in the proportion of one family in a thousand. Here, then, are thousands of fonts of type to procure, thousands of translations to make, and myriads of bibles to print; besides rousing up nominal Christendom to supply itself. While the means for accomplishing all this are so inadequate in the best modes, how can we honestly pursue a system which so vastly augments the difficulty? Indeed, except we use the Roman alphabet, the supply of the Scriptures to mankind is indefinitely postponed, and perhaps rendered impracticable.

Whenever, in giving letters to a tribe that never had any, we adopt those of some adjacent nation rather than our own, we incalculably abridge the benefit to the people, as well as inflict on the church an intolerable and useless expense. When a nation like the Chinese, Hindus, or Burmans, have a written language, and books and schools of their own, we must adopt their characters for *some* of our books. But it has been found expedient in Hindustan to teach Bengalee, Hindee, &c., in the Roman character. Dictionaries and translations have been so published; and it is not certain, but that even in such a country the use of the native alphabets may be wholly superseded.

Against all the reasons for preferring the Roman alphabet, I know of no respectable objection. In all the world, the mass of readers are to be raised up by efforts yet to be made, and they may as easily be taught in one character as another; nay, far more easily in the Roman than any other. There is no valuable literature in any Pagan language to be displaced by a new character. On the contrary, the rendering obsolete of the mass of impurity, error, and absurdity, now existing, is a powerful argument in favour of the romanising system. By teaching through the medium of our alphabet, we shut out from the pupil, and gradually render obsolete, the mass of abominations now constituting the literature of such nations. We would thus avoid several

of those evils which now attend upon our schools, and which have been mentioned under that head. To get rid, by any process, of the stupendous obstruction now presented by Pagan literature, would be a magnificent achievement.

6. The recent plan of sending missionary physicians should be very sparingly prosecuted.

It may be that a sense of failure in regard to direct evangelical labours, or a love of novelty, renders popular the sending out of physicians. Many are already in the field; and from various directions the call is made, "Send us out accomplished physicians." For some fields it is avowed that no others are wanted at first.

Or the hope may be to gain respect and confidence, and thus open a door for Christianity. But Christianity needs no such usher. We are pointed to the miracles of Christ and the apostles. But these were for conviction and proof, not for attractiveness or insinuation. Hence they were not all of healing. Some of them inflicted death, others blindness. They withered fig-trees, destroyed swine, or struck down enemies. To assert that we need a substitute for miracles, will not comport with the received doctrine that miracles have answered their end and passed away. If those of the first age are still sufficient proof, why seek a substitute? If the immediate effects of miracles are now necessary, we must "ask, and we shall receive," power to work them.

It is not clear that a physician, practising gratuitously among the heathen, opens a door for his missionary brother. It may even tend to throw him into the shade, and prejudice his usefulness. One may be admired and patronised, while the other is regarded as a mere supernumerary. He may acquire *personal* esteem and confidence; but how this is to be transferred to his preaching and proselytising brother, to Christianity as a system, or to successors, is not plain. The cause and effect do not seem to correspond.

The religion of the heathen is everywhere a religion of merit and demerit. Of disinterested benevolence he knows nothing, till he is made to understand it by the cross of Christ. All the labours of a missionary which appear meritorious, are regarded as efforts to improve his own condition, now or hereafter. If the physician, by intimacy with his missionary brethren, by giving of tracts, &c., give cause to suspect that his real object is to introduce Christianity, he incurs as much jealousy as his brethren, whose primary business is to make direct evangelical efforts. "In vain is the net spread in sight of any bird." If he shows no desire to introduce and recommend Christianity, how can he be paving the way for his evangelical brethren?

Extended and gratuitous medical services may have the injurious effect of conferring upon the mission the appearance of opulence. The supply of medicines obviously involves great expense. The heathen sees them given away profusely every day to scores of utter strangers, from whom no remuneration or service is accepted. It is natural that he should infer that the individual and private charity of the physician is not competent to such expenditure. He may suspect the hand of a foreign government preparing for future encroachments. He will certainly suspect *something*, though his fear be no more rational than that which has prevailed very extensively in Burmah, that when a certain number of disciples are obtained, we mean to take them home and eat them.

It should not be forgotten that the history of missionary physicians, from Felix Carey till now, contains many discouraging facts. It shows the danger of being drawn away to posts of Pagan honour; or making shipwreck of Christian character; or becoming *mere* physicians.

It appears to me that an affectionate and judicious missionary, male or female, with a few well-known medicines, good books written for family use, and some experience, will be able to do all that ought to be done in this line, in most places. Mrs Wade and Mrs Hau-

cock have practised extensively, and with great success. Such a mode is as well calculated to impress natives with the benevolence of Christians, though it may not so astonish them with the superiority of Europeans.

7. Every unnecessary expense in the mode of living should be studiously avoided.

The unavoidable difference between the missionary and the natives, in most cases is very great. Native assistants seldom receive more than a tenth or fifteenth of the salary of a missionary. Rulers and princes, at some stations, are unable to live as the missionaries do, even where considerable sacrifices are made, and where a style of living is adopted which many of the contributors at home would regard as involving positive and serious hardships.

The difficulty is aggravated where the missionary aims at the style of genteel Europeans around him. It is altogether undesirable to see carved mahogany sofas covered with crimson silk, mahogany book-cases, engravings, cut-glass, silver forks, &c., in the house of a missionary; the house itself resembling our handsome country-seats. Such a mode of living unavoidably imposes great restraint on the approach of natives. However accessible the missionary may hold himself, the poor inquirer will scarcely venture into such premises, or if he do, will not be able to overcome an oppressive sense of inferiority, and perhaps intrusion. Even in Burmah, where no missionary so much as approaches this style of living, I have seen inquirers listen eagerly for a few moments, and then become absorbed in admiration of the fluted leg of a table, or the joints of a chair.

Several missionaries have confessed to me, that on their first arrival in the east they were shocked at the style in which they found their brethren living. Yet they had been carried away by the current. And so, generally, will be their successors. A man does not like, on his first arrival, to set up for a reformer. He feels as though he should have more experience and knowledge of the country. But when, after a few years' residence, he is convinced that another mode is preferable and practicable, he discovers that to attempt a change will not only involve him in difficulties with his brethren, but will require changes in his own modes, which neither he nor his wife may have strength of mind to accomplish.

It is not necessary to adopt the costume or all the customs of the natives, nor is it in general possible for the missionary to live so cheaply. To do either, would abridge usefulness, and hazard health. Many things are absolute necessities to one, which to another seem highly luxurious. But this difference should not be increased by the use of superfluities deemed genteel and suitable at home. Cheap fabrics make raiments as truly comfortable as costly ones; and ornaments and embroideries certainly add no comfort. Plain furniture, made by the natives or himself, should be preferred to that which is elegant, even if the latter could be had for nothing. And in erecting a house, no object should be regarded but health and convenience.

The example of a missionary should tend to elevate the people in temporal things, and spread a love of neatness and order. But expensiveness defeats this result. If the materials of our refinements and conveniences are too costly, the natives cannot have them. I know certain missionaries who have their sofas and bedsteads made of bamboo, at an expense not exceeding ten cents each. Their people are thus taught cleanliness and comfort, and cease to repose on the floor. The same individuals dress in the cheapest fabrics, and have brought their people to possess suitable changes of raiment, instead of wearing one filthy garment till it could be worn no more.

A great superiority of living, on the part of the missionary, will almost certainly excite envy—a feeling tending more than any other to obstruct usefulness. "Who can stand before envy?" A minister in our own country could scarcely hope for success if there existed a proportionate disparity between him and his people. In

places where there are many Europeans, the evil will not be so much felt, if the missionary live in far less style than they. In these places only have I seen such modes of living as have been just named. And if these very houses are compared, not with those of the natives, but those of Europeans, they will generally appear to be as much humbler than those, as ministers' houses in this country are humbler than their wealthy parishioners. In the remote stations a missionary should take a still humbler mode. The natives cannot know what luxuries are enjoyed with us, even by the poor. They just compare the missionaries with themselves, and can scarcely associate the idea of self-denial with a mode of living which so greatly transcends their own.

The effect on the missionary himself is injurious. His anticipations had comprised great and unavoidable self-denial in regard to house, food, climate, and other bodily comforts. He is, therefore, in danger of habitually endeavouring to make this self-denial as small as possible. Those who have preceded him will adduce arguments or excuses with regard to health, respectability, &c. Their example, the wish to preserve peace, and his early habits, will all tend to carry him on to the very position, which, on first seeing occupied by others, had shocked his feelings. He is then no longer the man he was and intended to be. His conscience is either smothered or troubled; his success is hindered; and there is great danger that his early devotedness and hope of usefulness may subside into formality and quiescence.

The blessed Master is the great pattern of a missionary. But he did not endeavour to live in a condition resembling, as near as possible, that which he had left. Nor should the missionary, sojourning amid degraded heathen, seek to retain, as far as possible, the refinements and gratifications of his own land. Let him renounce them in fact, as on his knees, when he gave himself to this work, he renounced them in anticipation.

Besides the effect of an appearance of luxury on the natives, every useless expense should be avoided, on the ground of its raising a barrier against the universality of our operations. Though money will probably be raised in greater amount, and with greater facility, yet it must be remembered how small a body the Protestants of Europe and America are, compared with the entire human race, and how great is the work to be done. Presuming that in every country native pastors should be raised up in sufficient numbers to perform the entire labour of evangelists, we still need thousands of missionaries to make beginnings in every tribe, to prepare these native pastors, to make books and translations, establish schools, &c.

As our societies grow old, widows and children multiply; and soon very serious sums will be required for these. As an example, we may advert to the Moravians, who have longest maintained modern missions. Nearly all the contributions from their own body are absorbed in matters which refer to the past; and their present missionary work is sustained by the contributions of other Christians. By the last annual report I can obtain, it appears that their receipts, from all sources, are about £11,000, about half of which is from their own community.

|                                          |       |     |     |         |    |   |
|------------------------------------------|-------|-----|-----|---------|----|---|
| Total expenses for all stations,         | "     | "   | "   | £6,100  | 0  | 0 |
| Paid also within the year—               |       |     |     |         |    |   |
| to 20 retired and disabled missionaries, | £     | 616 | 16  | 10      |    |   |
| to 36 widows,                            | "     | "   | 334 | 16      | 7  |   |
| education of 95 missionary children,     | 1,422 | 0   | 0   |         |    |   |
| 20 boys and 11 girls apprenticed,        | 1,629 | 0   | 0   |         |    |   |
| Contingencies,                           | 898   | 0   | 0   | 4,900   | 13 | 5 |
|                                          |       |     |     | £11,000 | 13 | 5 |

It might give rise to unwarrantable surmises, if, in a work so crowded with facts, directly and indirectly connected with missions, nothing should be said of the salaries received by missionaries, especially while speaking of their modes of living. Nor am I concerned to avoid that subject. But the reader will bear in mind

several considerations. 1. That in preceding chapters I have borne full testimony to the purity and zeal of missionaries as a body. 2. By far the larger part of them endure serious privations as to modes of living, and all of them endure, in other respects, what few Christians are willing to encounter. 3. Though their income may far transcend the poor semi-civilised, or perhaps barbarous, tribes around them, it falls far short of what Europeans of similar education and talents command in the same places, and their mode of living is proportionally humble. 4. Those of them whose style of living has just been mentioned as in my opinion unsuitable, do but copy numerous ministers, and still more numerous private Christians in our own country who live in costly houses, and see no harm in using just such articles as have been named. 5. It is certainly too much to expect that an appointment as a missionary should, as by a charm, at once raise a man to a fervour of piety, contempt of earth, courage in dissenting from custom, and readiness to endure privations, which none of his church at home have attained, and for which he has had neither training nor example. The difficulty can only be met by the adoption of stricter systems of expenditure by all Christians at home and abroad. Missionaries will carry abroad just that sort and degree of piety they have been trained to at home. 6. The chaplains of the East India Company receive 775 rupees per month, and rank as majors with full retiring pension at the end of the term of service, which, I believe, is twenty-two years. There are ninety chaplains, whose salaries and places of worship cost the Company annually 438,000 dollars. This last statement is made to constitute a standard of comparison by which the salaries of the missionaries may be measured.

The English Baptist Missionary Society pay in Hindustan about 200 rupees per month for a family without allowances. In large towns, a very humble house costs from fifty to eighty rupees per month. One of these brethren stated to me that his annual expenses for medicine and medical attendance averaged 250 rupees. The missionaries of the Scotch General Assembly receive in Calcutta 400 rupees per month to cover every thing. Missionaries from the London Missionary Society, at the Cape of Good Hope, receive £100 per annum for a family, without allowances, except to such as reside in Cape Town. In large cities of India, this society pays sometimes double this amount. In the South Sea Islands, the allowance for a family is but £75. The English General Baptist Missionary Society pay their missionaries at Orissa about 1200 rupees per annum for a family, without allowances. A missionary from the Caspian and Black Seas informed me that the salaries there were £80 for a married couple and family. A self-supported unmarried missionary from Patna in Bengal informed me that his expenses at that place were £70 per annum.

Whether the English Wesleyan Society pay fixed salaries, I have no means of knowing; but from the only report of that society I have at hand (1835), it appears that in the Madras district, five missionaries, four native assistants, the passages home of two missionaries, and grants to schools, cost £2116. In Ceylon, nine missionaries, twelve native assistants, grants to schools, and the return passage of a family, cost £6032. In Sierra Leone, three missionaries cost £286; and in New South Wales a station with three missionaries cost £701. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions have not fully adopted the system of fixed salaries, having generally allowed each family to expend what is requisite. In Southern India they pay a married couple £150 per annum, with allowances for children and house rent. Missionaries in the east from the American Baptist Board have 100 Company rupees per month for a married couple, and allowance for children, house rent, medical expenses, and travelling.

3. There should be more direct preaching of the word publicly, and from house to house.

Of all parts of this work, direct preaching looks most

attractive to the missionary on leaving home, and becomes in general most repulsive in the field. One of the best missionaries now alive remarked that there was nothing so difficult for him to resist as a repugnance against coming in contact with the natives! This is the grand object of those who design to devote themselves to foreign service. To sit beneath some friendly shade, imparting to heathen the words of eternal life, is their *beau ideal*, their enrapturing anticipation, their expected reward, for leaving friends and home. But when they approach the reality, they find the romance of this hope turned into the substantial material for disgust, weariness, and despair.

Sophisms, absurdities, false reasonings, extreme ignorance, malicious opposition, unworthy suspicions, and inveterate prejudices, must be perpetually encountered. These are rendered still more formidable, for the first few years, for want of a proficiency in the language, and a knowledge of the national religion and literature. To teach schools, to study, to translate, to survey new fields, &c., have none of these disagreeable concomitants, and are not so totally at variance with previous habits and feelings. They have the charm, too, of promising evident and immediate fruit, and of seeming to prepare the way for successors.

Thus the highest self-denial required of a missionary is in that very part of his work where he thought he should want none. He is unprepared for the demand, and in too many cases is turned aside to collateral pursuits.

This is an age in which the proper ministry of the word is in danger of being undervalued. It is an age of invention and activity, in religious as well as common matters, and the mechanism of Christianity is in danger of transcending the simplicity of the Scripture model, or at least of attracting superabundant attention. One eminent minister calls *infant-schools* "the railroad to the millennium." Some declare preaching to be "the smallest part of a minister's duty." Others affirm that conversions among the heathen are not to be expected till they are enabled to understand the evidences of divine revelation, and, therefore, that "*schools* are the grand means of converting the heathen." The same sentiments are rung in the ears of a missionary by his countrymen abroad. He has their countenance in schools, translations, &c., but if he "preach the gospel" in high-ways and bye-ways, he often incurs the imputation of fanaticism and folly. Every temptation is thus offered to slight the proper ministry of the word, and give weak faith a resting-place on human schemes.

It is often remarked that the apostles did not resort to schools, bibles, and tracts, because the art of printing was not then invented, that learning was more diffused, &c. But it must be sacredly remembered that the Lord gave his apostles a system of means not founded on the then state of society in that part of Asia, but for all possible conditions of society, in all the world, to the end of time. It is a system founded on the nature of religion and the nature of man, and no changes of outward condition will warrant us to invent another.

All modes of doing good should undoubtedly have a place in our system of means, but let us have a care lest we disparage or make subordinate that which is of our Lord's own appointment, and which, above all others, should engage our energies. "By the foolishness of preaching," it pleases God to save men. It has always been the grand instrument of conversion. We must *always* rely upon it as such. Other services demand a portion of time; and in a proper division of labour, where there are several missionaries, some one brother may take one of these as his department. But, as a general rule, the first object and business of each is strictly ministerial service. President Wayland, in his address to missionaries leaving Boston in July 1834, insists on this point. "Nor is it enough that you be laborious, your labour must be exclusive; it must be devoted in singleness of heart to the conversion of souls to Christ. This work is surely of itself extensive enough to occupy all your time and all your talents, and mani-

festly no other can vie with it in importance. You go not abroad to be linguists, nor lexicographers, nor botanists, nor philosophers, nor statesmen, nor politicians, but ambassadors of Christ. Remember, we always expect an ambassador to keep entirely aloof from all entanglements with the affairs of the parties to which he is sent, and devote himself exclusively to the interest of the party by which he is commissioned. I do not say that these inquiries are not important, I only say that they are not *your* duty. Like Nehemiah, you are doing a great work, and you cannot come down."

Of the same opinion was Swartz, who reckoned that he had been the means of converting 2000 persons; and of Brainard, who also gathered many souls. The following remarks by a distinguished Baptist minister now living in Edinburgh, seem full of piety and good sense:—

"Much have we heard, indeed, in modern times, of the noble invention of printing, and much respecting the power of education, and I do not imagine that any candid reader who has proceeded thus far, can suppose that the writer is indisposed to give to each its own appropriate place. At the same time, he conceives that they may not only be perverted, but prevented from doing that good which they otherwise might accomplish. For example, if they be permitted to occupy that place in our esteem and expectation which belongs to a *divine and sovereign appointment*, then they may not only become as chaff when compared to the wheat, but awaken the jealousy of HIM who will not give his glory to another. Our employment of education only, and with all the energy which the art of printing has given to it, may turn out to be nothing more than giving activity to the powers of the mind, without directing and controlling their movements.

Education will humanise and improve in most instances, but to save from ultimate destruction, properly speaking, never was within its province, and never will be. Yet, since the time in which many have been roused to see its necessity, there has been a phraseology often used respecting it by no means warrantable. Education, but above all, scriptural education, will do much. There will always be an indescribable distance between a people so favoured and any other left without such means. But if we expect more from it than it has ever produced, and above all, if we apply to it the language furnished to us in the scripture, and which is there *exclusively* employed with reference to an institution of God's own sovereign appointment, we may be left to witness the impotence of education instead of its power. Hence we have read of the system of some one of these educational societies being adapted for the *regeneration* of Ireland, and the terms employed in scripture to the labourers in the vineyard of God, have been unsparingly employed by religious people to the exertions of schoolmasters, or those who superintend them. This is not merely incorrect, but it is unwise and unwarrantable. Every one knows, that in all such cases of agency, every thing depends upon the expectations and intentions of the agent, but the language referred to is teaching us to expect from him what, in a thousand instances, the agent neither intends nor expects himself. The schoolmaster may have gone abroad, and, if a man of principle, will do great good; but to apply to him or his efforts the language of sacred writ, which regards another order of men and another exercise, is calculated to injure the work of his hands, as well as blind our own minds with respect to another and a higher duty.\*

While I am indulging in quotation, I will add the following, from a distinguished missionary, Melvill Horne, who puts the following words into the mouth of an objector, in the shape of an apostrophe to the "Lord of the harvest." "If thou wilt force us to cultivate this unpromising field, do not think of sending us

out immediately, but let schoolmasters go to receive the first fire, and teach the little children reading and writing; and then will we go and enter into their labours; for the experience of ages has taught us, that where preaching of the gospel makes one Christian, education makes ten. Hence, instead of preaching first to the parents, and then establishing schools for the education of the children, as the apostles did (who knew that the sword of the spirit was of heavenly temper, an instrument into which the God of glory had wrought all his attributes, we, having lost the art of using it, and that arm which gives it the demonstration of the Spirit and of power), we go to work another way, by educating children first; and many are of opinion that the best way of enlightening is by putting the moon in the sun's sphere, and having children to instruct their parents, rather than parents to teach their children!"

Preachers must not be reluctant to itinerate. It will not be necessary, except among a few tribes, to dispense with a settled home, and to wander with a wandering flock. Still, few missionaries should confine themselves at home. There are jungles, small islands, and pestilential districts, accessible to foreigners only for a few months in the year, which can only be reached by itinerants. There are advantages too, in all places, peculiar to such itineracies. There is upon the missionary so employed, a benign and impressive aspect of disinterested benevolence not easily misconstrued. His privations, inconveniences, dangers, and exertions, convince even the heathen of his love of souls. He honours them by the condescension and confidence with which he eats the food they prepare, and sleeps on the mat they spread for him. He becomes acquainted with native character, where it has not been modified by foreign influence, and is thus assisted both to preach and to prepare tracts. He has opportunities for calm and repeated conversations with individuals at their own home. He escapes the pestilential presence of ungodly nominal Christians. The circumstances of his own superior living are not present to do injury.

Not for a moment would I countenance that gadding and discursive spirit which entices men to leave their sphere; nor that romance which loves to visit distant and celebrated places; nor that love of fame which is gratified by being able to send racy journals to the magazines. It can be of little use to scatter far and near seed which neither we nor others can water. The itineracy should for the most part be performed within a given limit, visiting the same places again and again, as the apostles did.

Preaching must be maintained, in contradistinction to conversation and disputing. I know that it cannot always be *such* preaching as we have at home. Questions must be permitted, objections occasionally answered, explanations made, and much of our own formality dispensed with. But it must be legitimate *preaching*. The heathen are very glad to *dispute*, and do it in a very wearisome, provoking, and often subtle manner. When we enter into their sophistries and recondite arguments, we make Christianity contend with the intellect instead of the conscience, and our great advantage is lost. Paul's disputings in the school of Tyrannus are quoted. But it should be remembered that *dialogomenos*, here rendered "disputing" is the very word used on other occasions where *pros* and *cons* were not thought of; such as "Paul was long *preaching*," Acts, xx. 9; "He *reasoned* in the synagogue every Sabbath-day," Acts, xviii. 4; "He *preached* unto them, ready to depart on the morrow," Acts, xx. 7; "He *reasoned* of righteousness," &c., Acts xxiv. 9. Missionaries will sometimes be obliged to dispute, and so were the apostles; but they are destitute of many advantages enjoyed by the latter. Those disputes were with men who believed in the Old Testament, or who held great principles in common with themselves. They were to prove, to persons who expected a Messiah, that Jesus was that Christ; or were based upon premises which the antagonists, or their own poets, fully admitted. So did our Saviour sometimes dispute; but we have

\* Anderson's "Ireland without the Ministry of the Word in her native Language." "The Domestic Constitution," so largely quoted from by Jay, in his Family Monitor, and republished in America under the title of "Book for Parents," is by this author.



numerous cases where he dexterously avoided foolish questions or philosophical subtleties. He parried where he might have triumphed, and chose the more immediate if not the only avenue to conviction.

What has been gained by the repeated triumphs of speculative theology over science, politics, and heresy? Over and over the battle has been fought, consuming whole lives, and filling up whole libraries. Over and over have infidels, heretics, Papists, and Jews, been defeated. But new champions rise. The old ground is taken, or some novelty advanced; and in every age the war continues. At this very day our press teems with works on the evidences of Christianity, and in opposition to errors already a thousand times refuted. In countries where Christianity has so triumphed as to make worldly and political men confess it, and weave it into the very texture of social and civil society, what do we see but a dead orthodoxy, an unconverted priesthood, simony, secularity, and pride? Christianity has made its greatest triumphs where it has stood despised, hated, and cast out, by the learning, the philosophy, and the power of the world. Why should missionaries repeat that struggle which has a thousand times ended in a bootless triumph? It is not a man's learning, philosophy, or superstition, that precludes his conversion, but the opposition of his carnal heart. To overcome this, God forbid that we should confide in aught else than the doctrine of "Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Gentiles foolishness." Let us never, never forget that "God hath chosen the foolishness of this world to confound the wise, and low things, and things that are despised, and things which are not, to bring to naught the things that are, that no flesh should glory in his presence."

9. Regular churches, with pastors and deacons, should be formed at the earliest possible period, in every place.

It is of great consequence to put our work on a footing which may secure stability and increase, without the presence of a missionary. Ordained native ministers are very few.\* Church order and discipline are not sufficiently understood by the disciples. The missionary is all in all; and at his departure or death, every trace of his work may disappear. It is true, such churches at first would seldom be able to stand alone. But if they ever do, they must first have this feeble beginning. There were great and important reasons why Christ instituted churches. Even higher advantages result from them in heathen lands, than among ourselves. Without the mutual brotherly watchfulness which they secure, feeble members cannot receive adequate assistance. It is true, few are as qualified as is desirable for the imposition of hands. But the apostles, in resolving to ordain elders in every church, must have met the same difficulty. If no encouraging degree of fitness be found in any member, we may take a brother from some other church. To these should be committed, for obvious reasons, most of the preaching, discipline, and administration of ordinances. They should be honoured in the presence of the people. Their support should, as far as possible, be derived from the converts. They should be sedulously watched over and aided. They should have associations and ministers' meetings. They should meet the missionary at stated periods, and be aided as far as possible in acquiring a knowledge of Scripture history and doctrine. In many cases they should be changed, on the plan of Methodist circuits. Some might attend half the year at a proper seminary. Younger ones should be placed at such an institution for several years. But of this more under the next head.

A similar appointment and training should be had for deacons, exhorters, and church clerks. The guiding influence of the missionary should be exerted as unseemly as possible. Every effort should be made to bring out the capacity and activity of the members, so that the

death or removal of the missionary should be injurious in the least possible degree.

10. The qualifications of native assistants should receive more attention.

The importance of this class of auxiliaries can scarcely be too highly estimated. Without risk of health, and with little expense or inconvenience, they can carry the tidings of salvation where a missionary cannot go, or may not be sent, for an age. They can travel, eat, sit, and lodge, as the natives do. Between those and themselves there is not that awful distance which can scarcely be overcome by a missionary. Their knowledge of the language is complete, which can seldom be said of a foreigner. They know, from experience, the exact temptations, doubts, difficulties, and prejudices of their hearers. They can talk with an inquirer, often and long, without drawing opposition upon him, before he has become enlightened and firm enough to endure it. To be seen conversing a few times with a missionary, or to go repeatedly to his house or chapel, excites almost as great opposition as a profession of Christianity. Thus a man's mind must be made up to encounter exceeding difficulties before he has become sufficiently acquainted with the missionary's arguments to know whether he will endure sufferings for the new religion or not; that is to say, he must submit to be persecuted before he knows whether the system is worth being persecuted for.

Various reasons of this sort, some adapted to the condition of one country, and some to that of another, show the duty of fostering this branch of our force. Unordained natives have indeed been employed, and in some places to a great extent, and to their labours are traceable very numerous conversions; but it seems necessary to bestow upon them a much greater measure of mental cultivation and religious knowledge. Had half the pains been thus bestowed which have been expended on common schools, how great would have been the gain!

Without some additional mental cultivation, doctrinal knowledge, and practical graces, native assistants are not able to avail themselves of their peculiar advantages; some of which have just been named. It is well known that scarcely one of them is able to act alone; and that, though so useful when sustained and guided by a good missionary, they have run into manifold evils when left to themselves. Why is this? They possess piety, zeal, and talents. It must be owing to the superior intelligence and acquired advantages of the missionary. Let us, then, lead them into that knowledge of the word of God, and that measure of devotion, which at present they have no means of obtaining.

Slender would be the qualifications of a minister with us, whose opportunities had been no greater than those of native preachers. Abstract from him all that his mother and father taught him, all he learned at infant or Sunday school, from the moral maxims of his horn-books, his copy-slips, his general reading, and the restraints of Christian society; put in the place of this every degrading, polluting, and erroneous thing, learned by a heathen child, at home, at school, and abroad; take away the intellectual benefits of an academic or collegiate course; abolish all his knowledge of the evidences of Christianity, history, chronology, geography, prophecy, miracles, and the state of the world; all he ever gained by intercourse with eminent saints, or a perusal of their biographies; all the helps he has had from commentators, critics, sermons, anniversaries, associations, religious periodicals, and intercourse with enlightened fellow-ministers; in fine, leave him nothing but some portions of God's word, and a few evangelical tracts, and add to him a plenitude of errors and malpractices acquired in a life of Gentile abominations, and you will have the present qualifications of a native assistant.

Some regular institution seems wanting in every mission, for the express purpose of instructing those who give evidences of a call to this work. Advantages, similar in kind, if not in extent, to those enjoyed by

\* In all the Burman and Karen churches I found but one; in some missions, none; and nowhere any adequate supply.

young ministers at home, should be placed within their reach. A supply of assistants, thus educated, would leave leisure to the missionary for necessary translations and revisions; for exercising a general pastoral care over a large district; for exploring new fields; for corresponding with the societies at home; and for other duties, which can now only be done at a great sacrifice of pastoral pursuits.

By no other course does it now appear that we can send the gospel into all the earth. We cannot hope to send forth from ourselves the hundredth part of an adequate supply of ministers for 600,000,000 of Pagans, at an annual expense of from 500 to 1000 dollars for each family. Nor could we consent to lay the foundations of Christianity over so large a portion of the earth, by native preachers so ignorant of the system as those we now have. Without raising these qualifications, they will soon be despised by the very youth who, by hundreds and thousands, are now being educated in missionary and government schools.

11. A considerable number of the most promising converts and younger preachers should be taught the English language.

It is dismaying to compute the period which must elapse before the heathen can be supplied, in their own languages, with the word of God. Who, then, can predict the time when those languages shall contain a supply of works in ecclesiastical history, biblical criticism, theology, and practical piety? Who is to give them books of science and art? If, now, we would impart to our missionary pupils the benefits of such studies, we are restricted to wearisome oral instructions, demanding, on the whole, an amount of time equal to what would be necessary to teach them English. Besides, instructions unsustained by reading are less perfectly acquired, and the amount obtained is in danger of being forgotten. At best, when the pupil leaves the institution, his progress is terminated; and terminated, too, as all school-studies are, at the threshold of the subjects.

By giving our young convert the English language, we set before him the whole temple of knowledge, and present him with the key. Subjects which would otherwise have remained for ever sealed, will be fully open to his inspection. He has but to use his own powers, and he may pursue an indefinite progress. With an enriched mind, trained habits of thinking, and a cultivated heart, he goes forth among his people "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed." Let but the reader ask himself what benefit he has gained merely by a dozen books, such as the *Saint's Rest*, *Law's Serious Call*, *Watts on the Mind*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, the works of Brooks, Mather, Flavel, Charnock, &c., and decide whether, even for this, he would not have done well to master a language? Did he ever gain so much from his Latin, Greek, French, Italian, or German, or all together, as a heathen convert would gain from a knowledge of English? Our language is now becoming the religious language of mankind, and perhaps the scientific also. It is to be to the east what Greek was to Rome, or Latin was, a century or two ago, to Europe. Already does it abound with works of imagination, specimens of eloquence, stores of history, speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, law, commerce, scientific researches, and mechanical inventions, immensely more valuable than were ever extant in all the ancient languages. As to religion, it probably contains more valuable books than all other languages put together.

Add, therefore, to the important advantages already enjoyed by the native preacher, merely those which the ability to read English would confer, and he would be more valuable than almost any foreign missionary can be, and at the same time cost the church incomparably less.

From natives able to read English, we might hope soon to see many valuable translations. Men translate into their own language far more successfully than into a foreign one. They would do more than this—they would write original works. Few translations, except

of the Scriptures, will ever be very useful. Books, being written for our state of society and degree of knowledge, do not answer for heathen. They must be written by natives, not only in native idiom, but in native modes of thinking, and adapted to the degree of knowledge possessed by the reader. Our books, on every page, take for granted certain measures of previous mental culture which heathen readers do not possess, and for want of which the whole effort of the author is likely to fail.

The difficulty of learning to read and write a language, especially our own, is much less than learning to speak it; and in this case only the former is required. Indeed, the learning so much of a language as to gather the meaning of an author, is by no means an arduous undertaking. To pronounce correctly, and to command words fluently for conversation, is much the largest part of the task. This is not only unnecessary to our brethren, but in some cases undesirable, lest they be corrupted by evil intercourse, or tempted to seek secular situations of greater profit.

A native assistant has now no books to read, but the tracts and translations to which his hearers have access. How can he hold a proper intellectual and religious superiority over them? He ought to be versed in the true meaning of difficult passages, the rules of interpretation, the geography, chronology, and natural history of the bible, the manners and customs of Jews, and other kindred studies. He should know something of ecclesiastical history, church government, and biblical theology. But in all these he has no helps in his own language, and in hundreds of languages there never will be any. Missionary money can never make translations of all these; and many years must elapse before there will be a religious public creating such a demand for them that they will be printed as matters of trade.

In our own country, what students actually learn at college is not so important as the knowledge they obtain of the sources of information. The wide and long vista of truth is opened before them; they see what is to be learned, obtain mental training, get a knowledge of books, and leave the institution prepared to be successful students. Not so with native preachers. They set out with a modicum of biblical knowledge, precariously retained in their memories, and with scarcely the advantages of a Sunday scholar. They meet antagonists learned in the prevailing system, and must contend with them without so much as a proper knowledge of their own.

12. There must be greater care taken that a station, once begun, should be uninterruptedly maintained.

That this has not been the case, has seldom been the fault of missionaries. It is not easy to convey the importance of this idea to churches and directors at home; and their arrangements have been such as to spread over as large a surface as possible, leaving many stations in the hands of a solitary individual.

What would be the effect on any district of fifty, or sixty, or perhaps 500 square miles, which should be left for one, two, or three years, without a minister, or a prayer-meeting, or a Sunday school, or, in fine, any of the means of grace? But with us, even in such a case, there would be a thousand good influences, public and private. Not so among the heathen. The death or departure of a missionary stops everything, except a church has been gathered and native pastors trained. Even then, all activity is suspended, and passive virtues will not abound. The converts will fall into errors and apostacies, if not into sufferings and want.

A heathen or Mussulman, on becoming a Christian, is generally discarded by his friends; and where caste exists, always. In very many cases, if the missionary do not provide him work, he must starve. If not so poor, yet without the missionary, how shall he contend with the difficulties of his situation and the evils of his former habits? He is left without daily instruction, without pious intercourse, without a shield from tyranny. The little band, gathered by years of toil, is in a few months scattered; the enemy triumphs; confidence in

the continuance of the station is destroyed; and the next missionary is often led to affirm, as several have done to me, that it would have been better if no predecessor had ever laboured there.

Many contingencies may cause a station to be suspended where a missionary is alone. There can be no security against it, except by placing two brethren at every station; and at some, still more. They need not always be in the same compound, or even in the same village, but should not be so far apart as to prevent one from taking an effective temporary charge of the department of the other, in case of death, sickness, or absence.

It seems to have been one of the most fatal errors of modern missions, to disregard so generally the New Testament example in this particular. Our Lord sent both the seventy and the twelve, two by two. When he had ascended, the apostles continued the same plan. They either proceeded forth in pairs, or took a younger evangelist as a "partner and fellow-helper." The Holy Ghost gave sanction to this mode, when he called for the separation of Barnabas and Saul to a particular field. How touching and instructive are Paul's feelings when separated from his official companion, though in the midst of distinguished successes! "When I came to Troas to preach, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus; so, taking my leave, I went into Macedonia." When Titus rejoined him, he was in the midst of disappointment and difficulty, but his heart was immediately made whole. He then said, "I am filled, I am exceeding joyful, in all our tribulation; for though, when we came into Macedonia, our flesh had no rest and we were troubled on every side (without were fightings, and within were fears), yet God comforted us by the coming of Titus."—2 Corinthians, ii. 12, 13, and vii. 4-6.

It is believed by some judicious brethren abroad, that some missionaries have died in consequence of loneliness, distraction, care, and excessive exertion.

13. It is important to establish a greater division of labour.

Hitherto the same missionary has been compelled to be pastor, itinerant, Sunday-school teacher, school-master, translator, author, tract-distributor, proof-reader, physician, nurse, house-keeper, and, perhaps, printer and bookbinder. Sometimes, in addition to these, he must oversee catechists and preachers, be agent for inland stations, and preach occasionally in English! The thing amounts to a perfect absurdity. Some men may endure such wear and tear for a while; but the results of their labours are nullified by desultoriness. Regularity and efficiency are impossible. Nothing can be prosecuted with sufficient vigour, either to obtain skill in it, or secure the best results.

It is truly surprising that the few missionaries scattered over the world should have accomplished what we now see. It proves, that in general they must have been extraordinary men. And it is very well to practise on the doctrine that it is better to wear out than rust out; but such a system as is now pursued only makes men *tear* out.

Schools might be maintained by the wives of missionaries, or by brethren who shall call themselves schoolmasters. Where preaching in English is deemed necessary, let a brother separate himself to that work; or let it be done by one whose age, experience, and mental cultivation, will enable him to do it with extemporaneous ability. Theological or boarding schools should enjoy the whole services of a select individual. Translations and authorship, with some avocation requiring bodily activity, are work enough for one man at each principal station. Further specifications must depend on each particular case.

Besides the advantages on the spot of such a distribution of duties, it would have a happy effect at home in showing the churches the actual state and operations of their phalanx abroad. They would see what branches of the work most needed reinforcement. They would better understand what result should be expected in

each particular department. They would particularly see what proportion of labour is made to bear on the immediate conversion of souls, and the whole operation of the missionary enterprise would stand transparent and self-explained.

14. There should be more concentration of effort.

In every mission there should be one point where operations should be conducted with great vigour, and by many hands.

By placing at this point the translator, the printing-office, the school for native assistants, and two or three evangelists, besides those brethren whose proper field is pestilent or inaccessible, except during a portion of the year, there would be secured many advantages. Numerous questions from minor stations, which must now wait the tedious process of a reference to the Board, might be safely left to the decision of such a body of brethren on the spot. Vacancies at various points might be immediately supplied—a matter, as has been shown, of great consequence. Thus, a farmer, penetrating into the forest, makes first an effective clearing where he establishes himself, and from whence he may extend his openings at pleasure. Thus an army always has its "head-quarters." Thus the primitive church retained at Jerusalem a body of principal apostles and elders, to whom disputed questions were referred, from whence the brethren went forth to their spheres, and to whom they returned, reporting successes, and refreshing themselves with genial society.

The majority of employments which were just named as absurdly falling on the same individual, may be divided and prosecuted at such central station with effect. Thus the brethren who go forth two by two to lonelier stations, will have fewer duties, and may divide these with a prospect of mutual success. The establishment of such a body of brethren would constitute a safe band of counsellors both to one another and to their society at home; it would inspire confidence in the natives that the undertaking was permanent; it could supply for a time any out-station vacated by the retirement or death of a missionary; and it would be a favourable location for new missionaries to study for a year or two, and acquire a knowledge of their field.

There should be more concentration as to the portions of the world which we attempt to evangelise. Those regions which have received the largest supply of missionaries, have been the most encouraging. Labrador and Greenland, with a population of but 8000 or 9000, have fifty-one missionaries and assistants. The West Indies have more than 200 missionaries, and each of these may be counted equal to two in the East Indies, if we consider that they have not been obliged to learn a language, or make dictionaries, translations, &c. Jamaica, with a population of 400,000, has more than sixty European missionaries. The Sandwich Islands, with a population of 108,000, has eighty-seven missionaries and assistants. The portion of Karens which have received the services of Boardman, Wade, and Mason, and which has been blessed in actual conversions more than almost any other, amounts to less than 6000.

On the other hand, there are single cities containing populations of hundreds of thousands, with but one, two, or three missionaries, and in these we hear of small success. It is to be feared that the church has, in its anxiety to spread wide the tidings of salvation, been beguiled into too great diffusiveness of labour. It seems hard to keep sending men to countries already entered, while whole kingdoms and tribes are left to perish. But it had better be thus. Only thus can the work be done. Only thus will the church be able to see clearly and impressively how much land remains to be possessed, and feel the inadequacy of her present operations.

15. A larger proportion of effort should be directed to the more enlightened nations, and to the higher classes in all nations.

Our efforts have hitherto been expended chiefly on Esquimaux, Laplanders, Greenlanders, Tartars, American Indians, Sandwich Islanders, Hottentots, Bushmen,

Nicolarians, Malays, Negroes, and slaves. Converts have indeed been made, and immortal souls saved. But the results terminate on the spot. Such people have no such influence on adjacent nations as had the citizens of Jerusalem, Damascus, Alexandria, Rome, Corinth, or Ephesus. They have no commerce to spread abroad the holy leaven, and few pecuniary resources to enable them to join in the work of giving bibles and ministers to the rest of the world.

Among tribes so degraded, the missionary contends with brutal ignorance, strong temptations to hypocrisy, deep poverty, petty wars, and frequent changes in congregations, together with the inconveniences of unsuitable food and habitation, and the most violent change in all his previous habits and associations. Had we begun by spreading the gospel among our more immediate neighbours and the greater kingdoms, missionaries, and missionary influences in a thousand forms, would have multiplied spontaneously. Converted Arabs, Chinese, Hindus, or Burmans, could have spread out among ruder tribes, without those violent transitions which curtail the lives of our brethren, or those excessive expenses which keep down the extent of our efforts.

It may be thought the Hindus should not be named in this collection, so much having been done for them. But the extent of this country should be remembered, and the number of missionaries, which, with all the late augmentations, have been sent to occupy it. From Bombay to Bankok, and from Ceylon to Delhi, the number of missionaries is stated by a late writer in the Calcutta Christian Observer to be 130. This estimate comprehends at least 200,000,000 inhabitants—one missionary to 1,538,461 souls. The region described, it will be perceived, includes Burmah as well as Hindustan, and is emphatically that part of the field to which the attention of the church has been of late years particularly drawn.

In scarcely any mission have the higher classes received their full share of attention. They have not been so freely visited at their houses, and when visited, it has rather been to secure advantages. The visit is seldom for the express purpose of winning their souls, as is the case when the poor are sought. The oftener such visits are paid without the disclosure of a deep anxiety for the conversion of his soul, the more does the chief, or rich man, grow satisfied to remain as he is, and to suppose that his toleration or friendship is all that is expected. We should abhor the spirit which gathers ministers round great men to share their gifts, to bask in their favour, to secure political enactments in favour of religion, or to gain popularity and distinction among the common people. But we should leave no efforts unattempted to save their souls. The prophecies which cheer us in our work, specify such persons as among the fruit, and declare that they shall be nursing fathers and mothers to the church. Cæsar's court contained disciples. Some of the "mighty," and of "honourable ones not a few," appear among the converts to apostolic zeal.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.—Many suggestions to the churches at home offer themselves. I will venture only two or three.

1. The number of missionaries should be greatly increased.

Numerous stations, occupied now by a single individual, should be reinforced by one, two, and in some cases five or six brethren. No post has been taken which seems untenable or useless; none from which the occupant wishes to retreat. Each describes openings for usefulness which he cannot embrace. If we mean merely to keep our present position, there is need of a fresh labourer in every station and department, who may be coming forward in his qualifications, and be ready to take up the task at any moment, in case of the death of the present incumbent.

There must be a wrong in concentrating preachers among a portion of mankind, to the extent seen in England and America, while whole nations lie unblest with

the truth. Such as have not known or considered the proportion of ministers in England and America, should ponder the following facts.

The following table takes up some of the counties in England alphabetically, so as to furnish a fair sample of the whole.

| County.         | AREA.<br>Square<br>Miles. | CHURCHES.         |                 |        | Popula-<br>tion. | Av. num-<br>ber of<br>souls to a<br>minister |
|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------|------------------|----------------------------------------------|
|                 |                           | Estab-<br>lished. | Volun-<br>tary. | Total. |                  |                                              |
| Bedfordshire -  | 463                       | 127               | 72              | 199    | 95,000           | 477                                          |
| Berkshire -     | 752                       | 160               | 83              | 243    | 145,000          | 597                                          |
| Buckinghamshire | 736                       | 214               | 89              | 303    | 146,000          | 482                                          |
| Cambridgeshire  | 857                       | 174               | 87              | 261    | 143,000          | 548                                          |
| Cheshire - -    | 1052                      | 142               | 162             | 304    | 334,000          | 1099                                         |
| Cornwall - -    | 1330                      | 221               | 328             | 549    | 302,000          | 550                                          |
| Cumberland -    | 1523                      | 145               | 90              | 235    | 169,000          | 719                                          |
| Derbyshire -    | 1028                      | 177               | 189             | 365    | 327,000          | 649                                          |

In New England, taken at large, the proportion of ministers is not much short of the above average. In Massachusetts are 1252 ministers; population, 650,000; average number of souls to each minister, 519. In New Hampshire are 412 ministers; population, 269,633; average number of souls to each minister, 654. In Connecticut are 482 ministers; population, 298,000; average number of souls to each, 620.\* The great cities of the United States are shown by the Rev. Messrs Reed and Mattheson to have a larger proportion of ministers than those of England and Scotland.

The contrast between one missionary, and he a foreigner, imperfect in the language, and unsustained by surrounding Christians, attempting to bless a million of souls, and a pastor in Great Britain or America to every four or five hundred souls, and aided by a hundred Christian influences, is both painful and humiliating.

2. Numerous lay brethren are immediately wanted.

A glance at the employments enumerated a little while ago shows how few of them fall exclusively within the province of a minister. Except preaching, administering ordinances, and presiding over church discipline, they may as well be done by laymen. Perhaps one reason why so little is said of some of these departments, in the New Testament, is, that that history gives professedly the life of *Christ* and the acts of *apostles*. We certainly see that some branches of missionary duty were consigned to laymen, such, for instance, as the secular concerns, the care of the poor, and the settlement of disputes. There are many brethren not inferior to the best ministers in piety. A knowledge of business and accounts, and habits of order, dispatch, and economy, give some of these superior qualifications for some parts of the work. Such services as are rendered by lay brethren in our own country are greatly wanted.

It is neither necessary nor desirable that all laymen, who for Christ's sake go to the heathen, should put themselves under the patronage of a society, or give their whole time to religious services. The brethren scattered from Jerusalem by persecution, no doubt pursued their secular callings in the cities whither they fled; yet through them the holy influence was spread.

If persecution were now to break out in England or the United States, thousands of church members would pass to other parts of the world, and, we may presume, would labour to establish pure religion wherever they might find a home. May we not fear that if we remain supine, some such necessity for dispersion may be permitted to occur? By going without the impulse of persecution, the sacrifices involved in emigration are immensely lessened. The ties of friendship, kindred, and business, may be preserved, and property retained. In fact, the evils incurred by voluntary expatriation are submitted to by multitudes, for no higher end than the possible improvement of outward circumstances.

\* These numbers are taken from the registers of the respective states. In the other northern states the proportion is about the same.

Finally, A vastly higher state of piety at home must be realised.

On this copious and most important theme, I must now confine myself to a few sentences. But I pass it by with the more content, because it is a subject on which others can write as well as one who has travelled, and which is often calling forth able works. I think it has been proved that the measure of missionary success is equal to the amount and kind of effort employed. But all must agree that had the whole movement been more apostolic, there would be seen much more fruit. Want of piety makes missionaries less successful, just as it does other ministers. Were they absorbingly interested in their work, and highly qualified for it, by large measures of the spirit of Christ, they would seldom fall into the subordinate and less self-denying departments of labour, and would prosecute their proper work, not only with more commensurate zeal and skill, but with a greater blessing.

How shall such missionaries be expected from a religious community pervaded by love of ease, elegance, and gain? They come forth from the mass, and resemble the mass. Streams rise no higher than their sources. In vain we harangue departing missionaries upon the necessity of a holy weanedness from the world, and contempt of ease, if we have no more ourselves. These are not the fruits of mere volition or sudden effort. They are the result of circumstances and self-training, through the steady agency of the Spirit. None but extraordinary persons rise above the level of their times, and we cannot expect every missionary, and missionary's wife, and printer, and school-teacher, to be an extraordinary person, wholly in advance of the churches. They are, moreover, sent out too young to have made very great Christian attainments, even if they are extraordinary persons. The ordinary state of the church must be made right, and then ordinary persons will have right views, aims, and qualities, and missionaries will possess proper qualifications, and bear abroad a proper spirit.

Every professed Christian, therefore, may aid the cause of missions by promoting a return to apostolic simplicity and singleness of heart among all Christians. This would not only furnish the right kind of missionaries, but the right number, and the proper support. When every believer shall habitually pray not only for a blessing on the work at large, but for a clear perception of his own duty in the matter, and shall cherish the spirit of entire self-dedication, we shall have abundant means and proper men.

POLITICAL RELATIONS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.\*

1. Foreign.—Persia, Cabul, Senna, Arabs, Siam, Acheen.  
2. External, or Frontier.—Burmah, Nepal, Lahore, Scindia.  
3. Internal, or those which have relinquished political relations with one another, and with all other states. The latter kind may be divided into six classes:—

I. Treaties offensive and defensive. Right on their part to claim protection, external and internal, from the British government. Right on its part to interfere in their internal affairs.

|                      | Area in square miles. |                          | Area in square miles. |
|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Oude, - - - - -   | 23,922                | 4. Travancore, - - - - - | 4,573                 |
| 2. Mysore, - - - - - | 27,939                | 5. Cochin, - - - - -     | 1,787                 |
| 3. Berar, - - - - -  | 66,723                |                          |                       |

II. Treaties offensive and defensive. Right on their part as above. No right on the part of the British to interfere in their internal affairs.

|                         |        |
|-------------------------|--------|
| 1. Hyderabad, - - - - - | 88,887 |
| 2. Baroda, - - - - -    | 5,525  |
| 3. Katwa, - - - - -     | 19,424 |

III. Treaties offensive and defensive. Tributary to British government, but supreme rulers in their own territory.

|                                    |        |                        |        |
|------------------------------------|--------|------------------------|--------|
| 1. Indore, - - - - -               | 4,245  | 3. Jeypore, - - - - -  | 13,426 |
| 2. Oodpore, or Oodypore, - - - - - | 11,794 | 4. Joudpore, - - - - - | 34,131 |
|                                    |        | 5. Kotah, - - - - -    | 5,500  |

\* Compiled for this work from Hamilton's Gazetteer and other sources.

|                            |        |                                      |        |
|----------------------------|--------|--------------------------------------|--------|
| 6. Boondee, - - - - -      | 2,291  | 15. Serowee, - - - - -               | 3,024  |
| 7. Ulwar, - - - - -        | 3,294  | 16. Bhurtpore, - - - - -             | 1,945  |
| 8. Bickaneer, - - - - -    | 18,059 | 17. Bhopal, - - - - -                | 6,772  |
| 9. Jesulmeer, - - - - -    | 9,779  | 18. Cutch, - - - - -                 | 7,395  |
| 10. Kishengur, - - - - -   | 724    | 19. Dhar, - - - - -                  | 1,465  |
| 11. Banswarra, - - - - -   | 1,440  | 20. Dhalpore Baree, - - - - -        | 1,625  |
| 12. Puntabur, - - - - -    | 1,457  | 21. Saugur and Bundelcund, - - - - - | 26,483 |
| 13. Deongurpore, - - - - - | 2,004  | 22. Savantwaree, - - - - -           | 934    |
| 14. Keerolee, - - - - -    | 1,878  |                                      |        |

IV. Guarantee and protection. Subordinate co-operation. Sub-premacy in their own territory.

|                              |       |                                                                              |        |
|------------------------------|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| 1. Amer Khan Touk, - - - - - | 1,103 | 4. Putteala, Keytal, Naba Jheend, and other protected Seik states, - - - - - | 16,602 |
| 2. Seronge, - - - - -        | 261   |                                                                              |        |
| 3. Nembera, - - - - -        | 269   |                                                                              |        |

V. Amity and friendship.

|                       |        |
|-----------------------|--------|
| 1. Gwalior, - - - - - | 32,944 |
|-----------------------|--------|

VI. Protection and right on the part of the British to control internal affairs.

|                       |       |                         |       |
|-----------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|
| 1. Sattara, - - - - - | 7,943 | 2. Collapore, - - - - - | 3,184 |
|-----------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|

|                                                                                                             |         |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Total area in square miles of the above native states, - - - - -                                            | 449,845 |
| Absolute British territory in India including within the Bengal, Bombay, and Madras Presidencies, - - - - - | 626,745 |

Grand total, - - - - - 1,076,590

The British have ascertained the population of their absolute territory, including the Burman provinces, to be about eighty-four millions, and that of the states above named is probably quite as great, if not more; making the entire number of the human family subject to British general control in India, not less than a hundred and sixty-eight millions.

The whole number of Britons in India does not exceed 50,000, of whom 30,000 belong to the army.

The standing army of the East India Company now exceeds 200,000 men, of which about 175,000 are sepoys. It has often amounted to a much larger number, and at this time is about to be enlarged, through jealousy of Russia. In January 1827, it exceeded 300,000 men, namely,

|                                       |              |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| Artillery, - - - - -                  | 15,782       |
| Native cavalry, - - - - -             | 26,694       |
| Native infantry, or sepoys, - - - - - | 234,412      |
| Engineers, - - - - -                  | 4,875        |
|                                       | 290,863      |
| King's troops, - - - - -              | 21,934       |
| Total, - - - - -                      | 302,797 men. |

BRITISH TERRITORIAL POSSESSIONS, WITH THE DATE OF THEIR ACQUISITION.

- A. D.  
1639. Madras, a territory five miles along shore by one inland.  
1664. Bombay.  
1691. Fort St David.  
1686. Calcutta.  
1750. } The Jaghire, in the Carnatic.  
1763. }  
1757. The twenty-four Purgannas.  
1761. Chittagong, Burdwan, and Midnapore.  
1765. Bengal, Bahar, and four of the Northern Circars.  
1776. The Island of Salsette.  
1781. The Zemindary of Benares.  
1787. The Guntoor Circar.  
1792. Malabar, Canara, Coimbatore, Dindigal, Salem, Barramahal, &c.  
1799. Seringapatam.  
1800. The Balghat ceded districts of Bellary and Cuddapah.  
1801. Territories ceded by the nabob of Oude, consisting of Rohilcund (including Bareilly, Moradabad, Shahjehanpore, &c.), the lower Doab, and the districts of Furruckabad, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Goruckpore, Azinghur, &c.  
1801. The remainder of the Carnatic, comprehending the whole of the nabob of Areeot's territories.  
1803. The Dutch portion of the Island of Ceylon.  
1803. Delhi, Agra, the upper Doab Hurriana, Saharunpore, Merut, Alighur, Etawah, Bundelcund, Cuttack, Balasore, Juggernaut, &c.  
1803. Cessions from the Peshwa and Guicowar in Gujerat.  
1815. Part of Nepal, consisting of the hill country between the Sutuleje and Jumna Rivers and the districts of Gurwal and Kumaon.  
1815. The kingdom of Candy in Ceylon.  
1816. Anjar, Mandavie, and other places in Cutch.  
1818. Poona, and the whole of the Peshwa's dominions, Candesh, Saugur, and other places in Malwa; Ajmeer in Rajpootana; and Sumbhulpore, Sirgooa, Gurrh, Mundiah, and other portions of Gwmdwana.  
1825. Conquests from the Burmese, consisting of Assam, Cachar, Manipore, Arracan, and the Tenasserim provinces, consisting of Martaban, Ye, Tavoy, Mergui, and the adjacent isles.

## PRINCIPAL MISSIONARY STATIONS IN THE WORLD,

WITH THE DATE OF THEIR ESTABLISHMENT, AND THE SOCIETY BY WHICH THEY ARE SUPPORTED.

The abbreviations are—U. B. for United Brethren, or Moravians; C. K. S. for Christian Knowledge Society; W. M. S. for Wesleyan Missionary Society; E. B. M. for English Baptist Missionary Society; S. M. S. for Scottish Missionary Society; C. M. S. for Church Missionary Society; L. J. S. for London Jews' Society; N. M. S. for Netherlands Missionary Society; G. M. S. for German Missionary Society; G. L. M. S. for Glasgow Missionary Society; G. B. M. for General Baptists' Missions; U. F. M. for United Foreign Missionary Society; A. B. C. for American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; A. B. B. for American Baptist Board of Missions; P. E. B. for Protestant Episcopal Board; N. Y. S. for New York Missionary Society; G. A. M. for General Assembly's Missions; M. M. for Methodist Missions.

|                         |               |                    |               |
|-------------------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|
| Traquebar, King of Den. | 1706          | Namaquas,          | E. B. M. 1806 |
| Madras,                 | C. K. S. 1727 | Buenos Ayres,      | E. B. M. 1806 |
| Vepary,                 | C. K. S. 1727 | St Bartholomew,    | W. M. S. 1806 |
| St Thomas,              | U. B. 1733    | Creek Indians,     | U. B. 1807    |
| Greenland,              | U. B. 1733    | Jessore,           | E. B. M. 1807 |
| St Croix,               | U. B. 1734    | Canton,            | L. M. S. 1807 |
| St Jan,                 | U. B. 1734    | Calcutta,          | C. M. S. 1807 |
| North America,          | U. B. 1734    | Madras,            | W. M. S. 1807 |
| Canadian Indians,       | U. B. 1734    | Demerara,          | W. M. S. 1808 |
| Musingum Indians,       | U. B. 1734    | Tobago,            | E. B. M. 1808 |
| Surinam,                | U. B. 1735    | Rangoon,           | E. B. M. 1808 |
| Parimaribo              | U. B. 1735    | Trinidad,          | E. B. M. 1809 |
| South Africa,           | U. B. 1736    | Digah,             | E. B. M. 1809 |
| Negapatam,              | C. K. S. 1737 | Bellary,           | E. B. M. 1809 |
| Cuddalore,              | C. K. S. 1737 | Burmah,            | E. B. M. 1809 |
| Gnadenthal,             | U. B. 1737    | Bellary,           | L. M. S. 1810 |
| Pilgerhut,              | U. B. 1738    | New Zealand,       | C. M. S. 1810 |
| Sharon,                 | U. B. 1739    | Orissa,            | E. B. M. 1810 |
| Labrador,               | U. B. 1762    | Balassore,         | E. B. M. 1810 |
| Jamaica,                | U. B. 1754    | Monghir,           | E. B. M. 1810 |
| Antigua,                | U. B. 1756    | Greek Islands,     | E. B. M. 1810 |
| Hope,                   | U. B. 1757    | Agra,              | E. B. M. 1811 |
| Nicohar Islands,        | U. B. 1759    | Eimeo,             | L. M. S. 1811 |
| Traquebar,              | U. B. 1759    | Malta,             | L. M. S. 1811 |
| Trichinopoly,           | C. K. S. 1762 | Bombay,            | A. B. C. 1812 |
| Barbadoes,              | U. B. 1765    | Agra,              | C. M. S. 1812 |
| Asiatie Russia,         | U. B. 1765    | Ceylon,            | E. B. M. 1812 |
| Bombay,                 | U. B. 1766    | Chittagong,        | E. B. M. 1812 |
| Tanjore,                | C. K. S. 1772 | Aloa Bay,          | L. M. S. 1812 |
| St Christopher,         | U. B. 1774    | Surat,             | E. B. M. 1812 |
| Grace Hill (Antigua),   | U. B. 1774    | Chinsurah,         | L. M. S. 1812 |
| Sommelsdyke,            | U. B. 1785    | Cape of Good Hope, | L. M. S. 1812 |
| Caribbean Islands,      | W. M. S. 1785 | Java,              | E. B. M. 1813 |
| Trinidad,               | W. M. S. 1788 | Pacaltsdorf,       | L. M. S. 1813 |
| Tobago,                 | U. B. 1789    | Laitakoo,          | L. M. S. 1813 |
| Cape of Good Hope,      | U. B. 1792    | Chinsura,          | L. M. S. 1813 |
| Serampore,              | E. B. M. 1793 | Rangoon,           | A. B. B. 1813 |
| Malda,                  | E. B. M. 1793 | Bombay,            | A. B. C. 1813 |
| Taheti,                 | L. M. S. 1797 | Batavia,           | L. M. S. 1814 |
| St Christina,           | W. M. S. 1797 | Astrachan,         | S. M. S. 1814 |
| Marquesas Islands,      | L. M. S. 1798 | Mahratta,          | A. B. C. 1814 |
| Calcutta,               | L. M. S. 1798 | Theopolis,         | A. B. C. 1814 |
| Susoo Country,          | S. M. S. 1798 | Mauritius, or Isle |               |
| India,                  | E. B. M. 1799 | of France,         | L. M. S. 1814 |
| Zac River,              | L. M. S. 1799 | Java,              | L. M. S. 1814 |
| Bermudas,               | W. M. S. 1799 | Amboyna,           | L. M. S. 1814 |
| South Africa,           | E. B. M. 1799 | Madras,            | C. M. S. 1814 |
| Caffraria,              | E. B. M. 1799 | Jamaica,           | E. B. M. 1814 |
| Newfoundland,           | E. B. M. 1799 | Amboyna,           | E. B. M. 1814 |
| Serampore,              | E. B. M. 1799 | Surat,             | L. M. S. 1815 |
| Boschemen,              | E. B. M. 1799 | Malta,             | C. M. S. 1815 |
| Tuseoraras,             | N. Y. S. 1800 | Greece,            | C. M. S. 1815 |
| Cherokee Indians,       | U. B. 1801    | Meerut,            | C. M. S. 1815 |
| Griqua Town,            | L. M. S. 1801 | Malacca,           | L. M. S. 1815 |
| Calcutta,               | B. M. S. 1801 | Bethany,           | L. M. S. 1815 |
| Stellenbosch,           | B. M. S. 1801 | Orenburg,          | S. M. S. 1815 |
| Kares (Asiatie          |               | Astrachan,         | S. M. S. 1815 |
| Russia),                | S. M. S. 1802 | Kurnaul,           | C. M. S. 1815 |
| Tartary,                | S. M. S. 1803 | Free-town          |               |
| Bethelsdorp,            | L. M. S. 1803 | (W. Africa),       | W. M. S. 1816 |
| Ceylon,                 | E. B. M. 1804 | Free-town,         | C. M. S. 1816 |
| Bahamas,                | W. M. S. 1804 | Ceylon,            | A. B. C. 1816 |
| West Africa,            | C. M. S. 1804 | Caffraria,         | L. M. S. 1816 |
| Cutwa,                  | B. M. S. 1804 | Benares,           | E. B. M. 1816 |
| Dinagopore,             | E. B. M. 1805 | Chunar,            | C. M. S. 1816 |
| Sahagunge,              | E. B. M. 1805 | Daeca,             | E. B. M. 1816 |
| Surat,                  | C. M. S. 1805 | Digah,             | E. B. M. 1816 |
| Green Bay,              | U. F. M. 1805 | Haweis-town,       | L. M. S. 1816 |
| Asia Minor,             | A. B. C. 1805 | Calcutta,          | L. M. S. 1816 |
| Madras,                 | L. M. S. 1805 | Jamaica,           | C. M. S. 1816 |
| Travancore,             | L. M. S. 1805 | Monghyr,           | E. B. M. 1816 |
| Amlangodde              |               | Raloten,           | L. M. S. 1816 |
| (Ceylon),               | L. M. S. 1805 | Batticocha,        | A. B. C. 1817 |
| Vizagapatam,            | L. M. S. 1805 | Cherokees,         | A. B. C. 1817 |
| Indians of New          |               | Burdwan,           | C. M. S. 1817 |
| York,                   | U. F. M. 1805 | Hayti,             | W. M. S. 1817 |
| Travancore,             | L. M. S. 1806 | Benares,           | C. M. S. 1817 |

|                     |                |                     |               |
|---------------------|----------------|---------------------|---------------|
| Cottayam,           | C. M. S. 1817  | Kidderpore,         | L. M. S. 1825 |
| Tellicherry,        | C. M. S. 1817  | Buenos Ayres,       | A. B. C. 1825 |
| Boschesfield        |                | Hidia,              | L. M. S. 1825 |
| (S. Africa),        | L. M. S. 1817  | Combacoonum,        | L. M. S. 1825 |
| Cottayam,           | L. M. S. 1817  | Caffraria,          | L. M. S. 1826 |
| Putawatomatics,     | A. B. B. 1817  | Lageba (Feege Is.), | L. M. S. 1826 |
| Cherokees,          | A. B. B. 1817  | Osages,             | U. F. M. 1826 |
| Calcutta,           | E. B. M. 1817  | Machinaw,           | U. F. M. 1826 |
| Allahabad,          | E. B. M. 1818  | Maumee,             | U. F. M. 1826 |
| Benecoolen,         | E. B. M. 1818  | Akyah (Arracan),    | E. B. M. 1826 |
| Valley towns,       | A. B. B. 1818  | Raivalva Islands,   | L. M. S. 1826 |
| Choctaws,           | A. B. C. 1818  | Maulmain,           | A. B. B. 1827 |
| New Holland,        | C. M. S. 1818  | Chittoor,           | L. M. S. 1827 |
| Wyandott and        |                | Butterworth         |               |
| Sandusky,           | A. B. B. 1818  | (S. Africa),        | W. M. S. 1827 |
| Madagascar,         | L. M. S. 1818  | Salem,              | L. M. S. 1827 |
| Bareilly,           | C. M. S. 1818  | Green Bay,          | A. B. C. 1827 |
| Allepie,            | C. M. S. 1818  | Benares,            | E. B. M. 1827 |
| Ceylon,             | C. M. S. 1818  | Madras,             | G. P. S. 1827 |
| Nellore,            | C. M. S. 1818  | Liberia,            | G. M. S. 1827 |
| Bullom (W. Africa), | C. M. S. 1818  | Khodon (Siberia),   | L. M. S. 1828 |
| Cherokees,          | A. B. B. 1818  | Neiyor (Travan-     |               |
| New Zealand,        | C. M. S. 1819  | core),              | L. M. S. 1828 |
| Binder's Point,     | L. M. S. 1819  | Stockbridge         |               |
| Dooorpore,          | E. B. M. 1819  | Indians,            | A. B. C. 1828 |
| Parre,              | L. M. S. 1819  | Syria,              | C. M. S. 1828 |
| Singapore,          | L. M. S. 1819  | Abyssinia,          | C. M. S. 1828 |
| Penang,             | L. M. S. 1819  | Bombay,             | S. M. S. 1828 |
| Mayaveram,          | C. M. S. 1819  | Ojibwas [Chippe-    |               |
| Bombay,             | C. M. S. 1819  | was],               | A. B. B. 1828 |
| Sumatra,            | E. B. M. 1819  | Gowhatte (Assam),   | E. B. M. 1829 |
| Ajemere,            | E. B. M. 1819  | Greece,             | P. E. B. 1829 |
| Syria,              | A. B. C. 1820  | Habal Islands,      | W. M. S. 1830 |
| Greece,             | A. B. C. 1820  | The Bushmen,        | L. M. S. 1830 |
| Bangalore,          | L. M. S. 1820  | Colombator,         | L. M. S. 1830 |
| Sandwich Islands,   | A. B. C. 1820  | Bagdat,             | G. M. S. 1830 |
| Belgaum,            | A. B. C. 1820  | China,              | A. B. C. 1830 |
| Arkansas Chero,     | A. B. C. 1820  | Calcutta,           | S. M. S. 1830 |
| Van Dieman's        |                | Chippewa,           | A. B. C. 1830 |
| Land,               | W. M. S. 1820  | Shawnees,           | M. M. 1830    |
| Benares,            | L. M. S. 1820  | Liberia,            | M. M. 1830    |
| Calcutta,           | G. P. S. 1820  | Tavoy,              | A. B. B. 1830 |
| Polarnoota,         | C. M. S. 1820  | South Africa,       | E. B. M. 1831 |
| Borabora (Society   |                | Boujah,             | C. M. S. 1831 |
| Island),            | C. M. S. 1820  | Shawnees,           | A. B. B. 1831 |
| Monrovia,           | A. B. B. 1820  | Delawares,          | A. B. B. 1831 |
| Ava,                | A. B. B. 1821  | Delawares,          | - M. M. 1831  |
| Crisma,             | S. M. S. 1821  | Constantinople,     | A. B. C. 1831 |
| Bathurst,           | C. M. S. 1821  | Western Chero-      |               |
| Bellthall,          | C. K. S. 1821  | kees,               | A. B. B. 1832 |
| Chumnie,            | G. M. S. 1821  | France,             | A. B. B. 1832 |
| Tuscacoras,         | U. F. M. 1821  | Kickapoos,          | A. B. B. 1832 |
| Chickasaws,         | A. B. C. 1821  | Delawares,          | A. B. B. 1832 |
| Quilon,             | L. M. S. 1821  | Creeks,             | A. B. C. 1832 |
| Negapatam,          | W. M. S. 1821  | Poorias and Kas-    |               |
| Trincomalee,        | W. M. S. 1821  | kaskias,            | M. M. 1832    |
| Chittagong,         | A. B. B. 1821  | Otoes,              | A. B. B. 1833 |
| Orissa,             | E. G. B. 1822  | Siam,               | A. B. B. 1833 |
| Cuddapah,           | L. M. S. 1822  | Armenians,          | A. B. C. 1833 |
| Corfu,              | L. M. S. 1822  | Kickapoos,          | M. M. 1833    |
| Caitarangus         |                | Oregon,             | M. M. 1833    |
| (N. Y.),            | U. F. M. 1822  | Loodiana,           | G. A. M. 1833 |
| Sandwich Islands,   | L. M. S. 1822  | Chickasaws,         | A. B. B. 1833 |
| Malta,              | A. B. C. 1822  | Siam,               | A. B. C. 1834 |
| Cuttack,            | G. B. M. 1822  | Chinese (Bankok),   | A. B. C. 1834 |
| Cotta,              | C. M. S. 1822  | Nestorians,         | A. B. C. 1834 |
| Friendly Islands,   | W. M. S. 1822  | Madura,             | A. B. C. 1834 |
| Maupite,            | L. M. S. 1822  | Singapore,          | A. B. C. 1834 |
| Tohoa,              | L. M. S. 1822  | Pawnee Indians,     | A. B. C. 1834 |
| Dresden             |                | Chinese (Bankok),   | A. B. B. 1834 |
| (Germany),          | L. J. S. 1822  | Kyouk Phyou         |               |
| South America,      | E. B. M. 1822  | (Arracan),          | A. B. B. 1834 |
| Red River (North    |                | West Africa,        | A. B. C. 1835 |
| West Amer.)         | C. M. S. 1822  | South Africa,       | A. B. C. 1835 |
| Maupiti,            | L. M. S. 1822  | Chinese (Batavia),  | P. E. B. 1835 |
| Taha, or Otaha,     | L. M. S. 1822  | Abernaquis,         | A. B. C. 1835 |
| Chumie (S. Afr.),   | GL. M. S. 1822 | Kansas,             | M. M. 1835    |
| Lovedale (S. Afr.), | GL. M. S. 1822 | Hayti,              | A. B. B. 1835 |
| Honduras,           | E. B. M. 1822  | Germans,            | A. B. B. 1835 |
| South America,      | E. B. M. 1822  | Omahas,             | A. B. B. 1835 |
| Delhi,              | E. H. M. 1822  | Mahometan,          | A. B. C. 1836 |
| Buenos Ayres,       | A. B. C. 1823  | Madras,             | A. B. C. 1836 |
| Beyroot,            | A. B. C. 1823  | Java,               | A. B. C. 1836 |
| Beerboom,           | E. B. M. 1823  | Borneo,             | A. B. C. 1836 |
| New Zealand,        | W. M. S. 1823  | Peguans (Burmah),   | A. H. B. 1836 |
| Bogues-town,        | L. M. S. 1823  | Africa (C. Palmas), | P. E. B. 1836 |
| Sadrms,             | N. M. S. 1823  | Persia,             | P. E. B. 1836 |
| Gorrockpore,        | C. M. S. 1823  | Rocky Mount. Ind.   | A. H. B. 1836 |
| Combacoonum,        | C. M. S. 1823  | Assam,              | A. H. B. 1836 |
| Creeks,             | A. B. B. 1823  | Teloogeois,         | A. B. B. 1836 |
| Karens (Burmah),    | A. B. B. 1823  | Greece,             | A. H. B. 1836 |
| Jamaica,            | S. M. S. 1824  | Chinese (Singa-     |               |
| Jamaica,            | U. B. 1824     | pore),              | C. M. S. 1836 |
| Ottawas,            | A. B. B. 1824  | Allahabad,          | G. A. M. 1836 |
| Batticaloe,         | W. M. S. 1824  | Sabbathu,           | G. A. M. 1836 |
| Shusha,             | G. M. S. 1824  | Saharampore,        | G. A. M. 1836 |
| Berhampore,         | L. M. S. 1824  | South Africa,       | C. M. S. 1837 |

|                      |             |                      |             |
|----------------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|
| Mergui,              | A.B.B. 1837 | Kayuges (Oregon),    | A.B.C. 1837 |
| Ottawas,             | A.B.B. 1837 | Dindegal,            | A.B.C. 1837 |
| Omahas,              | A.B.B. 1837 | Texas,               | M.M. 1837   |
| Pawnees,             | A.B.B. 1837 | Puttawatomies,       | M.M. 1838   |
| Chinese (Macao),     | A.B.B. 1837 | Texas,               | P.E.B. 1838 |
| Iowa,                | G.A.M. 1837 | Sheragons,           | A.B.C. 1838 |
| Chinese (Singapore), | G.A.M. 1837 | Teroomungolm,        | A.B.C. 1838 |
| Crete,               | P.E.B. 1837 | Terussurranom,       | A.B.C. 1838 |
| Jalma (Maharatta),   | A.B.C. 1837 | Puttawatomies,       | M.M. 1838   |
| Nex Perces (Oregon), | A.B.C. 1837 | Otoes,               | A.B.B. 1838 |
|                      |             | Chinese (Singapore), | A.B.B. 1839 |

## G L O S S A R Y.

To avoid swelling this Glossary unnecessarily, such words as occur but once are explained in the body of the work. To make it more useful, some words are added which do not occur in the preceding pages, but are often found in works on India. The following mode of using the vowels is adopted:—

|   |       |       |   |       |       |    |       |        |
|---|-------|-------|---|-------|-------|----|-------|--------|
| a | as in | ban.  | e | as in | here. | u  | as in | run.   |
| ā | ....  | bane. | i | ....  | pin.  | ū  | ....  | rule.  |
| ā | ....  | far.  | ī | ....  | pine. | ū  | ....  | house. |
| ā | ....  | fall. | o | ....  | not.  | ai | ....  | aisle. |
|   |       |       | ō | ....  | note. |    |       |        |

Where no accent is marked, the syllables are to be pronounced with equal force.

## A.

- A-bac-us* (called by the Chinese *Stean-puan*), an instrument for numerical calculation.
- Ab-dar*, a Hindu servant who cools and takes care of water.
- A-daw-let*, justice, equity; a court of justice, civil or criminal.
- A-gar-a-gar*, a species of sea-weed (*justic saccarinus*), of which the Chinese make a gelatinous sweetmeat, and also a glue which insects do not attack.
- A-gil-lo-cha*, or *A-gil-a-wood*, the same as *eagle wood*, and *lign* or *lignum aloes*; a half-root unctuous wood, which in burning emits a fragrance much valued in the East as a perfume.
- Am-ba-lam-bos*, natives of the region of Majunga, in Madagascar.
- A-nam*, literally, "south country." The whole of south-eastern Siam, Camboja, and Cochinchina, is sometimes called *Anam*. Some maps erroneously set down a separate country under this name.
- An-na*, a Bengal silver coin, the sixteenth part of a rupee (about three cents).
- An-ti-lou-ches*, a mixed race of Arabs and natives, in the Island of Madagascar, chiefly found near Majunga.
- A-re'-ca*, the betel-nut tree, a species of palm. The betel-leaf is *betel-piper*, which is the same genus as the *piper nigrum* of Linnaeus.
- Ar'-rack*, an intoxicating liquor, generally made from rice.
- Ar-ee*, an Arracan weight of about twenty-five pounds.
- As-say-won*, a Burman paymaster or general.
- A-twen-woon*, a Burman minister of state.
- A-wū-la-ra*, descents of the Deity in various shapes, incarnations; those of Rama and Krishna are the most remarkable.
- Ay-ah*, a lady's or child's maid.

## B.

- Bā-boo*, a Hindu gentleman.
- Bā-hār'*, a measure equal to three piculs.
- Bat-a-chomp*. Same as *Gnapee*.
- Ba-lu*, a Buddhist warder or guardian.
- Bang*, an intoxicating drug, prepared in India from the flowers and juice of the hemp plant, to which opium is sometimes added.
- Ban'-gles*, ornamental rings for the wrists or ankles, made of various metals, or precious stones, according to the wealth of the owner.
- Ban-guy boxes*, tin cases for carrying clothes, &c. on journeys, made with reference to being borne at the ends of a pole. See picture of palanquin travelling, p. 20.
- Ban-iam*, a Hindu merchant.
- Bas-ke*, a Burman measure containing 58½ pounds of clean rice, or one bushel.
- Bat-la*, deficiency, discount, allowance to troops in the field.
- Be-saar*, a market, or place of shops.
- Be-da-gat*, the sacred books of the Burmans.
- Be-go*, or *Bigga*, a land measure, equal in Bengal to about a third of an acre, but varying in different provinces; the common rotty bega, in Bengal, contains about sixteen hundred square yards.
- Be-gum*, or *Begam*, an East Indian lady, princess, woman of high rank.
- Ben-zoin*, or *Benjamin*, the commercial name for frankincense.
- Betel-leaf*, the leaf of a species of pepper (the *piper betel*) which is masticated along with the areca or betel-nut and lime.
- Be-zoar*, an oval concretion of resin and bile, found in the glands and gall-bladders of several animals.
- Bhee-tie*, a Hindu water-carrier. See picture, p. 7.
- Biche-de-mer*, dried sea-slugs, or tripan.
- Bigah*. See *Bega*.
- Bob'-a-gee*, a Hindu cook.
- Bob'-ses*, a Japanese name for priests.

- Boo-khoo*, a Karen prophet.
- Bou'-le-u*, a small Bengal pleasure-boat.
- Brah-min-y* goose, the *anas casarca*.
- Brin-jāl*, the *solanum longum*, a species of egg plant.
- Bud-ge-ro*, a large Bengal pleasure-boat.
- Bu-gia* (pronounced *Boo-geec*), inhabitants of Bony and Celebes. They are the universal carriers of the Archipelago, and noted for enterprise and trust-worthiness.
- Bund*, an embankment.
- Bun'-ga-loo*, a Hindu country-house or cottage, erected by Europeans in Bengal, and well suited to the climate. It is constructed of wood, bamboos, mats, and thatch, and may be completed in a short time, and at a moderate expense.
- Bun-kāl*, a Malay weight, equal to 832 grains Troy.

## C.

- Caf-fre*, an unbeliever, Abyssinian, or negro.
- Ca-li*, or *Cal-ci*, the tenth incarnation of Vishnu, in the shape of a horse with a human head, still expected.
- Cam-pong*, a Malay term for an enclosure or collection of houses.
- Cand*, or *Can-da-reen*, a Chinese piece of money, equal to ten cash, or about a penny sterling.
- Can-dy*. The Bombay candy weighs 560 pounds.
- Car-ān-che*, a Hindu hackney-coach.
- Car-da-muns*, or *Cardamoms* (*amomum Cardamomum*), a spice much used in India.
- Cash*, a Madras coin, eighty of which make one fanam. It is a Tamul word.
- Cash*, a Chinese coin composed of tin-ten-ag and copper, 1000 of which are equal to one tael. They call it *Le*. It has a square hole in the centre for the convenience of being strung on a twine, and is cast, not struck with a die.
- Cat-a-ma-ran'*, a small raft.
- Cat-y*, a Chinese weight of 1½ pounds, which they call *kin*. Eighty-four catties make one cwt. One pound avoirdupois is equal to 2 of a catty.
- Chac-ra-bur-ty*, a title formerly bestowed on the Hindu emperors of India.
- Chank*, the conch shell (*voluta gravis*).
- Char-wū-cas*, or *Shraweiks*, a sect of Jains.
- Chat-la*, a Hindu earthen pot.
- Chat-ty*, a Hindu umbrella.
- Chil-lies*, red peppers.
- Chin-na*, the *lathyrus aphaca*, a plant of the pea or vetch kind.
- Chit-ak*, a British-Indian weight of 1 oz. 17 dw. 12 gr.
- Chob-dār*, a Hindu servant who runs before a carriage.
- Chob'-waw*, a tributary prince.
- Chok'-key*, a Hindu toll or custom-house.
- Chok-ke-dar'*, a watchman, or custom-house officer.
- Chol'-try*, a Hindu caravansera, or empty house for travellers.
- Chop*, a Chinese permit, or stamp.
- Chop'-per*, thatch.
- Chop-sticks*, Chinese implements for eating.
- Chow'-ry*, a brush of feathers, grass, &c., or the tail of a Thibet cow (the *bos grunniens*), used to drive away flies.
- Chuck-ra*, a sort of quoit or missile discus, always placed in the hand of Vishnu.
- Chū'-liah*, a native of the Oromandel or Malabar coast.
- Chu-nam'*, lime, used in stucco, for coating, &c.
- Chup-ras'-se*, a messenger.
- Coir* (pronounced *kire*), a species of cordage, made from the fibres of the cocoa-nut husk.
- Com-pound*, a yard; corruption of the Portuguese word *campania*.
- Com-prā-dār'*, a Chinese steward or provider.
- Co'-ly*, a common porter or labourer.
- Coon*, the mixture of betel-leaf, areca-nut, and lime, chewed by the Burmans and Siamese.
- Corge*, a measure of forty baskets. In dry goods, it means twenty pieces of any thing.
- Coss*, or *Koss*, about a mile and a half, but varying in different parts of India. It is usually reckoned two miles, but is nowhere so much.
- Cov-a-dy-coo-ley*, a hangy-bearer in the Carnatic.
- Cov-ai*, or *Chū*, a Chinese measure of various lengths, according to the goods measured. The common covid, used in measuring ships, &c., is about 14½ inches.
- Cov'-ry*, the shell of a very small mussel (*cypræa moneta* of Lin.), of which 8000 are equivalent to a dollar at Calcutta, and 10,000 at Bankok; but the value varies exceedingly at different times. They are collected on the Malabar coast, and especially round the Maldive islands.
- Cris*. See *Kreez*.
- Coy'-an*, equal to forty piculs, or 4080 lbs. avoirdupois.
- Crone*. A crone of rupees is 100 laes, or 10,000,000 of rupees.
- Cu-bes*, the small spicy berry of the *piper cubeba*.
- Cum-e-la*, a dried fish, prepared in large quantities at the Maldive islands. It is probably the boneta.
- Cum'-shaw*, a present. At Canton, custom has made some cum-shaws matter of right.
- Curry*, a stew of fowl, fish, or meat, with plenty of gravy, and eaten with boiled rice. More strictly, the gravy itself is the curry. Hence they say, "curried fowl," &c. This gravy, or curry, is made in various ways, but generally of sweet oil, red pepper, ginger, garlic, and turmeric.
- Cutch* (called also *Gambier* and *Terra Japonica*), the inspissated juice of certain acacias and mimosas. It is chewed in small quantities with betel. The coarser kinds are used in tanning.

*Cutch-a'*, mud for building inferior houses.  
*Cutch'er-y*, a Hindu hall of justice.

## D.

*Dah*, a Burman knife or chopper. It is used also as a sword.  
*Daing*, a Burman measure of about two miles.  
*Dang-ar*, a species of pitch, exuded from several sorts of trees in the East, and used instead of pitch for ships' decks, torches, &c.  
*Dam-a-that'*, the Burman civil code.  
*Dan'-dy*, a Bengal boatman.  
*Dask*, or *Dak*, a Hindu post, or mail conveyance.  
*Day-a*, or *Day-ak*, one of the original inhabitants of Borneo.  
*De-coit'*, a gang-robber.  
*Den-nee'*, or *At-lap*, a thatch made of palm-leaves.  
*Dep'-d*, a Malay measure, equal to two yards.  
*D'ho'-ny*, a Coromandel coasting-vessel, of singular construction.  
*Din'-gey*, or *Ding-he*, a Bengal ferry-boat, with two oars, and a small house on the stern.  
*Din'-gey*, *Wal-la*, a Bengal ferryman.  
*Din'-gey*, a Bengal tailor.  
*Din'-bey*, a Bengal washerman.  
*Doit*, a Dutch East India coin, the 360th part of a dollar.  
*Dong*, a Burman measure of about six acres.  
*Do-ry-an*, or *Du-ry-an* (*durio zebinthinus*), a highly-valued fruit, the size of a man's head, resembling the jack.  
*Drag-on's-blood*, the concrete juice of the *calamus rotang*, a large ratan, made especially in Borneo and Sumatra.  
*Dur-wan'*, a Bengal porter and watchman.

## E.

*En'-gy*, or *Eng-hee*, a Burman jacket or short gown of muslin.

## F.

*Fd'-keer'*, a Mahometan devotee or religious mendicant.  
*Fa-nam'*, a Madras coin, in value a fraction more than an anna. Twelve fanams make one rupee.  
*Fir-man*, a royal order or mandate.

## G.

*Gal-li-val*, a large boat of about seventy tons, rowed with forty or more oars.  
*Gan-bier*. See *Cutch*.  
*Gan-ja*, an intoxicating drug, procured from the hemp seed and flower.  
*Gan-lang*, the 800th part of a coyan, or about five pounds avoirdupois.  
*Ga-ree*, a small Bengal waggon or coach.  
*Ga-rec-wal-la*, a Bengal coachman or driver.  
*Gen-too*, a name derived from the Portuguese *gentio* (which signifies *gentile* in the scriptural sense.) Not used by Indians.  
*Ghaut*, a pass through a mountain, but generally applied to an extensive chain of hills.  
*Ghaut*, stairs descending to a river.  
*Ghee*, butter clarified by boiling.  
*Ghur-ry*, a Hindu fortification.  
*Gna-pec*, a condiment for rice, made by Burmans and Siamese, &c., of half-salted fish, shrimps, &c., pounded to the consistency of mortar. The smell is very repulsive to Europeans.  
*Go-down*, a factory or warehouse, from the Malay word *gadong*.  
*Go'-la* (Hindu), a public granary.  
*Goom-ty*, winding; the name of many rivers in Hindustan.  
*Goo-roo*, among the Hindus, a spiritual guide.  
*Go-sainjs*, religious mendicants who wander about Hindustan, generally in companies.  
*Goun-boung*, a Burman turban.  
*Grab*, a square-rigged Arab coasting-vessel, having a very projecting stem, and no bowsprit. It has two masts, of which the fore-mast is principal.  
*Gram*, a round grain, the size of maize, used in Bengal as provender for horses, elephants, &c. There are many varieties, such as the red, black, green, &c.  
*Gri-qua* (pronounced *grec'-ka*), a mixed race in South Africa, sprung from the intercourse of Dutch settlers with native women. The Dutch call them *bastards*, but the English, disliking that name, call them *Griquas*.  
*Gun-ge*, a granary or depôt. In Gunges, the chief commodities sold are grain, and the necessities of life, and generally by wholesale. They often include bazaars, where these articles are sold by retail. It is a very common termination of names in Bengal and some of the adjacent provinces, and generally applied to a place where there is water carriage.  
*Gun-nies*, bags made of a coarse cotton fabric; a species of sack-cloth.  
*Guy-wal-la*, a herdman or cow-keeper.

## H.

*Hac'-ka-ry*, a street cart in Bengal.  
*Had'-jee*, a Mussulman who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and there performed certain ceremonies.  
*Hû-ram*, a separate apartment for females.  
*Has-ta*, a Malay measure, equal to a cubit, or eighteen inches. Four hastas make one depa.  
*Hav-il-dur'*, a sergeant of sepoy.  
*Hop-po*, a Chinese overseer of commerce.  
*How-da*, a seat on an elephant's back.  
*Hur-kâ'-ru*, a Hindu errand-boy, or messenger.

## I.

*Indo-Briton*, a person born in India, one of whose parents is a European.  
*In-dra*, in Hindu mythology, the god of thunder; a personification of the sky; the chief of the Devatas and Suras.  
*In-jee*, a Burman jacket.

## J.

*Jag-ge-ry*, dark coarse sugar, made of the juice of palms.  
*Jag-hre* (Hindu), an assignment of the government share of the produce of a portion of land to an individual, either personal or for the support of a public establishment, particularly of a military nature. The district so assigned.  
*Jains*, a sect of Boodhists in Upper India, particularly numerous in Gujerat, Rajpootana, and Malwa.  
*Jec-cans*. Same as *Samangs*, which see.  
*Jeel*, a shallow lake, or morass.  
*Jel-ty*, a wharf, or quay.  
*Jin*, a demon.  
*Jog-hee*, a Hindu devotee.  
*Jos*, the Chinese Boodh.  
*Jos-sticks*, in China, small reeds, covered with the dust of odoriferous woods, and burnt before idols.  
*Jum-ba*, a Malay measure of just four yards.  
*Jun-ge*, land covered for the most part with forest trees, brush-wood, creeping plants, and coarse, rank, reedy vegetation, but not wholly uninhabited. The term is used, in some cases, as equivalent to the word *country*, as distinguished from *villages*.  
*Junk*, a Chinese ship.

## K.

*Kân'-su-ma*, a Hindu butler or steward.  
*Kil-mul'-gar'*, a head table servant. (Hindu.)  
*Klam*, a Siamese coin, value about one cent.  
*Kling*, the Malay name for a Kalinga, or Telogoo man.  
*Ko*, Burman title for an elderly man.  
*Ko-lan'*, the name of a class of secretaries in Burmah.  
*Koss*. See *Cass*.  
*Ko-wit*, a Hindu shrine or place of worship.  
*Krees*, or *Kris* (pronounced *cræse*), a Malay dagger.  
*Ku-lâ'*, or *Cola* (Burman), a foreigner.  
*Kyounge*, a Burman monastery.

## L.

*Lac*, one hundred thousand.  
*Lap-pet*, Burman name for tea. The decoction they call "tea-water."  
*Las-car*, a European term applied to native sailors, called also *calash'-e*.  
*Lichi* (pronounced *lee-chee*), the *scytala licti*, a favourite Chinese fruit, about the size of an apricot.  
*Ling-am*, an obscene object of Hindu worship.  
*Lot-dau*, the Burman hall of the supreme court; applied also to the council itself.  
*Loud*, a Malay word, signifying the sea.

## M.

*Ma*, Burman title of respect for a middle-aged woman.  
*Ma*, or *May*, title of respect for an old woman.  
*Mace*, an imaginary Chinese coin equal to ten cands, or the tenth part of a tael, or fifty-eight grains troy.  
*Ma-aris-sa*, a college for instruction in Mahometan law.  
*Ma-ha*, great.  
*Ma-ha-Raja*, a great prince.  
*Maik* (pronounced *mike*), a Burman measure, equal to the breadth of the hand with the thumb extended.  
*Ma-lay-d'-la*, or *Ma-lay-d'-lim*. Same as *Malabar*.  
*Man-da-recen*, a Portuguese word, from *mandar*, to command; applied to Chinese officers of various grades. The Chinese word is *Quan*.  
*Man-po-steen*, a delicious kind of fruit.  
*Man-grove*, in botany, the *rhizophora gymnorhiza*. It abounds chiefly where the fresh water of streams and rivers intermixes with that of the ocean. One species extends along the sea-shore, with its roots growing entirely in salt water.  
*Man-tras*, charms, incantations, prayers, invocations.  
*Mât*, a Burman weight, equal to 62½ grains troy.  
*Mawnd*, properly *mun*, a Bengal weight, now established at 100 pounds troy, or 82 pounds avoirdupois. In selling different articles, the weight is different, or used to be. Thus there is a factory maund of 74 pounds 10 ounces avoirdupois, a bazaar maund of 82 pounds avoirdupois, and a salt maund  $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent. heavier than the bazaar maund.  
*May woon*, Burman governor of a province.  
*Me*, Burman title for miss or young girl.  
*Me'-ta*, or *Me'-ther*, a Hindu sweeper.  
*Me-tri'-ne*, a Hindu female sweeper.  
*Mo-fus-sil*, the Hindustance word for "country" or "interior," as distinguished from the metropolis.  
*Mo'-har*, a British-Indian gold coin, value of fifteen rupees, weighing 180 grains troy.  
*Mot-ley*, a Hindu gardener.  
*Moon-shee*, a Mussulman professor of languages.  
*Moon-sif*, a native judge or justice, whose decisions are limited to suits for personal property not exceeding fifty rupees.



*Moung*, a Burman title of respect to middle-aged men.  
*Mua*, Karen term for middle-aged women, married or single.  
*Muf-li*, the Mahometan law officer who declares the sentence.  
*Mug*, a native of Arracan.  
*Mus-df-che*, a scullion, a torch-bearer.  
*Mus-nud*, a throne, a chair of state.  
*Myen-sa-gye*, or *Mensogyee*, a Burman deputy governor.  
*Myu-sa-gye*, a Burman mayor or chief of a city.

## N.

*Na-bob* (pronounced *naucab*), deputy or viceroy under the Mogul or prince.  
*Nac-an-gye*, reporter or secretary to the Burman lotdau.  
*Nac-o-dar'*, the captain of an Arab vessel.  
*Nagur, Nagore, Nuggur, and Nagara*, a town or city; the termination of many East Indian names.  
*Na-pa'-e*, Karen object of worship.  
*Nat*, a spirit of the air; a Burman mythological being, of a superior and happy order.  
*Nau*, or *Nou*, Karen term for miss or young girl.  
*Nic-ban* (sometimes pronounced *nike-ban*), absorption, annihilation. The supreme and ultimate hope of the Buddhist religion.  
*Nir-va-na* (Sunscrib), in metaphysics, a profound calm, signifying also *extinct*. The notion attached to it by the Hindu is that of perfect apathy; a condition of unmixed tranquil happiness or ecstasy. A state of imperturbable apathy is the ultimate bliss to which the followers of Brahma aspire—a state which can hardly be said to differ from the eternal sleep or annihilation of the Buddhists.  
*Nud-dy*, a river, the termination of many names.  
*Nul-lá*, an arm of the sea; a natural canal or small branch of a river; also a streamlet, rivulet, or water-course.

## O.

*Oo*, an old man's title of respect. (Burman.)  
*Or-long*, a Malay measure of eighty yards.  
*Or-pi-ment*, a yellow mineral, from which the article called "king's yellow" is prepared. It is a compound of sulphur and arsenic.  
*Or-wals*, a sect of Jain heretics, who eat at night, contrary to the Jain orthodox usage.

## P.

*Pad-dy*, rice not divested of the husk.  
*Pa-go-da*, a name applied by Europeans to pagan temples and places of worship.  
*Pa-go-da*, a gold coin of the Madras presidency, called *varaha* by the Hindus, and *hoon* by the Mahometans. The star pagoda is worth eight shillings sterling, or 1 dollar 85 cents, or three and a half Company rupees.  
*Pai*, a Siamese coin, value two cents.  
*Pak*, a Siamese word signifying *mouth*, *debouchure*.  
*Pál-kee*, a Bengal name for *palanquin*.  
*Páñch-ney*, a Bengal four-oared boat for passengers.  
*Pa-pá'-a*, a negro of the Eastern Archipelago.  
*Par-a-mat'*, a Burman dissenter from Buddhism.  
*Par-but-ties*, mountaineers, hill people.  
*Pa'-ri-ah*, or *Pariah*, a term used in India by Europeans to designate the outcasts of the Hindú tribes, and also any thing vile.  
*Par-see*, a descendant of the Guebres, or fire-worshippers, driven from Persia by Mahometan persecution in the eighth century.  
*Pa'-le*, literally *uncle*, a Karen term, rather more respectful than *Savé*.  
*Pecotta*, a machine for drawing water.  
*Pec-pul-tree*, in botany, the *ficus religiosa*.  
*Pe-nang*, the Malay name of betel-nut.  
*Pen-in'*, a Burman boat-steerer.  
*Poon* (pronounced *pune*), a Hindu constable.  
*Per-gun-na*, a small district or township.  
*Pes-so*, a Burman waist-cloth.  
*Pet-lah*, a town or suburb adjoining a fort; an extra-mural suburb.  
*P'kra*, god, lord, or noble, used by Burmans and Siamese in speaking to a person with great respect.  
*Pi'-a-sath*, the Burmese name for the spire of a palace or pagoda, denoting royalty or sacredness.  
*Pice*, a small copper coin, the sixty-fourth part of a rupee.  
*Pic'-ul* 13½ lbs. A Chinese picul is divided into 100 catties, or 1600 taels. The Chinese call it *tan*.  
*Pie*, the third part of a pice, or 7-10ths of a cent; about 200 make a rupee.  
*Poi-ta*, the thread worn over a Brahmin's shoulder, to show his sacred character.  
*Pom-ghoe'*, a Burman priest of the higher orders. The term is given by courtesy to all the regular priests.  
*Pore*, or *Poor*, a town, place, or residence; the termination of many names in Bengal and the upper provinces.  
*Pril-cha-dee*, or *Pril*, a pagoda, temple, &c.  
*Prone*, or *Prahu*, a Malay boat or vessel.  
*Pug-gies*, a village tribe, whose business it is to trace thieves by their footsteps.  
*Pum-ple-nose*, the shaddock (*citrus decumanus*), a species of orange.  
*Pun'-dit*, a learned Brahmin.  
*Pun'-ka*, a large frame, covered with painted canvass, suspended from the ceiling. A cord passes through a partition, and the servant, sitting in an outer room, keeps it in motion like a fan; a fan.

*Pa-ran-a*, certain Hindu mythological poems.  
*Put-chuck'*, the roots of a medical plant, greatly valued in China.  
*Pway-za'*, a money-changer. (Hindu.)

## Q.

*Qual-la*, a Malay word signifying the mouth of a river.

## R.

*Ra-han'*, a name sometimes given to Burman priests of distinction.  
*Ra-ja*, king, prince, chieftain, nobleman; a title in ancient times given only to the military caste.  
*Raj-bung-gies*, a tribe of mountaineers in Arracan and vicinity.  
*Raj-poots* (from *raja putra*, the offspring of a king), a name which, strictly speaking, ought to be limited to the higher classes of the military tribe, but which is now assumed on very slender pretences.  
*Ran-ny* (corruption of *rajni*), a queen princess, the wife of a raja.  
*Rhoom*, a hall of justice, or a magistrate's court (pronounced by the Burmans *yong*).  
*Roo-ee*, a fish of Bengal, the *rohit cyprinus*.  
*Ru-pee*, silver coin of British India. The *Sicca rupee* is 47 cents 3½ mills. The new or *Company rupee* weighs 180 grains troy, or one tola; has 1-12th alloy, and is worth 44½ cents. It is equal to the Madras, Bombay, Arcot, Furukabad, and Sonat rupees, and to 15-16ths of the *Sicca rupee*.  
*Ruth* (pronounced *rut*), a carriage on two low wheels, drawn by bullocks.  
*Ry-ot*, or *Riot*, a Bengal peasant, cultivator, or subject.

## S.

*Sago-tree* (*ságu*, Malay), in botany, the *palma farinifera*.  
*Saib*, or *Sahib* (pronounced *sibe*), a respectful appellation in Hindustan; literally, *lord* or *master*.  
*Sa-lam'*, a Hindu salutation of respect; also used as an act of worship.  
*Sám-ang's*, negroes of the Malay peninsula, mixed with Malays.  
*Sam-pan*, a Chinese skiff, or bateau.  
*Sam-sams*, Mahometan aborigines of part of Malaya.  
*Sa-ny-ai'-sies*, Hindu devotees and mendicants.  
*Sap-an'-wood*, a wood employed for dyeing a fine red or deep orange; in botany, the *caesalpinia sappan*.  
*Saw*, Karen term of respect, equivalent to "Mr."  
*Se-bun-dy*, an irregular native soldier, or local militiaman, generally employed in the service of the revenue and police.  
*Seer*, a British-Indian weight, equal to 2 lbs. 6 oz., and nearly equal to the French *kilogramme*.  
*Seids*, descendants of Mahomet, through his nephew Ali and his daughter Fatima.  
*Sepoy*, or *sepihi* (Persian and Turkish), a native *infantry* soldier in the British service. The sepahies of the Turks are cavalry.  
*Serdi*, a Hindu caravanserai or choultry, thus named by the Mahometans.  
*Ser-i-dau-gye'*, a Burman secretary or government writer.  
*Se-rang'*, a sort of mate among lascars.  
*Ser-e-dau'*, a Burman secretary to a great man.  
*Shá-bun-der*, a master attendant, or harbour-master, and generally the king's agent and merchant.  
*Shas-tras*, or *Sústras*, an inspired or revealed book; also any book of instruction, particularly such as contain revealed ordinances.  
*Shad-dock*, the pumplenose, a huge bitter orange.  
*Shea*, or *Shias*, a sect of Mussulmans, followers of Ali.  
*Sher-ee'*, or *Sheriffe*, a descendant of Mahomet through Hassan. See *Seids*.  
*Shee'-kó*, the obeisance made by Burmans to an idol. The palms of the hands are placed together, and solemnly raised to the forehead. According to their feelings, the head is bowed down at the same time, sometimes quite to the earth.  
*Shi-aa*. See *Sheas*.  
*Shin-bin*, a teak plank or beam, three or four inches thick.  
*Shoo-dras* (pronounced *su-dras*), a low caste.  
*Shroff*, a Hindu money-changer, or banker.  
*Shrub-dar'*, a Hindu butler.  
*Shyans*, or *Shans*, inhabitants of the Laos country, a region enclosed between China, Siam, Burmah, and Assam.  
*Singh*, a lion; a distinctive appellation of the khetries, or military caste, now assumed by many barbarous tribes converted by the Brahmans.  
*Sir-car*, a Hindu clerk or writer.  
*Sir-dar*, a chief, captain, leader.  
*Si-va*, or *Mahadeva*, the third person of the Hindu triad, in the character of destroyer; he is a personification of time.  
*Som-mo-na-Co'-dom*, the priest Gadama.  
*Son-nites*, or *Soonee*, a sect of Mussulmans, who rever equally the four successors of Mahomet, while the Shias, or Sheas, reject the first three as usurpers, and follow Ali.  
*Sou-ba-dar'*, a viceroy or governor of a large province; also the title of a native sepoy officer, below an ensign, though the highest rank he can attain.  
*Sra-uraks*, or *Chavacas*, the laity of the Jain sect.  
*Star-pagoda*, a Madras coin, equal to 3½ rupees, or 1 dollar 71 cents.  
*Sá-cá*, a nominal coin of six fanams, or 60 doits.  
*Sá-cun'-ne*, a Bengal boat-steerer.  
*Sud-der*, the chief seat or head-quarters of government, as distinguished from the *mofussil*, or interior of the country.  
*Sud-der-Ameen*, the highest native judge of a Hindu court.

*Sud-der De-na-ny A-daw-let*, the highest native court.  
*Sá-dra*, the fourth caste among the Hindus, comprehending mechanics and labourers. The subdivisions of this caste are innumerable.  
*Sam-pit*, a long slender reed, or bamboo, through which the Malays blow arrows, in war and the chase.  
*Sur-dar*, a head bearer. (Hindu.)  
*Su-ri-ans*, the Hindu name for the Nestorians, or Christians of St Thome.  
*Sul-ties*, self-burning of widows.  
*Swan-pwan*, the Chinese abacus or calculating machine.  
*Sycc*, a Hindu hostler, or groom.  
*Sy-ccé* (properly *se-ze*), a Chinese term for silver of a certain purity.

## T.

*Ta'él* (pronounced *tale*), a Chinese piece of money, equal to about six shillings sterling, or one dollar 48 cents; but its value varies, according to the plenty or scarcity of silver. In weighing, it is the sixteenth of a picul. By usage, the tael of commerce is 583½, and that of money 579½ grains troy. The Chinese call it *leang*.  
*Taing*, a Burman measure of two miles and 194 yards.  
*Tank*, an artificial pond of water. Some tanks are very large.  
*Tan-jong*, a Malay word signifying a point, cape, or head of land.  
*Tan-na* (often spelled *thanna*), a police station; also a military post.  
*Tan-na-dar*, the keeper or commandant of a tanna.  
*Tat'ty*, a mat curtain. (Hindu.)  
*Tee*, an umbrella surmounting Boodhist pagodas, ordinarily made of sheet iron, wrought into open work, and gilded. Round the rim small bells are suspended, to the clappers of which hang, by short chains, sheet-iron leaves, also gilded. The wind, moving the pendant leaves, strikes the clappers against the bells, and keeps up a pleasant chime.  
*Te-mine'*, a Burman woman's skirt or frock.  
*Tha-then-a-byng*, Burman supreme pontiff.  
*T'hugs* (pronounced *tug*), a notorious class of gang-robbers and murderers, in the upper province of Hindustan.  
*Tic-dl'*. A Siamese tical is about 60 cents. A Burman weight equal to 252 grains troy. Thirteen Burman ticals equal fifteen Company rupees.  
*Tif-fin*, a slight mid-day repast, a lunch.  
*Tin'dal*, a petty officer among lascars.  
*Tod'dy*, the juice of the *borassus flabelliformis* (palmyra-tree).  
*Tod'dy-tree*, a species of palm, yielding a copious sap (*today*), which, if drunk fresh, is nutritious, but after fermentation becomes highly intoxicating. The inspissated juice is *jaggery*.  
*Tom-bac*, an article of eastern commerce; native copper, mixed with a little gold.  
*Tom-jons*, a species of sedan-chair.

*Topas*, an Indian-Portuguese.  
*Topé*, a Hindu grove; a Coromandel vessel.  
*Tri-pang'*, the Malay term for Biche-de-mer.  
*Tsal-o-ay'*, a golden necklace of peculiar construction, worn only by the Burman monarch and the highest nobility, and indicating rank by the number of its chains.  
*Tu'an*, sir, or gentleman. (Malay.)  
*Tu-ten-ag'*. This name seems differently applied, sometimes to the mixture of copper and zinc of which the Chinese "cash" are made, and sometimes to the white copper of China.

## U.

*U'-ze-na*, a Burman measure of twelve miles.

## V.

*Vai-ny-a* (vulgarly pronounced *byce*), the third caste among the Hindus, comprehending merchants, traders, and cultivators.  
*Vá-keel*, an ambassador, agent, or attorney.  
*Ved*, or *Ve-da*, science, knowledge; the sacred books of the Brahminical Hindus, four in number, Rig, Sama, Yajur, and Atharvan.  
*Ve-dan-ta*, a summary and exposition of the Veda.  
*Ve-ran'-da*, a portico.  
*Viss*, a Burman weight of 3 and 3-5ths of a pound. This is the English name; the Burmans call it *piak-tha*.

## W.

*Wat*, a Siamese term for a sacred place, within which are pagodas, monasteries, idols, tanks, &c.  
*Wee*, a Karen wizard or juggler, less respected than a Boo-khoo.  
*Woon-douk'*, a Burman officer, next below a woongyee.  
*Woon-gyee'*, a Burman minister of state.

## Y.

*Yec-a-that'*, a written collection of Burman law decisions.  
*Yo-gee* (same as *Joyee*), a Hindu devotee.  
*Yong'-ghoom*, a Burman court-house, or hall of justice.

*Yay-at*, a Burman caravanserai, or public-house, where travellers repose, and meetings are held.  
*Zem-in-dar*, a great renter of land from government, who undertakes to tenants, who again let to others. He is a trader in produce on a large scale. The zemindar system prevails in many parts of British India, but is a system exceedingly burdensome to the peasantry.  
*Zem-in-dar'*, a great landholder. (Hindu.)  
*Zem-in-dary*, an estate belonging to or under the jurisdiction of a zemindar.  
*Zil-lah*, a large district.

END OF MALCOM'S TRAVELS IN CHINA AND HINDUSTAN.

A

# VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD,

IN THE YEARS 1740, 41, 42, 43, 44;

BY GEORGE ANSON, ESQ.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF A SQUADRON OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS, SENT UPON AN EXPEDITION  
TO THE SOUTH SEAS.

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COMPILED FROM PAPERS AND OTHER MATERIALS

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE LORD ANSON,

AND PUBLISHED UNDER HIS DIRECTION.

---

BY RICHARD WALTER, M.A.

CHAPLAIN OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP THE CENTURION, IN THAT EXPEDITION.

---

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

A MEMOIR OF LORD ANSON, AND PREFACE.

c



## MEMOIR OF LORD ANSON.

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George, the youngest son of William Anson, Esq., of Shugborough, Staffordshire, was born in the parish of Colwich, in that county, on the 23rd of April, 1697. His grandfather, William Anson, was an eminent barrister in the reign of James the First, and having realised a handsome fortune, purchased the estate and manor of Shugborough.

The subject of this memoir is reported to have evinced an early predilection for a sea life, his attention being greatly taken with the narratives of voyagers; and in January, 1712, he entered the navy on board the *Ruby*, under the command of Captain Peter Chamberlain, whom he accompanied into the Monmouth, and subsequently the Hampshire frigate, in which last ship he was made acting Lieutenant, about 1716, by Sir John Norris, then commanding the North Sea fleet.

Very little is known or recorded respecting the early career of this celebrated officer. In 1717 he appears to have been a Lieutenant on board the *Montague*, in the action between the British Fleet, under Sir George Byng, and the Spanish Fleet, under Don Antonio Castanita, when the latter were defeated with great loss. From the *Montague*, Mr. Anson was promoted to the rank of Master and Commander; 19th June, 1722, and appointed to the *Weazle* sloop of war. In this vessel he maintained the character of an active officer, performing good service in the North Sea, and on the 1st of February following, he was made Post Captain, and appointed to command the *Scarborough* frigate.

He shortly afterwards proceeded to the Coast of America, for the protection of the infant colonies, then threatened, in consequence of a rupture with Spain. He appears to have executed this service greatly to the satisfaction of the colonists as well as the government at home, and received some flattering and valuable testimonials from the planters of South Carolina. His presence on that station deterred the Spaniards from their meditated aggression, and the captain of the *Garland* frigate dying, Captain Anson removed into that ship, sending the *Scarborough* home; but it was not until 1730, some time after peace was concluded, that he received orders to return to England.

He next commanded the *Diadem* and subsequently the *Squirrel*, upon the home station, until 1734, when he was again ordered to visit the Coast of America for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of some reported aggressions committed by the Spaniards upon the British Settlements. Finding these rumours and apprehensions groundless, he returned home, paid off the *Squirrel*, and now, for the first time since he entered on his arduous profession, passed upwards of two years on shore.

During the peace, continual complaints were made respecting the depredations committed by the Spanish *Guarda Costas* on English vessels trading to the eastern ports of America and the Spanish main. At length the grievance attained such a height, that a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to examine witnesses; and having, amongst other complainants, summoned one Jenkins, master of the *Rebecca*, of Glasgow, he averred, that not only had his vessel been plundered, and his crew maltreated by the Spaniards; but that one of his ears had been cut off, placed in his hand, and he was insolently desired to carry it to his king; informing him, that if they had him there, he should be treated in like manner. When asked, "What were his feelings under this treatment?" he replied, "I recommended my soul to God, and my cause to my country." The indignation of Parliament and the country was aroused at the recital of this brutal and audacious outrage, and public clamour rose to such a height in consequence, that, coupled with some breaches of a convention on the part of Spain, the King of England was induced to declare war against that country, on the 10th of October, 1739, amidst the general acclamation of the people.

At this period Captain Anson was in command of the *Centurion*, upon the Coast of Africa, and the government, having determined upon attacking the Spanish settlements, recalled him in order to take command of one of the contemplated expeditions.

The narrative of this celebrated voyage includes the whole account of his proceedings until his return to England, when we resume the thread of the biography.

Commodore Anson does not appear to have been received by the Lords of the Admiralty with the cordiality he anticipated after his perilous adventure, although the whole nation was loud in his praise. The Board disregarded his application for Mr. Brett his first lieutenant's promotion, and this induced him to refuse his own commission of Rear-admiral, when a flag promotion was made in 1744.

In December of that year, a change took place in the government; Lord Winchelsea retired from the Admiralty, and was succeeded by the Duke of Bedford, who immediately selected Anson as one of his board; and on the 20th of April, 1745, he received two steps of promotion at once, being advanced to Rear-admiral of the White, passing over the intervening step of the Blue. He had previously been returned to Parliament for the borough of Hendon, and from that time to his death he sat at the Board of Admiralty, with trifling intervals, occasionally hoisting his flag; and he successively attained to the highest honours of his profession.

In 1747 he took command of the squadron, cruising off Cape Finisterre, and defeated Monsieur de la Jonquiere, capturing six of his ships and a valuable convoy.\* For this exploit he was advanced to the peerage on the 13th June, 1747, by the title of Lord Anson, Baron of Soberston, in Hants. He assumed the appropriate motto of "Nil desperandum."

\* The treasure found in the captured ships amounted to £200,000. It was landed at Plymouth, and being conveyed to London in waggons, was paraded through the streets to the Bank in grand military procession, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. In the evening the City was illuminated. The treasure taken by Anson from the Spaniards in the South Seas has been computed at £751,600, including that found in the *Acapulco* ship.

In the same year he greatly strengthened his political interest by marrying the eldest daughter of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, an able lawyer and influential statesman, who availed himself of every means to further the interests of his relatives and dependents to the remotest degree.

In May 1758, Lord Anson took command of the grand fleet, and blockaded Brest, whilst the combined land and sea forces attacked St. Malo and other towns on the Coast of France. In December he returned to Spithead, struck his flag, and resumed his post at the Admiralty.

Much of the success which attended our operations by sea during the Seven Years' war, is attributed to the able and judicious measures of Lord Anson, who during that period directed our naval affairs. He rejoiced in the confidence and esteem of the nation generally, and never suffered in his popularity, excepting for a short period during the unhappy tragedy of Admiral Byng, who fell a victim to the political intrigues of the times, in which Anson's father-in-law, the Chancellor, appears to have borne a discreditable part.

On several occasions Lord Anson had the honour of conveying under his flag His Majesty, George the Second, to the Continent, when he visited his German dominions; and also of bringing over Queen Charlotte when affianced to George the Third, in 1761.

Lord Anson's professional advancement took place as follows:—Entered the Navy, 1712; Lieutenant, 1717; Commander, 1722; Captain, 1723; Rear-admiral, 1745; Vice-admiral, 1746; Admiral, 1748; and, in 1755, he was made Vice-admiral of Great Britain, and Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Fleets.

Early in 1762, his constitution became much impaired, and he was advised to repair to Bath for the use of the waters. He died rather suddenly at his seat, Moor Park, on the 6th of June; his remains were interred at Colwich in the county of Stafford. Lord Anson left no issue, and his lady having died two years before him, he bequeathed the bulk of his property to George Adams, Esq., his sister's son.

The title became extinct, but was revived, in 1806, in the person of the eldest son of the afore-mentioned George Adams, who assumed the name of Anson, being the father of the present Earl of Lichfield.

In person Lord Anson was agreeable, though not handsome; in conversation extremely reserved; he is reported to have been addicted to gambling, and to have suffered from his inexperience. His disposition was generous and benevolent, and he possessed great fortitude of mind and indomitable resolution under difficulties, as the many cases recorded in the narrative of his voyage testify. His character has been drawn by many hands, and is thus summed up by Sir John Barrow in his lately published "Life of Lord Anson."

"He was a man of great modesty and simplicity of manners, and so reserved in general society as to give some truth to the point of Williams's *bon mot*, that 'he had been round the world but never in it.' Walpole also is not far from the truth in calling him 'the silent son of the Chancellor.' His silence and reserve, however, were not the offspring of any deficiency of knowledge or want of ability, either on general or professional acquirements, but from that natural diffidence of his own merit, and a reluctance of speaking in public, which very many men of considerable talents have not been able to overcome; while others with a parsimony of intellect are by no means deficient in volubility of speech. As a representative in the House of Commons, and subsequently as a Peer of the realm—as a member of the Board of Admiralty, holding for many years the high and responsible situation of First Lord—it does not appear, from the Parliamentary History, that he ever spoke on any subject, professional or otherwise, although many naval questions of considerable importance, in both houses, were brought into discussion; but there were always able civilians in the Board to represent his sentiments. In the records of the Admiralty there is abundant evidence of his constant and unremitting attention to the various duties of that department, and of the large share he had in them."

Again: "The fleets that he fitted out, with a rapidity never before known, afford no ground for the imputation of *slowness*; the truth appears to be, that he was slow to decide, but quick to execute. He was not certainly possessed of shining abilities, but a plain, straightforward, matter-of-fact man, attentive to the duties of his office, well acquainted with the practical part of his profession, and—what is perhaps equally important—with the character of the officers belonging to it."

It has been often remarked that not a single monument, private or public, has been raised to the memory of a man, whose exploits occupy such a distinguished place in the annals of the British navy. His late Majesty, William the Fourth, who greatly respected his memory, ordered a ward in Greenwich Hospital to be called "Anson Ward," and caused to be transported thither from Windsor the figure-head of the Centurion, where it is likely to remain as long as the material endures. The figure is a lion rampant, and measures sixteen feet in height. On the pedestal, the following lines are inscribed:—

"Stay traveller, awhile, and view  
One who has travelled more than you:  
Quite round the globe, through each degree,  
Anson and I have ploughed the sea:  
Torrid and frigid zones have passed,  
And—safe ashore arrived at last—  
In ease with dignity appear,  
*He*, in the House of Lords, *I*, here."

\* Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, a celebrated wit of that day.

## PREFACE.

MR. BENJAMIN ROBINS, a celebrated engineer-officer, appears to have been the author or compiler of "Anson's Voyage Round the World," although announced in the title-page as the production of Mr. Walter, Chaplain of the Commodore's ship, the Centurion.

It has been remarked that, notwithstanding the name of a clergyman appears as the avowed author, there does not occur, in the whole detail, the mention of prayers or thanksgiving to the Almighty under any one of the many perils encountered, or especial relief from calamity, which nothing short of the intervention of Divine Providence could have accomplished. Indeed the word Providential is only once casually mentioned in the course of the narrative, at page 101., col. 1.

The skilful manner in which Mr. Robins executed his task, the earnestness and apparent truthfulness of the narrative, with the graphic description of the parts visited, created such an interest in the public mind, as to render the account of this voyage one of the most popular books extant; three large impressions of the original edition were called for in quick succession, and it has ever since held its place as a standard work.

On the first appearance of the "Voyage," the French affected to treat the whole affair as romance; and it must be admitted, that the accounts of subsequent navigators do not bear out the flattering description with which Mr. Robins's poetic imagination has clothed some portions of the history. Commodore Byron, who visited the island of Tinian, with the view of refreshing his men, in 1765, complains of the disappointment he experienced at finding the reality fall so far short of the expectations he had been induced to entertain, from the account given in the book.

At this distance of time, the impartial reader, who reviews the measures which preceded and accompanied this celebrated voyage, will not be inclined to accord such unlimited praise, as it has been the custom to attribute to those who had the conduct of the expedition. Whilst he fully appreciates the fortitude and endurance displayed under accumulated disasters; and, above all, the indomitable resolution which eventually enabled Anson to accomplish one object of the Voyage, and redeem his losses by the capture of the treasure ship, in the face of such fearful odds; he cannot but be struck at a want of foresight and precaution in the preparations for the expedition, and more particularly in adopting such means as were then known to be efficacious for preserving the health of the crews during their contemplated voyage; means which more particularly demanded increased attention, on account of the weak and inefficient state of these crews as originally composed.

It was only twenty years after the return of Anson, that Cook traversed a more extensive range, and lost but one man by sickness during an absence of three years from England, the preservation of the health of his crews being entirely owing to the wise precautions adopted by that skilful and talented commander, and only resorted to by Anson after the scurvy had made its appearance on his departure from Madeira, when the germ of the disease was sown, which proved so fatal to his people. There appears too, on the part of Anson and his captains, a want of due care and scrutiny as regards the equipment of the ships, notwithstanding that the long period of preparation afforded

ample opportunity; for mention is frequently made of the loss of masts, sails, and rigging, owing to their defective state. The great errors in the reckoning also, amounting in one case to ten degrees of longitude, are anything but creditable to the skill of the officers employed, and not to be excused even by the imperfect state of the science of navigation at that period, because former voyagers had displayed greater proficiency, and Cook (a self-educated man) with no greater means, does not seem to have experienced much difficulty on this score, during his celebrated voyages.

The reader will be gratified to learn, that the fatal disease which reduced Anson's squadron to extremity, and has caused the loss of tens of thousands of our seamen\*, is now scarcely known either in public or private ships belonging to Great Britain. A due regard to cleanliness, warmth, and ventilation, but, above all, the free use of lime juice, or other acids, with fresh meat and vegetables as often as they can be procured, have almost, if not quite, annihilated the scurvy, which now but rarely appears, except under circumstances where these precautions are neglected, and may be said to exist only in the painful memory of those who have witnessed its fatal devastation.

Contemporary historians, overlooking these important matters, have reflected upon the conduct of Lord Anson on another account, namely, that on some occasions, particularly the destruction of the town of Payta, he exceeded his orders. To set this charge at rest, we append a transcript of his Instructions, which have never been heretofore published with an edition of the Voyage. The originals are recorded in the State Paper Office:

(Signed) GEORGE R.

*Instructions for our trusty and well-beloved GEORGE ANSON, Esq., commander-in-chief of our ships, designed to be sent to the South Seas in America. Given at our Court at St. James's, the 31st day of January, 1739-40, in the thirteenth year of our reign.*

**Whereas**, we have thought proper to declare war against the King of Spain, for the several injuries and indignities offered to our crown and people, which are more particularly set forth in our declaration of war; and, whereas, in pursuance thereof, we are determined to distress and annoy the said King of Spain and his subjects in such manner and in such places as can be done with the greatest prospect of success, and the most to the advantage of our own subjects, we have thought fit to direct that you, taking under your command our ships hereinafter mentioned, viz., the Centurion, the Argyle, the Severn, the Pearl, the Wager, and the Tryal sloop, should proceed with them according to the following instructions:—You are to receive on board our said ships five hundred of our land forces, and to proceed forthwith to the Cape de Verde Islands, and to supply your ships with water and such refreshments as are to be procured there, and you are from thence to make the best of your way to the island of St. Catherine on the coast of Brazil, or such other place on

\* It has been asserted in Parliament, that during the Seven Years' war, which ended in 1763, not less than 130,000 seamen died of disease, two thirds of them from scurvy.

In the same year he greatly strengthened his political interest by marrying the eldest daughter of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, an able lawyer and influential statesman, who availed himself of every means to further the interests of his relatives and dependents to the remotest degree.

In May 1758, Lord Anson took command of the grand fleet, and blockaded Brest, whilst the combined land and sea forces attacked St. Malo and other towns on the Coast of France. In December he returned to Spithead, struck his flag, and resumed his post at the Admiralty.

Much of the success which attended our operations by sea during the Seven Years' war, is attributed to the able and judicious measures of Lord Anson, who during that period directed our naval affairs. He rejoiced in the confidence and esteem of the nation generally, and never suffered in his popularity, excepting for a short period during the unhappy tragedy of Admiral Byng, who fell a victim to the political intrigues of the times, in which Anson's father-in-law, the Chancellor, appears to have borne a discreditable part.

On several occasions Lord Anson had the honour of conveying under his flag His Majesty, George the Second, to the Continent, when he visited his German dominions; and also of bringing over Queen Charlotte when affianced to George the Third, in 1761.

Lord Anson's professional advancement took place as follows:—Entered the Navy, 1712; Lieutenant, 1717; Commander, 1722; Captain, 1723; Rear-admiral, 1745; Vice-admiral, 1746; Admiral, 1748; and, in 1755, he was made Vice-admiral of Great Britain, and Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Fleets.

Early in 1762, his constitution became much impaired, and he was advised to repair to Bath for the use of the waters. He died rather suddenly at his seat, Moor Park, on the 6th of June; his remains were interred at Colwich in the county of Stafford. Lord Anson left no issue, and his lady having died two years before him, he bequeathed the bulk of his property to George Adams, Esq., his sister's son.

The title became extinct, but was revived, in 1806, in the person of the eldest son of the afore-mentioned George Adams, who assumed the name of Anson, being the father of the present Earl of Lichfield.

In person Lord Anson was agreeable, though not handsome; in conversation extremely reserved; he is reported to have been addicted to gambling, and to have suffered from his inexperience. His disposition was generous and benevolent, and he possessed great fortitude of mind and indomitable resolution under difficulties, as the many cases recorded in the narrative of his voyage testify. His character has been drawn by many hands, and is thus summed up by Sir John Barrow in his lately published "Life of Lord Anson."

"He was a man of great modesty and simplicity of manners, and so reserved in general society as to give some truth to the point of Williams's *bon mot*, that 'he had been round the world but never in it.' Walpole also is not far from the truth in calling him 'the silent son of the Chancellor.' His silence and reserve, however, were not the offspring of any deficiency of knowledge or want of ability, either on general or professional acquirements, but from that natural diffidence of his own merit, and a reluctance of speaking in public, which very many men of considerable talents have not been able to overcome; while others with a parsimony of intellect are by no means deficient in volubility of speech. As a representative in the House of Commons, and subsequently as a Peer of the realm—as a member of the Board of Admiralty, holding for many years the high and responsible situation of First Lord—it does not appear, from the Parliamentary History, that he ever spoke on any subject, professional or otherwise, although many naval questions of considerable importance, in both houses, were brought into discussion; but there were always able civilians in the Board to represent his sentiments. In the records of the Admiralty there is abundant evidence of his constant and unremitting attention to the various duties of that department, and of the large share he had in them."

Again: "The fleets that he fitted out, with a rapidity never before known, afford no ground for the imputation of *slowness*; the truth appears to be, that he was slow to decide, but quick to execute. He was not certainly possessed of shining abilities, but a plain, straightforward, matter-of-fact man, attentive to the duties of his office, well acquainted with the practical part of his profession, and—what is perhaps equally important—with the character of the officers belonging to it."

It has been often remarked that not a single monument, private or public, has been raised to the memory of a man, whose exploits occupy such a distinguished place in the annals of the British navy. His late Majesty, William the Fourth, who greatly respected his memory, ordered a ward in Greenwich Hospital to be called "Anson Ward," and caused to be transported thither from Windsor the figure-head of the Centurion, where it is likely to remain as long as the material endures. The figure is a lion rampant, and measures sixteen feet in height. On the pedestal, the following lines are inscribed:—

"Stay traveller, awhile, and view  
One who has travelled more than you:  
Quite round the globe, through each degree,  
Anson and I have ploughed the sea:  
Torrid and frigid zones have passed,  
And—safe ashore arrived at last—  
In ease with dignity appear,  
*He*, in the House of Lords, I, here."

\* Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, a celebrated wit of that day.



## PREFACE.

MR. BENJAMIN ROBINS, a celebrated engineer-officer, appears to have been the author or compiler of "Anson's Voyage Round the World," although announced in the title-page as the production of Mr. Walter, Chaplain of the Commodore's ship, the Centurion.

It has been remarked that, notwithstanding the name of a clergyman appears as the avowed author, there does not occur, in the whole detail, the mention of prayers or thanksgiving to the Almighty under any one of the many perils encountered, or especial relief from calamity, which nothing short of the intervention of Divine Providence could have accomplished. Indeed the word Providential is only once casually mentioned in the course of the narrative, at page 101., col. 1.

The skilful manner in which Mr. Robins executed his task, the earnestness and apparent truthfulness of the narrative, with the graphic description of the parts visited, created such an interest in the public mind, as to render the account of this voyage one of the most popular books extant; three large impressions of the original edition were called for in quick succession, and it has ever since held its place as a standard work.

On the first appearance of the "Voyage," the French affected to treat the whole affair as romance; and it must be admitted, that the accounts of subsequent navigators do not bear out the flattering description with which Mr. Robins's poetic imagination has clothed some portions of the history. Commodore Byron, who visited the island of Tinian, with the view of refreshing his men, in 1765, complains of the disappointment he experienced at finding the reality fall so far short of the expectations he had been induced to entertain, from the account given in the book.

At this distance of time, the impartial reader, who reviews the measures which proceeded and accompanied this celebrated voyage, will not be inclined to accord such unlimited praise, as it has been the custom to attribute to those who had the conduct of the expedition. Whilst he fully appreciates the fortitude and endurance displayed under accumulated disasters; and, above all, the indomitable resolution which eventually enabled Anson to accomplish one object of the Voyage, and redeem his losses by the capture of the treasure ship, in the face of such fearful odds; he cannot but be struck at a want of foresight and precaution in the preparations for the expedition, and more particularly in adopting such means as were then known to be efficacious for preserving the health of the crews during their contemplated voyage; means which more particularly demanded increased attention, on account of the weak and inefficient state of these crews as originally composed.

It was only twenty years after the return of Anson, that Cook traversed a more extensive range, and lost but one man by sickness during an absence of three years from England, the preservation of the health of his crews being entirely owing to the wise precautions adopted by that skilful and talented commander, and only resorted to by Anson after the scurvy had made its appearance on his departure from Madeira, when the germ of the disease was sown, which proved so fatal to his people. There appears too, on the part of Anson and his captains, a want of due care and scrutiny as regards the equipment of the ships, notwithstanding that the long period of preparation afforded

ample opportunity; for mention is frequently made of the loss of masts, sails, and rigging, owing to their defective state. The great errors in the reckoning also, amounting in one case to ten degrees of longitude, are anything but creditable to the skill of the officers employed, and not to be excused even by the imperfect state of the science of navigation at that period, because former voyagers had displayed greater proficiency, and Cook (a self-educated man) with no greater means, does not seem to have experienced much difficulty on this score, during his celebrated voyages.

The reader will be gratified to learn, that the fatal disease which reduced Anson's squadron to extremity, and has caused the loss of tens of thousands of our seamen\*, is now scarcely known either in public or private ships belonging to Great Britain. A due regard to cleanliness, warmth, and ventilation, but, above all, the free use of lime juice, or other acids, with fresh meat and vegetables as often as they can be procured, have almost, if not quite, annihilated the scurvy, which now but rarely appears, except under circumstances where these precautions are neglected, and may be said to exist only in the painful memory of those who have witnessed its fatal devastation.

Contemporary historians, overlooking these important matters, have reflected upon the conduct of Lord Anson on another account, namely, that on some occasions, particularly the destruction of the town of Payta, he exceeded his orders. To set this charge at rest, we append a transcript of his Instructions, which have never been heretofore published with an edition of the Voyage. The originals are recorded in the State Paper Office:

(Signed) GEORGE R.

*Instructions for our trusty and well-beloved GEORGE ANSON, Esq., commander-in-chief of our ships, designed to be sent to the South Seas in America. Given at our Court at St. James's, the 31st day of January, 1739-40, in the thirteenth year of our reign.*

**Whereas**, we have thought proper to declare war against the King of Spain, for the several injuries and indignities offered to our crown and people, which are more particularly set forth in our declaration of war; and, whereas, in pursuance thereof, we are determined to distress and annoy the said King of Spain and his subjects in such manner and in such places as can be done with the greatest prospect of success, and the most to the advantage of our own subjects, we have thought fit to direct that you, taking under your command our ships hereinafter mentioned, viz., the Centurion, the Argyle, the Severn, the Pearl, the Wager, and the Tryal sloop, should proceed with them according to the following instructions:—You are to receive on board our said ships five hundred of our land forces, and to proceed forthwith to the Cape de Verde Islands, and to supply your ships with water and such refreshments as are to be procured there, and you are from thence to make the best of your way to the Island of St. Catherine on the coast of Brazil, or such other place on

\* It has been asserted in Parliament, that during the Seven Years' war, which ended in 1763, not less than 130,000 seamen died of disease, two thirds of them from scurvy.

that coast as you may be advised is more proper, where you are again to supply your ships with water, and any other necessaries you may want that can be had there; and when you have so done, you are to proceed, with our ships under your command, to the South Sea, either round Cape Horn, or through the Straits of Magellan, as you shall judge most proper and according to the season of the year, and winds and weather shall best permit.

When you shall arrive on the Spanish Coast of the South Sea, you are to use your best endeavours to annoy and distress the Spaniards, either by sea or land, to the utmost of your power, by taking, sinking, burning, or otherwise destroying all their ships and vessels that you shall meet with, and particularly their boats and all embarkations whatsoever, that they may not be able to send any intelligence by sea along the coast, of your being in those parts. In case you shall find it practicable to seize, surprise, or take any of the towns or places belonging to the Spaniards on the coast, that you may judge worthy of making such an enterprise upon, you are to attempt it, for which purpose we have not only ordered the land forces above mentioned, but have also thought proper to direct that an additional number of small arms be put on board the said ships under your command, to be used as occasion may require by the crews of the said ships or otherwise as you shall find most for our service. And you are on such occasions to take the opinion of the captains of our ships under your command, at a council of war, of which council of war, in case of any attack or enterprise by land, the commander of our land forces shall also be one, which said land forces shall, upon such occasions, be landed according to the determination of the said council of war, and when on shore, shall be under the direction and conduct of the commanding officer of our land forces, subject, however, to be recalled on board by any future determination of a council of war. And, as it will be absolutely necessary for you to be supplied with provisions and water when and where they can be had, you will inform yourself of the places where that can be most conveniently done; and, as we have been informed, that the coast of Chili, and particularly the island of Chiloe, abound with provisions and necessaries of all sorts, you are to call there for that purpose.

As it has been represented to us that the number of native Indians, on the coast of Chili, greatly exceeds that of the Spaniards, and that there is reason to believe that the said Indians may not be averse to join with you against the Spaniards, in order to recover their freedom, you are to endeavour to cultivate a good understanding with such Indians as shall be willing to join and assist you, in any attempt that you may think proper to make against the Spaniards that are established there.

You are to continue your voyage along the coast of Peru, and get the best information you can whether there be any place, before you come to Lima, that may be worthy of your attention so as to make it advisable to stop at it; but, if there be no place where any considerable advantage can be expected, you are then to go along the coast till you come to Callao, which is the port of Lima, taking or destroying all embarkations whatsoever that you shall meet with.

As soon as you shall arrive at Callao, you shall consider whether it may be practicable to make an attempt upon that place or not, and, if it shall be judged practicable, by a council of war to be held for that purpose, with the strength you have with you to make an attack upon that port, you are accordingly to do it, and if it shall please God to bless our arms with success, you are to endeavour to turn it to the best advantage possible for our service.

And, whereas, there is some reason to believe from private intelligence, that the Spaniards in the Kingdom of Peru, and especially in that part of it which is near Lima, have long had an inclination to revolt from their obedience to the King of Spain (on account of the great oppressions and tyrannies exercised by the Spanish Viceroy and Governors) in favour of some considerable person amongst themselves, you are, if you should find that

there is found any foundation for these reports, by all possible means to encourage and assist such design in the best manner you shall be able; and, in case of any revolution or revolt from the obedience of the King of Spain, either amongst the Spaniards or the Indians in those parts, and of any new government being created by them, you are to insist upon the most advantageous conditions for the commerce of our subjects to be carried on with such government so to be erected, for which purpose you shall make provisional agreements subject to our future approbation and confirmation.

But in case you shall not think proper to attack Calao, or should miscarry in any attempt you may make against that place, you are then to proceed to the northward as far as Panama; but as there are many places along the coast which are considerable, and where the Spanish ships, in their passage between Panama and Lima, do usually stop, it will be proper for you to look into those places, and to annoy the Spaniards there as much as it shall be in your power, and if you shall meet with the Spanish men-of-war that carry the treasure from Lima to Panama, you are to endeavour to make yourself master of them.

When you are arrived at Panama, you will probably have an opportunity to take or destroy such embarkations as you shall find there; and as the town itself is represented not to be very strong, you are, if you shall think you have sufficient force for that purpose, to make an attempt upon that town, and endeavour to take it, or burn, or destroy it, as you shall think most for our service.

And as you may possibly find an opportunity to send privately overland to Portobello or Darien, you are by that means to endeavour to transmit to any of our ships or forces that shall be on the coast, an account of what you have done or intend to do. And, lest any such intelligence should fall into the hands of the Spaniards, we have ordered you to be furnished with a cipher, in which manner only you are to correspond with our admiral or the commander in chief of any of our ships that may be in the northern seas of America, or the commander in chief of our land forces.

And as we have determined to send a large body of troops from hence as early as possible in the Spring, to make a descent upon some part of the Spanish West Indies, and as we shall have a very considerable fleet in those seas, in case it should be thought proper that any part of those ships or troops should go to Portobello or Darien with a design to send the said troops overland to Panama or Santa Maria, you are then to make the best disposition to assist them, by all means that to you shall be able, in making a secure settlement either at Panama or any other place that shall be thought proper, and you are in such case to supply them with cannon from the ships under your command (if necessary), or with anything else that can be spared without too much weakening the squadron. And if the land forces on board our said ships should be wanted to reinforce those that may come overland to the coast of the South Sea, you may cause them to go on shore for that purpose, with the approbation of the proper officers.

When you have proceeded thus far, it must be in a great measure left to your own discretion and that of a council of war (when upon any difficulty you shall think fit to call them together) to consider whether you shall go farther to the northward, or remain longer at Panama; in case the place should have been taken by our forces, or you can any way hear that any of our forces may be expected on that side from the north side. But you will always take particular care to consider of a proper place for careening of the ships and for supplying them with provisions, either for their voyage homeward or for their continuing longer abroad. In case you shall be so happy as to meet with success, you shall take the first opportunity of sending a ship on purpose or otherwise to acquaint us with it, and with every particular that may be necessary for us to be informed of, that we may take the proper measures thereupon. If you shall find no occasion for your staying longer in those seas, and shall judge it best to go to the northward as far as Acapulco, or look out

for the Acapulco ship, which sails from that place for Manila at a certain time of the year, and generally returns at a certain time also, you may possibly in that case think it most advisable to return the way of China, which you are hereby authorised to do, or return home by Cape Horn, as you shall think best for our service, and for the preservation of the ships and men on board them.

Whenever you shall judge it necessary for our service to return with our squadron to England, you may, if you shall think it proper, leave one or two of our ships in the South Seas, for the security of any of the acquisitions you may have been able to make, or for the protection of the trade which any of our subjects may be carrying on in those parts.

BY THE LORDS JUSTICES.

HARDWICKE, C.  
WILMINGTON, P.  
DORSET.  
RICHMOND, LENNIX, and  
AUBIGNAY.  
MONTAGU.

DEVONSHIRE.  
HOLLES, NEWCASTLE.  
PEMBROKE.  
HAY.  
R. WALPOLE.  
CHA. WAGER.

*Additional Instructions for GEORGE ANSON, Esq.,  
Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's ships to be  
sent into the South Seas in America. Given at  
Whitehall, the 19th day of June, 1740, in the  
fourteenth year of His Majesty's reign.*

WHEREAS, His Majesty was pleased to sign certain Instructions, bearing date the 31st of January, 1739-40, directed to you, we have ordered the same to be herewith delivered to you, and have thought fit also to give you these additional instructions for your conduct.

His Majesty has been pleased to suspend your sailing from England till this time, when the season of the year

will permit you to make your intended voyage directly to the South Seas, in America, (which, at some particular seasons, is extremely difficult if not impracticable). You are now to proceed forthwith, with His Majesty's ships under your command, directly to the South Seas, either by going round Cape Horn or through the Straits of Magellan, and to act according to the directions contained in His Majesty's Instructions to you. But you are to regard that part of the said Instructions whereby you were ordered (in case you should be too late for your passage to the South Seas) to proceed directly to the River Plata, and there to remain till the season of the year should permit you to go with safety to the South Seas, to be at present out of the question and of no force. And whereas you are directed, by His Majesty's Instructions, to cause the land forces, which are to go on board His Majesty's ships under your command, to be put on shore, on one particular occasion, with the approbation of the proper officers; you are to understand it to be His Majesty's intention that the said land forces are in no case to be put on shore, unless it shall be previously approved by a council of war to be held for that purpose.

Whereas a letter, written by the Governor of Panama to the King of Spain, has fallen into the hands of some of His Majesty's officers, which letter contains very material advices relating to the situation of the Spaniards, and to the keeping of their treasure in these parts, a copy of the same will, by our order, be herewith put into your hands; and you are to have a regard to the intelligence therein contained, in the execution of the orders given you in His Majesty's Instructions.

In case of your inability, by sickness or otherwise, to execute His Majesty's orders, the officer next to you in rank is hereby authorised and directed to take upon him the command of His Majesty's ships that are to go with you; and to execute the orders contained in your Instructions, as if they were directed to himself.

THE AUTHOR'S DEDICATION.

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TO

HIS GRACE, JOHN, DUKE OF BEDFORD,

MARQUIS OF TAVISTOCK, EARL OF BEDFORD, BARON RUSSEL, BARON RUSSEL OF THORNHAUGH, AND  
BARON HOWLAND OF STREATHAM ;

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE, AND LORD LIEUTENANT AND CUSTOS ROTULORUM  
OF THE COUNTY OF BEDFORD.

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My LORD,

THE following narrative of a very singular naval achievement is addressed to your Grace, both on account of the infinite obligations which the Commander-in-Chief at all times professes to have received from your friendship; and also, as the subject itself naturally claims the patronage of one, under whose direction, the British navy has resumed its ancient spirit and lustre, and has in one summer ennobled itself by two victories, the most decisive, and (if the strength and number of the captures be considered) the most important, that are to be met with in our annals. Indeed, an uninterrupted series of success, and a manifest superiority gained universally over the enemy, both in commerce and glory, seem to be the necessary effects of a revival of strict discipline, and of an unbiassed regard to merit and service. These are marks that must distinguish the happy period of time in which your Grace presided, and afford a fitter subject for history than for an address of this nature. Very signal advantages of rank and distinction, obtained and secured to the naval profession by your Grace's auspicious influence, will remain a lasting monument of your unwearied zeal and attachment to it, and be for ever remembered with the highest gratitude, by all who shall be employed in it. As these were the generous rewards of past exploits, they will be likewise the noblest incentives, and surest pledges of the future. That your Grace's eminent talents, magnanimity, and disinterested zeal, whence the public has already reaped such signal benefits, may in all times prove equally successful in advancing the prosperity of Great Britain, is the ardent wish of,

My LORD,

Your Grace's

Most obedient, most devoted, and

Most humble Servant,

RICHARD WALTER.

## THE AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great improvement of navigation within the last two centuries, a voyage round the world is still considered as an enterprise of a very singular nature; and the public have never failed to be extremely inquisitive about the various accidents and turns of fortune, with which this uncommon attempt is generally attended: and though the amusement expected in a narration of this kind, is doubtless one great source of this curiosity, and a strong incitement with the bulk of readers, yet the more intelligent part of mankind have always agreed, that from these relations, if faithfully executed, the more important purposes of navigation, commerce, and national interest may be greatly promoted; for every authentic account of foreign coasts and countries will contribute to one or more of these great ends, in proportion to the wealth, wants, or commodities of those countries, and our ignorance of those coasts; and therefore a voyage round the world promises a species of information, of all others the most desirable and interesting, since great part of it is performed in seas, and on coasts, with which we are as yet but very imperfectly acquainted, and in the neighbourhood of a country renowned for the abundance of its wealth, though it is at the same time stigmatised for its poverty in the necessaries and conveniences of a civilised life.

These considerations have occasioned the publication of the ensuing work; which, in gratifying the inquisitive turn of mankind, and contributing to the safety and success of future navigators, and to the extension of our commerce and power, may doubtless vie with any narration of this kind hitherto made public: since the circumstances of this undertaking, already known to the world, may be supposed to have strongly excited the general curiosity; for whether we consider the force of the squadron sent on this service, or the diversified distresses that each single ship was separately involved in, or the uncommon instances of varying fortune, which attended the whole enterprise; each part, I conceive, must, from its rude well-known outlines, appear worthy of a completer and more finished delineation: and if this be allowed with respect to the narrative part of the work, there can be no doubt about the more useful and instructive parts, which are almost everywhere interwoven with it.\*

Mr. Anson, before he set sail upon this expedition, besides the printed journals to those parts, took care to furnish himself with the best manuscript accounts he could procure of all the Spanish settlements upon the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico: these he carefully compared with the examinations of his prisoners, and the informations of several intelligent persons, who fell into his hands in the South Seas. He had likewise the good fortune, in some of his captures, to possess himself of a great number of letters and papers of a public nature, many of them written by the Viceroy of Peru to the Viceroy of Santa Fee, to the Presidents of Panama and Chili, to Don Blas de Lezo, admiral of the galleons, and to divers other persons in public employments; and in these letters there was usually inserted a recital of those they were intended to answer; so that they contained a considerable part of the correspondence between these officers for some time previous to our arrival on that coast. We took besides many letters

sent from persons employed by the government to their friends and correspondents, which were frequently filled with narrations of public business, and sometimes contained undisguised animadversions on the views and conduct of their superiors. From these materials those accounts of the Spanish affairs are taken, which may at first sight appear the most exceptionable. In particular, the history of the various casualties which befel Pizarro's squadron, is for the most part composed from intercepted letters: though indeed the relation of the insurrection of Orellana and his followers, is founded on rather a less disputable authority: for it was taken from the mouth of an English gentleman then on board Pizarro, who often conversed with Orellana; and it was, on inquiry, confirmed in its principal circumstances by others who were in the ship at the same time. So that the fact, however extraordinary, is, I conceive, not to be contested.

And on this occasion I cannot but mention, that though I have endeavoured, with my utmost care, to adhere strictly to truth in every article of the ensuing narration; yet I am apprehensive, that in so complicated a work, some oversights must have been committed, by the inattention to which at times all mankind are liable. However I know of none but literal mistakes: and if there are other errors which have escaped me, I flatter myself they are not of moment enough to affect any material transaction, and therefore I hope they may justly claim the reader's indulgence.

After this general account of the contents of the ensuing work, it might be expected, perhaps, that I should proceed to the work itself; but I cannot finish this Introduction, without adding a few reflections on a matter very nearly connected with the present subject, and, as I conceive, neither destitute of utility, nor unworthy the attention of the public; I mean, the animating my countrymen both in their public and private stations, to the encouragement and pursuit of all kinds of geographical and nautical observations, and of every species of mechanical and commercial information. It is by a settled attachment to these seemingly minute particulars, that our ambitious neighbours have established some part of that power, with which we are now struggling; and as we have the means in our hands of pursuing these subjects more effectually than they can, it would be a dishonour to us longer to neglect so easy and beneficial a practice: for, as we have a navy much more numerous than theirs, great part of which is always employed in very distant stations, either in the protection of our colonies and commerce, or in assisting our allies against the common enemy, this gives us frequent opportunities of furnishing ourselves with such kind of materials as are here recommended, and such as might turn greatly to our advantage, either in war or peace: for, not to mention what might be expected from the officers of the navy, if their application to these subjects was properly encouraged, it would create no new expense to the government to establish a particular regulation for this purpose; since all that would be requisite, would be constantly to embark on board some of our men-of-war, which are sent on these distant cruises, a person, who with the character of an engineer, and the skill and talents necessary to that profession, should be employed in drawing such coasts, and planning such harbours, as the ship should touch at, and in making such other observations of all kinds, as might either prove of advantage to future navigators, or might any ways tend to promote the public service. Besides, persons habituated

\* A portion of this Introduction which relates to the charts and plans in the original edition, is here omitted, the aforesaid charts, &c., being now obsolete.

to this employment (which could not fail at the same time of improving them in their proper business) would be extremely useful in many other lights, and might serve to secure our fleets from those disgraces, with which their attempts against places on shore have been often attended; and, in a nation like ours, where all sciences are more eagerly and universally pursued, and better understood than in any other part of the world, proper subjects for such employments could not long be wanting, if due encouragement were given to them. This method here recommended is known to have been frequently practised by the French, particularly in the instance of Monsieur Frezier, an engineer, who has published a celebrated voyage to the South Seas: for this person, in the year 1711, was purposely sent by the French king into that country on board a merchantman, that he might examine and describe the coast, and take plans of all the fortified places, the better to enable the French to prosecute their illicit trade, or, in case of a rupture with the court of Spain, to form their enterprises in those seas with more readiness and certainty. Should we pursue this method, we might hope that the emulation amongst those who were thus employed, and the experience, which even in time of peace, they would hereby acquire, might at length procure us a proper number of able engineers, and might efface the national scandal, which our deficiency in that species of men has sometimes exposed us to. And surely, every step to encourage and improve this profession is of great moment to the public; as no persons, when they are properly instructed, make better returns in war, for the encouragement and emoluments bestowed on them in time of peace. Of which the advantages the French have reaped from their dexterity (too numerous and recent to be soon forgot) are an ample confirmation.

And having mentioned engineers, or such as are skilled in drawing and the other usual practices of that profession, as the properest persons to be employed in these foreign inquiries, I cannot (as it offers itself so naturally to the subject in hand) but lament, how very imperfect many of our accounts of distant countries are rendered by the relators being unskilled in drawing, and in the general principles of surveying; even where other abilities have not been wanting. Had more of our travellers been initiated in these acquirements, and had there been added thereto some little skill in the common astronomical observations (all which a person of ordinary talents might attain with a very moderate share of application), we should by this time have seen the geography of the globe much correcter than we now find it; the dangers of navigation would have been considerably lessened, and the manners, arts, and produce of foreign countries, would have been much better known to us than they are. Indeed when I consider the strong incitements that all travellers have to acquire some part at least of these qualifications, especially drawing; when I consider how much it would facilitate their observations, assist and strengthen their memories, and of how tedious, and often unintelligible, a load of description it would rid them, I cannot but wonder that any person that intends to visit distant countries, with a view of informing either himself or others, should be unfurnished with so useful a piece of skill. And to enforce this argument still further, I must add that, besides the uses of drawing, which are already mentioned, there is one which, though not so obvious, is yet perhaps of more consequence than all that has been hitherto urged; and that is, that those who are accustomed to draw objects observe them with more distinctness than others who are not habituated to this practice. For we may easily find by a little experience, that in viewing any object, however simple, our attention or memory is scarcely at any time so strong as to enable us, when we have turned our eyes away from it, to recollect exactly every part it consisted of, and to recall all the circumstances of its appearance; since, on examination, it will be discovered, that in some we are mistaken, and others we had totally overlooked; but he that is employed in drawing what he sees, is at the same time employed in rectifying this inattention; for by confronting his ideas copied on the paper, with the

object he intends to represent, he finds in what manner he has been deceived in its appearance, and hence he in time acquires the habit of observing much more at one view, and retains what he sees with more correctness, than he could ever have done, without his practice and proficiency in drawing.

If what has been said merits the attention of travellers of all sorts, it is, I think more particularly applicable to the gentlemen of the navy; since, without drawing and planning, neither charts nor views of lands can be taken; and without these it is sufficiently evident, that navigation is at a full stand. It is doubtless from a persuasion of the utility of these qualifications, that his Majesty has established a drawing-master at Portsmouth, for the instruction of those who are presumed to be hereafter intrusted with the command of his royal navy; and though some have been so far misled, as to suppose that the perfection of sea-officers consisted in a turn of mind and temper resembling the boisterous element they had to deal with, and have condemned all literature and science as effeminate and derogatory to that ferocity, which they would falsely persuade us was the most unerring characteristic of courage: yet it is to be hoped that such absurdities as these have at no time been authorised by the public opinion, and that the belief of them daily diminishes. If those who adhere to these mischievous positions were capable of being influenced by reason, or swayed by example, I should think it sufficient for their conviction to observe, that the most valuable drawings made during this voyage, though done with such a degree of skill, that even professed artists can with difficulty imitate them, were taken by Mr. Pelcey Brett, one of Mr. Anson's lieutenants, and since captain of the *Lion* man-of-war; who, in his memorable engagement with the *Elizabeth* (for the importance of the service, or the resolution with which it was conducted, inferior to none this age has seen) has given ample proof that a proficiency in the arts I have been here recommending is extremely consistent with the most exemplary bravery, and the most distinguished skill in every function belonging to the duty of a sea-officer. Indeed, when the many branches of science are considered, of which even the common practice of navigation is composed, and the many improvements which men of skill have added to this practice within these few years, it would induce one to believe, that the advantages of reflection and speculative knowledge were in no profession more eminent than in that of a sea-officer. For not to mention some expertness in geography, geometry, and astronomy, which it would be dishonourable for him to be without (as his journal and his estimate of the daily position of the ship are no more than the practice of particular branches of these arts), it may be well supposed that the management and working of a ship, the discovery of her most eligible position in the water (usually styled her trim), and the disposition of her sails in the most advantageous manner, are articles wherein the knowledge of mechanics cannot but be greatly assistant: and perhaps the application of this kind of knowledge to naval subjects may produce as great improvements in sailing and working a ship, as it has already done in many other matters conducive to the ease and convenience of human life; for when the fabric of a ship, and the variety of her sails are considered, together with the artificial contrivances of adapting them to her different motions, as it cannot be doubted but these things have been brought about by more than ordinary sagacity and invention, so neither can it be doubted but that a speculative and scientific turn of mind may find out the means of directing and disposing this complicated mechanism much more advantageously than can be done by mere habit, or by a servile copying of what others may perhaps have erroneously practised in the like emergency. But it is time to finish this digression, and to leave the reader to the perusal of the ensuing work; which, with how little art soever it may be executed, will yet, from the importance of the subject, and the utility and excellence of the materials, merit some share of the public attention.

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# ANSON'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

## BOOK I.

### CHAPTER I.

*Of the equipment of the Squadron. The incidents relating thereto, from its first appointment to its setting sail from St. Helens.*

THE squadron under the command of Mr. Anson (of which I here propose to recite the most material proceedings) having undergone many changes in its destination, its force, and its equipment, in the ten months between its first appointment and its final sailing from St. Helens, I conceive the history of these alterations is a detail necessary to be made public, both for the honour of those who first planned and promoted this enterprise, and for the justification of those who have been entrusted with its execution. Since it will from hence appear, that the accidents the expedition was afterwards exposed to, and which prevented it from producing all the national advantages the strength of the squadron and the expectation of the public seemed to presage, were principally owing to a series of interruptions, which delayed the commander in the course of his preparations, and which it exceeded his utmost industry either to avoid or get removed.

When in the latter end of the summer of the year 1739, it was foreseen that a war with Spain was inevitable, it was the opinion of several considerable persons then trusted with the administration of affairs, that the most prudent step the nation could take, on the breaking out of the war, was attacking that crown in her distant settlements; for by this means (as at that time there was the greatest probability of success) it was supposed that we should cut off the principal resources of the enemy, and reduce them to the necessity of sincerely desiring a peace, as they would hereby be deprived of the returns of that treasure by which alone they could be enabled to carry on a war.

In pursuance of these sentiments, several projects were examined, and several resolutions taken in council. And in all these deliberations it was from the first determined, that George Anson, Esq., then captain of the Centurion, should be employed as commander-in-chief of an expedition of this kind; and he then being absent on a cruise, a vessel was dispatched to his station so early as the beginning of September, to order him to return with his ship to Portsmouth. And soon after he came there, that is, on the 10th of November following, he received a letter from Sir Charles

Wager, ordering him to repair to London, and to attend the board of Admiralty; where, when he arrived, he was informed by Sir Charles that two squadrons would be immediately fitted out for two secret expeditions, which however would have some connection with each other; that he, Mr. Anson, was intended to command one of them, and Mr. Cornwall (who hath since lost his life gloriously in the defence of his country's honour) the other. That the squadron under Mr. Anson was to take on board three independent companies of a hundred men each, and Bland's regiment of foot; that colonel Bland was likewise to embark with his regiment, and to command the land forces; and that, as soon as this squadron could be fitted for the sea, they were to set sail, with express orders to touch at no place till they came to Java-Head, in the East Indies: that there they were only to stop to take in water, and thence to proceed directly to the city of Manila, situated on Luconia, one of the Philippine Islands. That the other squadron was to be of equal force with this commanded by Mr. Anson, and was intended to pass round Cape Horn into the South Seas, and there to range along that coast; and after cruising upon the enemy in those parts, and attempting their settlements, this squadron in its return was to rendezvous at Manila, and there to join the squadron under Mr. Anson, where they were to refresh their men and refit their ships, and perhaps receive further orders.

This scheme was doubtless extremely well projected, and could not but greatly advance the public service, and at the same time the reputation and fortune of those concerned in its execution; for had Mr. Anson proceeded for Manila at the time and in the manner proposed by Sir Charles Wager, he would in all probability have arrived there before they had received any advice of the war between us and Spain, and consequently before they had been in the least prepared for the reception of an enemy, or had any apprehensions of their danger. The city of Manila might be well supposed to have been at that time in the same defenceless condition with all the other Spanish settlements, just at the breaking out of the war: that is to say, their fortifications neglected, and in many places decayed; their cannon dismounted, or useless, by the mouldering of their carriages; their magazines, whether of military stores or provision, all empty; their garrisons unpaid, and consequently thin, ill-affected, and

dispirited; and the royal chests in Peru, whence alone all these disorders could receive their redress, drained to the very bottom. This, from the intercepted letters of their viceroys and governors, is well known to have been the defenceless state of Panama, and the other Spanish places on the coast of the South Sea, for near a twelvemonth after our declaration of war. And it cannot be supposed that the city of Manila, removed still farther by almost half the circumference of the globe, should have experienced from the Spanish government a greater share of attention and concern for its security than Panama and the other important ports in Peru and Chili, on which their possession of that immense empire depends. Indeed, it is well known, that Manila was at that time incapable of making any considerable defence, and in all probability would have surrendered only on the appearance of our squadron before it. The consequence of this city, and the island it stands on, may be in some measure estimated, from the healthiness of its air, the excellency of its port and bay, the number and wealth of its inhabitants, and the very extensive and beneficial commerce which it carries on to the principal ports in the East Indies and China, and its exclusive trade to Acapulco, the returns for which, being made in silver, are, upon the lowest valuation, not less than three millions of dollars per annum.

And on this scheme Sir Charles Wager was so intent, that in a few days after this first conference, that is, on November 18, Mr. Anson received an order to take under his command the Argyle, Severn, Pearl, Wager, and Tryal sloop; and other orders were issued to him in the same month, and in the December following, relating to the victualling of this squadron. But Mr. Anson attending the Admiralty the beginning of January, he was informed by Sir Charles Wager, that, for reasons with which he, Sir Charles, was not acquainted, the expedition to Manila was laid aside. It may be conceived that Mr. Anson was extremely chagrined at the losing the command of so infallible, so honourable, and in every respect so desirable an enterprise, especially too as he had already, at a very great expense, made the necessary provision for his own accommodation in this voyage, which he had reason to expect would prove a very long one. However, Sir Charles, to render this disappointment in some degree more tolerable, informed him that the expedition to the South Seas was still intended, and that he, Mr. Anson, and his squadron, as their first destination was now countermanded, should be employed in that service. And on the 10th of January he received his commission, appointing him commander-in-chief of the forementioned squadron, which (the Argyle being in the course of their preparation changed for the Gloucester) was the same he sailed with above eight months after from St. Helens. On this change of destination, the equipment of the squadron was still prosecuted with as much vigour as ever, and the victualling, and whatever depended on the commodore, was so far advanced, that he conceived the ships might be capable of putting to sea the instant he should receive his final orders, of which he was in daily expectation. And at last, on the 28th of June, 1740, the duke of Newcastle, principal secretary

of state, delivered to him his majesty's instructions, dated January 31, 1739, with an additional instruction from the lords justices, dated June 19, 1740.<sup>1</sup> On the receipt of these, Mr. Anson immediately repaired to Spithead, with a resolution to sail with the first fair wind, flattering himself that all his delays were now at an end. For though he knew by the musters that his squadron wanted three hundred seamen of their complement (a deficiency which, with all his assiduity, he had not been able to get supplied), yet, as Sir Charles Wager informed him that an order from the board of Admiralty was despatched to Sir John Norris to spare him the numbers which he wanted, he doubted not of his complying therewith. But on his arrival at Portsmouth he found himself greatly mistaken and disappointed in this persuasion; for on his application Sir John Norris told him he could spare him none, for he wanted men for his own fleet. This occasioned an inevitable and a very considerable delay, for it was the end of July before this deficiency was by any means supplied, and all that was then done was extremely short of his necessities and expectation. For Admiral Balchen, who succeeded to the command at Spithead after Sir John Norris had sailed to the westward, instead of three hundred able sailors, which Mr. Anson wanted of his complement, ordered on board the squadron a hundred and seventy men only; of whom thirty-two were from the hospital and sick quarters, thirty-seven from the Salisbury, with three officers of Colonel Lowther's regiment, and ninety-eight marines, and these were all that were ever granted to make up the forementioned deficiency.

But the commodore's mortification did not end here. It has been already observed, that it was at first intended that Colonel Bland's regiment, and three independent companies of a hundred men each, should embark as land-forces on board the squadron. But this disposition was now changed, and all the land-forces that were to be allowed, were five hundred invalids to be collected from the out-pensioners of Chelsea college. As these out-pensioners consist of soldiers who, from their age, wounds, or other infirmities, are incapable of service in marching regiments, Mr. Anson was greatly chagrined at having such a decrepit detachment allotted him; for he was fully persuaded that the greatest part of them would perish long before they arrived at the scene of action, since the delays, he had already encountered, necessarily confined his passage round Cape Horn to the most rigorous season of the year. Sir Charles Wager, too, joined in opinion with the commodore, that invalids were no ways proper for this service, and solicited strenuously to have them exchanged; but he was told that persons, who were supposed to be better judges of soldiers than he or Mr. Anson, thought them the properest men that could be employed on this occasion.<sup>2</sup> And upon this determination they were ordered on board the squadron on the 5th of August; but

<sup>1</sup> See these instructions in the Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> "The feelings of these excellent judges are not to be envied, when they were afterwards made acquainted with the fact, that not one of these unfortunate individuals who went on the voyage survived to reach their native land—every man had perished."—Sir John Barrow's Life of Lord Anson.

instead of five hundred, there came on board no more than two hundred and fifty-nine; for all those who had limbs and strength to walk out of Portsmouth deserted, leaving behind them only such as were literally invalids, most of them being sixty years of age, and some of them upwards of seventy. Indeed it is difficult to conceive a more moving scene than the embarkation of these unhappy veterans: they were themselves extremely averse to the service they were engaged in, and fully apprised of all the disasters they were afterwards exposed to; the apprehensions of which were strongly marked by the concern that appeared in their countenances, which was mixed with no small degree of indignation, to be thus hurried from their repose into a fatiguing employ, to which neither the strength of their bodies, nor the vigour of their minds, were any ways proportioned, and where, without seeing the face of an enemy, or in the least promoting the success of the enterprise they were engaged in, they would in all probability uselessly perish by lingering and painful diseases; and this too, after they had spent the activity and strength of their youth in their country's service.

And I cannot but observe, on this melancholy incident, how extremely unfortunate it was, both to this aged and diseased detachment, and to the expedition they were employed in; that amongst all the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, which were supposed to amount to two thousand men, the most crazy and infirm only should be culled out for so fatiguing and perilous an undertaking. For it was well known, that however unfit invalids in general might be for this service, yet by a prudent choice, there might have been found among them five hundred men, who had some remains of vigour left; and Mr. Anson fully expected, that the best of them would have been allotted him; whereas the whole detachment that was sent to him, seemed to be made up of the most decrepit and miserable objects, that could be collected out of the whole body; and by the desertion above-mentioned, these were a second time cleared of that little health and strength which were to be found amongst them, and he was to take up with such as were much fitter for an infirmary, than for any military duty.

And here it is necessary to mention another material particular in the equipment of this squadron. It was proposed to Mr. Anson, after it was resolved that he should be sent to the South-Seas, to take with him two persons under the denomination of agent-victuallers. Those who were mentioned for this employment had formerly been in the Spanish West-Indies, in the South-Sea Company's service, and it was supposed that by their knowledge and intelligence on that coast, they might often procure provisions for him by compact with the inhabitants, when it was not to be got by force of arms. These agent-victuallers were, for this purpose, to be allowed to carry to the value of 15,000*l.* in merchandise on board the squadron; for they had represented, that it would be much easier for them to procure provisions with goods, than with the value of the same goods in money. Whatever colours were given to this scheme, it was difficult to persuade the generality of mankind, that it was not principally intended for the enrichment of the agents, by the beneficial commerce

they proposed to carry on upon that coast. Mr. Anson, from the beginning, objected both to the appointment of agent victuallers, and the allowing them to carry a cargo on board the squadron: for he conceived, that in those few amicable ports where the squadron might touch, he needed not their assistance to contract for any provisions the place afforded; and on the enemy's coast, he did not imagine that they could ever procure him the necessaries he should want, unless (which he was resolved not to comply with) the military operations of his squadron were to be regulated by the ridiculous views of their trading projects. All that he thought the Government ought to have done on this occasion, was to put on board to the value of 2 or 3000*l.* only of such goods, as the Indians, or the Spanish planters in the less cultivated part of the coast, might be tempted with; since it was in such places only that he imagined it would be worth while to truck with the enemy for provisions: and in these places, it was sufficiently evident, a very small cargo would suffice.

But though the commodore objected both to the appointment of these officers, and to their project; yet, as they had insinuated that their scheme, besides victualling the squadron, might contribute to settling a trade upon that coast, which might be afterwards carried on without difficulty, and might thereby prove a very considerable national advantage, they were much listened to by some considerable persons: and of the 15,000*l.* which was to be the amount of their cargo, the Government agreed to advance them 10,000 upon imprest, and the remaining 5000 they raised on bottomry bonds; and the goods purchased with this sum were all that were taken to sea by the squadron, how much soever the amount of them might be afterwards magnified by common report.

This cargo was at first shipped on board the *Wager* store-ship, and one of the victuallers; no part of it being admitted on board the men-of-war. But when the commodore was at St. Catharine's, he considered, that in case the squadron should be separated, it might be pretended that some of the ships were disappointed of provisions for want of a cargo to truck with, and therefore he distributed some of the least bulky commodities on board the men-of-war, leaving the remainder principally on board the *Wager*, where it was lost: and more of the goods perishing by various accidents to be recited hereafter, and no part of them being disposed of upon the coast, the few that came home to England, did not produce, when sold, above a fourth part of the original price. So true was the commodore's prediction about the event of this project, which had been by many considered as infallibly productive of immense gains. But to return to the transactions at Portsmouth.

To supply the place of the two hundred and forty invalids who had deserted, as is mentioned above, there were ordered on board two hundred and ten marines detached from different regiments: these were raw and undisciplined men, for they were just raised, and had scarcely any thing more of the soldier than their regimentals, none of them having been so far trained, as to be permitted to fire. The last detachment of these marines came on board the 8th of August, and

on the 10th the squadron sailed from Spithead to St. Helens, there to wait for a wind to proceed on the expedition.

But the delays we had already suffered had not yet spent all their influence, for we were now advanced into a season of the year, when the westerly winds are usually very constant, and very violent; and it was thought proper that we should put to sea in company with the fleet commanded by Admiral Balchen, and the expedition under Lord Cathcart. And as we made up in all twenty-one men of war, and a hundred and twenty-four sail of merchantment and transports, we had no hopes of getting out of the channel with so large a number of ships, without the continuance of a fair wind, for some considerable time. This was what we had every day less and less reason to expect, as the time of the equinox drew near; so that our golden dreams, and our ideal possession of the Peruvian treasures, grew each day more faint, and the difficulties and dangers of the passage round Cape Horn in the winter season filled our imaginations in their room. For it was forty days from our arrival at St. Helens, to our final departure from thence: and even then (having orders to proceed without Lord Cathcart) we tided it down the channel with a contrary wind. But this interval of forty days was not free from the displeasing fatigue of often setting sail, and being as often obliged to return; nor exempt from dangers, greater than have been sometimes experienced in surrounding the globe. For the wind coming fair for the first time, on the 23d of August, we got under sail, and Mr. Balchen showed himself truly solicitous to have proceeded to sea, but the wind soon returning to its old quarter, obliged us to put back to St. Helens, not without considerable hazard, and some damage received by two of the transports, which, in tacking, ran foul of each other: besides this, we made two or three more attempts to sail, but without any better success. And, on the 6th of September, being returned to an anchor at St. Helens, after one of these fruitless efforts, the wind blew so fresh, that the whole fleet struck their yards and topmasts to prevent their driving. And, notwithstanding this precaution, the Centurion drove the next evening, and brought both cables a-head, and we were in no small danger of driving foul of the Prince Frederick, a seventy-gun ship, moored at a small distance under our stern; which we happily escaped, by her driving at the same time, and so preserving her distance: nor did we think ourselves secure, till we at last let go the sheet-anchor, which fortunately brought us up.

However, on the 9th of September, we were in some degree relieved from this lingering vexatious situation, by an order which Mr. Anson received from the lords justices, to put to sea the first opportunity with his own squadron only, if Lord Cathcart should not be ready. Being thus freed from the troublesome company of so large a fleet, our commodore resolved to weigh and tide it down channel as soon as the weather should become sufficiently moderate, and this might easily have been done with our own squadron alone full two months sooner, had the orders of the Admiralty, for supplying us with seamen, been punctually complied with, and had we met with none of those other delays mentioned in this narration. It is

true, our hopes of a speedy departure were even now somewhat damped by a subsequent order which Mr. Anson received on the 12th of September; for by that he was required to take under his convoy the St. Albans with the Turkey fleet, and to join the Dragon, and the Winchester, with the Straits' and the American trade at Torbay or Plymouth, and to proceed with them to sea as far as their way and ours lay together: this incumbrance of a convoy gave us some uneasiness, as we feared it might prove the means of lengthening our passage to the Madeiras. However, Mr. Anson, now having the command himself, resolved to adhere to his former determination, and to tide it down the channel with the first moderate weather; and that the junction of his convoy might occasion as little a loss of time as possible, he immediately sent directions to Torbay, that the fleets he was there to take under his care, might be in a readiness to join him instantly on his approach. And at last, on the 18th of September, he weighed from St. Helens; and though the wind was at first contrary, had the good fortune to get clear of the channel in four days, as will be more particularly related in the ensuing chapter.

Having thus gone through the respective steps taken in the equipment of this squadron, it is sufficiently obvious how different an aspect this expedition bore at its first appointment in the beginning of January, from what it had in the latter end of September, when it left the channel; and how much its numbers, its strength, and the probability of its success were diminished, by the various incidents which took place in that interval. For instead of having all our old and ordinary seamen exchanged for such as were young and able, (which the commodore was at first promised,) and having our numbers completed to their full complement, we were obliged to retain our first crews, which were very indifferent; and a deficiency of three hundred men in our numbers was no otherwise made up to us, than by sending us on board a hundred and seventy men, the greatest part composed of such as were discharged from hospitals, or new-raised marines who had never been at sea before. And in the land-forces allotted us, the change was still more disadvantageous, for there, instead of three independent companies of a hundred men each, and Bland's regiment of foot, which was an old one, we had only four hundred and seventy invalids and marines, one part of them incapable for action by age and infirmities, and the other part useless by their ignorance of their duty. But the diminishing the strength of the squadron was not the greatest inconvenience which attended these alterations; for the contests, representations, and difficulties which they continually produced, (as we have above seen, that in these cases the authority of the Admiralty was not always submitted to,) occasioned a delay and waste of time, which, in its consequences, was the source of all the disasters to which this enterprise was afterwards exposed: for, by this means we were obliged to make our passage round Cape Horn in the most tempestuous season of the year, whence proceeded the separation of our squadron, the loss of numbers of our men, and the imminent hazard of our total destruction: and by this delay too, the enemy had been so well informed of our designs, that a person who had been employed in the South-Sea com-

pany's service, and arrived from Panama three or four days before we left Portsmouth, was able to relate to Mr. Anson most of the particulars of the destination and strength of our squadron, from what he had learnt amongst the Spaniards before he left them. And this was afterwards confirmed by a more extraordinary circumstance: for we shall find, that when the Spaniards (fully satisfied that our expedition was intended for the South-Seas) had fitted out a squadron to oppose us, which had so far got the start of us, as to arrive before us off the island of Madeira, the commander of this squadron was so well instructed in the form and make of Mr. Anson's broad pennant, and had imitated it so exactly, that he thereby decoyed the Pearl, one of our squadron, within gun-shot of him, before the captain of the Pearl was able to discover his mistake.

## CHAPTER II.

*The Passage from St. Helens to the Island of Madeira: with a short account of that Island, and of our stay there.*

On the 18th of September, 1740, the squadron, as we have observed in the preceding chapter, weighed from St. Helens with a contrary wind, the commodore proposing to tide it down the channel, as he dreaded less the inconveniences he should thereby have to struggle with, than the risk he should run of ruining the enterprise, by an uncertain, and in all probability, a tedious attendance for a fair wind.

The squadron allotted to this service consisted of five men-of-war, a sloop-of-war, and two victualling ships. They were the Centurion of sixty guns, four hundred men, George Anson, Esq. commander; the Gloucester of fifty guns, three hundred men, Richard Norris, commander; the Severn of fifty guns, three hundred men, the honourable Edward Legg, commander; the Pearl of forty guns, two hundred and fifty men, Matthew Mitchel, commander; the Wager of twenty-eight guns, one hundred and sixty men, Dandy Kidd, commander; and the Tryal sloop of eight guns, one hundred men, the honourable John Murray, commander. The two victuallers were pinks, the largest of about four hundred, and the other of about two hundred tons burthen; these were to attend us, till the provisions we had taken on board were so far consumed as to make room for the additional quantity they carried with them, which, when we had taken into our ships, they were to be discharged. Besides the complement of men borne by the above-mentioned ships as their crews, there were embarked on board the squadron about four hundred and seventy invalids and marines, under the denomination of land-forces, as has been particularly mentioned in the preceding chapter, which were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Cracherode. With this squadron, together with the St. Albans and the Lark, and the trade under their convoy, Mr. Anson, after weighing from St. Helens, tided it down the channel for the first forty-eight hours; and, on the 20th, in the morning, we discovered off the Ram-Head the Dragon, Winchester, South-Sea Castle, and Rye, with a number of merchantmen under their convoy: these we joined about noon the same day, our commodore having orders to see them

(together with the St. Albans and Lark) as far into the sea as their course and ours lay together. When we came in sight of this last mentioned fleet, Mr. Anson first hoisted his broad pennant, and was saluted by all the men-of-war in company.

When we had joined this last convoy, we made up eleven men-of-war, and about one hundred and fifty sail of merchantmen, consisting of the Turkey, the Straits', and the American trade. Mr. Anson, the same day, made a signal for all the captains of the men-of-war to come on board him, where he delivered them their fighting and sailing instructions, and then, with a fair wind, we all stood towards the south-west; and the next day at noon, being the 21st, we had run forty leagues from the Ram-Head; and being now clear of the land, our commodore, to render our view more extensive, ordered Captain Mitchel, in the Pearl, to make sail two leagues a-head of the fleet every morning, and to repair to his station every evening. Thus we proceeded till the 25th, when the Winchester and the American convoy made the concerted signal for leave to separate, which being answered by the commodore, they left us: as the St. Albans and the Dragon, with the Turkey and Straits' convoy, did on the 29th. After which separation, there remained in company only our own squadron and our two victuallers, with which we kept on our course for the island of Madeira. But the winds were so contrary, that we had the mortification to be forty days in our passage thither from St. Helens, though it is known to be often done in ten or twelve. This delay was a most displeasing circumstance, productive of much discontent and ill-humour amongst our people, of which those only can have a tolerable idea, who have had the experience of a like situation. And besides the peevishness and despondency which foul and contrary winds, and a lingering voyage, never fail to create on all occasions, we, in particular, had very substantial reasons to be greatly alarmed at this unexpected impediment. For as we had departed from England much later than we ought to have done, we had placed almost all our hopes of success in the chance of retrieving, in some measure at sea, the time we had so unhappily wasted at Spithead and St. Helens. However, at last, on Monday, October the 25th, at five in the morning, we, to our great joy, made the land, and in the afternoon came to an anchor in Madeira Road, in forty fathom water; the Brazen-head bearing from us E. by S., the Loo N.N.W., and the Great Church N.N.E. We had hardly let go our anchor, when an English privateer sloop ran under our stern, and saluted the commodore with nine guns, which we returned with five. And, the next day, the consul of the island coming to visit the commodore, we saluted him with nine guns on his coming on board.

This island of Madeira, where we are now arrived, is famous through all our American settlements for its excellent wines, which seem to be designed by Providence for the refreshment of the inhabitants of the torrid zone. It is situated in a fine climate, in the latitude of 32° 27' north; and in the longitude from London of, by our different reckonings, from 18°  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 19°  $\frac{1}{2}$  west, though laid down in the charts in 17°. It is composed of one continued hill, of a considerable height, extending itself from east to west: the declivity of which, on

the south-side, is cultivated and interspersed with vineyards; and in the midst of this slope the merchants have fixed their country-seats, which help to form an agreeable prospect. There is but one considerable town in the whole island, it is named Funchiale, and is seated on the south part of the island, at the bottom of a large bay. This is the only place of trade, and indeed the only one where it is possible for a boat to land. Funchiale, towards the sea, is defended by a high wall, with a battery of cannon, besides a castle on the Loo, which is a rock standing in the water at a small distance from the shore. Even here the beach is covered with large stones, and a violent surf continually beats upon it; so that the commodore did not care to venture the ships' long-boats to fetch the water off, as there was so much danger of their being lost; and therefore ordered the captains of the squadron to employ Portuguese boats on that service.

We continued about a week at this island, watering our ships, and providing the squadron with wine and other refreshments. And, on the 3rd of November, Captain Richard Norris having signified, by a letter to the commodore, his desire to quit his command on board the Gloucester, in order to return to England for the recovery of his health, the commodore complied with his request; and thereupon was pleased to appoint Captain Matthew Mitchel to command the Gloucester in his room, and to remove Captain Kidd from the Wager to the Pearl, and Captain Murray from the Tryal sloop to the Wager, giving the command of the Tryal to Lieutenant Cheap. These promotions being settled, with other changes in the lieutenancies, the commodore, on the following day, gave to the captains their orders, appointing St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd islands, to be the first place of rendezvous in case of separation; and directing them, if they did not meet the Centurion there, to make the best of their way to the island of St. Catherine's on the coast of Brazil. The water for the squadron being the same day completed, and each ship supplied with as much wine and other refreshments as they could take in, we weighed anchor in the afternoon, and took our leave of the island of Madeira. But before I go on with the narration of our own transactions, I think it necessary to give some account of the proceedings of the enemy, and of the measures they had taken to render all our designs abortive.

When Mr. Anson visited the governor of Madeira, he received information from him, that for three or four days, in the latter end of October, there had appeared, to the westward of that island, seven or eight ships of the line, and a patache, which last was sent every day close in to make the land. The governor assured the commodore, upon his honour, that none upon the island had either given them intelligence, or had in any sort communicated with them, but that he believed them to be either French or Spanish, but was rather inclined to think them Spanish. On this intelligence Mr. Anson sent an officer in a clean sloop, eight leagues to the westward, to reconnoitre them, and, if possible, to discover what they were: but the officer returned without being able to get a sight of them, so that we still remained in uncertainty. However, we could not but conjecture, that this fleet was intended to put a stop to our

expedition, which, had they cruised to the eastward of the island instead of the westward, they could not but have executed with great facility. For as, in that case, they must have certainly fallen in with us, we should have been obliged to throw overboard vast quantities of provision to clear our ships for an engagement, and this alone, without any regard to the event of the action, would have effectually prevented our progress. This was so obvious a measure, that we could not help imagining reasons which might have prevented them from pursuing it. And we therefore supposed, that this French or Spanish squadron was sent out, upon advice of our sailing in company with Admiral Balchen and Lord Cathcart's expedition: and thence, from an apprehension of being over-matched, they might not think it advisable to meet with us, till we had parted company, which they might judge would not happen, before our arrival at this island. These were our speculations at that time; and from hence we had reason to suppose, that we might still fall in with them, in our way to the Cape de Verd islands. And afterwards, in the course of our expedition, we were many of us persuaded, that this was the Spanish squadron commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro, which was sent out purposely to traverse the views and enterprises of our squadron, to which, in strength, they were greatly superior. As the Spanish armament then was so nearly connected with our expedition, and as the catastrophe it underwent, though not effected by our force, was yet a considerable advantage to this nation, produced in consequence of our equipment, I have, in the following chapter, given a summary account of their proceedings, from their first setting out from Spain in the year 1740, till the Asia, the only ship which returned to Europe of the whole squadron, arrived at the Groyne in the beginning of the year 1746.

### CHAPTER III.

*The history of the Squadron commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro.*

THE squadron fitted out by the court of Spain to attend our motions, and traverse our projects, we supposed to have been the ships seen off Madeira, as mentioned in the preceding chapter. And as this force was sent out particularly against our expedition, I cannot but imagine that the following history of the casualties it met with, as far as by intercepted letters and other information the same has come to my knowledge, is a very essential part of the present work: for by this it will appear we were the occasion, that a considerable part of the naval power of Spain was diverted from the prosecution of the ambitious views of that court in Europe; and the men and ships, lost by the enemy in this undertaking, were lost in consequence of the precautions they took to secure themselves against our enterprises. This squadron (besides two ships intended for the West Indies, which did not part company till after they had left the Madeiras) was composed of the following men-of-war, commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro: The Asia of sixty-six guns, and seven hundred men; this was the admiral's ship. The Guipuscoa of seventy-four guns, and seven hundred men.

The *Hermiona* of fifty-four guns, and five hundred men.

The *Esperanza* of fifty guns, and four hundred and fifty men.

The *St. Estevan* of forty guns, and three hundred and fifty men.

And a patache of twenty guns.

These ships, over and above their complement of sailors and marines, had on board an old Spanish regiment of foot, intended to reinforce the garrisons on the coast of the South Seas. When this fleet had cruised for some days to the leeward of the *Madeiras*, as is mentioned in the preceding chapter, they left that station in the beginning of November, and steered for the river of *Plate*, where they arrived the 5th of January, O. S., and coming to an anchor in the bay of *Maldonado*, at the mouth of that river, their Admiral *Pizarro* sent immediately to *Buenos Ayres* for a supply of provisions; for they had departed from Spain with only four months' provisions on board. While they lay here expecting this supply, they received intelligence, by the treachery of the Portuguese governor of *St. Catherine's*, of Mr. Anson's having arrived at that island on the 21st of December preceding, and of his preparing to put to sea again with the utmost expedition. *Pizarro*, notwithstanding his superior force, had his reasons (and as some say, his orders likewise) for avoiding our squadron anywhere short of the South Seas. He was besides extremely desirous of getting round *Cape Horn* before us, as he imagined that step alone would effectually baffle all our designs; and, therefore, on hearing that we were in his neighbourhood, and that we should soon be ready to proceed for *Cape Horn*, he weighed anchor with the five large ships, (the patache being disabled and condemned, and the men taken out of her) after a stay of seventeen days only, and got under sail without his provisions, which arrived at *Maldonado* within a day or two after his departure. But notwithstanding the precipitation with which he departed, we put to sea from *St. Catherine's* four days before him, and in some part of our passage to *Cape Horn*, the two squadrons were so near together, that the *Pearl*, one of our ships, being separated from the rest, fell in with the Spanish fleet, and mistaking the *Asia* for the *Centurion*, had got within gun-shot of *Pizarro*, before she discovered her error, and narrowly escaped being taken.

It being the 22d of January when the Spaniards weighed from *Maldonado*, (as has been already mentioned) they could not expect to get into the latitude of *Cape Horn* before the equinox; and as they had reason to apprehend very tempestuous weather in doubling it at that season, and as the Spanish sailors, being for the most part accustomed to a fair-weather country, might be expected to be very averse to so dangerous and fatiguing a navigation, the better to encourage them, some part of their pay was advanced to them in European goods, which they were to be permitted to dispose of in the South Seas, that so the hopes of the great profit each man was to make on his small venture might animate him in his duty, and render him less disposed to repine at the labour, the hardships and the perils he would in all probability meet with before his arrival on the coast of *Peru*.

*Pizarro* with his squadron having, towards the

latter end of February, run the length of *Cape Horn*, he then stood to the westward in order to double it; but in the night of the last day of February, O. S., while with this view they were turning to windward, the *Guipuscoa*, the *Hermiona*, and the *Esperanza*, were separated from the admiral; and, on the 6th of March following, the *Guipuscoa* was separated from the other two; and on the 7th (being the day after we had passed *Straits le Maire*) there came on a most furious storm at *N. W.*, which, in despite of all their efforts, drove the whole squadron to the eastward, and obliged them, after several fruitless attempts, to bear away for the river of *Plate*, where *Pizarro* in the *Asia* arrived about the middle of May, and a few days after him the *Esperanza* and the *Estevan*. The *Hermiona* was supposed to founder at sea, for she was never heard of more; and the *Guipuscoa* was run ashore, and sunk on the coast of *Brazil*. The calamities of all kinds, which this squadron underwent in this unsuccessful navigation, can only be paralleled by what we ourselves experienced in the same climate, when buffeted by the same storms. There was indeed some diversity in our distresses, which rendered it difficult to decide whose situation was most worthy of commiseration. For to all the misfortunes we had in common with each other, as shattered rigging, leaky ships, and the fatigues and despondency, which necessarily attend these disasters, there was superadded on board our squadron the ravage of a most destructive and incurable disease, and on board the Spanish squadron the devastation of famine.

For this squadron, either from the hurry of their outset, their presumption of a supply at *Buenos Ayres*, or from other less obvious motives, departed from Spain, as has been already observed, with no more than four months' provision, and even that, as it is said, at short allowance only; so that, when by the storms they met with off *Cape Horn*, their continuance at sea was prolonged a month or more beyond their expectation, they were thereby reduced to such infinite distress, that rats, when they could be caught, were sold for four dollars a-piece; and a sailor, who died on board, had his death concealed for some days by his brother, who, during that time lay in the same hammock with the corpse, only to receive the dead man's allowance of provisions. In this dreadful situation they were alarmed (if their horrors were capable of augmentation) by the discovery of a conspiracy among the marines, on board the *Asia*, the admiral's ship. This had taken its rise chiefly from the miseries they endured: for though no less was proposed by the conspirators than the massacring the officers and the whole crew, yet their motive for this bloody resolution seemed to be no more than their desire of relieving their hunger, by appropriating the whole ship's provisions to themselves. But their designs were prevented, when just upon the point of execution, by means of one of their confessors, and three of their ringleaders were immediately put to death. However, though the conspiracy was suppressed, their other calamities admitted of no alleviation, but grew each day more and more destructive. So that by the complicated distress of fatigue, sickness, and hunger, the three ships which escaped lost the greatest part of their men:

the Asia, their admiral's ship, arrived at Monte Video in the river of Plate, with half her crew only; the St. Estevan had lost in like manner half her hands, when she anchored in the bay of Barragan; the Esperanza, a fifty-gun ship, was still more unfortunate, for of four hundred and fifty hands which she brought from Spain, only fifty-eight remained alive, and the whole regiment of foot perished except sixty men. But to give the reader a more distinct and particular idea of what they underwent upon this occasion, I shall lay before him a short account of the fate of the Guipuscoa, from a letter written by Don Joseph Mendinueta her captain, to a person of distinction at Lima; a copy of which fell into our hands afterwards in the South Seas.

He mentions, that he separated from the Hermiona and the Esperanza in a fog, on the 6th of March, being then, as I suppose, to the S. E. of Staten-Land, and plying to the westward; that in the night after, it blew a furious storm at N. W., which, at half an hour after ten, split his main-sail, that obliged him to bear away with his fore-sail; that the ship went ten knots an hour with a prodigious sea, and often ran her gangway under water; that he likewise sprang his main-mast; and the ship made so much water, that with four pumps and baling he could not free her. That on the 19th it was calm, but the sea continued so high, that the ship in rolling opened all her upper works and seams, and started the butt ends of her planking and the greatest part of her top timbers, the bolts being drawn by the violence of her roll. That in this condition, with other additional disasters to the hull and rigging, they continued beating to the westward till the 12th: that they were then in sixty degrees of south latitude, in great want of provisions, numbers every day perishing by the fatigue of pumping, and those who survived being quite dispirited by labour, hunger, and the severity of the weather, they having two spans of snow upon the decks: that then finding the wind fixed in the western quarter, and blowing strong, and consequently their passage to the westward impossible, they resolved to bear away for the river of Plate: that on the 22nd, they were obliged to throw overboard all the upper deck guns, and an anchor, and to take six turns of the cable round the ship to prevent her opening: that on the 4th of April, it being calm but a very high sea, the ship rolled so much that the main-mast came by the board, and in a few hours after she lost, in like manner, her fore-mast and her mizen-mast; and that, to accumulate their misfortunes, they were soon obliged to cut away their bowsprit to diminish, if possible, the leakage at her head: that by this time he had lost two hundred and fifty men by hunger and fatigues; for those who were capable of working at the pumps (at which every officer without exception took his turn) were allowed only an ounce and half of biscuit *per diem*; and those who were so sick or so weak that they could not assist in this necessary labour, had no more than an ounce of wheat; so that it was common for the men to fall down dead at the pumps: that, including the officers, they could only muster from eighty to a hundred persons capable of duty: that the south-west winds blew so fresh after they had lost their masts, that they could not immediately set

up jury masts, but were obliged to drive like a wreck between the latitudes of thirty-two and twenty-eight till the 24th of April, when they made the coast of Brazil, at Rio de Patas, ten leagues to the southward of the Island of St. Catherine's; that here they came to an anchor, and that the captain was very desirous of proceeding to St. Catherine's if possible, in order to save the hull of the ship, and the guns and stores on board her; but the crew instantly left off pumping, and being enraged at the hardships they had suffered, and the numbers they had lost, (there being at that time no less than thirty dead bodies lying on the deck,) they all with one voice cried out "on shore, on shore," and obliged the captain to run the ship in directly for the land, where, the 5th day after, she sunk with her stores, and all her furniture on board her, but the remainder of the crew, whom hunger and fatigue had spared to the number of four hundred, got safe on shore.

From this account of the adventures and catastrophe of the Guipuscoa, we may form some conjecture of the manner in which the Hermiona was lost, and of the distresses endured by the three remaining ships of the squadron, which got into the river of Plate. These last being in great want of masts, yards, rigging, and all kind of naval stores, and having no supply at Buenos Ayres, nor in any other of their settlements, Pizarro despatched an advice boat with a letter of credit to Rio Janeiro, to purchase what was wanting from the Portuguese. He at the same time sent an express across the continent to San Jago, in Chili, to be thence forwarded to the viceroy of Peru, informing him of the disasters that had befallen his squadron, and desiring a remittance of 200,000 dollars from the royal chests at Lima, to enable him to victual and refit his remaining ships, that he might be again in a condition to attempt the passage to the South Seas, as soon as the season of the year should be more favourable. It is mentioned by the Spaniards as a most extraordinary circumstance that the Indian charged with this express, (though it was then the depth of winter, when the Cordilleras are esteemed impassable on account of the snow,) was only thirteen days in his journey from Buenos Ayres to St. Jago in Chili; though these places are distant three hundred Spanish leagues, near forty of which are amongst the snows and precipices of the Cordilleras.

The return to this despatch of Pizarro's from the viceroy of Peru, was no ways favourable; instead of 200,000 dollars, the sum demanded, the viceroy remitted him only 100,000, telling him, that it was with great difficulty he was able to procure him even that: though the inhabitants at Lima, who considered the presence of Pizarro as absolutely necessary to their security, were much discontented at this procedure, and did not fail to assert, that it was not the want of money, but the interested views of some of the viceroy's confidants, that prevented Pizarro from having the whole sum he had asked for.

The advice-boat sent to Rio Janeiro also executed her commission but imperfectly; for though she brought back a considerable quantity of pitch, tar, and cordage, yet she could not procure either masts or yards: and, as an additional misfortune, Pizarro was disappointed of some masts he ex-



pected from Paraguay; for a carpenter, whom he entrusted with a large sum of money, and had sent there to cut masts, instead of prosecuting the business he was employed in, had married in the country, and refused to return. However, by removing the masts of the *Esperanza* into the *Asia*, and making use of what spare masts and yards they had on board, they made a shift to refit the *Asia* and the *St. Estevan*. And in the October following, Pizarro was preparing to put to sea with these two ships, in order to attempt the passage round Cape Horn a second time; but the *St. Estevan*, in coming down the river Plate, ran on a shoal, and beat off her rudder, on which, and other damages she received, she was condemned and broke up, and Pizarro in the *Asia* proceeded to sea without her. Having now the summer before him, and the winds favourable, no doubt was made of his having a fortunate and speedy passage; but being off Cape Horn, and going right before the wind in very moderate weather, though in a swelling sea, by some misconduct of the officer of the watch the ship rolled away her masts, and was a second time obliged to put back to the river of Plate in great distress.

The *Asia* having considerably suffered in this second unfortunate expedition, the *Esperanza*, which had been left behind at Monte Video, was ordered to be refitted, the command of her being given to Mindinuetta, who was captain of the *Guipuscoa* when she was lost. He, in the November of the succeeding year, that is, in November, 1742, sailed from the river of Plate for the South Seas, and arrived safe on the coast of Chili; where his commodore Pizarro passing over land from Buenos Ayres met him. There were great animosities and contests between these two gentlemen at their meeting, occasioned principally by the claim of Pizarro to command the *Esperanza*, which Mindinuetta had brought round: for Mindinuetta refused to deliver her up to him; insisting, that as he came into the South Seas alone, and under no superior, it was not now in the power of Pizarro to resume that authority which he had once parted with. However, the president of Chili interposing and declaring for Pizarro, Mindinuetta, after a long and obstinate struggle, was obliged to submit.

But Pizarro had not yet completed the series of his adventures; for when he and Mindinuetta came back by land from Chili to Buenos Ayres, in the year 1745, they found at Monte Video the *Asia*, which near three years before they had left there. This ship they resolved, if possible, to carry to Europe, and with this view they refitted her in the best manner they could: but their great difficulty was to procure a sufficient number of hands to navigate her, for all the remaining sailors of the squadron to be met with in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres, did not amount to a hundred men. They endeavoured to supply this defect by pressing many of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, and putting on board besides all the English prisoners then in their custody, together with a number of Portuguese smugglers, whom they had taken at different times, and some of the Indians of the country. Among these last there was a chief and ten of his followers, who had been surprised by a party of Spanish soldiers about three months before. The name of this

chief was Orellana, he belonged to a very powerful tribe, which had committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres. With this motley crew (all of them, except the European Spaniards, extremely averse to the voyage) Pizarro set sail from Monte Video in the river of Plate, about the beginning of November 1745, and the native Spaniards being no strangers to the dissatisfaction of their forced men, treated both those, the English prisoners and the Indians, with great insolence and barbarity; but more particularly the Indians, for it was common for the meanest officers in the ship to beat them most cruelly on the slightest pretences, and oftentimes only to exert their superiority. Orellana and his followers, though in appearance sufficiently patient and submissive, meditated a severe revenge for all these inhumanities. As he conversed very well in Spanish, (these Indians having in time of peace a great intercourse with Buenos Ayres) he affected to talk with such of the English as understood that language, and seemed very desirous of being informed how many Englishmen there were on board, and which they were. As he knew that the English were as much enemies to the Spaniards as himself, he had doubtless an intention of disclosing his purposes to them, and making them partners in the scheme he had projected for revenging his wrongs, and recovering his liberty; but having sounded them at a distance, and not finding them so precipitate and vindictive as he expected, he proceeded no further with them, but resolved to trust alone to the resolution of his ten faithful followers. These, it should seem, readily engaged to observe his directions, and to execute whatever commands he gave them; and having agreed on the measures necessary to be taken, they first furnished themselves with Dutch knives sharp at the point, which being the common knives used in the ship, they found no difficulty in procuring: besides this, they employed their leisure in secretly cutting out thongs from raw hides, of which there were great numbers on board, and in fixing to each end of these thongs the double-headed shot of the small quarter-deck guns; this, when swung round their heads, according to the practice of their country, was a most mischievous weapon, in the use of which the Indians about Buenos Ayres are trained from their infancy, and consequently are extremely expert. These particulars being in good forwardness, the execution of their scheme was perhaps precipitated by a particular outrage committed on Orellana himself. For one of the officers, who was a very brutal fellow, ordered Orellana aloft, which being what he was incapable of performing, the officer, under pretence of his disobedience, beat him with such violence, that he left him bleeding on the deck, and stupified for some time with his bruises and wounds. This usage undoubtedly heightened his thirst for revenge, and made him eager and impatient till the means of executing it were in his power; so that, within a day or two after this incident, he and his followers opened their desperate resolves in the ensuing manner.

It was about nine in the evening, when many of the principal officers were on the quarter-deck, indulging in the freshness of the night air; the waist of the ship was filled with live cattle, and the fore-castle was manned with its customary watch.

Orellana and his companions, under cover of the night, having prepared their weapons, and thrown off their trowsers and the more cumbrous part of their dress, came all together on the quarter-deck, and drew towards the door of the great cabin. The boatswain immediately reprimanded them, and ordered them to be gone. On this Orellana spoke to his followers in his native language, when four of them drew off, two towards each gangway, and the chief and the six remaining Indians seemed to be slowly quitting the quarter-deck. When the detached Indians had taken possession of the gangway, Orellana placed his hands hollow to his mouth, and bellowed out the war-cry used by those savages, which is said to be the harshest and most terrifying sound known in nature. This hideous yell was the signal for beginning the massacre: for on this they all drew their knives, and brandished their prepared double-headed shot, and the six with their chief, who remained on the quarter-deck, immediately fell on the Spaniards, who were intermingled with them, and laid near forty of them at their feet, of whom above twenty were killed on the spot, and the rest disabled. Many of the officers, in the beginning of the tumult, pushed into the great cabin, where they put out the lights, and barricaded the door. And of the others, who had avoided the first fury of the Indians, some endeavoured to escape along the gangways into the fore-castle, but the Indians, placed there on purpose, stabbed the greatest part of them, as they attempted to pass by, or forced them off the gangways into the waist. Others threw themselves voluntarily over the barricades into the waist, and thought themselves happy to lie concealed amongst the cattle; but the greatest part escaped up the main shrouds, and sheltered themselves either in the tops or rigging. And though the Indians attacked only the quarter-deck, yet the watch in the fore-castle finding their communication cut off, and being terrified by the wounds of the few who, not being killed on the spot, had sufficient strength to force their passage along the gangways, and not knowing either who their enemies were, or what were their numbers, they likewise gave all over for lost, and in great confusion ran up into the rigging of the fore-mast and bowsprit.

Thus these eleven Indians, with a resolution perhaps without example, possessed themselves almost in an instant of the quarter-deck of a ship mounting sixty-six guns, with a crew of near five hundred men, and continued in peaceable possession of this post a considerable time. For the officers in the great cabin, (amongst whom were Pizarro and Mindinuetta) the crew between decks, and those who had escaped into the tops and rigging, were only anxious for their own safety, and were for a long time incapable of forming any project for suppressing the insurrection, and recovering the possession of the ship. It is true, the yells of the Indians, the groans of the wounded, and the confused clamours of the crew, all heightened by the obscurity of the night, had at first greatly magnified their danger, and had filled them with the imaginary terrors which darkness, disorder, and an ignorance of the real strength of an enemy, never fail to produce. For as the Spaniards were sensible of the disaffection of their pressed hands, and were also conscious of their barbarity to their pri-

soners, they imagined the conspiracy was general, and considered their own destruction as infallible; so that, it is said, some of them had once taken the resolution of leaping into the sea, but were prevented by their companions.

However, when the Indians had entirely cleared the quarter-deck, the tumult in a great measure subsided; for those who had escaped were kept silent by their fears, and the Indians were incapable of pursuing them to renew the disorder. Orellana, when he saw himself master of the quarter-deck, broke open the arm-chest, which, on a slight suspicion of mutiny, had been ordered there a few days before, as to a place of the greatest security. Here, he took it for granted, he should find cutlasses sufficient for himself and his companions, in the use of which weapon they were all extremely skilful, and with these, it was imagined, they proposed to have forced the great cabin: but on opening the chest, there appeared nothing but fire-arms, which to them were of no use. There were indeed cutlasses in the chest, but they were hid by the fire-arms being laid over them. This was a sensible disappointment to them, and by this time Pizarro and his companions in the great cabin were capable of conversing aloud, through the cabin windows and port-holes, with those in the gun-room and between decks, and from hence they learnt, that the English (whom they principally suspected) were all safe below, and had not intermeddled in this mutiny; and by other particulars they at last discovered, that none were concerned in it but Orellana and his people. On this Pizarro and the officers resolved to attack them on the quarter-deck, before any of the discontented on board should so far recover their first surprise, as to reflect on the facility and certainty of seizing the ship by a junction with the Indians in the present emergency. With this view Pizarro got together what arms were in the cabin, and distributed them to those who were with him: but there were no other fire-arms to be met with but pistols, and for these they had neither powder nor ball. However, having now settled a correspondence with the gun-room, they lowered down a bucket out of the cabin-window, into which the gunner, out of one of the gun-room ports, put a quantity of pistol cartridges. When they had thus procured ammunition, and had loaded their pistols, they set the cabin-door partly open, and fired some shot amongst the Indians on the quarter-deck, at first without effect. But at last Mindinuetta, whom we have often mentioned, had the good fortune to shoot Orellana dead on the spot; on which his faithful companions, abandoning all thoughts of farther resistance, instantly leaped into the sea, where they every man perished. Thus was this insurrection quelled, and the possession of the quarter-deck regained, after it had been full two hours in the power of this great and daring chief, and his gallant and unhappy countrymen.

Pizarro, having escaped this imminent peril, steered for Europe, and arrived safe on the coast of Galicia, in the beginning of the year 1746, after having been absent between four and five years, and having, by his attendance on our expedition, diminished the naval power of Spain by above three thousand hands (the flower of their sailors), and by four considerable ships of war and a patache.

For we have seen, that the *Hermiona* foundered at sea; the *Guipuscoa* was stranded, and sunk on the coast of Brazil; the *St. Estevan* was condemned, and broke up in the river of Plate; and the *Esperanza* being left in the South Seas, is doubtless by this time incapable of returning to Spain. So that the *Asia* only, with less than one hundred hands, may be considered as all the remains of that squadron with which Pizarro first put to sea. And whoever attends to the very large proportion, which this squadron bore to the whole navy of Spain, will, I believe, confess, that had our undertaking been attended with no other advantages than that of ruining so great a part of the sea-force of so dangerous an enemy, this alone would be a sufficient equivalent for our equipment, and an incontestible proof of the service which the nation has thence received. Having thus concluded this summary of Pizarro's adventures, I shall now return again to the narration of our own transactions.

#### CHAPTER IV.

*From Madeira to St. Catherine's.*

I HAVE already mentioned that, on the 3d of November, we weighed from Madeira, after orders had been given to the captains to rendezvous at *St. Jago*, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, in case the squadron was separated. But the next day, when we got to sea, the commodore considering that the season was far advanced, and that touching at *St. Jago* would create a new delay, he for this reason thought proper to alter his rendezvous, and to appoint the island of *St. Catherine's*, on the coast of Brazil, to be the first place to which the ships of the squadron were to repair in case of separation.

In our passage to the island of *St. Catherine's*, we found the direction of the trade-winds to differ considerably from what we had reason to expect, both from the general histories given of these winds, and the experience of former navigators. For the learned *Dr. Halley*, in his account of the trade-winds which take place in the Ethiopic and Atlantic Ocean, tells us, that from the latitude of  $28^{\circ}$  N., to the latitude of  $10^{\circ}$  N., there is generally a fresh gale of N. E. wind, which towards the African side rarely comes to the eastward of E. N. E., or passes to the northward of N. N. E.; but on the American side, the wind is somewhat more easterly, though most commonly even there it is a point or two to the northward of the east. That from  $10^{\circ}$  N. to  $4^{\circ}$  N., the calms and tornadoes take place; and from  $4^{\circ}$  N. to  $30^{\circ}$  S., the winds are generally and perpetually between the south and east. This account we expected to have verified by our own experience; but we found considerable variations from it, both in respect to the steadiness of the winds, and the quarter from whence they blew. For though we met with a N. E. wind about the latitude of  $28^{\circ}$  N., yet from the latitude of  $25^{\circ}$  to the latitude of  $18^{\circ}$  N., the wind was never once to the northward of the east, but on the contrary, almost constantly to the southward of it. However, from thence to the latitude of  $6^{\circ} 20'$  N., we had it usually to the northward of the east, though not entirely,

it having for a short time changed to E. S. E. From hence, to about  $4^{\circ} 46'$  N., the weather was very unsettled; sometimes the wind was N. E. then changed to S. E., and sometimes we had a dead calm attended with small rain and lightning. After this, the wind continued almost invariably between the S. and E., to the latitude of  $7^{\circ} 30'$  S.; and then again as invariably between the N. and E., to the latitude of  $15^{\circ} 30'$  S.; then E. and S. E., to  $21^{\circ} 37'$  S. But after this, even to the latitude of  $27^{\circ} 44'$  S., the wind was never once between the S. and the E., though we had it at times in all the other quarters of the compass. But this last circumstance may be in some measure accounted for, from our approach to the main continent of the Brazils. I mention not these particulars with a view of cavilling at the received accounts of these trade-winds, which I doubt not are in general sufficiently accurate; but I thought it a matter worthy of public notice, that such deviations from the established rules do sometimes take place. This observation may not only be of service to navigators, by putting them on their guard against these hitherto unexpected irregularities, but may perhaps contribute to the solution of that great question about the causes of trade-winds, and monsoons; a question, which in my opinion, has not been hitherto discussed with that clearness and accuracy, which its importance (whether it be considered as a naval or philosophical inquiry) seems to demand.

On the 16th of November, one of our victuallers made a signal to speak with the commodore, and we shortened sail for her to come up with us. The master came on board, and acquainted *Mr. Anson*, that he had complied with the terms of his charter-party, and desired to be unloaded and dismissed. *Mr. Anson*, on consulting the captains of the squadron, found all the ships had still such quantities of provision between their decks, and were withal so deep, that they could not without great difficulty take in their several proportions of brandy from the *Industry* pink, one of the victuallers only; and, consequently, he was obliged to continue the other of them, the *Anna* pink, in the service of attending the squadron. And the next day the commodore made a signal for the ships to bring to, and to take on board their shares of the brandy from the *Industry* pink; and in this, the long-boats of the squadron were employed the three following days; that is, till the 19th in the evening, when the pink being unloaded, she parted company with us, being bound for *Barbadoes*, there to take in a freight for England. Most of the officers of the squadron took the opportunity of writing to their friends at home by this ship; but she was afterwards, as I have been since informed, unhappily taken by the Spaniards.

On the 20th of November, the captains of the squadron represented to the commodore, that their ships' companies were very sickly, and that it was their own opinion as well as their surgeons', that it would tend to the preservation of the men to let in more air between decks; but that their ships were so deep, they could not possibly open their lower ports. On this representation, the commodore ordered six air-scuttles to be cut in each ship, in such places where they would least weaken it.

And on this occasion I cannot but observe, how much it is the duty of all those who, either by office

or authority, have any influence in the direction of our naval affairs, to attend to this important article, the preservation of the lives and health of our seamen. If it could be supposed that the motives of humanity were insufficient for this purpose, yet policy, and a regard to the success of our arms, and the interest and honour of each particular commander, should naturally lead us to a careful and impartial examination of every probable method proposed for maintaining a ship's crew in health and vigour. But hath this been always done? Have the late invented plain and obvious methods of keeping our ships sweet and clean, by a constant supply of fresh air, been considered with that candour and temper, which the great benefits promised hereby ought naturally to have inspired? On the contrary, have not these salutary schemes been often treated with neglect and contempt? And have not some of those who have been entrusted with experimenting their effects, been guilty of the most indefensible partiality, in the accounts they have given of these trials? Indeed, it must be confessed, that many distinguished persons, both in the direction and command of our fleets, have exerted themselves on these occasions with a judicious and dispassionate examination, becoming the interesting nature of the inquiry; but the wonder is, that any could be found irrational enough to act a contrary part, in despite of the strongest dictates of prudence and humanity. I must, however, own, that I do not believe this conduct to have arisen from motives so savage, as the first reflection thereon does naturally suggest: but I rather impute it to an obstinate, and in some small degree superstitious, attachment to such practices as have been long established, and to a settled contempt and hatred of all kinds of innovations, especially such as are projected by landsmen and persons residing on shore. But let us return from this, I hope not, impertinent digression.

We crossed the equinoctial with a fine fresh gale at S. E., on Friday the 28th of November, at four in the morning, being then in the longitude of 27° 59' W. from London. And on the 2d of December, in the morning, we saw a sail in the N. W. quarter, and made the Gloucester's and Tryal's signals to chase; and half an hour after, we let our reefs and chased with the squadron; and about noon a signal was made for the Wager to take our remaining victualler, the Anna pink, in tow. But at seven in the evening, finding we did not near the chase, and that the Wager was very far a-stern, we shortened sail, and made a signal for the cruisers to join the squadron. The next day but one we again discovered a sail, which, on a nearer approach, we judged to be the same vessel. We chased her the whole day, and though we rather gained upon her, yet night came on before we could overtake her, and obliged us to give over the chase, to collect our scattered squadron. We were much chagrined at the escape of this vessel, as we then apprehended her to be an advice-boat sent from Old Spain to Buenos Ayres, with notice of our expedition. But we have since learned that we were deceived in this conjecture, and that it was our East-India Company's packet, bound to St. Helena.

On the 10th of December, being by our accounts in the latitude of 20° S., and 36° 30' longitude

west from London, the Tryal fired a gun to denote soundings. We immediately sounded, and found sixty fathom water, the bottom coarse ground with broken shells. The Tryal being a-head of us, had at one time thirty-seven fathom, which afterwards increased to 90. And then she found no bottom, which happened to us too at our second trial, though we sounded with a hundred and fifty fathom of line. This is the shoal which is laid down in most charts by the name of the Abrollos; and it appeared we were upon the very edge of it; perhaps farther in it may be extremely dangerous. We were then, by our different accounts, from ninety to sixty leagues east of the coast of Brazil. The next day but one we spoke with a Portuguese brigantine from Rio Janeiro, bound to Bahia del Todos Santos, who informed us that we were thirty-four leagues from Cape St. Thomas, and forty leagues from Cape Frio, which last bore from us W. S. W. By our accounts we were near eighty leagues from Cape Frio; and though, on the information of this brigantine, we altered our course and stood more to the southward, yet by our coming in with the land afterwards, we were fully convinced that our reckoning was much correcter than our Portuguese intelligence. We found a considerable current setting to the southward, after we had passed the latitude of 16° S. And the same took place all along the coast of Brazil, and even to the southward of the river of Plate, it amounting sometimes to thirty miles in twenty-four hours, and once to above forty miles.

If this current is occasioned (as it is most probable) by the running off of the water accumulated on the coast of Brazil by the constant sweeping of the eastern trade-wind over the Ethiopic Ocean, then it is most natural to suppose, that its general course is determined by the bearings of the adjacent shore. Perhaps too, in almost every other instance of currents, the same may hold true, as I believe no examples occur of considerable currents being observed at any great distance from land. If this then could be laid down for a general principle, it would be always easy to correct the reckoning by the observed latitude. But it were much to be wished, for the general interests of navigation, that the actual settings of the different currents which are known to take place in various parts of the world, were examined more frequently and accurately than hitherto appears to have been done.

We now began to grow impatient for a sight of land, both for the recovery of our sick, and for the refreshment and security of those who as yet continued healthier. When we departed from St. Helens, we were in so good a condition, that we lost but two men on board the Centurion, in our long passage to Madeira. But in this present run between Madeira and St. Catherine's we have been very sickly, so that many died, and great numbers were confined to their hammocks, both in our own ship and in the rest of the squadron, and several of these past all hopes of recovery. The disorders they in general labour under are such as are common to the hot climates, and what most ships bound to the southward experience in a greater or less degree. These are those kind of fevers which they usually call calentures: a disease, which was not only terrible in its first instance, but even the remains of it

often prove fatal to those who considered themselves as recovered from it. For it always left them in a very weak and helpless condition, and usually afflicted with fluxes and tenesmus. And by our continuance at sea all our complaints were every day increasing, so that it was with great joy that we discovered the coast of Brazil on the 18th of December, at seven in the morning.

The coast of Brazil appeared high and mountainous land, extending from the W. to W.S.W., and when we first saw it, it was about seventeen leagues distant. At noon we perceived a low double land, bearing W.S.W., about ten leagues distant, which we took to be the island of St. Catherine's. That afternoon and the next morning, the wind being N.N.W., we gained very little to windward, and were apprehensive of being driven to the leeward of the island; but a little before noon, the next day, the wind came about to the southward, and enabled us to steer in between the north point of St. Catherine's, and the neighbouring island of Alvoredo. As we stood in for the land, we had regular soundings, gradually decreasing from thirty-six to twelve fathom, all muddy ground. In this last depth of water we let go our anchor at five o'clock in the evening of the 18th, the north-west point of the island of St. Catherine's bearing S.S.W., distant three miles; and the island Alvoredo N.N.E., distant two leagues. Here we found the tide to set S.S.E. and N.N.W., at the rate of two knots, the tide of flood coming from the southward. We could from our ships observe two fortifications at a considerable distance within us, which seemed designed to prevent the passage of an enemy between the island of St. Catherine's and the main. And we could soon perceive that our squadron had alarmed the coast, for we saw the two forts hoist their colours, and fire several guns, which we supposed to be intended for assembling the inhabitants. To prevent any confusion, the commodore immediately sent a boat with an officer on shore, to compliment the governor, and to desire a pilot to carry us into the road. The governor returned a very civil answer, and ordered us a pilot. On the morning of the 20th, we weighed and stood in, and towards noon the pilot came on board of us, who, the same afternoon, brought us to an anchor in five fathom and a half, in a large commodious bay on the continent side, called by the French, Bon Port. In standing from our last anchorage to this place, we everywhere found an oozy bottom, with a depth of water first regularly decreasing to five fathom, and then increasing to seven, after which we had six and five fathom alternately. The next morning we weighed again with the squadron, in order to run above the two fortifications we have mentioned, which are called the castles of Santa Cruz and St. Juan. And now the soundings between the island and the main were four, five, and six fathom, with muddy ground. As we passed by the castle of Santa Cruz we saluted it with eleven guns, and were answered by an equal number; and at one in the afternoon, the squadron came to an anchor in five fathom and a half, the Governor's Island bearing N.N.W., St. Juan's Castle N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., and the island of St. Antonio south. In this position we moored at the island of St. Catherine's, on Sunday the 21st of December, the whole squadron being, as I have already

mentioned, sickly, and in great want of refreshments: both which inconveniences we hoped to have soon removed at this settlement, celebrated by former navigators for its healthiness and its provisions, and for the freedom, indulgence, and friendly assistance there given to the ships of all European nations in amity with the crown of Portugal.

## CHAPTER V.

*Proceedings at St. Catherine's, and a Description of the place, with a short Account of Brazil.*

OUR first care, after having moored our ships, was to send our sick men on shore, each ship being ordered by the commodore to erect two tents for that purpose: one of them for the reception of the diseased, and the other for the accommodation of the surgeon and his assistants. We sent about eighty sick from the Centurion, and the other ships sent nearly as many, in proportion to the number of their hands. As soon as we had performed this necessary duty, we scraped our decks, and gave our ship a thorough cleansing; then smoked it between decks, and after all washed every part well with vinegar. These operations were extremely necessary for correcting the noisome stench on board, and destroying the vermin; for from the number of our men, and the heat of the climate, both these nuisances had increased upon us to a very loathsome degree, and besides being most intolerably offensive, they were doubtless in some sort productive of the sickness we had laboured under for a considerable time before our arrival at this island.

Our next employment was wooding and watering our squadron, caulking our ships' sides and decks, overhauling the rigging, and securing our masts against the tempestuous weather we were, in all probability, to meet with in our passage round Cape Horn, in so advanced and inconvenient a season. But before I engage in the particulars of these transactions, it will not be improper to give some account of the present state of the island of St. Catherine's, and of the neighbouring country; both as the circumstances of this place are now greatly changed from what they were in the time of former writers, and as these changes laid us under many more difficulties and perplexities than we had reason to expect, or than other British ships, hereafter bound to the South Seas, may perhaps think it prudent to struggle with.

This island is esteemed by the natives to be nowhere above two leagues in breadth, though about nine in length; it lies in  $49^{\circ} 45'$  of west longitude from London, and extends from the south latitude of  $27^{\circ} 35'$  to that of  $28^{\circ}$ . Although it be of a considerable height, yet it is scarcely discernible at the distance of ten leagues, being then obscured under the continent of Brazil, whose mountains are exceedingly high; but on a nearer approach it is easy to be distinguished, and may be readily known by a number of small islands lying at each end, and scattered along the east side of it.

The north entrance of the harbour is in breadth about five miles, and the distance from thence to the island of St. Antonio is eight miles, and the course from the entrance to St. Antonio is S.S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. About the middle of the island, the har-

bour is contracted by two points of land to a narrow channel, no more than a quarter of a mile broad ; and to defend this passage, a battery was erecting on the point of land on the island side. But this seems to be a very useless work, as the channel has no more than two fathom water, and consequently is navigable only for barks and boats, and therefore seems to be a passage that an enemy could have no inducement to attempt, especially as the common passage at the north end of the island is so broad and safe, that no squadron can be prevented from coming in by any of their fortifications, when the sea-breeze is made. However, the Brigadier Don Jose Sylva de Paz, the governor of this settlement, is esteemed an expert engineer, and he doubtless understands one branch of his business very well, which is the advantages which new works bring to those who are entrusted with the care of erecting them : for besides the battery mentioned above, there are three other forts carrying on for the defence of the harbour, none of which are yet completed. The first of these, called St. Juan, is built on a point of St. Catherine's near Parrot Island ; the second, in the form of a half moon, is on the island of St. Antonio ; and the third, which seems to be the chief, and has some appearance of a regular fortification, is on an island near the continent, where the governor resides.

The soil of the island is truly luxuriant, producing fruits of most kinds spontaneously ; and the ground is covered over with one continued forest of trees of a perpetual verdure, which, from the exuberance of the soil, are so entangled with briars, thorns, and underwood, as to form a thicket absolutely impenetrable, except by some narrow pathways which the inhabitants have made for their own convenience. These, with a few spots cleared for plantations along the shore facing the continent, are the only uncovered parts of the island. The woods are extremely fragrant, from the many aromatic trees and shrubs with which they abound ; and the fruits and vegetables of all climates thrive here, almost without culture, and are to be procured in great plenty ; so that here is no want of pine-apples, peaches, grapes, oranges, lemons, citrons, melons, apricots, nor plantains. There are besides great abundance of two other productions of no small consideration for a sea-store, I mean onions and potatoes. The provisions of other kinds are however inferior to their vegetables : there are small wild cattle to be purchased, somewhat like buffaloes, but these are very indifferent food, their flesh being of a loose contexture, and generally of a disagreeable flavour, which is probably owing to the wild calabash on which they feed. There are likewise great plenty of pheasants, but they are much inferior in taste to those we have in England. The other provisions of the place are monkeys, parrots, and fish of various sorts, which abound in the harbour, and are all exceedingly good, and are easily caught, for there are a great number of small sandy bays very convenient for hauling the seine.

The water both on the island and the opposite continent is excellent, and preserves at sea as well as that of the Thames. For after it has been in the cask a day or two it begins to purge itself, and stinks most intolerably, and is soon covered over with a green scum : but this, in a few days, sub-

sides to the bottom, and leaves the water as clear as crystal, and perfectly sweet. The French (who during their South Sea trade in Queen Anne's reign first brought this place into repute) usually wooded and watered in Bon Port, on the continent side, where they likewise anchored with great safety in six fathom water ; and this is doubtless the most commodious road for such ships as intend to make only a short stay. But we watered on the St. Catherine's side, at a plantation opposite to the island of St. Antonio.

These are the advantages of this island of St. Catherine's ; but there are many inconveniences attending it, partly from its climate, but more from its new regulations, and the late form of government established there. With regard to the climate, it must be remembered that the woods and hills which surround the harbour prevent a free circulation of the air. And the vigorous vegetation which constantly takes place there, furnishes such a prodigious quantity of vapour, that all the night and a great part of the morning a thick fog covers the whole country, and continues till either the sun gathers strength to dissipate it, or it is dispersed by a brisk sea breeze. This renders the place close and humid, and probably occasioned the many fevers and fluxes we were there afflicted with. To these exceptions I must not omit to add, that all the day we were pestered with great numbers of musquitoes, which are not much unlike the gnats in England, but more venomous in their stings. And at sun-set, when the musquitoes retired, they were succeeded by an infinity of sand-flies, which, though scarce discernible to the naked eye, make a mighty buzzing, and wherever they bite raise a small bump in the flesh, which is soon attended with a painful itching, like that arising from the bite of an English harvest-bug.

But as the only light in which this place deserves our consideration, is its favourable situation for supplying and refreshing our cruisers intended for the South Seas, in this view its greatest inconveniences remain still to be related ; and to do this more distinctly, it will not be amiss to consider the changes which it has lately undergone, both in its inhabitants, its police, and its governor.

In the time of Frezier and Shelvoeke, this place served only as a retreat to vagabonds and outlaws, who fled thither from all parts of Brazil. They did indeed acknowledge a subjection to the crown of Portugal, and had a person among them whom they called their captain, who was considered in some sort as their governor : but both their allegiance to their king, and their obedience to their captain, seemed to be little more than verbal. For as they had plenty of provisions but no money, they were in a condition to support themselves without the assistance of any neighbouring settlements, and had not amongst them the means of tempting any adjacent governor to busy his authority about them. In this situation they were extremely hospitable and friendly to such foreign ships as came amongst them. For these ships wanted only provisions, of which the natives had great store ; and the natives wanting clothes, (for they often despised money, and refused to take it) which the ships furnished them with in exchange for their provisions, both sides found their account in this traffic ; and their captain or governor had

neither power nor interest to restrain it or to tax it. But of late (for reasons which shall be hereafter mentioned) these honest vagabonds have been obliged to receive amongst them a new colony, and to submit to new laws and government. Instead of their former ragged bare-legged captain (whom, however, they took care to keep innocent) they have now the honour to be governed by Don Jose Sylva de Paz, a brigadier of the armies of Portugal. This gentleman has with him a garrison of soldiers, and has consequently a more extensive and a better supported power than any of his predecessors; and as he wears better clothes, and lives more splendidly, and has besides a much better knowledge of the importance of money than they could ever pretend to, so he puts in practice certain methods of procuring it with which they were utterly unacquainted. But it may be much doubted, if the inhabitants consider these methods as tending to promote either their interests, or that of their sovereign the king of Portugal. This is certain, that his behaviour cannot but be extremely embarrassing to such British ships as touch there in their way to the South Seas. For one of his practices was placing sentinels at all the avenues, to prevent the people from selling us any refreshments, except at such exorbitant rates as we could not afford to give. His pretence for this extraordinary stretch of power was, that he was obliged to preserve their provisions for upwards of a hundred families, which they daily expected to reinforce their colony. Hence he appears to be no novice in his profession, by his readiness at inventing a plausible pretence for his interested management. However, this, though sufficiently provoking, was far from being the most exceptionable part of his conduct. For by the neighbourhood of the river Plate, a considerable smuggling traffic is carried on between the Portuguese and the Spaniards, especially in the exchanging gold for silver, by which both princes are defrauded of their fifths; and in this prohibited commerce Don Jose was so deeply engaged, that in order to ingratiate himself with his Spanish correspondents (for no other reason can be given for his procedure) he treacherously despatched an express to Buenos Ayres in the river of Plate, where Pizarro then lay, with an account of the arrival, and of the strength of our squadron; particularly the number of ships, guns and men, and every circumstance which he could suppose our enemy desirous of being acquainted with. And the same perfidy every British cruiser may expect, who touches at St. Catherine's, while it is under the government of Don Jose Sylva de Paz.

Thus much, with what we shall be necessitated to relate in the course of our own proceedings may suffice as to the present state of St. Catherine's, and the character of its governor. But as the reader may be desirous of knowing to what causes the late new modelling of this settlement is owing; to satisfy him in this particular, it will be necessary to give a short account of the adjacent continent of Brazil, and of the wonderful discoveries which have been made there within these last forty years, which, from a country of but mean estimation, has rendered it now perhaps the most considerable colony on the face of the globe.

This country was first discovered by Americus Vesputio, a Florentine, who had the good fortune

to be honoured with giving his name to the immense continent, some time before found out by Columbus: he being in the service of the Portuguese, it was settled and planted by that nation, and, with the other dominions of Portugal, devolved to the crown of Spain, when that kingdom became subject to it. During the long war between Spain and the States of Holland, the Dutch possessed themselves of the northernmost part of Brazil, and were masters of it for some years. But when the Portuguese revolted from the Spanish government, this country took part in the revolt, and soon repossessed themselves of the places the Dutch had taken; since which time it has continued without interruption under the crown of Portugal, being, till the beginning of the present century, only productive of sugar and tobacco, and a few other commodities of very little account.

But this country, which for many years was only considered for the produce of its plantations, has been lately discovered to abound with the two minerals which mankind hold in the greatest esteem, and which they exert their utmost art and industry in acquiring, I mean, gold and diamonds. Gold was first found in the mountains which lie adjacent to the city of Rio Janeiro. The occasion of its discovery is variously related, but the most common account is, that the Indians, lying on the back of the Portuguese settlements, were observed by the soldiers employed in an expedition against them to make use of this metal for their fish-hooks; and their manner of procuring it being inquired into, it appeared that great quantities of it were annually washed from the hills, and left amongst the sand and gravel, which remained in the valleys after the running off or evaporation of the water. It is now little more than forty years since any quantities of gold worth notice have been imported to Europe from Brazil; but since that time the annual imports from thence have been continually augmented by the discovery of places in other provinces, where it is to be met with as plentifully as at first about Rio Janeiro. And it is now said, that there is a small slender vein of it spread through all the country, at about twenty-four feet from the surface, but that this vein is too thin and poor to answer the expense of digging; however, where the rivers or rains have had any course for a considerable time, there gold is always to be collected, the water having separated the metal from the earth, and deposited it in the sands, thereby saving the expenses of digging: so that it is esteemed an infallible gain to be able to divert a stream from its channel, and to ransack its bed. From this account of gathering this metal, it should follow that there are properly no gold mines in Brazil; and this the governor of Rio Grande (who being at St. Catherine's, frequently visited Mr. Anson) did most confidently affirm, assuring us, that the gold was all collected either from rivers, or from the beds of torrents after floods. It is indeed asserted that, in the mountains, large rocks are found abounding with this metal; and I myself have seen the fragment of one of these rocks with a considerable lump of gold entangled in it; but even in this case, the workmen break off the rocks, and do not properly mine into them; and the great expense in subsisting among these mountains, and afterwards in

separating the metal from the stone, makes this method of procuring gold to be but rarely put in practice.

The examining the bottoms of rivers, and the gullies of torrents, and the washing the gold found therein from the sand and dirt, with which it is always mixed, are works performed by slaves, who are principally negroes, kept in great numbers by the Portuguese for these purposes. The regulation of the duty of these slaves is singular: for they are each of them obliged to furnish their master with the eighth part of an ounce of gold *per diem*; and if they are either so fortunate or industrious as to collect a greater quantity, the surplus is considered as their own property, and they have the liberty of disposing of it as they think fit. So that it is said some negroes who have accidentally fallen upon rich washing places have themselves purchased slaves, and have lived afterwards in great splendour, their original master having no other demand on them than the daily supply of the forementioned eighth; which as the Portuguese ounce is somewhat lighter than our troy ounce, may amount to about nine shillings sterling.

The quantity of gold thus collected in the Brazils, and returned annually to Lisbon, may be in some degree estimated from the amount of the king's fifth. This hath of late been esteemed one year with another to be one hundred and fifty arroves of 32*l*. Portuguese weight, each of which, at 4*l*. the troy ounce, makes very near 300,000*l*. sterling; and consequently the capital, of which this is the fifth, is about a million and a half sterling. And the annual return of gold to Lisbon cannot be less than this, though it be difficult to determine how much it exceeds it; perhaps we may not be very much mistaken in our conjecture, if we suppose the gold exchanged for silver with the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres, and what is brought privily to Europe, and escapes the duty, amounts to near half a million more, which will make the whole annual produce of the Brazilian gold near two millions sterling; a prodigious sum to be found in a country which, a few years since, was not known to furnish a single grain.

I have already mentioned, that besides gold this country does likewise produce diamonds. The discovery of these valuable stones is much more recent than that of gold, it being as yet scarce twenty years since the first were brought to Europe. They are found in the same manner as the gold, in the gullies of torrents and beds of rivers, but only in particular places, and not so universally spread through the country. They were often found in washing the gold before they were known to be diamonds, and were consequently thrown away with the sand and gravel separated from it. And it is very well remembered, that numbers of very large stones, which would have made the fortunes of the possessors, have passed unregarded through the hands of those, who now with impatience support the mortifying reflection. However, about twenty years since, a person acquainted with the appearance of rough diamonds, conceived that these pebbles, as they were then esteemed, were of the same kind: but it is said, that there was a considerable interval between the first starting of this opinion, and

the confirmation of it by proper trials and examination, it proving difficult to persuade the inhabitants, that what they had been long accustomed to despise, could be of the importance represented by the discovery; and I have been informed, that in this interval, a governor of one of their places procured a good number of these stones, which he pretended to make use of at cards to mark with, instead of counters. But to proceed: it was at last confirmed by skilful jewellers in Europe, consulted on this occasion, that the stones thus found in Brazil were truly diamonds, many of which were not inferior either in lustre, or any other quality, to those of the East-Indies. On this determination the Portuguese, in the neighbourhood of those places where they had first been observed, set themselves to search for them with great assiduity. And they were not without great hopes of discovering considerable masses of them, as they found large rocks of crystal in many of the mountains, from whence the streams came which washed down the diamonds.

But it was soon represented to the king of Portugal, that if such plenty of diamonds should be met with as their sanguine conjectures seemed to indicate, this would so debase their value, and diminish their estimation, that besides ruining all the Europeans who had any quantity of Indian diamonds in their possession, it would render the discovery itself of no importance, and would prevent his Majesty from receiving any advantages from it. And on these considerations his Majesty has thought proper to restrain the general search of diamonds, and has erected a Diamond Company for that purpose, with an exclusive charter. This company, in consideration of a sum paid by them to the king, have the property of all diamonds found in Brazil: but to hinder their collecting too large quantities, and thereby debasing their value, they are prohibited from employing above eight hundred slaves in searching after them. And to prevent any of his other subjects from acting the same part, and likewise to secure the company from being defrauded by the interfering of interlopers in their trade, he has depopulated a large town, and a considerable district round it, and has obliged the inhabitants, who are said to amount to six thousand, to remove to another part of the country; for this town being in the neighbourhood of the diamonds, it was thought impossible to prevent such a number of people, who were on the spot, from frequently smuggling.

In consequence of these important discoveries in Brazil, new laws, new governments, and new regulations have been established in many parts of the country. For not long since, a considerable tract, possessed by a set of inhabitants, who from their principal settlement were called Paulists, almost independent of the crown of Portugal, to which they scarcely acknowledged more than a nominal allegiance. These are said to be descendants of those Portuguese, who retired from the northern part of Brazil, when it was invaded and possessed by the Dutch. And being for a long time neglected and obliged to provide for their own security and defence, the necessity of their affairs produced a kind of government amongst them, which they found sufficient for the confined manner of life to which they were inured. And



therefore rejecting and despising the authority and mandate of the court of Lisbon, they were often engaged in a state of downright rebellion : and the mountains surrounding their country, and the difficulty of clearing the few passages that open into it, generally put it in their power to make their own terms before they submitted. But as gold was found to abound in this country of the Paulists, the present king of Portugal (during whose reign almost the whole discoveries I have mentioned were begun and completed) thought it incumbent on him to reduce this province, which now became of great consequence, to the same dependence and obedience with the rest of the country which, I am told, he has at last, though with great difficulty, happily effected. And the same motives which induced his majesty to undertake the reduction of the Paulists, has also occasioned the changes I have mentioned, to have taken place at the island of St. Catherine's. For the governor of Rio Grande, of whom I have already spoken, assured us, that in the neighbourhood of this island there were considerable rivers which were found to be extremely rich, and that this was the reason that a garrison, a military governor, and a new colony was settled there. And as the harbour at this island is by much the securest and the most capacious of any on the coast, it is not improbable, if the riches of the neighbourhood answer their expectation, but it may become in time the principal settlement in Brazil, and the most considerable port in all South America.

Thus much I have thought necessary to insert, in relation to the present state of Brazil, and of the island of St. Catherine's. For as this last place has been generally recommended as the most eligible port for our cruisers to refresh at, which are bound to the South Seas, I believed it to be my duty to instruct my countrymen, in the hitherto unsuspected inconveniences which attend that place. And as the Brazilian gold and diamonds are subjects about which, from their novelty, very few particulars have been hitherto published, I conceived this account I had collected of them would appear to the reader to be neither a trifling nor a useless digression. These subjects being thus despatched, I shall now return to the series of our own proceedings.

When we first arrived at St. Catherine's we were employed in refreshing our sick on shore, in wooding and watering the squadron, cleansing our ships, and examining and securing our masts and rigging, as I have already observed in the foregoing chapter. At the same time Mr. Anson gave directions, that the ships' companies should be supplied with fresh meat, and that they should be victualled with whole allowance of all the kinds of provision. In consequence of these orders, we had fresh beef sent on board us continually for our daily expense, and what was wanting to make up our allowance we received from our victualler the Anna pink, in order to preserve the provisions on board our squadron entire for our future service. The season of the year growing each day less favourable for our passage round Cape Horn, Mr. Anson was very desirous of leaving this place as soon as possible; and we were at first in hopes that our whole business would be done, and we should be in readiness to sail in about a

fortnight from our arrival : but, on examining the Tryal's masts, we, to our no small vexation, found inevitable employment for twice that time. For, on a survey, it was found that the main-mast was sprung at the upper waulding, though it was thought capable of being secured by a couple of fishes ; but the fore-mast was reported to be unfit for service, and thereupon the carpenters were sent into the woods, to endeavour to find a stick proper for a fore-mast. But after a search of four days, they returned without having been able to meet with any tree fit for the purpose. This obliged them to come to a second consultation about the old fore-mast, when it was agreed to endeavour to secure it by casing it with three fishes : and in this work the carpenters were employed, till within a day or two of our sailing. In the mean time, the commodore thinking it necessary to have a clean vessel on our arrival in the South Seas, ordered the Tryal to be hove down, as this would not occasion any loss of time, but might be completed while the carpenters were refitting her masts, which was done on shore.

On the 27th of December we discovered a sail in the offing, and not knowing but she might be a Spaniard, the eighteen-oared boat was manned and armed, and sent under the command of our second lieutenant, to examine her before she arrived within the protection of the forts. She proved to be a Portuguese brigantine from Rio Grande. And though our officer, as it appeared on inquiry, had behaved with the utmost civility to the master, and had refused to accept a calf, which the master would have forced on him as a present : yet the governor took great offence at our sending our boat ; and talked of it in a high strain, as a violation of the peace subsisting between the crowns of Great Britain and Portugal. We at first imputed this ridiculous blustering to no deeper a cause than Don Jose's insolence ; but as we found he proceeded so far as to charge our officer with behaving rudely, and opening letters, and particularly with an attempt to take out of the vessel, by violence, the very calf which we knew he had refused to receive as a present (a circumstance which we were satisfied the governor was well acquainted with,) we had hence reason to suspect that he purposely sought this quarrel, and had more important motives for engaging in it, than the mere captious bias of his temper. What these motives were, it was not so easy for us to determine at that time ; but as we afterwards found by letters, which fell into our hands in the South Seas, that he had despatched an express to Buenos Ayres, where Pizarro then lay, with an account of our squadron's arrival at St. Catherine's, together with the most ample and circumstantial intelligence of our force and condition, we thence conjectured that Don Jose had raised this groundless clamour, only to prevent our visiting the brigantine when she should put to sea again, least we might there find proofs of his perfidious behaviour, and perhaps at the same time discover the secret of his smuggling correspondence with his neighbouring governors, and the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres. But to proceed.

It was near a month before the Tryal was refitted ; for not only her lower masts were defective, as hath been already mentioned, but her

main top-mast and fore-yard were likewise decayed and rotten. While this work was carrying on, the other ships of the squadron fixed new standing rigging, and set up a sufficient number of preventer shrouds to each mast, to secure them in the most effectual manner. And in order to render the ships stiffer, and to enable them to carry more sail abroad, and to prevent their labouring in hard gales of wind, each captain had orders given him to strike down some of their great guns into the hold. These precautions being complied with, and each ship having taken in as much wood and water as there was room for, the *Tryal* was at last completed, and the whole squadron was ready for the sea: on which the tents on shore were struck, and all the sick were received on board. And here we had a melancholy proof how much the healthiness of this place had been over-rated by former writers, for we found that though the *Centurion* alone had buried no less than twenty-eight men since our arrival, yet the number of her sick had in the same interval increased from eighty to ninety-six. And now our crews being embarked, and every thing prepared for our departure, the commodore made a signal for all captains, and delivered them their orders, containing the successive places of rendezvous from hence to the coast of China. And then, on the next day, being the 18th of January, the signal was made for weighing, and the squadron put to sea, leaving without regret this island of St. Catherine's; where we had been so extremely disappointed in our refreshments, in our accommodations, and in the humane and friendly offices which we had been taught to expect in a place, which hath been so much celebrated for its hospitality, freedom, and convenience.

#### CHAPTER VI.

*The run from St. Catherine's to port St. Julian, with some account of that port, and of the country to the southward of the river of Plate.*

IN leaving St. Catherine's, we left the last amicable port we proposed to touch at, and were now proceeding to a hostile, or at best, a desert and inhospitable coast. And as we were to expect a more boisterous climate to the southward than any we had yet experienced, not only our danger of separation would by this means be much greater than it had been hitherto, but other accidents of a more pernicious nature were likewise to be apprehended, and as much as possible to be provided against. And therefore Mr. Anson, in appointing the various stations at which the ships of the squadron were to rendezvous, had considered, that it was possible his own ship might be disabled from getting round Cape Horn, or might be lost, and had given proper directions, that even in that case the expedition should not be abandoned. For the orders delivered to the captains, the day before we sailed from St. Catherine's, were, that in case of separation, which they were with the utmost care to endeavour to avoid, the first place of rendezvous should be the bay of port St. Julian; describing the place from Sir John Narborough's account of it. There they were to supply themselves with as much salt as they could take in,

both for their own use, and for the use of the squadron; and if, after a stay there of ten days, they were not joined by the commodore, they were then to proceed through Straits le Maire round Cape Horn, into the South Seas, where the next place of rendezvous was to be the island of *Nostra Senora del Socoro*, in the latitude of 45° South, and longitude from the *Lizard* 71° 12' West. They were to bring this island to bear E.N.E., and to cruise from five to twelve leagues distance from it, as long as their store of wood and water would permit, both which they were to expend with the utmost frugality. And when they were under an absolute necessity of a fresh supply, they were to stand in, and endeavour to find out an anchoring-place; and in case they could not, and the weather made it dangerous to supply their ships by standing off and on, they were then to make the best of their way to the island of *Juan Fernandes*, in the latitude of 33° 37' South. And as soon as they had there recruited their wood and water, they were to continue cruising off the anchoring-place of that island for fifty-six days; in which time, if they were not joined by the commodore, they might conclude that some accident had befallen him, and they were forthwith to put themselves under the command of the senior officer, who was to use his utmost endeavours to annoy the enemy both by sea and land. That with these views their new commodore was to continue in those seas as long as his provisions lasted, or as long as they were recruited by what he should take from the enemy, reserving only a sufficient quantity to carry him and the ships under his command to *Macao*, at the entrance of the river *Tigris* near *Canton* on the coast of China, where having supplied himself with a new stock of provisions, he was thence, without delay, to make the best of his way to England. And as it was found impossible as yet to unload our victualler the *Anna* pink, the commodore gave the master of her the same rendezvous, and the same orders to put himself under the command of the remaining senior officer.

Under these orders the squadron sailed from St. Catherine's on Sunday the 18th of January, as hath been already mentioned in the preceding chapter. The next day we had very squally weather, attended with rain, lightning and thunder, but it soon became fair again with light breezes, and continued thus till Wednesday evening, when it blew fresh again; and increasing all night, by eight the next morning it became a most violent storm, and we had with it so thick a fog, that it was impossible to see at the distance of two ships' length, so that the whole squadron disappeared. On this, a signal was made, by firing guns, to bring to with the larboard tacks, the wind being then due east. We ourselves immediately hauled the top-sails, bunted the main-sail, and lay to under a reefed mizen till noon, when the fog dispersed, and we soon discovered all the ships of the squadron except the *Pearl*, which did not join us till near a month afterwards. The *Tryal* sloop was a great way to leeward, having lost her main-mast in this squall, and having been obliged, for fear of bilging, to cut away the raft. We bore down with the squadron to her relief, and the *Gloucester* was ordered to take her in tow, for the weather did not entirely abate till the day after, and even then, a great swell continued from

the eastward, in consequence of the preceding storm.

After this accident we stood to the southward with little interruption, and here we experienced the same setting of the current, which we had observed before our arrival at St. Catherine's; that is, we generally found ourselves to the southward of our reckoning, by about twenty miles each day. This error continued, with a little variation, till we had passed the latitude of the river of Plate; and even then, we found that the same current, however difficult to be accounted for, did yet undoubtedly take place; for we were not satisfied in deducing it from the error in our reckoning, but we actually tried it more than once, when a calm made it practicable.

When we had passed the latitude of the river of Plate, we had soundings all along the coast of Patagonia. These soundings, when well ascertained, being of great use in determining the position of the ship, and we having tried them more frequently, in greater depths, and with more attention, than I believe had been done before us, I shall recite our observations as succinctly as I can. In the latitude of  $36^{\circ} 52'$  we had sixty fathom of water, with a bottom of fine black and grey sand; from thence, to  $39^{\circ} 55'$ , we varied our depths from fifty to eighty fathom, though we had constantly the same bottom as before; between the last mentioned latitude, and  $43^{\circ} 16'$ , we had only fine grey sand, with the same variation of depths, except that we once or twice lessened our water to forty fathom. After this, we continued in forty fathom for about half a degree, having a bottom of coarse sand and broken shells, at which time we were in sight of land, and not above seven leagues from it. As we edged from the land, we met with variety of soundings; first black sand, then muddy, and soon after rough ground with stones; but then increasing our water to forty-eight fathom, we had a muddy bottom to the latitude of  $46^{\circ} 10'$ . We then returned again into thirty-six fathom, and kept shoaling our water, till at length we came into twelve fathom, having constantly small stones and pebbles at the bottom. Part of this time we had a view of Cape Blanco, which lies in about the latitude of  $46^{\circ} 52'$ , and longitude west from London  $66^{\circ} 43'$ . This is the most remarkable land upon the coast. Steering from hence S. by E. nearly, we, in a run of about thirty leagues, deepened our water to fifty fathom, without once altering the bottom; and then drawing towards the shore with a S.W. course, varying rather to the westward, we had everywhere a sandy bottom, till our coming into thirty fathom, where we had again a sight of land, distant from us about eight leagues, lying in the latitude of  $48^{\circ} 31'$ . We made this land on the 17th of February, and at five in the afternoon we came to an anchor upon the same bottom, in the latitude of  $48^{\circ} 58'$ , the southernmost land then in view bearing S.S.W., the northernmost N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., a small island N.W., and the westernmost hummock W.S.W. In this station we found the tide to set S. by W.; and weighing again at five the next morning, we, an hour afterwards, discovered a sail, upon which the Severn and Gloucester were both directed to give chase; but we soon perceived it to be the Pearl, which separated from us a few days after we left St. Cather-

ine's, and on this we made a signal for the Severn to rejoin the squadron, leaving the Gloucester alone in the pursuit. And now we were surprised to see, that on the Gloucester's approach, the people on board the Pearl increased their sail, and stood from her. However, the Gloucester came up with them, but found them with their hammocks in their nettings, and everything ready for an engagement. At two in the afternoon the Pearl joined us, and running up under our stern, Lieutenant Salt hailed the commodore, and acquainted him that Captain Kidd died on the 31st of January. He likewise informed him, that he had seen five large ships the 10th instant, which he for some time imagined to be our squadron: that he suffered the commanding ship, which wore a red broad pennant, exactly resembling that of the commodore, at the main top-mast head, to come within gun-shot of him before he discovered his mistake; but then finding it not to be the Centurion, he haled close upon the wind, and crowded from them with all his sail, and standing cross a ripling, where they hesitated to follow him, he happily escaped. He made them to be five Spanish men of war, one of them exceedingly like the Gloucester, which was the occasion of his apprehensions when the Gloucester chased him. By their appearance he thought they consisted of two ships of seventy guns, two of fifty, and one of forty guns. The whole squadron continued in chase of him all that day, but at night finding they could not get near him, they gave over the chase, and directed their course to the southward.

And now had it not been for the necessity we were under of refitting the Tryal, this piece of intelligence would have prevented our making any stay at St. Julian's; but as it was impossible for that sloop to proceed round the Cape in her present condition, some stay there was inevitable, and therefore the same evening we came to an anchor again in twenty-five fathom water, the bottom a mixture of mud and sand, and the high hummock bearing S.W. by W. And weighing at nine in the morning, we soon after sent the two cutters belonging to the Centurion and Severn in shore, to discover the harbour of St. Julian, while the ships kept standing along the coast, at about the distance of a league from the land. At six o'clock we anchored in the bay of St. Julian, in nineteen fathom, the bottom muddy ground with sand, the northernmost land in sight bearing N. and by E., the southernmost S.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E., and the high hummock, to which Sir John Narborough formerly gave the name of Wood's Mount, W.S.W. Soon after, the cutter returned on board, having discovered the harbour, which did not appear to us in our situation, the northernmost point shutting in upon the southernmost, and in appearance closing the entrance.

Being come to an anchor in this bay of St. Julian, principally with a view of refitting the Tryal, the carpenters were immediately employed in that business, and continued so during our whole stay at the place. The Tryal's main-mast having been carried away about twelve feet below the cap, they contrived to make the remaining part of the mast serve again; and the Wager was ordered to supply her with a spare main-top-mast, which the carpenters converted into a new fore-mast. And I cannot help observing, that this accident to the

Tryal's mast, which gave us so much uneasiness at that time, on account of the delay it occasioned, was, in all probability, the means of preserving the sloop, and all her crew. For before this, her masts, how well soever proportioned to a better climate, were much too lofty for these high southern latitudes: so that had they weathered the preceding storm, it would have been impossible for them to have stood against those seas and tempests we afterwards encountered in passing round Cape Horn; and the loss of masts, in that boisterous climate, would scarcely have been attended with less than the loss of the vessel, and of every man on board her; since it would have been impracticable for the other ships to have given them any relief, during the continuance of those impetuous storms.

Whilst we stayed at this place, the commodore appointed the Honourable Captain Murray to succeed to the Pearl, and Captain Cheap to the Wager, and he promoted Mr. Charles Saunders, his first lieutenant, to the command of the Tryal sloop. But Captain Saunders lying dangerously ill of a fever on board the Centurion, and it being the opinion of the surgeons that the removing him on board his own ship, in his present condition, might tend to the hazard of his life; Mr. Anson gave an order to Mr. Saumarez, first lieutenant of the Centurion, to act as master and commander of the Tryal, during the illness of Captain Saunders.

Here the commodore too, in order to ease the expedition of all unnecessary expense, held a farther consultation with his captains about unloading and discharging the Anna pink; but they represented to him that they were so far from being in a condition of taking any part of her loading on board, that they had still great quantities of provisions in the way of their guns between-decks, and that their ships were withal so very deep, that they were not fit for action without being cleared. This put the commodore under a necessity of retaining the pink in the service; and as it was apprehended we should certainly meet with the Spanish squadron in passing the Cape, Mr. Anson thought it advisable to give orders to the captains to put all their provisions, which were in the way of their guns, on board the Anna pink, and to remount such of their guns as had formerly, for the ease of their ships, been ordered into the hold.

This bay of St. Julian, where we were now at anchor, being a convenient rendezvous, in case of separation, for all cruisers bound to the southward, and the whole coast of Patagonia, from the river of Plate to the Straits of Magellan, lying nearly parallel to their usual route, a short account of the singularity of this country, with a particular description of port St. Julian, may perhaps be neither unacceptable to the curious, nor unworthy the attention of future navigators, as some of them, by unforeseen accidents, may be obliged to run in with the land, and to make some stay on this coast, in which case the knowledge of the country, its produce and inhabitants, cannot but be of the utmost consequence to them.

To begin then with the tract of country usually styled Patagonia. This is the name often given to the southernmost part of South America, which is unpossessed by the Spaniards, extending from their settlements to the Straits of Magellan. On the east side, this country is extremely remark-

able for a peculiarity not to be paralleled in any other known part of the globe; for though the whole territory to the northward of the river of Plate is full of wood, and stored with immense quantities of large timber trees, yet to the southward of the river no trees of any kind are to be met with, except a few peach-trees, first planted and cultivated by the Spaniards, in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres: so that on the whole eastern coast of Patagonia, extending near four hundred leagues in length, and reaching as far back as any discoveries have yet been made, no other wood has been found than a few insignificant shrubs. Sir John Narborough in particular, who was sent out, by King Charles the second, expressly to examine this country, and the Straits of Magellan, and who in pursuance of his orders wintered upon this coast in port St. Julian and port Desire, in the year 1670; Sir John Narborough, I say, tells us, that he never saw a stick of wood in the country, large enough to make the handle of a hatchet.

But though this country be so destitute of wood, it abounds with pasture. For the land appears in general to be made up of downs of a light dry gravelly soil, and produces great quantities of long coarse grass, which grows in tufts interspersed with large barren spots of gravel between them. This grass, in many places, feeds immense herds of cattle: for the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres, having brought over a few black cattle from Europe at their first settlement, they have thriven prodigiously by the plenty of herbage which they found here, and are now increased to that degree, and are extended so far into the country, that they are not considered as private property; but many thousands at a time are slaughtered every year by the hunters, only for their hides and tallow. The manner of killing these cattle, being a practice peculiar to that part of the world, merits a more circumstantial description. The hunters employed on this occasion being all of them mounted on horseback (and both the Spaniards and Indians in that part of the world are usually most excellent horsemen), they arm themselves with a kind of spear, which, at its end, instead of a blade fixed in the same line with the wood in the usual manner, has its blade fixed across; with this instrument they ride at a beast, and surround him. The hunter that comes behind him hamstring him; and as after this operation the beast soon tumbles, without being able to raise himself again, they leave him on the ground, and pursue others, whom they serve in the same manner. Sometimes there is a second party, who attend the hunters, to skin the cattle as they fall: but it is said, that at other times the hunters choose to let them languish in torment till the next day, from an opinion that the anguish, which the animal in the meantime endures, may burst the lymphatics, and thereby facilitate the separation of the skin from the carcase: and though their priests have loudly condemned this most barbarous practice, and have gone so far, if my memory does not fail me, as to excommunicate those who follow it, yet all their efforts to put an entire stop to it have hitherto proved ineffectual.

Besides the numbers of cattle which are every year slaughtered for their hides and tallow, in the manner already described, it is often necessary for the purposes of agriculture, and likewise with other views, to take them alive, and without wound-

ing them. This is performed with a most wonderful and almost incredible dexterity, and principally by the use of a machine which the English who have resided at Buenos Ayres generally denominate a lash. It is made of a thong of several fathoms in length, and very strong, with a running noose at one end of it: this the hunters (who in this case are also mounted on horseback) take in their right hands, it being first properly coiled up, and having its end opposite to the noose fastened to the saddle; and thus prepared, they ride at a herd of cattle. When they arrive within a certain distance of a beast, they throw their thong at him with such exactness, that they never fail of fixing the noose about his horns. The beast, when he finds himself entangled, generally runs, but the horse, being swifter, attends him, and prevents the thong from being too much strained, till a second hunter, who follows the game, throws another noose about one of its hind legs: and this being done, both horses (they being trained for this purpose) instantly turn different ways, in order to strain the two thongs in contrary directions; on which the beast, by their opposite pulls, is presently overthrown, and then the horses stop, keeping the thongs still upon the stretch being thus on the ground and incapable of resistance, (for he is extended between the two horses) the hunters alight, and secure him in such a manner, that they afterwards easily convey him to whatever place they please. In the same manner they noose horses, and, as it is said, even tigers; and however strange this last circumstance may appear, there are not wanting persons of credit who assert it. Indeed, it must be owned, that the address both of the Spaniards and Indians in that part of the world, in the use of this lash or noose, and the certainty with which they throw it, and fix it on any intended part of the beast at a considerable distance, are matters only to be believed from the repeated and concurrent testimony of all who have frequented that country, and might reasonably be questioned, did it rely on a single report, or had it been ever contradicted or denied by any one who had resided at Buenos Ayres.

The cattle which are killed in the manner I have already observed, are slaughtered only for their hides and tallow, to which sometimes are added their tongues, and the rest of their flesh is left to putrify, or to be devoured by the birds and wild beasts; but the greatest part of this carrion falls to the share of the wild dogs, of which there are immense numbers to be found in that country. They are supposed to have been originally produced by Spanish dogs from Buenos Ayres, who, allured by the great quantity of carrion, and the facility they had by that means of subsisting, left their masters, and ran wild amongst the cattle; for they are plainly of the breed of the European dogs, an animal not originally found in America. But though these dogs are said to be some thousands in a company, they hitherto neither diminish nor prevent the increase of the cattle, not daring to attack them, by reason of the numbers which constantly feed together; but contenting themselves with the carrion left them by the hunters, and perhaps now and then with a few stragglers who, by accidents, are separated from the herd they belong to.

Besides the wild cattle which have spread themselves in such vast herds from Buenos Ayres to-

wards the southward, the same country is in like manner furnished with horses. These too were first brought from Spain, and are also prodigiously increased, and run wild to a much greater distance than the black cattle: and though many of them are excellent, yet their number makes them of very little value; the best of them being often sold, in a country where money is plenty and commodities very dear, for not more than a dollar apiece. It is not as yet certain how far to the southward these herds of wild cattle and horses have extended themselves; but there is some reason to conjecture, that stragglers of both kinds are to be met with very near the Straits of Magellan; and they will in time doubtless fill the southern part of this continent with their breed, which cannot fail of proving of considerable advantage to such ships as may touch upon the coast; for the horses themselves are said to be very good eating, and as such to be preferred by some of the Indians even before the black cattle. But whatever plenty of this kind may be hereafter found here, there is one material refreshment which this eastern side of Patagonia seems to be very defective in, and that is fresh water; for the land being generally of a nitrous and saline nature, the ponds and streams are frequently brackish. However, as good water has been found there, though in small quantities, it is not improbable but, on a further search, this inconvenience may be removed.

Besides the cattle and horses which I have mentioned, there are in all parts of this country a good number of vicuñas or Peruvian sheep; but these, by reason of their shyness and swiftness, are killed with difficulty. On the eastern coast, too, there abound immense quantities of seals, and a vast variety of sea-fowl, amongst which the most remarkable are the penguins: they are in size and shape like a goose, but instead of wings they have short stumps like fins, which are of no use to them except in the water; their bills are narrow, like that of an albatross, and they stand and walk in an erect posture. From this, and their white bellies, Sir John Narborough has whimsically likened them to little children standing up in white aprons.

The inhabitants of this eastern coast (to which I have all along hitherto confined my relation) appear to be but few, and have rarely been seen more than two or three at a time, by any ships that have touched here. We, during our stay at the port of St. Julian, saw none. However, towards Buenos Ayres they are sufficiently numerous, and oftentimes very troublesome to the Spaniards; but there the greater breadth and variety of the country, and a milder climate, yield them a better protection; for in that place the continent is between three and four hundred leagues in breadth, whereas at port St. Julian it is little more than a hundred: so that I conceive the same Indians, that frequent the western coast of Patagonia and the Straits of Magellan, often ramble to this side. As the Indians near Buenos Ayres exceed these southern Indians in number, so they greatly surpass them in activity and spirit, and seem in their manners to be nearly allied to those gallant Chilean Indians, who have long set the whole Spanish power at defiance, have often ravaged their country, and remain to this hour independent. For the Indians about Buenos Ayres have learnt to be

excellent horsemen, and are extremely expert in the management of all cutting weapons, though ignorant of the use of fire-arms, which the Spaniards are very solicitous to keep out of their hands. And of the vigour and resolution of these Indians, the behaviour of Orellana and his followers, whom we have formerly mentioned, is a memorable instance. Indeed, were we disposed to aim at the utter subversion of the Spanish power in America, no means seem more probable to effect it, than due encouragement and assistance given to these Indians and those of Chili.

Thus much may suffice in relation to the eastern coast of Patagonia. The western coast is of less extent; and by reason of the Andes which skirt it, and stretch quite down to the water, is a very rocky and dangerous shore. However, I shall be hereafter necessitated to make further mention of it, and therefore shall not enlarge thereon at this time. But it must be remembered, that the bar at the entrance is often shifting, and has many holes in it. The tide flows here N. and S., and at full and change, rises four fathom.

We, on our first arrival here, sent an officer on shore, in order to procure a quantity of salt for the use of the squadron, Sir John Narborough having observed, when he was here, that the salt produced in that place was very white and good, and that in February there was enough of it to fill a thousand ships; but our officer returned with a sample which was very bad, and he told us, that even of this there was but little to be got: I suppose the weather had been more rainy than ordinary, and had destroyed it.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Departure from the Bay of St. Julian, and the passage from thence to Straits Le Maire.*

THE *Tryal* being nearly refitted, which was our principal occupation at this bay of St. Julian, and the sole occasion of our stay, the commodore thought it necessary, as we were now directly bound for the South Seas and the enemy's coasts, to regulate the plan of his future operations: and, therefore, on the 24th of February, a signal was made for all captains, and a council of war was held on board the *Centurion*, at which were present the Honourable Edward Legg, Captain Matthew Mitchel, the Honourable George Murray, Captain David Cheap, together with Colonel Mordaunt Cracherode, commander of the land forces. At this council Mr. Anson proposed, that their first attempt, after their arrival in the South Seas, should be the attack of the town and harbour of Baldivia, the principal frontier of the district of Chili; Mr. Anson informing them, at the same time, that it was an article contained in his Majesty's instructions to him, to endeavour to secure some port in the South Seas, where the ships of the squadron might be careened and refitted. To this proposition made by the commodore, the council unanimously and readily agreed; and in consequence of this resolution, new instructions were given to the captains of the squadron, by which, though they were still directed, in case of separation, to make the best of their way to the island of Nuestra Señora del Socoro, yet (notwithstanding the orders they had formerly given them at

St. Catherine's) they were to cruise off that island only ten days; from whence, if not joined by the commodore, they were to proceed, and cruise off the harbour of Baldivia, making the land between the latitudes of 40° and 40° 30', and taking care to keep to the southward of the port; and, if in fourteen days they were not joined by the rest of the squadron, they were then to quit this station, and to direct their course to the island of Juan Fernandes, after which they were to regulate their further proceedings by their former orders. The same directions were also given to the master of the *Anna* pink, and he was particularly instructed to be very careful in answering the signals made by any ship of the squadron, and likewise to destroy his papers and orders, if he should be so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the enemy. And as the separation of the squadron might prove of the utmost prejudice to His Majesty's service, each captain was ordered to give it in charge to the respective officers of the watch, not to keep their ship at a greater distance from the *Centurion* than two miles, as they would answer it at their peril; and if any captain should find his ship beyond the distance specified, he was to acquaint the commodore with the name of the officer, who had thus neglected his duty.

These necessary regulations being established, and the *Tryal* sloop completed, the squadron weighed on Friday the 27th of February, at seven in the morning, and stood to the sea; the Gloucester indeed found a difficulty in purchasing her anchor, and was left a considerable way a-stern, so that in the night we fired several guns as a signal to her captain to make sail, but he did not come up to us till the next morning, when we found that they had been obliged to cut their cable, and leave their best bower behind them. At ten in the morning, the day after our departure, Wood's Mount, the highland over St. Julian, bore from us N. by W. distant ten leagues, and we had fifty-two fathom of water. And now standing to the southward, we had great expectation of falling in with Pizarro's squadron; for, during our stay at port St. Julian, there had generally been hard gales between the W. N. W. and S. W., so that we had reason to conclude the Spaniards had gained no ground upon us in that interval. And it was the prospect of meeting with them, that had occasioned our commodore to be so very solicitous to prevent the separation of our ships: for had we been solely intent on getting round Cape Horn in the shortest time, the properest method for this purpose would have been to have ordered each ship to have made the best of her way to the rendezvous, without waiting for the rest.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The calamities that attended Anson's squadron, after passing through the Straits of Magellan at an improper season of the year, were unquestionably owing, in a great degree, to the delay in leaving England; but many of them would have been avoided, had this passage then been as well understood as now, when the smallest ships of war, merchantmen, and whalers, go round the Cape, or through the Straits, at all seasons of the year. The ships of Anson, were, however, most wretchedly manned; and Sir Charles Wager, an excellent seaman, and a man of good sound sense, could not contend with the Secretaries of State and their excellencies the Lords Justices, who appear to have taken entirely upon themselves the setting forth of this expedition. Anson, when at Spithead, ventured to send on shore two invalid officers, who from age and infirmity

From our departure from St. Julian to the 4th of March, we had little wind, with thick hazy weather, and some rain; and our soundings were generally from forty to fifty fathom, with a bottom of black and grey sand, sometimes intermixed with pebble stones. On the 4th of March we were in sight of Cape Virgin Mary, and not more than six or seven leagues distant from it: this is the northern cape of the Straits of Magellan; it lies in the latitude of 52° 21' South, and longitude from London 71° 44' West, and seems to be a low flat land, ending in a point. Off this Cape our depth of water was from thirty-five to forty-eight fathom. The afternoon of this day was very bright and clear, with small breezes of wind, inclining to a calm, and most of the captains took the opportunity of this favourable weather to pay a visit to the commodore; but while they were in company together, they were all greatly alarmed by a sudden flame, which burst out on board the Gloucester, and which was succeeded by a cloud of smoke. However, they were soon relieved from their apprehensions, by receiving information, that the blast was occasioned by a spark of fire from the forge, lighting on some gunpowder and other combustibles, which an officer on board was preparing for use, in case we should fall in with the Spanish fleet; and that it had been extinguished, without any damage to the ship.

We here found what was constantly verified by all our observations in these high latitudes, that fair weather was always of an exceeding short duration, and that when it was remarkably fine, it was a certain presage of a succeeding storm, for the calm and sunshine of our afternoon ended in a most turbulent night, the wind freshening from the S.W. as the night came on, and increasing its violence continually till nine in the morning the next day, when it blew so hard, that we were obliged to bring-to with the squadron, and to continue under a reefed mizen till eleven at night, having in that time from forty-three to fifty-seven fathom water, with black sand and gravel; and by an observation we had at noon, we concluded a current had set us twelve miles to the southward of our reckoning. Towards midnight, the wind abating, we made sail again; and steering south, we discovered in the morning for the first time the land, called Terra del Fuego, stretching from the S. by W., to the S.E. by E. This indeed afforded us but a very uncomfortable prospect, it appearing of a stupendous height, covered every where with snow. We steered along this shore all day, having soundings from forty to fifty fathom, with stones and gravel. And as we intended to pass through Straits Le Maire next day, we lay-to at night, that we might not overshoot them, and took this opportunity to prepare ourselves for the tempestuous climate we were soon to be engaged in; with which view, we employed ourselves good part of the night in bending an entire new suit of sails to the yards. At four the next morning, being the 7th of March, we made sail, and at eight saw the land; and soon after we began to open the Straits, at which time Cape St. James bore from

us E.S.E., Cape St. Vincent S.E. by E., the middlemost of the Three Brothers S. and by W., Montegorda South, and Cape St. Bartholomew, which is the southernmost point of Statenland, E.S.E.<sup>1</sup> Though Terra del Fuego had an aspect extremely barren and desolate, yet this island of Statenland far surpasses it, in the wildness and horror of its appearance: it seeming to be entirely composed of inaccessible rocks, without the least mixture of earth or mould between them. These rocks terminate in a vast number of ragged points which spire up to a prodigious height, and are all of them covered with everlasting snow; the points themselves are on every side surrounded with frightful precipices, and often overhang in a most astonishing manner; and the hills which bear them are generally separated from each other by narrow clefts, which appeared as if the country had been rent by earthquakes; for these chasms are nearly perpendicular, and extend through the substance of the main rocks, almost to their very bottoms: so that nothing can be imagined more savage and gloomy, than the whole aspect of this coast.

I have above mentioned, that on the 7th of March, in the morning, we opened Straits Le Maire, and soon after, or about ten o'clock, the Pearl and the Tryal being ordered to keep a-head of the squadron, we entered them with fair weather and a brisk gale, and were hurried through by the rapidity of the tide in about two hours, though they are between seven and eight leagues in length. As these Straits are often considered as the boundary between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and as we presumed we had nothing now before us but an open sea, till we should arrive on those opulent coasts where all our hopes and wishes centred, we could not help flattering ourselves that the greatest difficulty of our passage was now at an end, and that our most sanguine dreams were upon the point of being realised; and hence we indulged our imaginations in those romantic schemes, which the fancied possession of the Chilian gold and Peruvian silver might be conceived to inspire. These joyous ideas were heightened by the brightness of the sky, and the serenity of the weather, which was indeed most remarkably pleasing; for though the winter was now advancing apace, yet the morning of this day, in its brilliancy and mildness, gave place to none we had seen since our departure from England. Thus animated by these delusions, we traversed these memorable Straits, ignorant of the dreadful calamities that were then impending, and just ready to break upon us; ignorant that the time drew near, when the squadron would be separated never to unite again, and that this day of our passage was the last cheerful day that the greatest part of us would ever live to enjoy.

<sup>1</sup> "On the 7th of March, I entered the Straits Le Maire with a favourable gale and fine weather; but had no sooner got through the Straits than I met very hard gales of wind from the high lands of Terra del Fuego: insomuch that I was obliged to reef my courses, which continued reefed fifty-eight days."—*Anson's official report.*

declared themselves incapable of doing any duty: he immediately received an order, by directions of the Lords Justices, that they should again be received on board, and no man should be dismissed."—*Barrow's Life of Lord Anson.*

## CHAPTER VIII.

*From Straits Le Maire to Cape Noir.*

WE had scarcely reached the southern extremity of the Straits of Le Maire, when our flattering hopes were instantly lost in the apprehensions of immediate destruction: for before the sternmost ships of the squadron were clear of the Straits, the serenity of the sky was suddenly changed, and gave us all the presages of an impending storm; and immediately the wind shifted to the southward, and blew in such violent squalls, that we were obliged to hand our top-sails, and reef our main-sail: the tide too, which had hitherto favoured us, now turned against us, and drove us to the eastward with prodigious rapidity, so that we were in great anxiety for the *Wager* and the *Anna* pink, the two sternmost vessels, fearing they would be dashed to pieces against the shore of *Staten-land*; nor were our apprehensions without foundation, for it was with the utmost difficulty they escaped. And now the whole squadron, instead of pursuing their intended course to the S.W. were driven to the eastward, by the united force of the storm and of the currents; so that next day in the morning we found ourselves near seven leagues to the eastward of *Staten-land*, which then bore from us N.W. The violence of the current which had set us with so much precipitation to the eastward, together with the force and constancy of the westerly winds, soon taught us to consider the doubling of *Cape Horn* as an enterprise that might prove too mighty for our efforts, though some amongst us had lately treated the difficulties which former voyagers were said to have met with in this undertaking, as little better than chimerical, and had supposed them to arise rather from timidity and unskillfulness, than from the real embarrassments of the winds and seas; but we were severely convinced, that these censures were rash and ill grounded: for the distresses with which we struggled, during the three succeeding months, will not easily be paralleled in the relation of any former naval expedition. This will, I doubt not, be readily allowed by those who shall carefully peruse the ensuing narration.

From the storm which came on before we had well got clear of *Straits Le Maire*, we had a continual succession of such tempestuous weather, as surprised the oldest and most experienced mariners on board, and obliged them to confess, that what they had hitherto called storms were inconsiderable gales, compared with the violence of these winds, which raised such short, and at the same time such mountainous waves, as greatly surpassed in danger all seas known in any other part of the globe: and it was not without great reason, that this unusual appearance filled us with continual terror; for had any one of these waves broke fairly over us, it must, in all probability, have sent us to the bottom. Nor did we escape with terror only; for the ship rolling incessantly gunwale-to, gave us such quick and violent motions, that the men were in perpetual danger of being dashed to pieces against the decks, or sides of the ship. And though we were extremely careful to secure ourselves from these shocks, by grasping some fixed body, yet many of our people

were forced from their hold; some of whom were killed, and others greatly injured; in particular, one of our best seamen was canted overboard and drowned, another dislocated his neck, a third was thrown into the main-hold and broke his thigh, and one of our boatswain's mates broke his collar-bone twice; not to mention many other accidents of the same kind. These tempests, so dreadful in themselves, though unattended by any other unfavourable circumstance, were yet rendered more mischievous to us by their inequality, and the deceitful intervals which they at sometimes afforded; for though we were oftentimes obliged to lie to for days together under a reefed mizen, and were sometimes reduced to lie at the mercy of the waves under our bare poles, yet now and then we ventured to make sail with our courses double-reefed; and the weather proving more tolerable, would perhaps encourage us to set our top-sails; after which, the wind, without any previous notice, would return upon us with redoubled force, and would in an instant tear our sails from the yards. And that no circumstance might be wanting which could aggrandize our distress, these blasts generally brought with them a great quantity of snow and sleet, which cased our rigging, and froze our sails, thereby rendering them and our cordage brittle, and apt to snap upon the slightest strain; adding great difficulty and labour to the working of the ship, numbing the limbs of our people, and making them incapable of exerting themselves with their usual activity, and even disabling many of them, by mortifying their toes and fingers. It were indeed endless to enumerate the various disasters of different kinds which befel us; and I shall only mention the most material, which will sufficiently evince the calamitous condition of the whole squadron, during the course of this navigation.

It was on the 7th of March, as has been already observed, that we passed *Straits Le Maire*, and were immediately afterwards driven to the eastward by a violent storm, and the force of the current which set that way. For the four or five succeeding days we had hard gales of wind from the same quarter, with a most prodigious swell; so that though we stood, during all that time, towards the S.W., yet we had no reason to imagine we had made any way to the westward. In this interval we had frequent squalls of rain and snow, and shipped great quantities of water; after which, for three or four days, though the seas ran mountains high, yet the weather was rather more moderate: but, on the 18th, we had again strong gales of wind with extreme cold, and at midnight the main top-sail split, and one of the straps of the main dead-eyes broke. From hence, to the 23rd, the weather was more favourable, though often intermixed with rain and sleet, and some hard gales; but, as the waves did not subside, the ship, by labouring in this lofty sea, was now grown so loose in her upper works, that she let in the water at every seam, so that every part within board was constantly exposed to the seawater, and scarcely any of the officers ever lay in dry beds. Indeed it was very rare, that two nights ever passed without many of them being driven from their beds, by the deluge of water that came upon them.

On the 23rd, we had a most violent storm of wind, hail, and rain, with a very great sea; and



though we handed the main top-sail before the height of the squall, yet we found the yard sprung; and soon after the foot rope of the main-sail breaking, the main-sail itself split instantly to rags, and, in spite of our endeavours to save it, much the greater part of it was blown overboard. On this the commodore made the signal for the squadron to bring-to; and the storm at length flattening to a calm, we had an opportunity of getting down our main top-sail yard to put the carpenters at work upon it, and of repairing our rigging; after which, having bent a new main-sail, we got under sail again with a moderate breeze; but in less than twenty-four hours we were attacked by another storm still more furious than the former; for it proved a perfect hurricane, and reduced us to the necessity of lying-to under our bare poles. As our ship kept the wind better than any of the rest, we were obliged in the afternoon to wear ship, in order to join the squadron to the leeward, which otherwise we should have been in danger of losing in the night: and as we dared not venture any sail abroad, we were obliged to make use of an expedient, which answered our purpose; this was putting the helm a-weather, and manning the fore-shrouds: but though this method proved successful for the end intended, yet in the execution of it one of our ablest seamen was canted overboard; and notwithstanding the prodigious agitation of the waves, we perceived that he swam very strong, and it was with the utmost concern that we found ourselves incapable of assisting him; and we were the more grieved at his unhappy fate, since we lost sight of him struggling with the waves, and conceived, from the manner in which he swam, that he might continue sensible, for a considerable time longer, of the horror attending his irretrievable situation.<sup>1</sup>

Before this last mentioned storm was quite abated, we found two of our main-shrouds and one mizen-shroud broke, all which we knotted, and set up immediately; and from hence we had an interval of three or four days less tempestuous than usual, but accompanied with a thick fog, in which we were obliged to fire guns almost every half hour, to keep our squadron together. On the 31st, we were alarmed by a gun fired from the Gloucester, and a signal made by her to speak with the commodore; we immediately bore down to her, and were prepared to hear of some terrible disaster; but we were apprised of it before we joined her, for we saw that her main-yard was broke in the slings. This was a grievous misfortune to us all at this juncture; as it was obvious it would prove a hindrance to our sailing, and would detain us the longer in these inhospitable latitudes. But our future success and safety was not to be promoted by repining, but by resolution and activity; and therefore, that this unlucky incident might delay us as little as possible, the commodore ordered several carpenters to be put

on board the Gloucester from the other ships of the squadron, in order to repair her damage with the utmost expedition. And the captain of the Tryal complaining at the same time that his pumps were so bad, and the sloop made so great a quantity of water, that he was scarcely able to keep her free, the commodore ordered him a pump ready fitted from his own ship. It was very fortunate for the Gloucester and the Tryal: that the weather proved more favourable this day than for many days, both before and after; since by this means they were enabled to receive the assistance which seemed essential to their preservation, and which they could scarcely have had at any other time, as it would have been extremely hazardous to have ventured a boat on board.<sup>2</sup>

The next day, that is, on the 1st of April, the weather returned again to its customary bias, the sky looked dark and gloomy, and the wind began to freshen and to blow in squalls; however, it was not yet so boisterous, as to prevent our carrying our top-sail close reefed; but its appearance was such, as plainly prognosticated that a still severer tempest was at hand: and accordingly, on the 3d of April, there came on a storm, which both in its violence and continuation (for it lasted three days) exceeded all that we had hitherto encountered. In its first onset we received a furious shock from a sea which broke upon our larboard quarter, where it stove in the quarter gallery, and rushed into the ship like a deluge; our rigging too suffered extremely, for one of the straps of the main dead-eyes was broke, as was also a main-shroud and puttock-shroud, so that to ease the stress upon the masts and shrouds, we lowered both our main and fore-yards, and furled all our sails, and in this posture we lay-to for three days, when the storm somewhat abating, we ventured to make sail under our courses only; but even this we could not do long, for the next day, which was the 7th, we had another hard gale of wind, with lightning and rain, which obliged us to lie-to again till night. It was wonderful, that notwithstanding the hard weather we had endured, no extraordinary accident had happened to any of the squadron since the breaking of the Gloucester's main-yard: but this wonder soon ceased; for at three the next morning, several guns were fired to leeward as signals of distress. And the commodore making a signal for the squadron to bring-to, we, at daybreak, saw the Wager a considerable way to leeward of any of the other ships; and we soon perceived that she had lost her mizen-mast, and main top-sail yard. We immediately bore down to her, and found this disaster had arisen from the badness of her iron-work; for all the chain-plates to windward had given way, upon the ship's fetching a deep roll. This proved the more unfortunate to the Wager, as her carpenter had been on board the Gloucester ever since the 31st of March, and the weather was now too severe to permit him to return: nor was the Wager the only ship of the squadron that had suffered in the last tempest; for, the next day, a signal of distress was made by the Anna pink, and, upon speaking with the master, we learnt that they had broken their fore-stay and the gammon of

<sup>1</sup> It was with reference to this affecting circumstance that Cowper composed his beautiful verses on "The Cast-away." One of the stanzas is as follows:—

"He long survives, who lives an hour  
In ocean, self-upheld:  
And so long he, with unspent power,  
His destiny repell'd:  
And ever, as the minutes flew,  
Entreated help, or cried—'Adieu.'"

<sup>2</sup> In Anson's Report of the 31st of March, he makes the first mention of the scurvy, as follows:—"Men falling down every day with scorbutic complaints."

the bowsprit, and were in no small danger of having all the masts come by the board : so that we were obliged to bear away until they had made all fast, after which we haled upon a wind again.

And now, after all our solicitude, and the numerous ills of every kind, to which we had been incessantly exposed for near forty days, we had great consolation in the flattering hopes we entertained, that our fatigues were drawing to a period, and that we should soon arrive in a more hospitable climate, where we should be amply repaid for all our past sufferings. For, towards the latter end of March, we were advanced, by our reckoning, near 10° to the westward of the westernmost point of Terra del Fuego, and this allowance being double what former navigators have thought necessary to be taken, in order to compensate the drift of the eastern current, we esteemed ourselves to be well advanced within the limits of the southern ocean, and had therefore been ever since standing to the northward, with as much expedition as the turbulence of the weather, and our frequent disasters, permitted. And, on the 13th of April, we were but a degree in latitude to the southward of the west entrance of the Straits of Magellan ; so that we fully expected, in a very few days, to have experienced the celebrated tranquillity of the Pacific Ocean.

But these were delusions which only served to render our disappointment more terrible ; for the next morning, between one and two, as we were standing to the northward, and the weather, which had till then been hazy, accidentally cleared up, the pink made a signal for seeing land right ahead ; and it being but two miles distant, we were all under the most dreadful apprehensions of running on shore ; which, had either the wind blown from its usual quarter with its wonted vigour, or had not the moon suddenly shone out, not a ship amongst us could possibly have avoided : but the wind, which some few hours before blew in squalls from the S.W. having fortunately shifted to W.N.W., we were enabled to stand to the southward, and to clear ourselves of this unexpected danger ; so that by noon we had gained an offing of near twenty leagues.

By the latitude of this land we fell in with, it was agreed to be a part of Terra del Fuego, near the southern outlet described in Frezier's chart of the Straits of Magellan, and was supposed to be that point called by him Cape Noir. It was indeed most wonderful, that the currents should have driven us to the eastward with such strength ; for the whole squadron esteemed themselves upwards of ten degrees more westerly than this land, so that in running down, by our account, about nineteen degrees of longitude, we had not really advanced above half that distance. And now, instead of having our labours and anxieties relieved by approaching a warmer climate and more tranquil seas, we were to steer again to the southward, and were again to combat those western blasts, which had so often terrified us ; and this too, when we were weakened by our men falling sick, and dying apace, and when our spirits, dejected by a long continuance at sea, and by our late disappointment, were much less capable of supporting us in the various difficulties, which we could not but expect in this new undertaking. Add to all this too, the discouragement we received by

the diminution of the strength of the squadron ; for, three days before this, we lost sight of the Severn and the Pearl in the morning ; and though we spread our ships, and beat about for some time, yet we never saw them more ; whence we had apprehensions that they too might have fallen in with this land in the night, and by being less favoured by the wind and the moon than we were, might have run on shore and have perished. Full of these dejected thoughts and gloomy presages, we stood away to the S.W., prepared by our late disaster to suspect that how large soever an allowance we made in our westing for the drift of the eastern current, we might still, upon a second trial, perhaps find it insufficient.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Observations and directions for facilitating the passage of our future Cruisers round Cape Horn.*

THE improper season of the year in which we attempted to double Cape Horn, and to which is to be imputed the disappointment (recited in the foregoing chapter) in falling in with Terra del Fuego, when we reckoned ourselves at least a hundred leagues to the westward of that whole coast, and consequently well advanced into the Pacific Ocean ; this unseasonable navigation, I say, to which we were necessitated by our too late departure from England, was the fatal source of all the misfortunes we afterwards encountered. For from hence proceeded the separation of our ships, the destruction of our people, the ruin of our project on Baldivia, and of all our other views on the Spanish places, and the reduction of our squadron from the formidable condition in which it passed Straits Le Maire, to a couple of shattered half-manned cruisers and a sloop, so far disabled, that in many climates they scarcely durst have put to sea. To prevent therefore, as much as in me lies, all ships hereafter bound to the South-Seas from suffering the same calamities, I think it my duty to insert in this place, such directions and observations, as either my own experience and reflection, or the converse of the most skillful navigators on board the squadron could furnish me with, in relation to the most eligible manner of doubling Cape Horn, whether in regard to the season of the year, the course proper to be steered, or the places of refreshment both on the east and west side of South America.

And first with regard to the proper place for refreshment on the east side of South America. For this purpose the island of St. Catherine's has been usually recommended by former writers, and on their faith we put in there, as has been formerly mentioned : but the treatment we met with, and the small store of refreshments we could procure there, are sufficient reasons to render all ships for the future cautious, how they trust themselves in the government of Don Jose Silva de Paz ; for they may certainly depend on having their strength, condition and designs betrayed to the Spaniards, as far as the knowledge, the governor can procure of these particulars, will give leave. And as this treacherous conduct is inspired by the views of private gain, in the illicit commerce carried on to the river of Plate, rather than by any national

affection which the Portuguese bear the Spaniards, the same perfidy may perhaps be expected from most of the governors of the Brazil coast; since these smuggling engagements are doubtless very extensive and general. And though the governors should themselves detest so faithless a procedure, yet as ships are perpetually passing from some or other of the Brazil ports to the river of Plate, the Spaniards could scarcely fail of receiving, by this means, casual intelligence of any British ships upon the coast; which, however imperfect such intelligence might be, would prove of dangerous import to the views and interests of those cruisers who were thus discovered.

For the Spanish trade in the South-Seas running all in one track from north to south, with very little deviation to the eastward or westward, it is in the power of two or three cruisers, properly stationed in different parts of this track, to possess themselves of every ship that puts to sea: but this is only so long as they can continue concealed from the neighbouring coast; for, the instant an enemy is known to be in those seas, all navigation is stopped, and consequently all captures are at an end; since the Spaniards, well apprised of these advantages of the enemy, send expresses along the coast, and lay a general embargo on all their trade: a measure which, they prudentially foresee, will not only prevent their vessels being taken, but will soon lay any cruisers, who have not strength sufficient to attempt their places, under a necessity of returning home. Hence then appears the great importance of concealing all expeditions of this kind; and hence too it follows, how extremely prejudicial that intelligence may prove, which is given by the Portuguese governors to the Spaniards, in relation to the designs of ships touching at the ports of Brazil.

However, notwithstanding the inconveniences we have mentioned of touching on the coast of Brazil, it will oftentimes happen that ships bound round Cape Horn will be obliged to call there for a supply of wood and water, and other refreshments. In this case St. Catherine's is the last place I would recommend, both as the proper animals for a live stock at sea, as hogs, sheep, and fowls cannot be procured there, (for want of which we found ourselves greatly distressed, by being reduced to live almost entirely on salt provisions) but also because, from its being nearer the river of Plate than many of their other settlements, the inducements and conveniences of betraying us are much stronger. The place I would recommend is Rio Janeiro, where two of our squadron put in after they were separated from us in passing Cape Horn; for here, as I have been informed by one of the gentlemen on board those ships, any quantity of hogs and poultry may be procured; and this place being more distant from the river of Plate, the difficulty of intelligence is somewhat enhanced, and consequently the chance of continuing there undiscovered, in some degree augmented. Other measures, which may effectually obviate all these embarrassments, will be considered more at large hereafter.

And now I proceed to the consideration of the proper course to be steered for doubling Cape Horn. And here, I think, I am sufficiently authorised by our own fatal experience, and by a careful comparison and examination of the journals of

former navigators, to give this piece of advice, which in prudence, I think, ought never to be departed from: that is, that all ships bound to the South Seas, instead of passing through Straits le Maire, should constantly pass to the eastward of Staten-land, and should be invariably bent on running to the southward as far as the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, before they endeavour to stand to the westward; and that when they are got into that latitude, they should then make sure of sufficient westing, before they once think of steering to the northward.

But as directions diametrically opposite to these have been formerly given by other writers, it is incumbent on me to produce my reasons for each part of this maxim. And first, as to the passing to the eastward of Staten-land. Those who have attended to the risk we ran in passing Straits le Maire, the danger we were in of being driven upon Staten-land by the current, when, though we happily escaped being put on shore, we were yet carried to the eastward of that island: those who reflect on this, and on the like accidents which have happened to other ships, will surely not esteem it prudent to pass through Straits le Maire, and run the risk of shipwreck, and after all find themselves no farther to the westward (the only reason hitherto given for this practice) than they might have been in the same time, by a secure navigation in an open sea.

And next, as to the directions I have given for running into the latitude of 61 or 62 south, before any endeavour is made to stand to the westward. The reasons for this precept are, that in all probability the violence of the currents will be hereby avoided, and the weather will prove less tempestuous and uncertain. This last circumstance we ourselves experienced most remarkably; for after we had unexpectedly fallen in with the land, as has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, we stood away to the southward to run clear of it, and were no sooner advanced into sixty degrees or upwards, but we met with much better weather, and smoother water than in any other part of the whole passage: the air indeed was very cold and sharp, and we had strong gales, but they were steady and uniform, and we had at the same time sunshine and a clear sky; whereas in the lower latitudes, the winds every now and then intermitted, as it were, to recover new strength, and then returned suddenly in the most violent gusts, threatening at each blast the loss of our masts, which must have ended in our certain destruction. And that the currents in this high latitude would be of much less efficacy than nearer the land, seems to be evinced from these considerations, that all currents run with greater violence near the shore than at sea, and that at greater distances from shore they are scarcely perceptible: indeed the reason of this seems sufficiently obvious, if we consider, that constant currents are, in all probability, produced by constant winds, the wind driving before it, though with a slow and imperceptible motion, a large body of water, which being accumulated upon any coast that it meets with, this superfluous water must escape along the shore by the endeavours of its surface, to reduce itself to the same level with the rest of the ocean. And it is reasonable to suppose, that those violent gusts of wind which we experienced near the shore, so

very different from what we found in the latitude of sixty degrees and upwards, may be owing to a similar cause; for a westerly wind almost perpetually prevails in the southern part of the Pacific Ocean: and this current of air being interrupted by those immense hills called the Andes, and by the mountains on Terra del Fuego, which together bar up the whole country to the southward as far as Cape Horn, a part of it only can escape over the tops of those prodigious precipices, and the rest must naturally follow the direction of the coast, and must range down the land to the southward, and sweep with an impetuous and irregular blast round Cape Horn, and the southernmost part of Terra del Fuego. However, not to rely on these speculations, we may, I believe, establish, as incontestable, these matters of fact, that both the rapidity of the currents, and the violence of the western gales, are less sensible in the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, than nearer the shore of Terra del Fuego.

But though I am satisfied, both from our own experience and the relations of other navigators, of the importance of the precept I here insist on, that of running into the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, before any endeavours are made to stand to the westward; yet I would advise no ships hereafter to trust so far to this management, as to neglect another most essential maxim, which is the making this passage in the height of summer, that is, in the months of December and January; and the more distant the time of passing is taken from this season, the more disastrous it may be reasonably expected to prove. Indeed, if the mere violence of the western winds be considered, the time of our passage, which was about the equinox, was perhaps the most unfavourable season; but then it must be considered, that in the depth of winter there are many other inconveniences to be apprehended in this navigation, which are almost insuperable: for the severity of the cold, and the shortness of the days, would render it impracticable at that season to run so far to the southward as is here recommended; and the same reasons would greatly augment the alarms of sailing in the neighbourhood of an unknown shore, dreadful in its appearance in the midst of summer, and would make a winter navigation on this coast to be, of all others, the most dismaying and terrible. As I would, therefore, advise all ships to make their passage in December and January, if possible, so I would warn them never to attempt the seas to the southward of Cape Horn, after the month of March.

And now as to the remaining consideration, that is, the properest port for cruisers to refresh at on their first arrival in the South Seas. On this head there is scarcely any choice, the island of Juan Fernandez being the only place that can be prudently recommended for this purpose. For though there are many ports on the western side of Patagonia, between the Straits of Magellan and the Spanish settlements, where ships might ride in great safety, might recruit their wood and water, and might procure some few refreshments; yet that coast is in itself so terrible, from the rocks and breakers it abounds with, and from the violence of the western winds, which blow constantly full upon it, that it is by no means advisable to fall in with that land, at least till the roads, channels,

and anchorage in each part of it are accurately surveyed, and both the dangers and shelter it abounds with are more distinctly known.

Thus having given the best directions in my power for the success of future cruisers bound to the South Seas, it might be expected that I should again resume the thread of my narration. But as both in the preceding and subsequent parts of this work, I have thought it my duty not only to recite all such facts and to inculcate such maxims, as had the least appearance of proving beneficial to future navigators, but also occasionally to recommend such measures to the public, as I conceive are adapted to promote the same laudable purpose, I cannot desist from the present subject without beseeching those to whom the conduct of our naval affairs is committed, to endeavour to remove the many perplexities and embarrassments with which the navigation to the South Seas is, at present, necessarily encumbered. An effort of this kind could not fail of proving highly honourable to themselves, and extremely beneficial to their country. For it is to me sufficiently evident, that whatever advantages navigation shall receive, either by the invention of methods that shall render its practice less hazardous, or by the more accurate delineation of the coasts, roads and ports already known, or by the discovery of new nations, or new species of commerce; it is evident, I say, to me, that by whatever means navigation is promoted, the conveniences hence arising must ultimately redound to the emolument of Great Britain. Since, as our fleets are at present superior to those of the whole world united, it must be a matchless degree of supineness or mean-spiritedness, if we permitted any of the advantages which new discoveries, or a more extended navigation may produce to mankind, to be ravished from us.

As therefore it appears that all our future expeditions to the South Seas must run a considerable risk of proving abortive, whilst we are under the necessity of touching at Brazil in our passage thither, an expedient that might relieve us from this difficulty would surely be a subject worthy of the attention of the public; and this seems capable of being effected, by the discovery of some place more to the southward, where ships might refresh and supply themselves with the necessary sea-stock for their voyage round Cape Horn. And we have in reality the imperfect knowledge of two places, which might, perhaps, on examination, prove extremely convenient for this purpose: the first of them is Pepys's Island, in the latitude of 47° south, and laid down, by Dr. Halley, about eighty leagues to the eastward of Cape Blanco, on the coast of Patagonia; the second is Falkland's Isles, in the latitude of 51° $\frac{1}{2}$  nearly south of Pepys's Island. The first of these was discovered by Captain Cowley, in his voyage round the world, in the year 1686; who represents it as a commodious place for ships to wood and water at, and says it is provided with a very good and capacious harbour, where a thousand sail of ships might ride at anchor in great safety; that it abounds with fowls, and as the shore is either rocks or sands, it seems to promise great plenty of fish. The second place, or Falkland's Isles, have been seen by many ships, both French and English, being the land laid down by Frezier in his chart of the extremity of South

America, under the title of the New Islands. Woods Rogers, who ran along the N.E. coast of these isles in the year 1708, tells us, that they extended about two degrees in length, and appeared with gentle descents from hill to hill, and seemed to be good ground, with woods and harbours. Either of these places, as they are islands at a considerable distance from the continent, may be supposed, from their latitude, to lie in a climate sufficiently temperate. It is true, they are too little known to be at present recommended for proper places of refreshment for ships bound to the southward: but if the Admiralty should think it advisable to order them to be surveyed, which may be done at a very small expense, by a vessel fitted out on purpose; and if, on this examination, one or both of these places should appear proper for the purpose intended, it is scarcely to be conceived of what prodigious import a convenient station might prove, situated so far to the southward, and so near Cape Horn. The Duke and Duchess of Bristol were but thirty-five days from their losing sight of Falkland's Isles, to their arrival at Juan Fernandes in the South Seas: and as the returning back is much facilitated by the western winds, I doubt not but a voyage might be made from Falkland's Isles to Juan Fernandes, and back again, in little more than two months. This, even in time of peace, might be of great consequence to this nation; and, in time of war, would make us masters of those seas.

And as all discoveries of this kind, though extremely honourable to those who direct and promote them, may yet be carried on at an inconsiderable expense, since small vessels are much the properest to be employed in this service, it were to be wished, that the whole coast of Patagonia, Terra del Fuego, and Staten-land, were carefully surveyed, and the numerous channels, roads, and harbours, with which they abound, accurately examined; this might open to us facilities of passing into the Pacific Ocean, which as yet we may be unacquainted with, and would render all that southern navigation infinitely securer than at present; and particularly, an exact draught of the west coast of Patagonia, from the Straits of Magellan to the Spanish settlements, might perhaps furnish us with better and more convenient ports for refreshment, and better situated for the purposes either of war or commerce, and above a fortnight's sail nearer to Falkland's Islands, than the island of Juan Fernandes. The discovery of this coast hath formerly been thought of such consequence, by reason of its neighbourhood to the Araucos and other Chilian Indians, who are generally at war, or at least on ill terms with their Spanish neighbours, that Sir John Narborough was purposely fitted out in the reign of King Charles II., to survey the Straits of Magellan, the neighbouring coast of Patagonia, and the Spanish ports on that frontier, with directions, if possible, to procure some intercourse with the Chilian Indians, and to establish a commerce and a lasting correspondence with them. His Majesty's views in employing Sir John Narborough in this expedition, were not solely the advantage he might hope to receive from the alliance of those savages, in restraining and intimidating the crown of Spain; but he conceived, that independent of those

motives, the immediate traffic with these Indians might prove extremely advantageous to the English nation. For it is well known, that at the first discovery of Chili by the Spaniards, it abounded with vast quantities of gold, much beyond what it has at any time produced since it has been in their possession. And hence it has been generally believed, that the richest mines are prudently concealed by the Indians, as well knowing that the discovery of them to the Spaniards would only excite in them a greater thirst for conquest and tyranny, and render their own independence precarious. But with respect to their commerce with the English, these reasons would no longer influence them; since it would be in our power to furnish them with arms and ammunition of all kinds, of which they are extremely desirous, together with many other conveniences, which their intercourse with the Spaniards has taught them to relish. They would then, in all probability, open their mines, and gladly embrace a traffic of such mutual convenience to both nations; for then their gold, instead of proving the means of enslaving them, would procure them weapons to assert their liberty, to chastise their tyrants, and to secure themselves for ever from the Spanish yoke; whilst with our assistance, and under our protection, they might become a considerable people, and might secure to us that wealth, which formerly by the house of Austria, and lately by the house of Bourbon, has been most mischievously lavished in the pursuit of universal monarchy.

It is true that Sir John Narborough did not succeed in opening this commerce, which in appearance promised so many advantages to this nation. However, his disappointment was merely accidental, and his transactions upon that coast (besides the many valuable improvements he furnished to geography and navigation) are rather an encouragement for future trials of this kind, than any objection against them; his principal misfortune being the losing company of a small barque which attended him, and having some of his people trappaned at Baldivia. However, it appeared, by the precautions and fears of the Spaniards, that they were fully convinced of the practicability of the scheme he was sent to execute, and extremely alarmed with the apprehension of its consequences.

It is said, that his Majesty King Charles the Second was so far prepossessed with the hopes of the advantages redounding from this expedition, and so eager to be informed of the event of it, that having intelligence of Sir John Narborough's passing through the Downs, on his return, he had not patience to attend his arrival at court, but went himself in his barge to Gravesend to meet him.

The two most celebrated charts hitherto published of the southernmost part of South America, are those of Dr. Halley, in his general chart of the magnetic variation, and of Frezier in his voyage to the South Seas. But besides these, there is a chart of the Straits of Magellan, and of some part of the adjacent coast, by Sir John Narborough above-mentioned, which is doubtless infinitely exacter in that part than Frezier, and in some respects superior to Halley, particularly in what relates to the longitudes of the different parts of those Straits. The coast from Cape

Blanco to Terra del Fuego, and thence to Straits Le Maire, we were in some measure capable of correcting by our own observations, as we ranged that shore generally in sight of land. The position of the land, to the northward of the Straits of Magellan, on the west side, is doubtless laid down in our chart but very imperfectly; and yet I believe it to be much nearer the truth than what has hitherto been done: as it is drawn from the information of some of the Wager's crew, who were shipwrecked on that shore, and afterwards coasted it down; and as it agrees pretty nearly with the description of some Spanish manuscripts I have seen.

The channel dividing Terra del Fuego is drawn from Frezier; but in the Spanish manuscripts there are several channels delineated, and I have reason to suppose, that whenever this country is thoroughly examined, this circumstance will prove true, and Terra del Fuego will be found to consist of several islands.

And having mentioned Frezier so often, I must not omit warning all future navigators, against relying on the longitude of Straits Le Maire, or of any part of that coast, laid down in his chart; the whole being being from 8 to 10 degrees too far to the eastward, if any faith can be given to the concurrent evidences of a great number of journals, verified in some particulars by astronomical observation. For instance: Sir John Narborough lays down Cape Virgin Mary in  $65^{\circ} 42'$  of West longitude from the Lizard, that is, in  $71^{\circ} 20'$  from London. And the ships of our squadron, who took their departure from St. Catherine's (where the longitude was rectified by an observation of the eclipse of the moon) found Cape Virgin Mary to be from  $70^{\circ} 46'$ , to  $71^{\circ} 30'$  from London, according to their different reckonings: and there were no circumstances in our run that could render it considerably erroneous, so that it cannot be esteemed in less than  $71$  degrees of West longitude; whereas Frezier lays it down in less than  $66$  degrees from Paris, that is, little more than  $63$  degrees from London, which is doubtless  $8$  degrees short of its true quantity. Again, our squadron found Cape Virgin Mary and Cape St. Bartholomew, on the eastern side of Straits Le Maire, to be only  $2^{\circ} 8'$  different in longitude, which in Frezier are distant near  $4$  degrees; so that not only the longitude of Cape St. Bartholomew is laid down in him near  $10$  degrees too little, but the whole coast, from the Straits of Magellan to Straits Le Maire, is enlarged to near double its real extent.

But to have done with Frezier, whose errors, the importance of the subject and not a fondness for cavilling, has obliged me to remark (though his treatment of Dr. Halley might, on the present occasion, authorise much severer usage), I must, in the next place, particularise wherein the chart I have here mentioned differs from that of our learned countryman.

It is well known that this gentleman was sent abroad by the public, to make such geographical and astronomical observations as might facilitate the future practice of navigation; and particularly to determine the variation of the compass in such places as he should touch at, and if possible, to ascertain its general laws and affections.

These things Dr. Halley, to his immortal repu-

tation and the honour of our nation, in good measure accomplished, particularly with regard to the variation of the compass; a subject of all others the most interesting to those employed in the art of navigation. He likewise corrected the position of the coast of Brazil, which had been very erroneously laid down by all former hydrographers; and by a judicious comparison of the observations of others, has happily succeeded in settling the geography of many parts of the globe, where he had not himself been. So that the chart he published, with the variation of the needle marked thereon, being the result of his labours on this subject, was allowed by all Europe to be far completer in its geography than any that had then appeared, and at the same time most surprisingly exact in the quantity of variation assigned to the different parts of the globe; a subject so very intricate and perplexing, that all general determinations about it had till then appeared impossible.

But as the only means he had of correcting those coasts where he did not touch himself was the observations of others; where those observations were wanting, or were inaccurate, it was no imputation on his skill that his determinations were defective. And this, upon the best comparison I have been able to make, is the case with regard to that part of his chart which contains the south part of South America. For though the coast of Brazil, and the opposite coast of Peru on the South Seas, are laid down, I presume, with the greatest accuracy, yet from about the river of Plate on the east side, and its opposite point on the west, the coast gradually declines too much to the westward, so as at the Straits of Magellan to be, as I conceive, about fifty leagues removed from its true position: at least, this is the result of the observations of our squadron, which agree extremely well with those of Sir John Narborough. I must add, that Dr. Halley has, in the Philosophical Transactions, given the foundation on which he has proceeded in fixing port St. Julian in  $76^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$  of west longitude (which the concurrent journals of our squadron place from  $70^{\circ} \frac{3}{4}$  to  $71^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$ ): this, he tells us, was an observation of an eclipse of the moon, made at that place by Mr. Wood, then Sir John Narborough's lieutenant, and which is said to have happened there at eight in the evening, on the 18th of September, 1670. But Capt. Wood's journal of this whole voyage under Sir John Narborough is since published, together with this observation, in which he determines the longitude of port St. Julian to be  $73$  degrees from London, and the time of the eclipse to have been different from Dr. Halley's account. But the numbers he has given are so faultily printed, that nothing can be determined from them.

## CHAPTER X.

*From Cape Noir to the Island of Juan Fernandez.*

AFTER the mortifying disappointment of falling in with the coast of Terra del Fuego, when we esteemed ourselves ten degrees to the westward of it; after this disappointment, I say, recited in the eighth chapter, we stood away to the S.W. till the 22d of April, when we were in upwards of  $60^{\circ}$  of

South latitude, and by our account near 6° to the westward of Cape Noir; and in this run we had a series of as favourable weather as could well be expected in that part of the world, even in a better season: so that this interval, setting the inquietude of our thoughts aside, was by far the most eligible of any we enjoyed from Straits Le Maire to the West coast of America. This moderate weather continued, with little variation, till the 24th; but on the 24th, in the evening, the wind began to blow fresh, and soon increased to a prodigious storm; and the weather being extremely thick, about midnight we lost sight of the other four ships of the squadron, which, notwithstanding the violence of the preceding storms, had hitherto kept in company with us. Nor was this our sole misfortune; for, the next morning, endeavouring to hand the top-sails, the clew-lines and bunt-lines broke, and the sheets being half flown, every seam in the top-sails was soon split from top to bottom, and the main top-sail shook so strongly in the wind, that it carried away the top-lantern, and endangered the head of the mast; however, at length, some of the most daring of our men ventured upon the yard, and cut the sail away close to the reefs, though with the utmost hazard of their lives. At the same time, the foretop-sail beat about the yard with so much fury, that it was soon blown to pieces; and that we might have full employment, the main-sail blew loose, which obliged us to lower down the yard to secure the sail, and the fore-yard being likewise lowered, we lay-to under a mizen: and besides the loss of our top-sails, we had much of our other rigging broke, and lost a main studding sail-boom out of the chains.

On the 25th, about noon, the weather became more moderate, which enabled us to sway up our yards, and to repair, in the best manner we could, our shattered rigging; but still we had no sight of the rest of our squadron, nor indeed were we joined by any of them again, till after our arrival at Juan Fernandes; nor did any two of them, as we have since learned, continue in company together: and this total separation was the more wonderful, as we had hitherto kept together for seven weeks, through all the reiterated tempests of this turbulent climate. It must indeed be owned, that this separation gave us room to expect, that we might make our passage in a shorter time, than if we had continued together, because we could not make the best of our way without being retarded by the misfortunes of the other ships; but then we had the melancholy reflection, that we ourselves were hereby deprived of the assistance of others, and our safety would depend upon our single ship; so that if a plank started, or any other accident of the same nature should take place, we must all irrecoverably perish; or should we be driven on shore, we had the uncomfortable prospect of ending our days on some desolate coast, without any reasonable hope of ever getting away; whereas with another ship in company, all these calamities are much less formidable, since, in every kind of danger, there would be some probability that one ship at least might escape, and might be capable of preserving or relieving the crew of the other.

The remaining part of this month of April we had generally hard gales, although we had been

every day, since the 22d, edging to the northward; however, on the last day of the month, we flattered ourselves with the hopes of soon terminating all our sufferings, for we that day found ourselves in the latitude of 52°, 13', which being northward of the Straits of Magellan, we were assured that we had completed our passage, and had arrived in the confines of the Southern Ocean; and this Ocean being denominated Pacific, from the equability of the seasons which are said to prevail there, and the facility and security with which navigation is there carried on, we doubted not but we should be speedily cheered with the moderate gales, the smooth water, and the temperate air, for which that tract of the globe has been so renowned. And under the influence of these pleasing circumstances, we hoped to experience some kind of compensation for the complicated miseries which had so constantly attended us for the last eight weeks. But here we were again disappointed, for in the succeeding month of May, our sufferings rose to a much higher pitch than they had ever yet done, whether we consider the violence of the storms, the shattering of our sails and rigging, or the diminishing and weakening of our crew by deaths and sickness, and the probable prospect of our total destruction. All this will be sufficiently evident, from the following circumstantial account of our diversified misfortunes.

Soon after our passing Straits Le Maire, the scurvy began to make its appearance amongst us; and our long continuance at sea, the fatigue we underwent, and the various disappointments we met with, had occasioned its spreading to such a degree, that at the latter end of April there were but few on board, who were not in some degree afflicted with it, and in that month no less than forty-three died of it on board the Centurion. But though we thought that the distemper had then risen to an extraordinary height, and were willing to hope that as we advanced to the northward its malignity would abate; yet, we found, on the contrary, that in the month of May, we lost near double that number: and as we did not get to land till the middle of June, the mortality went on increasing, and the disease extended itself so prodigiously, that after the loss of above two hundred men, we could not at last muster more than six fore-mast men in a watch capable of duty.

This disease, so frequently attending all long voyages, and so particularly destructive to us, is surely the most singular and unaccountable of any that affects the human body. For its symptoms are inconstant and innumerable, and its progress and effects extremely irregular: for scarcely any two persons have the same complaints, and where there hath been found some conformity in the symptoms, the order of their appearance has been totally different. However, though it frequently puts on the form of many other diseases, and is therefore not to be described by any exclusive and infallible criterions; yet there are some symptoms which are more general than the rest; and therefore, occurring the oftenest, deserve a more particular enumeration. These common appearances are large discoloured spots dispersed over the whole surface of the body, swelled legs, putrid gums, and, above all, an extraordinary lassitude of the whole body, especially after any exercise, however inconsiderable; and this lassitude

at last degenerates into a proneness to swoon on the least exertion of strength, or even on the least motion.

This disease is likewise usually attended with a strange dejection of the spirits, and with shiverings, tremblings, and a disposition to be seized with the most dreadful terrors on the slightest accident. Indeed it was most remarkable, in all our reiterated experience of this malady, that whatever discouraged our people, or at any time damped their hopes, never failed to add new vigour to the distemper; for it usually killed those who were in the last stages of it, and confined those to their hammocks who were before capable of some kind of duty; so that it seemed as if alacrity of mind, and sanguine thoughts, were no contemptible preservatives from its fatal malignity.

But it is not easy to complete the long roll of the various concomitants of this disease; for it often produced putrid fevers, pleurisies, the jaundice, and violent rheumatic pains, and sometimes it occasioned an obstinate costiveness, which was generally attended with a difficulty of breathing; and this was esteemed the most deadly of all the scorbutic symptoms: at other times the whole body, but more especially the legs, were subject to ulcers of the worst kind, attended with rotten bones, and such a luxuriancy of fungous flesh, as yielded to no remedy. But a most extraordinary circumstance, and what would be scarcely credible upon any single evidence, is, that the scars of wounds which had been for many years healed, were forced open again by this virulent distemper: of this, there was a remarkable instance in one of the invalids on board the *Centurion*, who had been wounded above fifty years before at the battle of the Boyne; for though he was cured soon after, and had continued well for a great number of years past, yet on his being attacked by the scurvy, his wounds, in the progress of his disease, broke out afresh, and appeared as if they had never been healed: nay, what is still more astonishing, the callus of a broken bone, which had been completely formed for a long time, was found to be hereby dissolved, and the fracture seemed as if it had never been consolidated. Indeed, the effects of this disease were in almost every instance wonderful; for many of our people, though confined to their hammocks, appeared to have no inconsiderable share of health, for they ate and drank heartily, were cheerful, and talked with much seeming vigour, and with a loud strong tone of voice; and yet on their being the least moved, though it was only from one part of the ship to the other, and that in their hammocks, they have immediately expired; and others, who have confided in their seeming strength, and have resolved to get out of their hammocks, have died before they could well reach the deck; and it was no uncommon thing for those who were able to walk the deck, and to do some kind of duty, to drop down dead in an instant, on any endeavours to act with their utmost vigour: many of our people having perished in this manner during the course of this voyage.

With this terrible disease we struggled the greatest part of the time of our beating round Cape Horn; and though it did not then rage with its utmost violence, yet we buried no less than forty-three men on board the *Centurion*, in the

month of April, as hath been already observed; but we still entertained hopes, that when we should have once secured our passage round the Cape, we should put a period to this and all the other evils which had so constantly pursued us. But it was our misfortune to find, that the Pacific Ocean was to us less hospitable than the turbulent neighbourhood of Terra del Fuego and Cape Horn: for being arrived, on the 8th of May, off the island of Socoro, which was the first rendezvous appointed for the squadron, and where we hoped to have met with some of our companions, we cruised for them in that station several days. And here we were not only disappointed in our hopes of being joined by our friends, and were thereby induced to favour the gloomy suggestions of their having all perished; but we were likewise perpetually alarmed with the fears of being driven on shore upon this coast, which appeared too craggy and irregular to give us the least hopes that, in such a case, any of us could possibly escape immediate destruction. For the land had indeed a most tremendous aspect: the most distant part of it, and which appeared far within the country, being the mountains usually called the Andes or Cordilleras, was extremely high, and covered with snow; and the coast itself seemed quite rocky and barren; and the water's edge skirted with precipices. In some places indeed there appeared several deep bays running into the land, but the entrance into them was generally blocked up by numbers of little islands; and though it was not improbable but there might be convenient shelter in some of those bays, and proper channels leading thereto; yet as we were utterly ignorant of the coast, had we been driven ashore by the western winds which blew almost constantly there, we did not expect to have avoided the loss of our ships, and of our lives.

And this continued peril, which lasted for above a fortnight, was greatly aggravated by the difficulties we found in working the ship; as the scurvy had by this time destroyed so great a part of our hands, and had in some degree affected almost the whole crew.<sup>1</sup> Nor did we, as we hoped, find the winds less violent, as we advanced to the northward; for we had often prodigious squalls which split our sails, greatly damaged our rigging, and endangered our masts. Indeed, during the greatest part of the time we were upon this coast, the wind blew so hard, that in another situation, where we had sufficient sea-room, we should certainly have lain-to; but in the present exigency we were necessitated to carry both our courses and top-sails, in order to keep clear of this lee-shore. In one of these squalls, which was attended by several violent claps of thunder, a sudden flash of fire darted along our decks, which, dividing, exploded with a report like that of several pistols, and wounded many of our men and officers as it passed, marking them in different parts of the body: this flame was attended with a strong sulphurous stench, and was doubtless of the same nature with the larger and more violent blasts of lightning which then filled the air.

It were endless to recite minutely the various

<sup>1</sup> In Anson's official report, 8th May, he states that "he had not men able to keep the deck sufficient to take in a topsail, all being violently afflicted with the scurvy, and every day lessening our number by six, eight, or ten."



disasters, fatigues and terrors which we encountered on this coast; all these went on increasing till the 22d of May, at which time, the fury of all the storms which we had hitherto encountered seemed to be combined, and to have conspired our destruction. In this hurricane almost all our sails were split, and great part of our standing rigging broken; and, about eight in the evening, a mountainous overgrown sea, took us upon our starboard quarter, and gave us so prodigious a shock, that several of our shrouds broke with the jerk, by which our masts were greatly endangered; our ballast and stores too were so strangely shifted, that the ship heeled afterwards two streaks to port. Indeed it was a most tremendous blow, and we were thrown into the utmost consternation from the apprehension of instantly foundering; and though the wind abated in a few hours, yet, as we had no more sails left in a condition to bend to our yards, the ship laboured very much in a hollow sea, rolling gunwale to, for want of sail to steady her: so that we expected our masts, which were now very slenderly supported, to come by the board every moment. However, we exerted ourselves the best we could to stirrup our shrouds, to reeve new lanyards, and to mend our sails; but while these necessary operations were carrying on, we ran great risk of being driven on shore on the island of Chiloe, which was not far distant from us; but in the midst of our peril the wind happily shifted to the southward, and we steered, off the land with the mainsail only, the master and myself undertaking the management of the helm, while every one else on board was busied in securing the masts, and bending the sails as fast as they could be repaired. This was the last effort of that stormy climate; for in a day or two after, we got clear of the land, and found the weather more moderate than we had yet experienced since our passing Straits Le Maire. And now having cruised in vain for more than a fortnight in quest of the other ships of the squadron, it was resolved to take the advantage of the present favourable season and the offing we had made from this terrible coast, and to make the best of our way for the island of Juan Fernandes. For though our next rendezvous was appointed off the harbour of Baldivia, yet as we had hitherto seen none of our companions at this first rendezvous, it was not to be supposed that any of them would be found at the second: indeed we had the greatest reason to suspect, that all but ourselves had perished. Besides, we were by this time reduced to so low a condition, that instead of attempting to attack the places of the enemy, our utmost hopes could only suggest to us the possibility of saving the ship, and some part of the remaining enfeebled crew, by our speedy arrival at Juan Fernandes; for this was the only road in that part of the world where there was any probability of our recovering our sick, or refitting our vessel, and consequently our getting thither was the only chance we had left to avoid perishing at sea.

Our deplorable situation then allowing no room for deliberation, we stood for the island of Juan Fernandes; and to save time, which was now extremely precious (our men dying, four, five and six in a day), and likewise to avoid being engaged

again with a lee-shore; we resolved, if possible, to hit the island upon a meridian. And, on the 28th of May, being nearly in the parallel upon which it is laid down, we had great expectations of seeing it: but not finding it in the position in which the charts had taught us to expect it, we began to fear that we had got too far to the westward; and therefore, though the commodore himself was strongly persuaded that he saw it on the morning of the 28th, yet his officers believing it to be only a cloud, to which opinion the haziness of the weather gave some kind of countenance, it was, on a consultation, resolved to stand to the eastward, in the parallel of the island; as it was certain, that by this course we should either fall in with the island, if we were already to the westward of it; or should at least make the main-land of Chili, from whence we might take a new departure, and assure ourselves, by running to the westward afterwards, of not missing the island a second time.

On the 30th of May we had a view of the continent of Chili, distant about twelve or thirteen leagues; the land made exceeding high and uneven, and appeared quite white; what we saw being doubtless a part of the Cordilleras, which are always covered with snow. Though by this view of the land we ascertained our position, yet it gave us great uneasiness to find that we had so needlessly altered our course, when we were, in all probability, just upon the point of making the island; for the mortality amongst us was now increased to a most dreadful degree, and those who remained alive were utterly dispirited by this new disappointment, and the prospect of their longer continuance at sea: our water too began to grow scarce; so that a general dejection prevailed amongst us, which added much to the virulence of the disease, and destroyed numbers of our best men; and to all these calamities there was added this vexatious circumstance, that when, after having got a sight of the main, we tacked and stood to the westward in quest of the island, we were so much delayed by calms and contrary winds, that it cost us nine days to regain the westing, which, when we stood to the eastward, we ran down in two. In this desponding condition, with a crazy ship, a great scarcity of fresh water, and a crew so universally diseased, that there were not above ten fore-mast men in a watch capable of doing duty, and even some of these lame, and unable to go aloft: under these disheartening circumstances, I say, we stood to the westward; and, on the 9th of June, at day-break, we at last discovered the long-wished-for island of Juan Fernandes. And with this discovery I shall close this chapter, and the first book; after observing (which will furnish a very strong image of our unparalleled distresses) that by our suspecting ourselves to be to the westward of the island on the 28th of May, and, in consequence of this, standing in for the main, we lost between seventy and eighty of our men, whom we should doubtless have saved had we made the island that day, which, had we kept on our course for a few hours longer, we could not have failed to have done.

## BOOK II.

## CHAPTER I.

*The arrival of the Centurion at the Island of Juan Fernandes, with a description of that Island.*

ON the 9th of June, at day-break, as is mentioned in the preceding chapter, we first descried the island of Juan Fernandes, bearing N. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., at eleven or twelve leagues' distance. And though, on this first view, it appeared to be a very mountainous place, extremely ragged and irregular; yet as it was land, and the land we sought for, it was to us a most agreeable sight: for at this place only we could hope to put a period to those terrible calamities we had so long struggled with, which had already swept away above half our crew, and which, had we continued a few days longer at sea, would inevitably have completed our destruction. For we were by this time reduced to so helpless a condition, that out of two hundred and odd men which remained alive, we could not, taking all our watches together, muster hands enough to work the ship on an emergency, though we included the officers, their servants, and the boys.

The wind being northerly when we first made the island, we kept plying all that day, and the next night, in order to get in with the land; and wearing the ship in the middle watch, we had a melancholy instance of the almost incredible debility of our people; for the lieutenant could muster no more than two quarter-masters, and six fore-mast men capable of working; so that without the assistance of the officers, servants and the boys, it might have proved impossible for us to have reached the island, after we had got sight of it; and even with this assistance they were two hours in trimming the sails: to so wretched a condition was a sixty-gun ship reduced, which had passed Straits Le Maire but three months before, with between four and five hundred men, almost all of them in health and vigour.

However, on the 10th, in the afternoon, we got under the lee of the island, and kept ranging along it, at about two miles' distance, in order to look out for the proper anchorage, which was described to be in a bay on the north side. And now being nearer in with the shore, we could discover that the broken craggy precipices, which had appeared so unpromising at a distance, were far from barren, being in most places covered with woods; and that between them there were everywhere interspersed the finest valleys, clothed with a most beautiful verdure, and watered with numerous streams and cascades; no valley, of any extent, being unprovided of its proper rill. The water too, as we afterwards found, was not inferior to any we had ever tasted, and was constantly clear: so that the aspect of this country would, at all times, have been extremely delightful, but in our distressed situation, languishing as we were for the land and its vegetable productions, (an inclination constantly attending every stage of the sea-scurvy) it is scarcely credible with what eagerness and transport we viewed the shore, and with how much impatience we longed for the greens and

other refreshments which were then in sight, and particularly for the water, for of this we had been confined to a very sparing allowance for a considerable time, and had then but five tons remaining on board. Those only who have endured a long series of thirst, and who can readily recall the desire and agitation which the ideas alone of springs and brooks have at that time raised in them, can judge of the emotion with which we eyed a large cascade of the most transparent water, which poured itself from a rock near a hundred feet high into the sea, at a small distance from the ship. Even those amongst the diseased, who were not in the very last stages of the distemper, though they had been long confined to their hammocks, exerted the small remains of strength that was left them, and crawled up to the deck to feast themselves with this reviving prospect. Thus we coasted the shore, fully employed in the contemplation of this diversified landscape, which still improved upon us the farther we advanced. But at last the night closed upon us, before we had satisfied ourselves which was the proper bay to anchor in; and therefore we resolved to keep in soundings all night, (we having then from sixty-four to seventy fathom) and to send our boat next morning to discover the road: however, the current shifted in the night, and set us so near the land, that we were obliged to let go the best bower in fifty-six fathom, not half a mile from the shore. At four in the morning, the cutter was despatched with our third lieutenant to find out the bay we were in search of, who returned again at noon with the boat laden with seals and grass; for though the island abounded with better vegetables, yet the boat's-crew, in their short stay, had not met with them; and they well knew that even grass would prove a dainty, and indeed it was all soon and eagerly devoured. The seals too were considered as fresh provision; but as yet were not much admired, though they grew afterwards into more repute: for what rendered them less valuable at this juncture, was the prodigious quantity of excellent fish, which the people on board had taken, during the absence of the boat.

The cutter, in this expedition, had discovered the bay where we intended to anchor, which we found was to the westward of our present station; and, the next morning, the weather proving favourable, we endeavoured to weigh, in order to proceed thither: but though on this occasion, we mustered all the strength we could, obliging even the sick, who were scarce able to keep on their legs, to assist us; yet the capstan was so weakly manned, that it was near four hours before we hove the cable right up and down: after which, with our utmost efforts, and with many surges and some purchases we made use of to increase our power, we found ourselves incapable of starting the anchor from the ground. However, at noon, as a fresh gale blew towards the bay, we were induced to set the sails, which fortunately tripped the anchor; on which we steered along shore, till we came a-breast of the point that forms the eastern part of the bay. On the opening of the

bay, the wind, that had befriended us thus far, shifted and blew from thence in squalls; but by means of the head-way we had got, we luffed close in, till the anchor brought us up in fifty-six fathom. Soon after we had thus got to our new berth, we discovered a sail, which we made no doubt was one of our squadron; and on its nearer approach, we found it to be the *Tryal* sloop. We immediately sent some of our hands on board her, by whose assistance she was brought to an anchor between us and the land. We soon found that the sloop had not been exempted from those calamities which we had so severely felt; for her commander, Captain Saunders, waiting on the commodore, informed him, that out of his small complement, he had buried thirty-four of his men; and those that remained were so universally afflicted with the scurvy, that only himself, his lieutenant, and three of his men, were able to stand by the sails. The *Tryal* came to an anchor within us, on the 12th, about noon, and we carried our hawsers on board her, in order to moor ourselves nearer in-shore; but the wind coming off the land in violent gusts, prevented our mooring in the birth we intended, especially as our principal attention was now employed on business rather of more importance; for we were now extremely occupied in sending on shore materials to raise tents for the reception of the sick, who died apace on board, and doubtless the distemper was considerably augmented by the stench and filthiness in which they lay; for the number of the diseased was so great, and so few could be spared from the necessary duty of the sails to look after them, that it was impossible to avoid a great relaxation in the article of cleanliness, which had rendered the ship extremely loathsome between decks. But notwithstanding our desire of freeing the sick from their hateful situation, and their own extreme impatience to get on shore, we had not hands enough to prepare the tents for their reception before the 16th; but on that and the two following days we sent them all on shore, amounting to a hundred and sixty-seven persons, besides at least a dozen who died in the boats, on their being exposed to the fresh air. The greatest part of our sick were so infirm, that we were obliged to carry them out of the ship in their hammocks, and to convey them afterwards in the same manner from the water-side to their tents, over a stony beach. This was a work of considerable fatigue to the few who were healthy, and therefore the commodore, with his accustomed humanity, not only assisted herein with his own labour, but obliged his officers, without distinction, to give their helping hand. The extreme weakness of our sick may in some measure be collected from the numbers who died after they had got on shore; for it had generally been found that the land, and the refreshments it produces, very soon recover most stages of the sea-scurvy; and we flattered ourselves, that those who had not perished on this first exposure to the open air, but had lived to be placed in their tents, would have been speedily restored to their health and vigour: but, to our great mortification, it was near twenty days after their landing, before the mortality was tolerably ceased; and for the first ten or twelve days, we buried rarely less than six each day, and many of those, who survived, recovered by very slow

and insensible degrees. Indeed, those who were well enough at their first getting on shore, to creep out of their tents, and crawl about, were soon relieved, and recovered their health and strength in a very short time; but in the rest, the disease seemed to have acquired a degree of inveteracy which was altogether without example.

Having proceeded thus far, and got our sick on shore, I think it necessary, before I enter into any longer detail of our transactions, to give a distinct account of this island of Juan Fernandes, its situation, productions, and all its conveniences. These particulars were well enabled to be minutely instructed in, during our three months' stay there; and as it is the only commodious place in those seas, where British cruisers can refresh and recover their men after their passage round Cape Horn, and where they may remain for some time without alarming the Spanish coast, these its advantages well merit a circumstantial description. And indeed Mr. Anson was particularly industrious in directing the roads and coasts to be surveyed, and other observations to be made, knowing, from his own experience, of how great consequence these materials might prove to any British vessels hereafter employed in those seas. For the uncertainty we were in of its position, and our standing in for the main on the 28th of May, in order to secure a sufficient easting, when we were indeed extremely near it, cost us the lives of between seventy and eighty of our men, by our longer continuance at sea: from which fatal accident we might have been exempted, had we been furnished with such an account of its situation as we could fully have depended on.

The island of Juan Fernandes lies in the latitude of 33° 40' South, and is a hundred and ten leagues distant from the continent of Chili. It is said to have received its name from a Spaniard, who formerly procured a grant of it, and resided there some time with a view of settling it, but afterwards abandoned it. The island itself is of an irregular figure; its greatest extent being between four and five leagues, and its greatest breadth somewhat short of two leagues. The only safe anchoring at this island is on the North side, where there are three bays, but the middlemost, known by the name of Cumberland Bay, is the widest and deepest, and in all respects much the best; the other two bays, denominated the East and West bays, are scarcely more than good landing-places, where boats may conveniently put their casks on shore. Cumberland bay is pretty well secured to the southward, lying only exposed from the N. by W. to the E. by S.; and as the northerly winds seldom blow in that climate, and never with any violence, the danger from that quarter is not worth attending to.

As Cumberland Bay is by far the most commodious road in the island, so it is advisable for all ships to anchor on the western side of this bay, within little more than two cables' length of the beach. Here they may ride in forty fathom of water, and be, in a great measure, sheltered from a large heavy sea, which comes rolling in whenever an eastern or a western wind blows. It is however expedient, in this case, to cackle or arm the cables with an iron chain, or good rounding, for five or six fathom from the anchor, to secure them from being rubbed by the foulness of the ground.

I have before observed, that a northerly wind, to which alone this bay is exposed, very rarely blew during our stay here; and as it was then winter, it may be supposed, in other seasons, to be less frequent. Indeed, in those few instances, when it was in that quarter, it did not blow with any great force: but this perhaps might be owing to the highlands on the southward of the bay, which checked its current, and thereby abated its violence; for we had reason to suppose that, a few leagues off, it blew with considerable force, since it sometimes drove before it a prodigious sea, in which we rode fore castle-in. But though the northern winds are never to be apprehended, yet the southern winds, which generally prevail here, frequently blow off the land in violent gusts and squalls, which however rarely last longer than two or three minutes. This seems to be owing to the obstruction of the southern gale by the hills in the neighbourhood of the bay; for the wind being collected by this means, at last forces its passage through the narrow valleys, which, like so many funnels, both facilitate its escape and increase its violence. These frequent and sudden gusts make it difficult for ships to work in with the wind off-shore, or to keep a clear hawse when anchored.

The northern part of this island is composed of high craggy hills, many of them inaccessible, though generally covered with trees. The soil of this part is loose and shallow, so that very large trees on the hills soon perish for want of root, and are easily overturned; which occasioned the unfortunate death of one of our sailors, who being upon the hills in search of goats, caught hold of a tree upon the declivity to assist him in his ascent, and this giving way, he immediately rolled down the hill, and though in his fall he fastened on another tree of considerable bulk, yet that too gave way, and he fell amongst the rocks, and was dashed to pieces. Mr. Brett too met with an accident only by resting his back against a tree, near as large about as himself, which stood on a slope; for the tree giving way, he fell to a considerable distance, though without receiving any harm.

The southern, or rather the S. W. part of the Island, is widely different from the rest, being dry, stony, and destitute of trees, but very flat and low, compared with the hills on the northern part. This part of the island is never frequented by ships, being surrounded by a steep shore, and having little or no fresh water; and besides, it is exposed to the southerly wind, which generally blows here the whole year round, and in the winter solstice very hard. The trees of which the woods on the northern side of the island are composed, are most of them aromatics, and of many different sorts: there are none of them of a size to yield any considerable timber, except the myrtle-trees, which are the largest on the island, and supplied us with all the timber we made use of; but even these would not work to a greater length than forty feet. The top of the myrtle-tree is circular, and appears as uniform and regular, as if it had been clipped by art; it bears on its bark an excrescence like moss, which in taste and smell resembles garlic, and was used by our people instead of it. We found here too the pimento-

tree, and likewise the cabbage-tree, though in no great plenty.

Our prisoners observed, that the appearance of the hills in some part of the island resembled that of the mountains in Chili, where the gold is found: so that it is not impossible but mines might be discovered here. We observed, in some places, several hills of a peculiar sort of red earth, exceeding vermilion in colour, which perhaps, on examination, might prove useful for many purposes.

Besides a great number of plants of various kinds which are to be met with upon the island, but which we were not botanists enough either to describe or attend to, we found there almost all the vegetables which are usually esteemed to be particularly adapted to the cure of those scorbutic disorders, which are contracted by salt diet and long voyages. For here we had great quantities of water-cresses and purslain, with excellent wild sorrel, and a vast profusion of turnips and Sicilian radishes: these two last, having some resemblance to each other, were confounded by our people under the general name of turnips. We usually preferred the tops of the turnips to the roots, which were often stringy; though some of them were free from that exception, and remarkably good. These vegetables, with the fish and flesh we found here, and which I shall more particularly describe hereafter, were not only extremely grateful to our palates, after the long course of salt diet which we had been confined to, but were likewise of the most salutary consequence to our sick in recovering and invigorating them, and of no mean service to us who were well, in destroying the lurking seeds of the scurvy, from which perhaps none of us were totally exempt, and in refreshing and restoring us to our wonted strength and activity.

Besides the vegetables I have mentioned, of which we made perpetual use, we found many acres of ground covered with oats and clover. There were also some few cabbage-trees upon the island, as observed before; but as they generally grew on the precipices, and in dangerous situations, and as it was necessary to cut down a large tree for every single cabbage, this was a dainty that we were able but rarely to indulge in.

The excellence of the climate and the looseness of the soil render this place extremely proper for all kinds of vegetation; for if the ground be anywhere accidentally turned up, it is immediately overgrown with turnips and Sicilian radishes; and therefore Mr. Anson having with him garden-seeds of all kinds, and stones of different sorts of fruits, he, for the better accommodation of his countrymen who should hereafter touch here, sowed both lettuces, carrots, and other garden plants, and set in the woods a great variety of plum, apricot, and peach stones: and these last he has been informed have since thriven to a very remarkable degree; for some gentlemen, who in their passage from Lima to Old Spain were taken and brought to England, having procured leave to wait upon Mr. Anson, to thank him for his generosity and humanity to his prisoners, some of whom were their relations, they, in casual discourse with him about his transactions in the South Seas, particularly asked him, if he had not planted a great number of fruit-stones on the

island of Juan Fernandès, for they told him, their late navigators had discovered there numbers of peach-trees and apricot-trees, which being fruits before unobserved in that place, they concluded them to be produced from kernels set by him.

And this may in general suffice as to the soil and vegetable productions of this place : but the face of the country, at least of the north part of the island, is so extremely singular, that I cannot avoid giving it a particular consideration. I have already taken notice of the wild, inhospitable air with which it first appeared to us, and the gradual improvement of this uncouth landscape as we drew nearer, till we were at last captivated by the numerous beauties we discovered on the shore. And I must now add, that we found, during the time of our residence there, that the inland parts of the island did no ways fall short of the sanguine prepossessions which we first entertained in their favour.

For the woods which covered most of the steepest hills, were free from all bushes and underwood, and afforded an easy passage through every part of them ; and the irregularities of the hills and precipices, in the northern part of the island, necessarily traced out by their various combinations a great number of romantic valleys ; most of which had a stream of the clearest water running through them, that tumbled in cascades from rock to rock, as the bottom of the valley, by the course of the neighbouring hills, was at any time broken into a sudden sharp descent : some particular spots occurred in these valleys, where the shade and fragrance of the contiguous woods, the loftiness of the overhanging rocks, and the transparency and frequent falls of the neighbouring streams, presented scenes of such elegance and dignity, as would perhaps with difficulty be rivalled in any other part of the globe. It is in this place, perhaps, that the simple productions of unassisted nature may be said to excel all the fictitious descriptions of the most animated imagination. I shall finish this article with a short account of that spot where the commodore pitched his tent, and which he made choice of for his own residence, though I despair of conveying an adequate idea of its beauty. The piece of ground which he chose was a small lawn, that lay on a little ascent, at the distance of about half a mile from the sea. In the front of his tent there was a large avenue cut through the woods to the sea-side, which sloping to the water, with a gentle descent, opened a prospect of the bay and the ships at anchor. This lawn was screened behind by a tall wood of myrtle sweeping round it, in the form of a theatre, the ground on which the wood stood rising with a much sharper ascent than the lawn itself, though not so much but that the hills and precipices within land towered up considerably above the tops of the trees, and added to the grandeur of the view. There were, besides, two streams of crystal water, which ran on the right and left of the tent, within a hundred yards' distance, and were shaded by the trees which skirted the lawn on either side, and completed the symmetry of the whole.

It remains now only that we speak of the animals and provisions which we met with at this place. Former writers have related, that this island abounded with vast numbers of goats, and their

accounts are not to be questioned, this place being the usual haunt of the buccaneers and privateers, who formerly frequented those seas. And there are two instances ; one of a Musquito Indian, and the other of Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman, who were left by their respective ships, and lived alone upon this island for some years, and consequently were no strangers to its produce<sup>1</sup>. Selkirk, who was the last, after a stay of between four and five years, was taken off the place by the Duke and Duchess privateers of Bristol, as may be seen at large in the journal of their voyage : his manner of life, during his solitude, was in most particulars very remarkable ; but there is one circumstance he relates, which was so strangely verified by our own observation, that I cannot help reciting it. He tells us, among other things, as he often caught more goats than he wanted, he sometimes marked their ears and let them go. This was about thirty-two years before our arrival at the island. Now it happened, that the first goat that was killed by our people at their landing had his ears slit, whence we concluded that he had doubtless been formerly under the power of Selkirk. This was indeed an animal of a most venerable aspect, dignified with an exceeding majestic beard, and with many other symptoms of antiquity. During our stay on the island, we met with others marked in the same manner, all the males being distinguished by an exuberance of beard, and every other characteristic of extreme age.

But the great numbers of goats, which former writers described to have been found upon this island, are at present very much diminished : for the Spaniards being informed of the advantages which the buccaneers and privateers drew from the provisions which goat's-flesh here furnished them with, they have endeavoured to extirpate the breed, thereby to deprive their enemies of this relief. For this purpose, they have put on shore great numbers of large dogs, which have increased apace, and have destroyed all the goats in the accessible part of the country ; so that there now remain only a few amongst the crags and precipices, where the dogs cannot follow them. These are divided into separate herds of twenty or thirty each, which inhabit distinct fastnesses, and never mingle with each other : by this means we found it extremely difficult to kill them ; and yet we were so desirous of their flesh, which we all agreed much resembled venison, that we got knowledge, I believe, of all their herds, and it was conceived, by comparing their numbers together, that they scarcely exceeded two hundred upon the whole island. I remember we had once an opportunity of observing a remarkable dispute betwixt a herd of these animals and a number of dogs ; for going in our boat into the eastern bay, we saw some dogs running very eagerly upon the foot, and being willing to discover what game they were after, we lay upon our oars some time to view them, and at last we saw them take to a hill, and looking a little further, we observed upon the ridge of it a herd of goats, which seemed drawn up for their reception ; there was a very narrow path skirted on each side by precipices, on which the master of the herd posted himself fronting the enemy, the

<sup>1</sup> It was from the circumstance of Alexander Selkirk's sojourn on this beautiful island, that De Foe produced his popular and interesting narrative of Robinson Crusoe.

rest of the goats being all behind him, where the ground was more open : as this spot was inaccessible by any other path, excepting where this champion had placed himself, the dogs, though they ran up-hill with great alacrity, yet when they came within about twenty yards of him, durst not encounter him, (for he would infallibly have driven them down the precipice) but gave over the chase, and quietly laid themselves down, panting at a great rate.

The dogs, who, as I have mentioned, are masters of all the accessible parts of the island, are of various kinds, but some of them very large, and are multiplied to a prodigious degree. They sometimes came down to our habitations at night, and stole our provision ; and once or twice they set upon single persons, but assistance being at hand, they were driven off without doing any mischief. As at present it is rare for goats to fall in their way, we conceived that they lived principally upon young seals ; and indeed some of our people had the curiosity to kill dogs sometimes and dress them, and they seemed to agree that they had a fishy taste.

Goat's-flesh, as I have mentioned, being scarce, we rarely being able to kill above one a day, and our people growing tired of fish, (which, as I shall hereafter observe, abounds at this place) they at last descended to eat seals, which by degrees they came to relish, and called it lamb. The seal, numbers of which haunt this island, hath been so often described by former writers, that it is unnecessary to say any thing particular about them in this place. But there is another amphibious creature to be met with here, called a sea-lion, that bears some resemblance to a seal, though it is much larger. This too we ate, under the denomination of beef ; and as it is so extraordinary an animal, I conceive, it well merits a particular annotation. They are in size, when arrived at their full growth, from twelve to twenty feet in length, and from eight to fifteen in circumference : they are extremely fat, so that after having cut through the skin, which is about an inch in thickness, there is at least a foot of fat before you can come at either lean or bones ; and we experienced, more than once, that the fat of some of the largest afforded us a butt of oil. They are likewise very full of blood, for if they are deeply wounded in a dozen places, there will instantly gush out as many fountains of blood, spouting to a considerable distance ; and to try what quantity of blood they contained, we shot one first, and then cut its throat, and measuring the blood that came from him, we found, that besides what remained in the vessels, which to be sure was considerable, we got at least two hogsheds. Their skins are covered with short hair of a light dun colour, but their tails, and their fins, which serve them for feet on shore, are almost black ; their fins or feet are divided at the ends like fingers, the web which joins them not reaching to the extremities, and each of these extremities is furnished with a nail. They have a distant resemblance to an overgrown seal, though in some particulars there is a manifest difference, especially in the males, who have a large snout or trunk hanging down five or six inches below the end of the upper jaw ; this particular the females have not, and this renders the countenance of the male and female easy to be

distinguished from each other, and besides, the males are of a much larger size. One of them was the master of the flock, and from his driving off the other males, and keeping a great number of females to himself, he was by the seamen ludicrously styled the Bashaw. These animals divide their time equally between the land and sea, continuing at sea all the summer, and coming on shore at the setting in of the winter, where they reside during that whole season. In this interval they engender and bring forth their young, and have generally two at a birth ; these they suckle with their milk, they being at first about the size of a full-grown seal. During the time of these animals' continuance on shore, they feed on the grass and verdure which grows near the bank of the fresh-water streams ; and, when not employed in feeding, sleep in herds in the most miry places they can find out. As they seem to be of a very lethargic disposition, and not easily awakened, each herd was observed to place some of their males at a distance in the nature of sentinels, who never failed to alarm them, whenever our men attempted to molest, or even to approach them ; and they were very capable of alarming, even at a considerable distance, for the noise they make is very loud and of different kinds, sometimes grunting like hogs, and at other times snorting like horses in full vigour. They often, especially the males, have furious battles with each other, principally about their females ; and we were one day extremely surprised by the sight of two animals, which at first appeared different from all we had ever observed ; but, on a nearer approach, they proved to be two sea-lions, who had been goring each other with their teeth, and were covered over with blood : and the Bashaw before-mentioned, who generally lay surrounded with a seraglio of females, which no other male dared to approach, had not acquired that envied pre-eminence without many bloody contests, of which the marks still remained in the numerous scars which were visible in every part of his body. We killed many of them for food, particularly for their hearts and tongues, which we esteemed exceeding good eating, and preferable even to those of bullocks : and in general there was no difficulty in killing them, for they were incapable either of escaping or resisting, their motion being the most unwieldy that can be conceived, their blubber, all the time they are moving, being agitated in large waves under their skins. However, a sailor one day being carelessly employed in skinning a young sea-lion, the female, from whence he had taken it, came upon him unperceived, and getting his head in her mouth, she with her teeth scored his skull in notches in many places, and thereby wounded him so desperately, that though all possible care was taken of him, he died in a few days.

These are the principal animals which we found upon the island : for we saw but few birds, and those chiefly hawks, blackbirds, owls, and lunning-birds. We saw not the pardela, which burrows in the ground, and which former writers have mentioned to be found here ; but as we met with their holes, we supposed that the dogs had destroyed them, as they have almost done the cats, which were very numerous in Selkirk's time, but we saw not above one or two during our whole

stay. However, the rats still keep their ground, and continue here in great numbers, and were very troublesome to us, by infesting our tents nightly.

But that which furnished us with the most delicious repasts at this island, remains still to be described. This was the fish, with which the whole bay was most plentifully stored, and with the greatest variety: for we found here cod of a prodigious size; and by the report of some of our crew, who had been formerly employed in the Newfoundland fishery, not in less plenty than is to be met with on the banks of that island. We caught also cavallies, gropers, large breams, maids, silver-fish, congers of a peculiar kind, and above all, a black fish which we most esteemed, called by some a chimney-sweeper, in shape resembling a carp. Indeed the beach is everywhere so full of rocks and loose stones, that there is no possibility of hauling the seine; but with hooks and lines we caught what numbers we pleased, so that a boat with two or three lines would return loaded with fish in about two or three hours' time. The only interruption we ever met with, arose from great quantities of dog-fish and large sharks, which sometimes attended our boats and prevented our sport. Besides the fish we have already mentioned, we found here one delicacy in greater perfection, both as to size, flavour and quantity, than is perhaps to be met with in any other part of the world: this was sea craw-fish; they generally weighed eight or nine pounds apiece, were of a most excellent taste, and lay in such abundance near the water's edge, that the boat-hooks often struck into them, in putting the boat to and from the shore.

These are the most material articles relating to the accommodations, soil, vegetables, animals, and other productions of the island of Juan Fernandes: by which it must appear how properly that place was adapted for recovering us from the deplorable situation to which our tedious and unfortunate navigation round Cape Horn had reduced us. And having thus given the reader some idea of the site and circumstances of this place, which was to be our residence for three months, I shall now proceed, in the next chapter, to relate all that occurred to us in that interval, resuming my narration from the 18th day of June, being the day in which the *Tryal* sloop, having by a squall been driven out to sea three days before, came again to her moorings, the day in which we finished the sending our sick on shore, and about eight days after our first anchoring at this island.

## CHAPTER II.

*The arrival of the Gloucester and the Anna pink at the island of Juan Fernandes, and the transactions at that place during this interval.*

THE arrival of the *Tryal* sloop at this island, so soon after we came there ourselves, gave us great hopes of being speedily joined by the rest of the squadron; and we were for some days continually looking out, in expectation of their coming in sight. But near a fortnight being elapsed, without any of them having appeared, we began to despair of ever meeting them again; as we knew that had

our ship continued so much longer at sea, we should every man of us have perished, and the vessel, occupied by dead bodies only, would have been left to the caprice of the winds and waves: and this we had great reason to fear was the fate of our consorts, as each hour added to the probability of these desponding suggestions.

But on the 21st of June, some of our people, from an eminence on shore, discerned a ship to leeward, with her courses even with the horizon: and they, at the same time, particularly observed, that she had no sail abroad except her courses and her main-topsail. This circumstance made them conclude that it was one of our squadron, which had probably suffered in her sails and rigging as severely as we had done: but they were prevented from forming more definite conjectures about her; for, after viewing her for a short time, the weather grew thick and hazy, and they lost sight of her. On this report, and no ship appearing for some days, we were all under the greatest concern, suspecting that her people were in the utmost distress for want of water, and so diminished and weakened by sickness, as not to be able to ply up to windward; so that we feared that, after having been in sight of the island, her whole crew would notwithstanding perish at sea. However, on the 26th, towards noon, we discerned a sail in the north-east quarter, which we conceived to be the very same ship that had been seen before, and our conjectures proved true; and about one o'clock she approached so near, that we could distinguish her to be the *Gloucester*. As we had no doubt of her being in great distress, the commodore immediately ordered his boat to her assistance, laden with fresh water, fish, and vegetables, which was a very seasonable relief to them; for our apprehensions of their calamities appeared to be but too well grounded, as perhaps there never was a crew in a more distressed situation. They had already thrown overboard two thirds of their complement, and of those that remained alive, scarcely any were capable of doing duty, except the officers and their servants. They had been a considerable time at the small allowance of a pint of fresh water to each man for twenty-four hours, and yet they had so little left, that, had it not been for the supply we sent them, they must soon have died of thirst. The ship plied in within three miles of the bay; but, the winds and currents being contrary, she could not reach the road. However, she continued in the offing the next day, but had no chance of coming to an anchor, unless the wind and currents shifted; and therefore the commodore repeated his assistance, sending to her the *Tryal's* boat manned with the *Centurion's* people, and a further supply of water and other refreshments. Captain Mitchel, the captain of the *Gloucester*, was under a necessity of detaining both this boat and that sent the preceding day; for without the help of their crews he had no longer strength enough to navigate the ship. In this tantalising situation the *Gloucester* continued for near a fortnight, without being able to fetch the road, though frequently attempting it, and at some times bidding very fair for it. On the 9th of July, we observed her stretching away to the eastward at a considerable distance, which we supposed was with a design to get to the southward of the island; but as we soon lost sight of her, and she did not appear for near a week, we

were prodigiously concerned, knowing that she must be again in extreme distress for want of water. After great impatience about her, we discovered her again on the 16th, endeavouring to come round the eastern point of the island; but the wind, still blowing directly from the bay, prevented her getting nearer than within four leagues of the land. On this, Captain Mitchel made signals of distress, and our long-boat was sent to him with a store of water, and plenty of fish, and other refreshments. And the long-boat being not to be spared, the coxswain had positive orders from the commodore to return again immediately; but the weather proving stormy the next day, and the boat not appearing, we much feared she was lost, which would have proved an irretrievable misfortune to us all: but, the third day after, we were relieved from this anxiety, by the joyful sight of the long-boat's sails upon the water; and we sent the cutter immediately to her assistance, who towed her along-side in a few hours. The crew of our long-boat had taken in six of the Gloucester's sick men to bring them on shore, two of which had died in the boat. And now we learnt that the Gloucester was in a most dreadful condition, having scarcely a man in health on board, except those they received from us; and, numbers of their sick dying daily, we found that, had it not been for the last supply sent by our long-boat, both the healthy and diseased must have all perished together for want of water. And these calamities were the more terrifying, as they appeared to be without remedy: for the Gloucester had already spent a month in her endeavours to fetch the bay, and she was now no farther advanced than at the first moment she made the island; on the contrary, the people on board her had worn out all their hopes of ever succeeding in it, by the many experiments they had made of its difficulty. Indeed, the same day her situation grew more desperate than ever, for after she had received our last supply of refreshments, we again lost sight of her; so that we in general despaired of her ever coming to an anchor.

Thus was this unhappy vessel bandied about within a few leagues of her intended harbour, whilst the neighbourhood of that place and of those circumstances, which could alone put an end to the calamities they laboured under, served only to aggravate their distress, by torturing them with a view of the relief it was not in their power to reach. But she was at last delivered from this dreadful situation, at a time when we least expected it; for after having lost sight of her for several days, we were pleasantly surprised, on the morning of the 23rd of July, to see her open the N. W. point of the bay with a flowing sail; when we immediately despatched what boats we had to her assistance, and in an hour's time from our first perceiving her, she anchored safe within us in the bay. And now we were more particularly convinced of the importance of the assistance and refreshments we so often sent them, and how impossible it would have been for a man of them to have survived, had we given less attention to their wants; for notwithstanding the water, the greens, and fresh provisions which we supplied them with, and the hands we sent them to navigate the ship, by which the fatigue of their own people was diminished, their sick relieved, and the mortality abated; notwithstanding this indulgent care of

the commodore, they yet buried three-fourths of their crew, and a very small proportion of the remainder were capable of assisting in the duty of the ship. On their coming to an anchor, our first care was to assist them in mooring, and our next to send the sick on shore: these were now reduced by deaths to less than fourscore, of which we expected to lose the greatest part; but whether it was, that those farthest advanced in the distemper were all dead, or that the greens and fresh provisions we had sent on board had prepared those which remained for a more speedy recovery, it happened, contrary to our expectations, that their sick were in general relieved and restored to their strength, in a much shorter time than our own had been when we first came to the island, and very few of them died on shore.

I have thus given an account of the principal events relating to the arrival of the Gloucester, in one continued narration: I shall only add, that we never were joined by any other of our ships, except our victualler, the Anna pink, who came in about the middle of August, and whose history I shall more particularly relate hereafter. And I shall now return to the account of our own transactions on board and on shore, during the interval of the Gloucester's frequent and ineffectual attempts to reach the island.

Our next employment, after sending our sick on shore from the Centurion, was cleansing our ship and filling our water. The first of these measures was indispensably necessary to our future health, as the numbers of sick, and the unavoidable negligence arising from our deplorable situation at sea, had rendered the decks most intolerably loathsome. And the filling our water was a caution that appeared not less essential to our future security, as we had reason to apprehend that accidents might oblige us to quit the island at a very short warning; for some appearances, which we had discovered on shore upon our first landing, gave us grounds to believe, that there were Spanish cruisers in these seas, which had left the island but a short time before our arrival, and might possibly return there again, either for a recruit of water, or in search of us: for as we could not doubt, but that the sole business they had at sea was to intercept us, so we knew that this island was the likeliest place, in their own opinion, to meet with us. The circumstances, which gave rise to these reflections (in part of which we were not mistaken, as shall be observed more at large hereafter), were our finding on shore several pieces of earthen jars, made use of in those seas for water and other liquids, which appeared to be fresh broken: we saw, too, many heaps of ashes, and near them fish-bones and pieces of fish, besides whole fish scattered here and there, which plainly appeared to have been but a short time out of the water, as they were but just beginning to decay. These appearances were certain indications that there had been ships at this place but a short time before we came there; and as all Spanish merchantmen are instructed to avoid the island, on account of its being the common rendezvous of their enemies, we concluded those who had touched here to be ships of force; and not knowing that Pizarro was returned to Buenos Ayres, and ignorant what strength might have been fitted out at Callao, we were under some



concern for our safety, being in so wretched and enfeebled a condition, that notwithstanding the rank of our ship, and the sixty guns she carried on board, which would only have aggravated our dishonour, there was scarcely a privateer sent to sea, that was not an over-match for us. However, our fears on this head proved imaginary, and we were not exposed to the disgrace, which might have been expected to have befallen us, had we been necessitated (as we must have been, had the enemy appeared) to fight our sixty-gun ship with no more than thirty hands.

Whilst the cleaning our ship and the filling our water went on, we set up a large copper-oven on shore near the sick tents, in which we baked bread every day for the ship's company, being extremely desirous of recovering our sick as soon as possible, and conceiving that new bread, added to their greens and fresh fish, might prove a powerful article in their relief. Indeed we had all imaginable reason to endeavour at the augmenting our present strength, as every little accident, which to a full crew would be insignificant, was extremely alarming in our present helpless situation: of this, we had a troublesome instance on the 30th of June; for at five in the morning, we were astonished by a violent gust of wind directly off shore, which instantly parted our small bower cable about ten fathom from the ring of the anchor: the ship at once swung off to the best bower, which happily stood the violence of the jerk, and brought us up with two cables an end in eighty fathom. At this time we had not above a dozen seamen in the ship, and we were apprehensive, if the squall continued, that we should be driven to sea in this wretched condition. However, we sent the boat on shore, to bring off all that were capable of acting; and the wind, soon abating of its fury, gave us an opportunity of receiving the boat back again with a reinforcement. With this additional strength we immediately went to work, to heave in what remained of the cable, which we suspected had received some damage from the foulness of the ground before it parted; and agreeable to our conjecture, we found that seven fathom and a half of the outer end had been rubbed, and rendered unserviceable. In the afternoon, we bent the cable to the spare anchor, and got it over the ship's side; and the next morning, July 1, being favoured with the wind in gentle breezes, we warped the ship in again, and let go the anchor in forty-one fathom; the easternmost point now bearing from us E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S.; the westernmost N.W. by W.; and the bay as before, S.S.W.; a situation, in which we remained secure for the future. But we were much concerned for the loss of our anchor, and swept frequently for it, in hopes to have recovered it; but the buoy having sunk at the very instant that the cable parted, we were never able to find it.

And now as we advanced in July, some of our men being tolerably recovered, the strongest of them were employed in cutting down trees, and splitting them into billets; while others, who were too weak for this employ, undertook to carry the billets by one at a time to the water-side: this they performed, some of them with the help of crutches, and others supported by a single stick. We next sent the forge on shore, and employed our smiths, who were but just capable of working,

in mending our chain-plates, and our other broken and decayed iron-work. We began too the repairs of our rigging; but as we had not a sufficient quantity of junk to make spun-yarn, we deferred the general over-haul, in hopes of the daily arrival of the Gloucester, who we knew had a great quantity of junk on board. However, that we might make as great despatch as possible in our refitting, we set up a large tent on the beach for the sail-makers; and they were immediately employed in repairing our old sails, and making us new ones.

These occupations, with our cleansing and watering the ship (which was by this time pretty well completed), the attendance on our sick, and the frequent relief sent to the Gloucester, were the principal transactions of our infirm crew, till the arrival of the Gloucester at an anchor in the bay. And then Captain Mitchel waiting on the commodore, informed him, that he had been forced by the winds, in his last absence, as far as the small island called Masa-Fuero, lying about twenty-two leagues to the westward of Juan Fernandes; and that he endeavoured to send his boat on shore at this place for water, of which he could observe several streams, but the wind blew so strong upon the shore, and occasioned such a surf, that it was impossible for the boat to land; though the attempt was not altogether useless, as they returned with a boat-load of fish. This island had been represented by former navigators as a barren rock; but Captain Mitchel assured the commodore, that it was almost everywhere covered with trees and verdure, and was near four miles in length; and added, that it appeared to him far from impossible but some small bay might be found on it, which might afford sufficient shelter for any ship desirous of refreshing there.

As four ships of our squadron were missing, this description of the Island of Masa-Fuero gave rise to a conjecture, that some of them might possibly have fallen in with that island, and have mistaken it for the true place of our rendezvous; and this suspicion was the more plausible, as we had no draught of either island that could be relied on. In consequence of this reasoning, Mr. Anson determined to send the Tryal sloop thither, as soon as she could be fitted for the sea, in order to examine all its bays and creeks, that we might be satisfied whether any of our missing ships were there or not. For this purpose, some of our best hands were sent on board the Tryal the next morning, to overhaul and fix her rigging; and our long-boat was employed in completing her water; and whatever stores and necessaries she wanted were immediately supplied, either from the Centurion or the Gloucester. But it was the 4th of August before the Tryal was in readiness to sail, when having weighed, it soon after fell calm, and the tide set her very near the eastern shore: Captain Saunders hung out lights, and fired several guns to acquaint us with his danger: upon which all the boats were sent to his relief, who towed the sloop into the bay; where she anchored until the next morning, and then weighing again, proceeded on her cruise with a fair breeze.

And now, after the Gloucester's arrival, we were employed in earnest in examining and repairing our rigging; but in the stripping our

foremast, we were alarmed by discovering it was sprung just above the partners of the upper deck. The spring was two inches in depth, and twelve in circumference; but the carpenters inspecting it, gave it as their opinion, that fishing it with two leaves of an anchor-stock would render it as secure as ever. But our greatest difficulty in refitting was the want of cordage and canvas; for though we had taken to sea much greater quantities of both than had ever been done before, yet the continued bad weather we met with had occasioned such a consumption of these stores, that we were driven to great straits: for after working up all our junk and old shrouds, to make twice-laid cordage, we were at last obliged to unlay a cable to work into running rigging. And with all the canvas and remnants of old sails that could be mustered, we could only make up one complete suit.

Towards the middle of August, our men being indifferently recovered, they were permitted to quit their sick tents, and to build separate huts for themselves, as it was imagined that, by living apart, they would be much cleaner, and consequently likely to recover their strength the sooner; but at the same time particular orders were given, that on the firing of a gun from the ship, they should instantly repair to the water-side. Their employment on shore was now either the procuring of refreshments, the cutting of wood, or the making of oil from the blubber of the sea-lions. This oil served us for several uses, as burning in lamps, or mixing with pitch to pay the ships' sides, or, when mixed with wood-ashes, to supply the use of tallow, of which we had none left, to give the ship boot-hose tops. Some of the men too were occupied in salting of cod; for there being two Newfoundland fishermen in the *Centurion*, the commodore made use of them in laying in a considerable quantity of salted cod for a sea-store; but very little of it was made use of, as it was afterwards thought to be as productive of the scurvy as any other kind of salt provisions.

I have before mentioned, that we had a copper-oven on shore to bake bread for the sick; but it happened that the greatest part of the flour, for the use of the squadron, was embarked on board our victualler the *Anna pink*: and I should have mentioned, that the *Tryal sloop*, at her arrival, had informed us, that on the 9th of May she had fallen in with our victualler, not far distant from the continent of Chili; and had kept company with her for four days, when they were parted in a hard gale of wind. This gave us some room to hope that she was safe, and that she might soon join us; but all June and July being past without any news of her, we suspected she was lost; and at the end of July the commodore ordered all the ships to a short allowance of bread. And it was not in our bread only, that we feared a deficiency; for since our arrival at this island, we discovered that our former purser had neglected to take on board large quantities of several kinds of provisions, which the commodore had expressly ordered him to receive; so that the supposed loss of our victualler was, on all accounts, a mortifying consideration. However, on Sunday, the 16th of August, about noon, we espied a sail in the northern quarter, and a gun

was immediately fired from the *Centurion*, to call off the people from shore; who readily obeyed the summons, and repaired to the beach, where the boats waited to carry them on board. And now being prepared for the reception of this ship in view, whether friend or enemy, we had various speculations about her; at first, many imagined it to be the *Tryal sloop* returned from her cruise; but as she drew nearer this opinion was confuted, by observing she was a vessel with three masts; and then other conjectures were eagerly canvassed, some judging it to be the *Severn*, others the *Pearl*, and several affirming that it did not belong to our squadron: but about three in the afternoon our disputes were ended, by a unanimous persuasion that it was our victualler the *Anna pink*. This ship, though, like the *Gloucester*, she had fallen in to the northward of the island, had yet the good fortune to come to an anchor in the bay, at five in the afternoon. Her arrival gave us all the sincerest joy; for each ship's company was now restored to their full allowance of bread, and we were now freed from the apprehensions of our provisions falling short, before we could reach some amicable port; a calamity, which in these seas is of all others the most irretrievable. This was the last ship that joined us; and the dangers she encountered, and the good fortune which she afterwards met with, being matters worthy of a separate narration, I shall refer them, together with a short account of the other ships of the squadron, to the ensuing chapter.

### CHAPTER III.

*A short narrative of what befell the Anna pink before she joined us, with an account of the loss of the Wager, and of the putting back of the Severn and Pearl, the two remaining ships of the squadron.*

ON the first appearance of the *Anna pink*, it seemed wonderful to us how the crew of a vessel, which came to this rendezvous two months after us, should be capable of working their ship in the manner they did, with so little appearance of debility and distress: but this difficulty was soon solved when she came to an anchor; for we then found that they had been in harbour since the middle of May, which was near a month before we arrived at Juan Fernandes: so that their sufferings (the risk they had run of shipwreck only excepted) were greatly short of what had been undergone by the rest of the squadron. It seems, on the 16th of May, they fell in with the land, which was then but four leagues distant, in the latitude of 45° 15' south. On the first sight of it, they wore ship and stood to the southward, but their fore-topsail splitting, and the wind being W.S.W., they drove towards the shore; and the captain at last, either unable to clear the land, or as others say, resolved to keep the sea no longer, steered for the coast, with a view of discovering some shelter amongst the many islands which then appeared in sight: and about four hours after the first view of the land, the pink had the fortune to come to an anchor, to the eastward of the island of *Inchin*; but as they did not run sufficiently near to the east shore of that island, and had not hands to veer away the cable briskly, they were

soon driven to the eastward, deepening their water from twenty-five fathom to thirty-five, and still continuing to drive, they, the next day, the 17th of May, let go their sheet-anchor; which though it brought them up for a short time, yet, on the 18th, they drove again, till they came into sixty-five fathom water, and were now within a mile of the land, and expected to be forced on shore every moment, in a place where the coast was very high and steep too, that there was not the least prospect of saving the ship or cargo: and their boats being very leaky, and there being no appearance of a landing-place, the whole crew, consisting of sixteen men and boys, gave themselves over for lost, for they apprehended, that if any of them by some extraordinary chance should get on shore, they would, in all probability, be massacred by the savages on the coast: for these, knowing no other Europeans but Spaniards, it might be expected they would treat all strangers with the same cruelty which they had so often and so signally exerted against their Spanish neighbours. Under these terrifying circumstances, the pink drove nearer and nearer to the rocks which formed the shore: but at last, when the crew expected each instant to strike, they perceived a small opening in the land, which raised their hopes: and immediately cutting away their two anchors, they steered for it, and found it to be a small channel betwixt an island and the main, which led them into a most excellent harbour, which, for its security against all winds and swells, and the smoothness of its waters, may perhaps compare with any in the known world. And this place being scarcely two miles distant from the spot where they deemed their destruction inevitable, the horrors of shipwreck and of immediate death, which had so long and so strongly possessed them, vanished almost instantaneously, and gave place to the more joyous ideas of security, repose, and refreshment.

In this harbour, discovered in this almost miraculous manner, the pink came to an anchor in twenty-five fathom water, with only a hawser, and a small anchor of about three hundred-weight: and here she continued for near two months refreshing her people, who were many of them ill of the scurvy, but were soon restored to perfect health by the fresh provisions, of which they procured good store, and the excellent water with which the adjacent shore abounded. But as this place may prove of the greatest importance to future navigators who may be forced upon this coast by the westerly winds, which are almost perpetual in that part of the world; I shall, before I enter into any farther particulars of the adventures of the pink, give the best account I could collect of this port, its situation, conveniences and productions.

Its latitude, which is indeed an important point, is not well ascertained, the pink having no observation either the day before she came here, or within a day of her leaving it: but it is supposed that it is not very distant from  $45^{\circ} 30'$  south, and the large extent of the bay before the harbour renders this uncertainty the less material. The island of anchin lying before the bay is supposed to be one of the islands of Chonos, which are mentioned in the Spanish accounts, as spreading all along that coast; and are said by them to be inhabited by a barbarous

people, famous for their hatred of the Spaniards, and for their cruelties to such of that nation as have fallen into their hands: and it is possible too that the land, near which the harbour itself lies, may be another of those islands, and that the continent may be considerably farther to the eastward. There are two coves where ships may conveniently heave down, the water being constantly smooth: and there are several fine runs of excellent fresh water, which fall into the harbour, and some of them so luckily situated, that the casks may be filled in the long-boat with a hose: the most remarkable of these runs is a fresh-water river, and here the pink's people got some few mullets of an excellent flavour; and they were persuaded that, in a proper season (it being winter when they were there) it abounded with fish. The principal refreshments they met with in this port were greens, as wild celery, nettle-tops, &c. (which after so long a continuance at sea they devoured with great eagerness); shell-fish, as cockles and mussels of an extraordinary size, and extremely delicious; and good store of geese, shags, and penguins. The climate, though it was the depth of winter, was not remarkably rigorous; nor the trees, or the face of the country destitute of verdure; and doubtless in the summer many other species of fresh provision, besides these here enumerated, might be found there. And notwithstanding the tales of the Spanish historians, in relation to the violence and barbarity of the inhabitants, it doth not appear that their numbers are sufficient to give the least jealousy to any ship of ordinary force, or that their disposition is by any means so mischievous or merciless as hath hitherto been represented: and besides all these advantages, it is so far removed from the Spanish frontier, and so little known to the Spaniards themselves, that there is reason to suppose, that with proper precautions a ship might continue here undiscovered for a long time. It is also a place of great defence; for by possessing the island that closes up the harbour, and which is accessible in very few places, a small force might defend this port against all the strength the Spaniards could muster in that part of the world; for this island towards the harbour is steep too, and has six fathom water close to the shore, so that the pink anchored within forty yards of it: whence it is obvious how impossible it would prove, either to board or to cut out any vessel protected by a force posted on shore within pistol-shot, and where those who were thus posted could not themselves be attacked. All these circumstances seem to render this place worthy of a more accurate examination; and it is to be hoped that the important uses which this rude account of it seems to suggest, may hereafter recommend it to the consideration of the public, and to the attention of those who are more immediately entrusted with the conduct of our naval affairs.

After this description of the place where the pink lay for two months, it may be expected that I should relate the discoveries made by the crew on the adjacent coast, and the principal incidents during their stay there: but here I must observe, that, being only a few in number, they did not dare to detach any of their people on distant discoveries; for they were perpetually terrified with the apprehension that they should be attacked either by the Spaniards or the Indians; so that

their excursions were generally confined to that tract of land which surrounded the port, and where they were never out of view of the ship. But even had they at first known how little foundation there was for these fears, yet the country in the neighbourhood was so grown up with wood, and traversed with mountains, that it appeared impracticable to penetrate it: so that no account of the inland parts could be expected from them. Indeed they were able to disprove the relations given by Spanish writers, who had represented this coast as inhabited by a fierce and powerful people: for they were certain that no such inhabitants were there to be found, at least during the winter season; since all the time they continued there, they saw no more than one Indian family, which came into the harbour in a peragua, about a month after the arrival of the pink, and consisted of an Indian near forty years old, his wife, and two children, one three years of age, and the other still at the breast. They seemed to have with them all their property, which was a dog and a cat, a fishing-net, a hatchet, a knife, a cradle, some bark of trees intended for the covering of a hut, a reel, some worsted, a flint and steel, and a few roots of a yellow hue and a very disagreeable taste, which served them for bread. The master of the pink, as soon as he perceived them, sent his yawl, who brought them on board; and fearing lest they might discover him if they were permitted to go away, he took, as he conceived, proper precautions for securing them, but without any mixture of ill usage or violence: for in the day-time they were permitted to go where they pleased about the ship, but at night were locked up in the fore-castle. As they were fed in the same manner with the rest of the crew, and were often indulged with brandy, which they seemed greatly to relish, it did not at first appear that they were much dissatisfied with their situation, especially as the master took the Indian on shore when he went a shooting (who always seemed extremely delighted when the master killed his game), and as all the crew treated them with great humanity: but it was soon perceived, that though the woman continued easy and cheerful, yet the man grew pensive and restless at his confinement. He seemed to be a person of good natural parts, and though not capable of conversing with the pink's people, otherwise than by signs, was yet very curious and inquisitive, and showed great dexterity in the manner of making himself understood. In particular, seeing so few people on board such a large ship, he let them know that he supposed they were once more numerous: and to represent to them what he imagined was become of their companions, he laid himself down on the deck, closing his eyes, and stretching himself out motionless, to imitate the appearance of a dead body. But the strongest proof of his sagacity was the manner of his getting away; for after being in custody on board the pink eight days, the scuttle of the fore-castle, where he and his family were locked up every night, happened to be unnailed, and the following night being extremely dark and stormy, he contrived to convey his wife and children through the unnailed scuttle, and then over the ship's side into the yawl; and to prevent being pursued, he cut away the long-boat, and his own peragua, which were towing astern, and immediately

rowed ashore. All this he conducted with so much diligence and secrecy, that though there was a watch on the quarter-deck with loaded arms, yet he was not discovered by them till the noise of his oars in the water, after he had put off from the ship, gave them notice of his escape; and then it was too late either to prevent him or to pursue him; for, their boats being all adrift, it was a considerable time before they could contrive the means of getting on shore themselves to search for their boats. The Indian too by this effort, besides the recovery of his liberty, was in some sort revenged on those who had confined him, both by the perplexity they were involved in from the loss of their boats, and by the terror he threw them into at his departure; for on the first alarm of the watch, who cried out "The Indians!" the whole ship was in the utmost confusion, believing themselves to be boarded by a fleet of armed peraguas.

The resolution and sagacity with which the Indian behaved upon this occasion, had it been exerted on a more extensive object than the retrieving the freedom of a single family, might perhaps have immortalised the exploit, and have given him a rank amongst the illustrious names of antiquity. Indeed his late masters did so much justice to his merit, as to own that it was a most gallant enterprise, and that they were grieved they had ever been necessitated, by their attention to their own safety, to abridge the liberty of a person of whose prudence and courage they had now such a distinguished proof. And as it was supposed by some of them that he still continued in the woods in the neighbourhood of the port, where it was feared he might suffer for want of provisions, they easily prevailed upon the master to leave a quantity of such food as they thought would be most agreeable to him, in a particular part where they imagined he would be likely to find it: and there was reason to conjecture that this piece of humanity was not altogether useless to him; for, on visiting the place some time after, it was found that the provision was gone, and in a manner that made them conclude it had fallen into his hands.

But however, though many of them were satisfied that this Indian still continued near them; yet others would needs conclude that he was gone to the island of Chiloe, where they feared he would alarm the Spaniards, and would soon return with a force sufficient to surprise the pink: and on this occasion the master of the pink was prevailed on to omit firing the evening gun; for it must be remembered, (and there is a particular reason hereafter for attending to this circumstance,) that the master, from an ostentatious imitation of the practice of men-of-war, had hitherto fired a gun every evening at the setting of the watch. This he pretended was to awe the enemy, if there was any within hearing, and to convince them that the pink was always on her guard; but it being now represented to him that his great security was his concealment, and that the evening gun might possibly discover him, and serve to guide the enemy to him, he was prevailed on, as has been mentioned, to omit it for the future: and his crew being now well refreshed, and their wood and water sufficiently replenished, he, in a few days after the escape of the Indian, put to sea, and had a fortunate passage to the rendezvous at the island of Juan Fernandes, where he

arrived on the 16th of August, as hath been already mentioned in the preceding chapter.

This vessel, the *Anna* pink, was, as I have observed, the last that joined the commodore at Juan Fernandes. The remaining ships of the squadron were the *Severn*, the *Pearl*, and the *Wager* store-ship: the *Severn* and *Pearl* parted company with the squadron off Cape Noir, and, as we afterwards learnt, put back to the Brazils: so that of all the ships which came into the South Seas, the *Wager*, Captain Cheap, was the only one that was missing. This ship had on board some field-pieces mounted for land service, together with some cohorn mortars, and several kinds of artillery, stores and tools, intended for the operations on shore: and therefore, as the enterprise on *Baldivia* had been resolved on for the first undertaking of the squadron, Captain Cheap was extremely solicitous that these materials, which were in his custody, might be ready before *Baldivia*; that if the squadron should possibly rendezvous there (as he knew not the condition they were then reduced to), no delay nor disappointment might be imputed to him.

But whilst the *Wager*, with these views, was making the best of her way to her first rendezvous off the island of *Socoro*, whence (as there was little probability of meeting any of the squadron there) she proposed to steer directly for *Baldivia*, she made the land on the fourteenth of May, about the latitude of 47° South; and, the captain exerting himself on this occasion, in order to get clear of it, he had the misfortune to fall down the after-ladder, and thereby dislocated his shoulder, which rendered him incapable of acting. This accident, together with the crazy condition of the ship, which was little better than a wreck, prevented her from getting off to sea, and entangled her more and more with the land, so that the next morning, at day-break, she struck on a sunken rock, and soon after bilged, and grounded between two small islands, at about a musket-shot from the shore.

In this situation the ship continued entire a long time, so that all the crew had it in their power to get safe on shore; but a general confusion taking place, numbers of them, instead of consulting their safety, or reflecting on their calamitous condition, fell to pillaging the ship, arming themselves with the first weapons that came to hand, and threatening to murder all who should oppose them. This frenzy was greatly heightened by the liquors they found on board, with which they got so extremely drunk, that some of them tumbling down between decks, were drowned, as the water flowed in, being incapable of getting up and retreating to other places where the water had not yet entered: and the captain, having done his utmost to get the whole crew on shore, was at last obliged to leave these mutineers behind him, and to follow his officers, and such as he had been able to prevail on; but he did not fail to send back the boats, to persuade those who remained, to have some regard to their preservation; though all his efforts were for some time without success. However, the weather next day proving stormy, and there being great danger of the ship's parting, they began to be alarmed with the fears of perishing, and were desirous of getting to land; but it seems their madness had not yet

left them, for the boat not appearing to fetch them off so soon as they expected, they at last pointed a four-pounder, which was on the quarter-deck, against the hut where they knew the captain resided on shore, and fired two shot, which passed but just over it.

From this specimen of the behaviour of part of the crew, it will not be difficult to frame some conjecture of the disorder and anarchy which took place, when they at last got all on shore. For the men conceived that, by the loss of the ship, the authority of the officers was at an end; and, they being now on a desolate coast, where scarcely any other provisions could be got except what should be saved out of the wreck, this was another insurmountable source of discord: for as the working upon the wreck, and the securing the provisions, so that they might be preserved for future exigencies as much as possible, and the taking care that what was necessary for immediate subsistence might be sparingly and equally distributed, were matters not to be brought about but by discipline and subordination; the mutinous disposition of the people, stimulated by the impulses of immediate hunger, rendered every regulation made for this purpose ineffectual: so that there were continual concealments, frauds and thefts, which animated each man against his fellow, and produced infinite feuds and contests. And hence there was constantly kept on foot a perverse and malevolent turn of temper, which rendered them utterly ungovernable.<sup>1</sup>

But besides these heart-burnings occasioned by petulance and hunger, there was another important point, which set the greatest part of the people at variance with the captain. This was their differing with him in opinion, on the measures to be pursued in the present exigency: for the captain was determined, if possible, to fit up the boats in the best manner he could, and to proceed with them to the northward. For having with him above a hundred men in health, and having gotten some fire-arms and ammunition from the wreck, he did not doubt but they could master any Spanish vessel they should meet with in those seas: and he thought he could not fail of meeting with one in the neighbourhood of *Chiloe* or *Baldivia*, in which, when he had taken her, he intended to proceed to the rendezvous at *Juan Fernandes*; and he farther insisted, that should they meet with no prize by the way, yet the boats alone would easily carry them there. But this was a scheme that, however prudent, was no ways relished by the generality of his people; for, being quite jaded with the distresses and dangers they had already run through, they could not think of prosecuting an enterprise farther, which had hitherto proved so disastrous: and therefore the common resolution was to lengthen the long-boat, and with that and the rest of the boats to steer to the southward, to pass through the Straits of *Magellan*, and to range along the east side of *South America*, till they

<sup>1</sup> "It was in consequence of the mutinous and bad conduct of the shipwrecked seamen of the *Wager*, that Anson, in 1748, when he had the management of the Admiralty in the absence of the Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich, got an act passed (21 George 2nd.) for extending the discipline of the navy to the crews of his Majesty's ships, wrecked, lost, or taken, and continuing to them their wages upon certain conditions."—*Barrow's Life of Lord Anson.*

should arrive at Brazil, where they doubted not to be well received, and to procure a passage to Great Britain. This project was at first sight infinitely more hazardous and tedious than what was proposed by the captain; but as it had the air of returning home, and flattered them with the hopes of bringing them once more to their native country, this circumstance alone rendered them inattentive to all its inconveniences, and made them adhere to it with insurmountable obstinacy; so that the captain himself, though he never changed his opinion, was yet obliged to give way to the torrent, and in appearance to acquiesce in this resolution, whilst he endeavoured underhand to give it all the obstruction he could; particularly in the lengthening of the long-boat, which he contrived should be of such a size, that though it might serve to carry them to Juan Fernandes, would yet, he hoped, appear incapable of so long a navigation as that to the coast of Brazil.

But the captain, by his steady opposition at first to this favourite project, had much embittered the people against him; to which likewise the following unhappy accident greatly contributed. There was a midshipman whose name was Cozens, who had appeared the foremost in all the refractory proceedings of the crew. He had involved himself in brawls with most of the officers who had adhered to the captain's authority, and had even treated the captain himself with great abuse and insolence. As his turbulence and brutality grew every day more and more intolerable, it was not in the least doubted, but there were some violent measures in agitation, in which Cozens was engaged as the ringleader: for which reason the captain, and those about him, constantly kept themselves on their guard. But at last the purser, having, by the captain's order, stopped the allowance of a fellow who would not work; Cozens, though the man did not complain to him, inter-meddled in the affair with great eagerness; and grossly insulting the purser, who was then delivering out provisions just by the captain's tent, and was himself sufficiently violent, the purser, enraged by his scurrility and perhaps piqued by former quarrels, cried out "a mutiny!" adding, "that the dog had pistols," and then himself fired a pistol at Cozens, which however missed him: but the captain, on this outcry and the report of the pistol, rushed out of his tent; and, not doubting but it had been fired by Cozens as the commencement of a mutiny, he immediately shot him in the head without farther deliberation, and though he did not kill him on the spot, yet the wound proved mortal, and he died about fourteen days after.

This incident, however displeasing to the people, did yet, for a considerable time, awe them to their duty, and rendered them more submissive to the captain's authority: but at last, when towards the middle of October the long-boat was nearly completed, and they were preparing to put to sea, the additional provocation he gave them by covertly traversing their project of proceeding through the Straits of Magellan, and their fears that he might at length engage a party sufficient to overturn this favourite measure, made them resolve to make use of the death of Cozens as a reason for depriving him of his command, under pretence of carrying him a prisoner to England, to be tried for murder; and he was accordingly confined under a guard.

But they never intended to carry him with them, as they too well knew what they had to apprehend on their return to England, if their commander should be present to confront them: and therefore, when they were just ready to put to sea, they set him at liberty, leaving him, and the few who chose to take their fortunes with him, no other embarkation but the yawl, to which the barge was afterwards added, by the people on board her being prevailed on to return back.

When the ship was wrecked, there remained alive on board the Wager near a hundred and thirty persons; of these above thirty died during their stay upon the place, and near eighty went off in the long-boat and the cutter to the southward; so that there remained with the captain, after their departure, no more than nineteen persons, which however was as many as the barge and the yawl, the only embarkations left them, could well carry off. It was the 13th of October, five months after the shipwreck, that the long-boat, converted into a schooner, weighed, and stood to the southward, giving the captain, who, with Lieutenant Hamilton of the land forces, and the surgeon, was then on the beach, three cheers at their departure. It was the 29th of January following before they arrived at Rio Grande, on the coast of Brazil: and having, by various accidents, left about twenty of their people on shore at the different places they touched at, and a greater number having perished by hunger during the course of their navigation, there were no more than thirty of them left, when they arrived in that port. Indeed, the undertaking of itself was a most extraordinary one; for, not to mention the length of the run, the vessel was scarcely able to contain the number that first put to sea in her; and their stock of provisions (being only what they had saved out of the ship) was extremely slender, and the cutter, the only boat they had with them, soon broke away from the stern, and was staved to pieces; so that when their provision and their water failed them, they had frequently no means of getting on shore to search for a fresh supply.

When the long-boat and cutter were gone, the captain, and those who were left with him, proposed to pass to the northward in the barge and yawl: but the weather was so bad, and the difficulty of subsisting so great, that it was two months after the departure of the long-boat before he was able to put to sea. It seems the place, where the Wager was cast away, was not a part of the continent, as was first imagined, but an island at some distance from the main, which afforded no other sorts of provision but shell-fish, and a few herbs; and as the greatest part of what they had gotten from the ship was carried off in the long-boat, the captain and his people were often in great necessity, especially as they chose to preserve what little sea-provisions remained, for their store when they should go to the northward. During their residence at this island, which was by the seamen denominated Wager's Island, they had now and then a straggling canoe or two of Indians, which came and bartered their fish and other provisions with our people. This was indeed some little succour, and at another season might perhaps have been greater; for as there were several Indian huts on the shore, it was supposed that in some years, during the height of summer, many of these

savages might resort thither to fish : and from what has been related in the account of the Anna pink, it should seem to be the general practice of those Indians to frequent this coast in the summer-time for the benefit of fishing, and to retire in the winter into a better climate, more to the northward.

And, on this mention of the Anna pink, I cannot but observe, how much it is to be lamented that the Wager's people had no knowledge of her being so near them on the coast ; for as she was not above thirty leagues distant from them, and came into their neighbourhood about the same time the Wager was lost, and was a fine roomy ship, she could easily have taken them all on board, and have carried them to Juan Fernandes. Indeed, I suspect she was still nearer to them than what is here estimated ; for several of the Wager's people, at different times, heard the report of a cannon, which I conceive could be no other than the evening-gun fired from the Anna pink, especially as what was heard at Wager's Island was about the same time of the day. But to return to Captain Cheap.

Upon the 14th of December, the captain and his people embarked in the barge and the yawl, in order to proceed to the northward, taking on board with them all the provisions they could amass from the wreck of the ship ; but they had scarcely been an hour at sea, when the wind began to blow hard, and the sea ran so high, that they were obliged to throw the greatest part of their provisions overboard, to avoid immediate destruction. This was a terrible misfortune, in a part of the world where food is so difficult to be got : however, they still persisted in their design, putting on shore as often as they could to seek subsistence. But about a fortnight after, another dreadful accident befell them, for the yawl sunk at an anchor, and one of the men in her was drowned ; and as the barge was incapable of carrying the whole company, they were now reduced to the hard necessity of leaving four marines behind them on that desolate shore. But they still kept on their course to the northward, struggling with their disasters, and greatly delayed by the perverseness of the winds, and the frequent interruptions which their search after food occasioned : till at last, about the end of January, having made three unsuccessful attempts to double a headland, which they supposed to be what the Spaniards called Cape Tres Montes, it was unanimously resolved to give over this expedition, the difficulties of which appeared insuperable, and to return again to Wager Island, where they got back about the middle of February, quite disheartened and dejected with their reiterated disappointments, and almost perishing with hunger and fatigue.

However, on their return they had the good luck to meet with several pieces of beef, which had been washed out of the ship, and were swimming in the sea. This was a most seasonable relief to them, after the hardships they had endured ; and to complete their good fortune, there came, in a short time, two canoes of Indians, amongst which was a native of Chiloe, who spoke a little Spanish ; and the surgeon, who was with Captain Cheap, understanding that language, he made a bargain with the Indian, that if he would carry the captain and his people to Chiloe in the barge, he should have

her, and all that belonged to her, for his pains. Accordingly, on the 6th of March, the eleven persons to which the company was now reduced, embarked in the barge on this new expedition ; but after having proceeded for a few days, the captain and four of his principal officers being on shore, the six, who together with an Indian remained in the barge, put off with her to sea, and did not return.

By this means there were left on shore, Captain Cheap, Mr. Hamilton lieutenant of marines, the Honourable Mr. Byron, and Mr. Campbell, midshipmen, and Mr. Elliot, the surgeon. One would have thought that their distresses had long before this time been incapable of augmentation ; but they found, on reflection, that their present situation was much more dismaying than anything they had yet gone through, being left on a desolate coast, without any provision, or the means of procuring any ; for their arms, ammunition, and every convenience they were masters of, except the tattered habits they had on, were all carried away in the barge.

But when they had sufficiently revolved in their own minds the various circumstances of this unexpected calamity, and were persuaded that they had no relief to hope for, they perceived a canoe at a distance, which proved to be that of the Indian, who had undertaken to carry them to Chiloe, he and his family being then on board it. He made no difficulty of coming to them ; for it seems he had left Captain Cheap and his people a little before to go a fishing, and had in the mean time committed them to the care of the other Indian, whom the sailors had carried to sea in the barge. But when he came on shore, and found the barge gone and his companion missing, he was extremely concerned, and could with difficulty be persuaded that the other Indian was not murdered ; but, being at last satisfied with the account that was given him, he still undertook to carry them to the Spanish settlements, and (as the Indians are well skilled in fishing and fowling) to procure them provisions by the way.

About the middle of March, Captain Cheap and the four who were left with him, set out for Chiloe, the Indian having procured a number of canoes, and gotten many of his neighbours together for that purpose. Soon after they embarked, Mr. Elliot the surgeon died, so that there now remained only four of the whole company. At last, after a very complicated passage by land and water, Captain Cheap, Mr. Byron, and Mr. Campbell, arrived in the beginning of June at the island of Chiloe, where they were received by the Spaniards with great humanity ; but, on account of some quarrel among the Indians, Mr. Hamilton did not get thither till two months after. Thus, above a twelvemonth after the loss of the Wager, ended this fatiguing peregrination, which by a variety of misfortunes had diminished the company from twenty to no more than four, and those too brought so low, that had their distresses continued but a few days longer, in all probability none of them would have survived. For the captain himself was with difficulty recovered ; and the rest were so reduced by the severity of the weather, their labour, and their want of all kinds of necessaries, that it was wonderful how they supported themselves so long. After some stay at Chiloe, the captain and the three who were with him were

sent to Valparaiso, and thence to St. Jago, the capital of Chili, where they continued above a year: but on the advice of a cartel being settled between Great Britain and Spain, Captain Cheap, Mr. Byron, and Mr. Hamilton, were permitted to return to Europe on board a French ship. The other midshipman, Mr. Campbel, having changed his religion, whilst at St. Jago, chose to go back to Buenos Ayres with Pizarro and his officers, with whom he went afterwards to Spain on board the Asia; and there having failed in his endeavours to procure a commission from the court of Spain, he returned to England, and attempted to get reinstated in the British navy; and has since published a narration of his adventures, in which he complains of the injustice that had been done him, and strongly disavows his ever being in the Spanish service: but as the change of his religion, and his offering himself to the court of Spain (though not accepted) are matters which, he is conscious, are capable of being incontestably proved; on these two heads he has been entirely silent. And now, after this account of the accidents which befell the *Anna pink*, and the catastrophe of the *Wager*, I shall again resume the thread of our own story.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

*Conclusion of our proceedings at Juan Fernandes, from the arrival of the Anna pink, to our final departure from thence.*

ABOUT a week after the arrival of our victualler, the *Tryal* sloop, that had been sent to the island of *Masa-Fuero*, returned to an anchor at *Juan Fernandes*, after having been round that island, without meeting any part of our squadron. As, upon this occasion, the island of *Masa-Fuero* was more particularly examined than, I dare say, it had ever been before, or perhaps ever will be again; and as the knowledge of it may, in certain circumstances, be of great consequence hereafter, I think it incumbent on me to insert the accounts given of this place, by the officers of the *Tryal* sloop.

The Spaniards have generally mentioned two islands, under the name of *Juan Fernandes*, styling them the greater and the less: the greater being that island where we anchored, and the less being the island we are now describing, which, because it is more distant from the continent, they have distinguished by the name of *Masa-Fuero*. The *Tryal* sloop found that it bore from the greater *Juan Fernandes* W. by S., and was about twenty-two leagues distant. It is much larger than has been generally reported; for former writers have represented it as a barren rock, destitute of wood and water, and altogether inaccessible; whereas our people found it was covered with trees, and that there were several fine falls of water pouring down its sides into the sea: they found too, that there was a place where a ship might come to an anchor on the north side of it, though indeed the anchorage is inconvenient; for the bank extends but a little way, is steep too, and has very deep water upon it, so that you must come to an anchor very near the shore, and there lie exposed to all the winds but a southerly one: and besides the inconvenience of the anchorage, there is also a

reef of rocks running off the eastern point of the island, about two miles in length; but there is little danger to be feared from them, because they are always to be seen by the seas breaking over them. This place has at present one advantage beyond the island of *Juan Fernandes*; for it abounds with goats, who, not being accustomed to be disturbed, were no ways shy or apprehensive of danger, till they had been frequently fired at. These animals reside here in great tranquillity, the Spaniards not having thought the island considerable enough to be frequented by their enemies, and therefore they have not been solicitous in destroying the provisions upon it; so that no dogs have hitherto been set on shore there. And besides the goats, our people found there vast numbers of seals and sea-lions: and upon the whole, they seemed to imagine, that though it was not the most eligible place for a ship to refresh at, yet in case of necessity it might afford some sort of shelter, and prove of considerable use, especially to a single ship, who might apprehend meeting with a superior force at *Fernandes*.

The latter part of the month of August was spent in unloading the provisions from the *Anna pink*; and here we had the mortification to find that great quantities of our provisions, as bread, rice, groats, &c. were decayed, and unfit for use. This was owing to the water the *pink* had made by her working and straining, in bad weather; for hereby several of her casks had rotted, and her bags were soaked through. And now, as we had no farther occasion for her service, the commodore, pursuant to his orders from the board of Admiralty, sent notice to Mr. Gerard her master, that he discharged the *Anna pink* from the service of attending the squadron; and gave him, at the same time, a certificate, specifying how long she had been employed. In consequence of this dismissal, her master was at liberty, either to return directly to England, or to make the best of his way to any port, where he thought he could take in such a cargo as would answer the interest of his owners. But the master, being sensible of the bad condition of the ship and of her unfitness for any such voyage, wrote the next day an answer to the commodore's message, acquainting Mr. Anson that, from the great quantity of water the *pink* had made in her passage round *Cape Horn*, and since that, in the tempestuous weather he had met with on the coast of *Chili*, he had reason to apprehend that her bottom was very much decayed; and that besides, her upper-works were rotten abaft; that she was extremely leaky; that her fore-beam was broke; and that, in his opinion, it was impossible to proceed to sea with her, before she had been thoroughly refitted: he therefore requested the commodore, that the carpenters of the squadron might be directed to survey her, that their judgment of her condition might be known. In compliance with this desire, Mr. Anson immediately ordered the carpenters to take a careful and strict survey of the *Anna pink*, and to give him a faithful report under their hands of the condition in which they found her, directing them at the same time to proceed herein with such circumspection, that, if they should be hereafter called upon, they might be able to make oath of the veracity of their proceedings. Pursuant to these orders, the carpenters immediately set about



the examination, and the next day made their report; which was, that the pink had no less than fourteen knees and twelve beams broken and decayed; that one breast-hook was broken, and another rotten; that her water-ways were open and decayed; that two standards were broken, as also several clamps, besides others which were rotten; that all her iron-work was greatly decayed; that her spirkiting and timbers were very rotten; and that, having ripped off part of her sheathing, they found her wales and outside planks extremely defective, and her bows and decks very leaky; and in consequence of these defects and decays, they certified, that in their opinion she could not depart from the island without great hazard, unless she was first of all thoroughly refitted.

The thorough refitting of the Anna pink, proposed by the carpenters, was in our present situation impossible to be complied with, as all the plank and iron in the squadron was insufficient for that purpose. And now the master finding his own sentiments confirmed by the opinion of all the carpenters, he offered a petition to the commodore in behalf of his owners, desiring that, since it appeared he was incapable of leaving the island, Mr. Anson would please to purchase the hull and furniture of the pink for the use of the squadron. Hereupon the commodore ordered an inventory to be taken of every particular belonging to the pink, with its just value: and as by this inventory it appeared that there were many stores which would be useful in refitting the other ships, and which were at present very scarce in the squadron, by reason of the great quantities that had been already expended, he agreed with Mr. Gerard to purchase the whole together for three hundred pounds. The pink being thus broken up, Mr. Gerard, with the hands belonging to the pink, were sent on board the Gloucester; as that ship had buried the greatest number of men in proportion to her complement. But afterwards, one or two of them were received on board the Centurion on their own petition, they being extremely averse to sailing in the same ship with their old master, on account of some particular ill usage they conceived they had suffered from him.

This transaction brought us down to the beginning of September, and our people by this time were so far recovered of the scurvy, that there was little danger of burying any more at present; and therefore I shall now sum up the total of our loss since our departure from England, the better to convey some idea of our past sufferings, and of our present strength. We had buried on board the Centurion, since our leaving St. Helens, two hundred and ninety-two, and had now remaining on board two hundred and fourteen. This will doubtless appear a most extraordinary mortality: but yet on board the Gloucester it had been much greater; for out of a much smaller crew than ours they had buried the same number, and had only eighty-two remaining alive. It might be expected that on board the Tryal, the slaughter would have been the most terrible, as her decks were almost constantly knee-deep in water; but it happened otherwise, for she escaped more favourably than the rest, since she only buried forty-two, and had

now thirty-nine remaining alive. The havoc of this disease had fallen still severer on the invalids and marines than on the sailors; for on board the Centurion, out of fifty invalids and seventy-nine marines, there remained only four invalids, including officers, and eleven marines; and on board the Gloucester every invalid perished; and out of forty-eight marines, only two escaped. From this account it appears, that the three ships together departed from England with nine hundred and sixty-one men on board, of whom six hundred and twenty-six were dead before this time; so that the whole of our remaining crews, which were now to be distributed amongst three ships, amounted to no more than three hundred and thirty-five men and boys; a number greatly insufficient for the manning the Centurion alone, and barely capable of navigating all the three, with the utmost exertion of their strength and vigour. This prodigious reduction of our men was still the more terrifying, as we were hitherto uncertain of the fate of Pizarro's squadron, and had reason to suppose, that some part of it at least had got round into these seas: indeed, we were satisfied, from our own experience, that they must have suffered greatly in their passage; but then every port in the South Seas was open to them, and the whole power of Chili and Peru would doubtless be united in refreshing and refitting them, and recruiting the numbers they had lost. Besides, we had some obscure knowledge of a force to be refitted out from Callao; and, however contemptible the ships and sailors of this part of the world may have been generally esteemed, it was scarcely possible for any thing, bearing the name of a ship of force, to be feebler or less considerable than ourselves. And had there been nothing to be apprehended from the naval power of the Spaniards in this part of the world, yet our enfeebled condition would nevertheless give us the greatest uneasiness, as we were incapable of attempting any of their considerable places; for the risking of twenty men, weak as we then were, was risking the safety of the whole: so that we conceived we should be necessitated to content ourselves with what few prizes we could pick up at sea, before we were discovered; after which, we should in all probability be obliged to depart with precipitation, and esteem ourselves fortunate to regain our native country, leaving our enemies to triumph in the inconsiderable mischief they had received from a squadron, whose equipment had filled them with such dreadful apprehensions. This was a subject on which we had reason to imagine the Spanish ostentation would remarkably exert itself; though the causes of our disappointment and their security were neither to be sought for in their valour nor our misconduct.

Such were the desponding reflections which at that time arose on the review and comparison of our remaining strength with our original numbers: indeed our fears were far from being groundless, or disproportioned to our feeble and almost desperate situation. It is true, the final event proved more honourable than we had foreboded; but the intermediate calamities did likewise greatly surpass our most gloomy apprehensions, and could they have been predicted to us at this island of Juan Fernandes, they would doubtless

have appeared insurmountable. But to return from this digression.

In the beginning of September, as has been already mentioned, our men were tolerably well recovered; and now, the time of navigation in this climate drawing near, we exerted ourselves in getting our ships in readiness for the sea. We converted the fore-mast of the victualler into a main-mast for the *Tryal* sloop; and still flattering ourselves with the possibility of the arrival of some other ships of our squadron, we intended to leave the main-mast of the victualler, to make a mizen-mast for the *Wager*. Thus all hands being employed in forwarding our departure, we, on the 8th, about eleven in the morning, espied a sail to the N.E., which continued to approach us, till her courses appeared even with the horizon. In this interval we all had hopes she might prove one of our own squadron; but at length finding she steered away to the eastward, without hauling in for the island, we concluded she must be a Spaniard. And now great disputes were set on foot about the possibility of her having discovered our tents on shore, some of us strongly insisting, that she had doubtless been near enough to have perceived something that had given her a jealousy of an enemy, which had occasioned her standing to the eastward without hauling in; but leaving these contests to be settled afterwards, it was resolved to pursue her, and, the *Centurion* being in the greatest forwardness, we immediately got all our hands on board, set up our rigging, bent our sails, and by five in the afternoon got undersail. We had at this time very little wind, so that all the boats were employed to tow us out of the bay; and even what wind there was lasted only long enough to give us an offing of two or three leagues, when it flattened to a calm. The night coming on we lost sight of the chase, and were extremely impatient for the return of day-light, in hopes to find that she had been becalmed as well as we; though I must confess, that her greater distance from the land was a reasonable ground for suspecting the contrary, as we indeed found in the morning, to our great mortification; for though the weather continued perfectly clear, we had no sight of the ship from the mast-head. But as we were now satisfied that it was an enemy, and the first we had seen in these seas, we resolved not to give over the search lightly; and, a small breeze springing up from the W.N.W., we got up our top-gallant masts and yards, set all the sails, and steered to the S.E., in hopes of retrieving our chase, which we imagined to be bound to Valparaiso. We continued on this course all that day and the next, and then not getting sight of our chase we gave over the pursuit, conceiving that by that time she must in all probability have reached her port. And now we prepared to return to Juan Fernandes, and hauled up to the S.W. with that view, having but very little wind till the 12th, when, at three in the morning, there sprang up a fresh gale from the W.S.W., and we tacked and stood to the N.W.: and at day-break we were agreeably surprised with the sight of a sail on our weather-bow, between four and five leagues distant. On this we crowded all the sail we could, and stood after her, and soon perceived it not to be the same ship we originally gave chase to. She at first bore down upon us, showing Spanish colours, and making a signal, as to her consort; but observ-

ing that we did not answer her signal, she instantly luffed close to the wind, and stood to the southward. Our people were now all in spirits, and put the ship about with great alacrity; and as the chase appeared to be a large ship, and had mistaken us for her consort, we conceived that she was a man of war, and probably one of Pizarro's squadron: this induced the commodore to order all the officers' cabins to be knocked down and thrown overboard, with several casks of water and provisions which stood between the guns; so that we had soon a clear ship ready for an engagement. About nine o'clock we had thick hazy weather and a shower of rain, during which we lost sight of the chase; and we were apprehensive, if the weather should continue, that by going upon the other tack, or by some other artifice, she might escape us; but it clearing up in less than an hour, we found that we had both weathered and fore-reached upon her considerably; and now we were near enough to discover that she was only a merchantman, without so much as a single tier of guns. About half an hour after twelve, being then within a reasonable distance of her, we fired four shot amongst her rigging; on which they lowered their top-sails and bore down to us, but in very great confusion, their top-gallant sails and staysails all fluttering in the wind: this was owing to their having let run their sheets and halyards just as we fired at them; after which, not a man amongst them had courage enough to venture aloft (for there the shot had passed but just before) to take them in. As soon as the vessel came within hail of us, the commodore ordered them to bring-to under his lee quarter, and then hoisted out the boat, and sent Mr. Saumarez, his first lieutenant, to take possession of the prize, with directions to send all the prisoners on board the *Centurion*, but first the officers and passengers. When Mr. Saumarez came on board them, they received him at the side with the strongest tokens of the most abject submission; for they were all of them (especially the passengers, who were twenty-five in number) extremely terrified, and under the greatest apprehensions of meeting with very severe and cruel usage; but the lieutenant endeavoured, with great courtesy, to dissipate their fright, assuring them that their fears were altogether groundless, and that they would find a generous enemy in the commodore, who was not less remarkable for his lenity and humanity, than for his resolution and courage. The prisoners, who were first sent on board the *Centurion*, informed us, that our prize was called *Nuestra Senora del Monte Carmelo*, and was commanded by Don Manuel Zamorra. Her cargo consisted chiefly of sugar, and great quantities of blue cloth made in the province of Quito, somewhat resembling our English coarse broad cloths, but inferior to them. They had besides several bales of a coarser sort of cloth, of different colours, somewhat like Colchester bays, called by them *pannia da tierra*, with a few bales of cotton and tobacco; which, though strong, was not ill flavoured. These were the principal goods on board her; but we found besides, what was to us much more valuable than the rest of the cargo: this was some trunks of wrought plate, and twenty-three seroons of dollars, each weighing upwards of 200lbs. avoirdupois. The ship's burthen was about four hundred and fifty tons; she had fifty-three

sailors on board, both whites and blacks; she came from Callao, and had been twenty-seven days at sea, before she fell into our hands. She was bound to the port of Valparaiso in the kingdom of Chili, and proposed to have returned from thence loaded with corn and Chili wine, some gold, dried beef, and small cordage, which at Callao they convert into larger rope. Our prize had been built upwards of thirty years; yet as they lie in harbour all the winter months, and the climate is favourable, they esteemed it no very great age. Her rigging was very indifferent, as were likewise her sails, which were made of cotton. She had only three four-pounders, which were altogether unserviceable, their carriages being scarcely able to support them; and there were no small arms on board, except a few pistols, belonging to the passengers. The prisoners informed us that they left Callao in company with two other ships, whom they had parted with some days before, and that at first they conceived us to be one of their company; and by the description we gave them of the ship we had chased from Juan Fernandes, they assured us, she was of their number, but that the coming in sight of that island was directly repugnant to the merchants' instructions, who had expressly forbid it, as knowing that if any English squadron was in those seas, the island of Fernandes was most probably the place of their rendezvous.

And now, after this short account of the ship and her cargo, it is necessary that I should relate the important intelligence which we met with on board her, partly from the information of the prisoners, and partly from the letters and papers which fell into our hands. We here first learnt with certainty the force and destination of that squadron, which cruised off the Madeiras at our arrival there, and afterwards chased the Pearl in our passage to port St. Julian. This we now knew was a squadron composed of five large Spanish ships, commanded by Admiral Pizarro, and purposely fitted out to traverse our designs; as hath been already more amply related in the 3rd chapter of the 1st book. And we had, at the same time, the satisfaction to find, that Pizarro, after his utmost endeavours to gain his passage into these seas, had been forced back again into the river of Plate, with the loss of two of his largest ships; and besides this disappointment of Pizarro, which considering our great debility, was no unacceptable intelligence, we farther learnt that an embargo had been laid upon all shipping in these seas, by the viceroy of Peru, in the month of May preceding, on a supposition that about that time we might arrive upon the coast. But on the account sent over-land by Pizarro of his own distresses, part of which they knew we must have encountered, as we were at sea during the same time, and on their having no news of us in eight months after we were known to set sail from St. Catherine's, they were fully persuaded that we were either shipwrecked, or had perished at sea, or at least had been obliged to put back again; for it was conceived impossible for any ships to continue at sea during so long an interval: and therefore, on the application of the merchants, and the firm persuasion of our having miscarried, the embargo had been lately taken off.

This last article made us flatter ourselves, that,

as the enemy was still a stranger to our having got round Cape Horn, and the navigation of these seas was restored, we might meet with some considerable captures, and might thereby indemnify ourselves for the incapacity we were now under of attempting any of their considerable settlements on shore. And thus much we were certain of, from the information of our prisoners, that, whatever our success might be as to the prizes we might light on, we had nothing to fear, weak as we were, from the Spanish force in this part of the world; though we discovered that we had been in most imminent peril from the enemy, when we least apprehended it, and when our other distresses were at the greatest height; for we learnt, from the letters on board, that Pizarro, in the express he despatched to the viceroy of Peru, after his return to the river of Plate, had intimated to him, that it was possible some part, at least, of the English squadron might get round: but that, as he was certain from his own experience, that if they did arrive in those seas, it must be in a very weak and defenceless condition, he advised the viceroy, in order to be secure at all events, to fit out what ships of force he had, and send them to the southward, where, in all probability, they would intercept us singly, and before we had an opportunity of touching anywhere for refreshment; in which case, he doubted not but we should prove an easy conquest. The viceroy of Peru approved of this advice, and immediately fitted out four ships of force from Callao; one of fifty guns, two of forty guns, and one of twenty-four guns: three of them were stationed off the port of Concepcion, and one of them at the island of Fernandes; and in these stations they continued cruising for us till the 6th of June, when not seeing anything of us, and conceiving it to be impossible that we could have kept the seas so long, they quitted their cruise and returned to Callao, fully satisfied that we had either perished, or at least had been driven back. As the time of their quitting their station was but a few days before our arrival at the island of Fernandes, it is evident, that had we made that island on our first search for it, without hauling in for the main to secure our casting, (a circumstance which at that time we considered as very unfortunate to us, on account of the numbers which we lost by our longer continuance at sea) had we, I say, made the island on the 28th of May, when we first expected to see it, and were in reality very near it, we had doubtless fallen in with some part of the Spanish squadron; and in the distressed condition we were then in, the meeting with a healthy well-provided enemy was an incident that could not but have been perplexing, and might perhaps have proved fatal, not only to us, but to the Tryal, the Gloucester, and the Anna pink, who separately joined us, and who were each of them less capable than we were of making any considerable resistance. I shall only add, that these Spanish ships, sent out to intercept us, had been greatly shattered by a storm during their cruise; and that, after their arrival at Callao, they had been laid up. And our prisoners assured us, that whenever intelligence was received at Lima of our being in these seas, it would be at least two months before this armament could be again fitted out.

The whole of this intelligence was as favourable as we in our reduced circumstances could wish for.

And now we were fully satisfied as to the broken jars, ashes, and fish-bones, which we had observed at our first landing at Juan Fernandes, these things being doubtless the relics of the cruisers stationed off that port. Having thus satisfied ourselves in the material articles, and having gotten on board the *Centurion* most of the prisoners, and all the silver, we, at eight in the same evening, made sail to the northward, in company with our prize, and at six the next morning discovered the island of Fernandes, where, the next day, both we and our prize came to an anchor.

And here I cannot omit one remarkable incident which occurred, when the prize and her crew came into the bay, where the rest of the squadron lay. The Spaniards in the *Carmelo* had been sufficiently informed of the distresses we had gone through, and were greatly surprised that we had ever surmounted them: but when they saw the *Tryal* sloop at anchor, they were still more astonished, that after all our fatigues, we had the industry (besides refitting our other ships) to complete such a vessel in so short a time, they taking it for granted that she had been built upon the spot. And it was with great difficulty they were prevailed on to believe that she came from England with the rest of the squadron; they at first insisting, that it was impossible such a bauble as that could pass round Cape Horn, when the best ships of Spain were obliged to put back.

By the time we arrived at Juan Fernandes, the letters found on board our prize were more minutely examined: and, it appearing from them, and from the accounts of our prisoners, that several other merchantmen were bound from Callao to Valparaiso, Mr. Anson despatched the *Tryal* sloop the very next morning to cruise off the last-mentioned port, reinforcing him with ten hands from on board his own ship. Mr. Anson likewise resolved, on the intelligence recited above, to separate the ships under his command, and employ them in distinct cruises, as he thought that by this means we should not only increase our chance for prizes, but that we should likewise run a less risk of alarming the coast, and of being discovered. And now the spirits of our people being greatly raised, and their despondency dissipated by this earnest of success, they forgot all their past distresses, and resumed their wonted alacrity, and laboured indefatigably in completing our water, receiving our lumber, and in preparing to take our farewell of the island: but as these occupations took us up four or five days with all our industry, the commodore, in that interval, directed that the guns belonging to the *Anna* pink, being four six-pounders, four four-pounders, and two swivels, should be mounted on board the *Carmelo*, our prize: and having sent on board the *Gloucester* six passengers, and twenty-three seamen to assist in navigating the ship, he directed Captain Mitchel to leave the island as soon as possible, the service requiring the utmost despatch, ordering him to proceed to the latitude of five degrees South, and there to cruise off the highland of Paita, at such a distance from shore as should prevent his being discovered. On this station he was to continue till he should be joined by the commodore, which would be whenever it should be known that the viceroxy had fitted out the ships at Callao, or on Mr. Anson's receiving any other intelligence, that

should make it necessary to unite our strength. These orders being delivered to the captain of the *Gloucester*, and all our business completed, we, on the Saturday following, being the 19th of September, weighed our anchor, in company with our prize, and got out of the bay, taking our last leave of the island of Juan Fernandes, and steering to the eastward, with an intention of joining the *Tryal* sloop in her station off Valparaiso.

## CHAPTER V.

*Our cruise, from the time of our leaving Juan Fernandes, to the taking the town of Paita.*

ALTHOUGH the *Centurion*, with her prize, the *Carmelo*, weighed from the bay of Juan Fernandes on the 19th of September, leaving the *Gloucester* at anchor behind her; yet, by the irregularity and fluctuation of the winds in the offing, it was the 22nd of the same month, in the evening, before we lost sight of the island: after which, we continued our course to the eastward, in order to reach our station, and to join the *Tryal* off Valparaiso. The next night, the weather proved squally, and we split our maintop-sail, which we handed for the present, but got it repaired, and set it again the next morning. And now, on the 24th, a little before sunset, we saw two sail to the eastward; on which, our prize stood directly from us, to avoid giving any suspicion of our being cruisers; whilst we, in the mean time, made ourselves ready for an engagement, and steered towards the two ships we had discovered with all our canvas. We soon perceived that one of these, which had the appearance of being a very stout ship, made directly for us, whilst the other kept at a very great distance. By seven o'clock we were within pistol-shot of the nearest, and had a broadside ready to pour into her, the gunners having their matches in their hands, and only waiting for orders to fire; but as we knew it was now impossible for her to escape us, Mr. Anson, before he permitted them to fire, ordered the master to hail the ship in Spanish; on which the commanding officer on board her, who proved to be Mr. Hughs, lieutenant of the *Tryal*, answered us in English, and informed us, that she was a prize taken by the *Tryal* a few days before, and that the other sail at a distance was the *Tryal* herself, disabled in her masts. We were soon after joined by the *Tryal*; and Captain Saunders, her commander, came on board the *Centurion*. He informed the commodore, that he had taken this ship the 18th instant; that she was a prime sailer, and had cost him thirty-six hours' chase, before he could come up with her; that for some time he gained so little upon her, that he began to despair of taking her; and the Spaniards, though alarmed at first with seeing nothing but a cloud of sail in pursuit of them, the *Tryal's* hull being so low in the water that no part of it appeared, yet knowing the goodness of their ship, and finding how little the *Tryal* neared them, they at length laid aside their fears, and, recommending themselves to the blessed Virgin for protection, began to think themselves secure. And indeed their success was very near doing honour to their Ave Marias; for, altering their course in the night, and shutting up their windows to prevent any of

their lights from being seen, they had some chance of escaping; but a small crevice in one of the shutters rendered all their invocations ineffectual; for through this crevice the people on board the *Tryal* perceived a light, which they chased, till they arrived within gun-shot; and then Captain Saunders alarmed them unexpectedly with a broadside, when they flattered themselves they were got out of his reach: however, for some time after they still kept the same sail abroad, and it was not observed that this first salute had made any impression on them; but, just as the *Tryal* was preparing to repeat her broadside, the Spaniards crept from their holes, lowered their sails, and submitted without any opposition. She was one of the largest merchantmen employed in those seas, being about six hundred tons burthen, and was called the *Arranzazu*. She was bound from Callao to Valparaiso, and had much the same cargo with the *Carmelo* we had taken before, except that her silver amounted only to about 5000*l.* sterling.

But to balance this success, we had the misfortune to find that the *Tryal* had sprung her main-mast, and that her maintop-mast had come by the board; and as we were all of us standing to the eastward the next morning, with a fresh gale at South, she had the additional ill-luck to spring her fore-mast: so that now she had not a mast left, on which she could carry sail. These unhappy incidents were still aggravated by the impossibility we were just then under of assisting her; for the wind blew so hard, and raised such a hollow sea, that we could not venture to hoist out our boat, and consequently could have no communication with her; so that we were obliged to lie-to for the greatest part of forty-eight hours to attend her, as we could have no thought of leaving her to herself in her present unhappy situation: and as an accumulation to our misfortunes, we were all the while driving to the leeward of our station, at the very time when, by our intelligence, we had reason to expect several of the enemy's ships would appear upon the coast, who would now gain the port of Valparaiso without obstruction. And I am verily persuaded, that the embarrassment we received from the dismasting of the *Tryal*, and our absence from our intended station occasioned thereby, deprived us of some very considerable captures.

The weather proving somewhat more moderate on the 27th, we sent our boat for the captain of the *Tryal*, who, when he came on board us, produced an instrument, signed by himself and all his officers, representing that the sloop, besides being dismasted, was so very leaky in her hull, that even in moderate weather it was necessary to keep the pumps constantly at work, and that they were then scarcely sufficient to keep her free; so that in the late gale, though they had all been engaged at the pumps by turns, yet the water had increased upon them; and, upon the whole, they apprehended her to be at present so very defective, that if they met with much bad weather, they must all inevitably perish; and therefore they petitioned the commodore to take some measures for their future safety. But the refitting of the *Tryal*, and the repairing of her defects, was an undertaking that in the present conjuncture greatly exceeded his power; for we had no masts to spare her, we had no stores to

complete her rigging, nor had we any port where she might be hove down, and her bottom examined: besides had a port and proper requisites for this purpose been in our possession, yet it would have been extreme imprudence, in so critical a conjuncture, to have loitered away so much time as would have been necessary for these operations. The commodore therefore had no choice left him, but that of taking out her people, and destroying her: but, at the same time, as he conceived it necessary for his Majesty's service to keep up the appearance of our force, he appointed the *Tryal's* prize (which had been often employed by the viceroy of Peru as a man of war) to be a frigate in his Majesty's service, manning her with the *Tryal's* crew, and giving new commissions to the captain and all the inferior officers accordingly. This new frigate, when in the Spanish service, had mounted thirty-two guns; but she was now to have only twenty, which were the twelve that were on board the *Tryal*, and eight that had belonged to the *Anna pink*. When this affair was thus far regulated, Mr. Anson gave orders to Captain Saunders to put it in execution, directing him to take out of the sloop the arms, stores, ammunition, and every thing that could be of any use to the other ships, and then to scuttle her and sink her. And after Captain Saunders had seen her destroyed, he was to proceed with his new frigate (to be called the *Tryal's* prize) and to cruise off the highland of Valparaiso, keeping it from him N.N.W., at the distance of twelve or fourteen leagues: for as all ships bound from Valparaiso to the northward steer that course, Mr. Anson proposed by this means to stop any intelligence, that might be despatched to Callao, of two of their ships being missing, which might give them apprehensions of the English squadron being in their neighbourhood. The *Tryal's* prize was to continue on this station twenty-four days, and, if not joined by the commodore at the expiration of that term, she was then to proceed down the coast to Pisco or Nasca, where she would be certain to meet with Mr. Anson. The commodore likewise ordered lieutenant Saumarez, who commanded the *Centurion's* prize, to keep company with Captain Saunders, both to assist him in unloading the sloop, and also that, by spreading in their cruise, there might be less danger of any of the enemy's ships slipping by unobserved. These orders being despatched, the *Centurion* parted from them at eleven in the evening, on the 27th of September, directing her course to the southward, with a view of cruising for some days to the windward of Valparaiso.

And now by this disposition of our ships we flattered ourselves, that we had taken all the advantages of the enemy that we possibly could with our small force, since our disposition was doubtless the most prudent that could be projected. For, as we might suppose the *Gloucester* by this time to be drawing near her station off the highland of Paita, we were enabled, by our separate stations, to intercept all vessels employed either betwixt Peru and Chili to the southward, or betwixt Panama and Peru to the northward: since the principal trade from Peru to Chili being carried on to the port of Valparaiso, the *Centurion* cruising to the windward of Valparaiso, would, in all probability, meet with them, as it is the constant practice of those ships to fall in with the

coast, to the windward of that port: and the Gloucester would, in like manner, be in the way of the trade bound from Panama or the northward, to any part of Peru; since the highland off which she was stationed is constantly made by all ships in that voyage. And whilst the Centurion and Gloucester were thus situated for interrupting the enemy's trade, the Tryal's prize and Centurion's prize were as conveniently stationed for preventing all intelligence, by intercepting all ships bound from Valparaiso to the northward; for it was on board these vessels that it was to be feared some account of us might possibly be sent to Peru.

But the most prudent dispositions carry with them only a probability of success, and can never insure its certainty: since those chances, which it was reasonable to overlook in deliberations, are sometimes of most powerful influence in execution. Thus in the present case, the distress of the Tryal, and the quitting our station to assist her (events which no degree of prudence could either foresee or obviate) gave an opportunity to all the ships, bound to Valparaiso, to reach that port without molestation, during this unlucky interval. So that though, after leaving Captain Saunders, we were very expeditious in regaining our station, where we got the 29th at noon, yet in plying on and off till the 6th of October, we had not the good fortune to discover a sail of any sort: and then, having lost all hopes of making any advantage by a longer stay, we made sail to the leeward of the port, in order to join our prizes; but when we arrived on the station appointed for them, we did not meet with them, though we continued there four or five days. We supposed that some chase had occasioned their leaving their station, and therefore we proceeded down the coast to the highland of Nasca, where Captain Saunders was directed to join us. Here we arrived on the 21st, and were in great expectation of meeting with some of the enemy's ships on the coast, as both the accounts of former voyages, and the information of our prisoners assured us, that all ships bound to Callao constantly make this land to prevent the danger of running to the leeward of the port. But notwithstanding the advantages of this station, we saw no sail till the 2nd of November, when two ships appeared in sight together; we immediately gave them chase, but soon perceived that they were the Tryal's and Centurion's prizes: as they had the wind of us, we brought to and waited their coming up; when Captain Saunders came on board us, and acquainted the commodore, that he had cleared the Tryal pursuant to his orders, and having scuttled her, he remained by her till she sunk, but that it was the 4th of October before this was effected; for there ran so large and hollow a sea, that the sloop, having neither masts nor sails to steady her, rolled and pitched so violently, that it was impossible for a boat to lay along-side of her, for the greatest part of the time: and during this attendance on the sloop, they were all driven so far to the north-west, that they were afterwards obliged to stretch a long way to the westward to regain the ground they had lost; which was the reason that we had not met with them on their station as we expected. We found they had not been more fortunate in their cruise than we were, for they had seen no vessel since they separated from us. The little success we all had, and our certainty, that had any

ships been stirring in these seas for some time past we must have met with them, made us believe, that the enemy at Valparaiso, on the missing of the two ships we had taken, had suspected us to be in the neighbourhood, and had consequently laid an embargo on all the trade in the southern parts. We likewise apprehended, that they might by this time be fitting out the men of war at Callao; for we knew that it was no uncommon thing for an express from Valparaiso to reach Lima in twenty-nine or thirty days, and it was now more than fifty since we had taken our first prize. These apprehensions of an embargo along the coast, and of the equipment of the Spanish squadron at Callao, determined the commodore to hasten down to the leeward of Callao, and to join Captain Mitchell (who was stationed off Paita) as soon as possible, that our strength being united, we might be prepared to give the ships from Callao a warm reception, if they dared to put to sea. With this view we bore away the same afternoon, taking particular care to keep at such a distance from the shore, that there might be no danger of our being discovered from thence; for we knew that all the country ships were commanded, under the severest penalty, not to sail by the port of Callao without stopping; and as this order was constantly complied with, we should undoubtedly be known for enemies, if we were seen to act contrary to it. In this new navigation, not being certain whether we might not meet the Spanish squadron in our route, the commodore took on board the Centurion part of his crew, with which he had formerly manned the Carmelo. And now standing to the northward, we, before night came on, had a view of the small island called St. Gallan, which bore from us N.N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., about seven leagues distant. This island lies in the latitude of about fourteen degrees South, and about five miles to the northward of a highland, called Morro Veijo, or the old man's head. I mention this island, and the highland near it, more particularly, because between them is the most eligible station on that coast for cruising upon the enemy; as all ships bound to Callao, whether from the northward or the southward, run well in with the land in this part. By the 5th of November, at three in the afternoon, we were advanced within view of the highland of Barranca, lying in the latitude of  $10^{\circ} 36'$  South, bearing from us N.E. by E., distant eight or nine leagues; and an hour and a half afterwards we had the satisfaction, we had so long wished for, of seeing a sail. She first appeared to leeward, and we all immediately gave her chase; but the Centurion so much outsailed the two prizes, that we soon ran them out of sight, and gained considerably on the chase: however, night coming on before we came up with her, we, about seven o'clock, lost sight of her, and were in some perplexity what course to steer; but at last Mr. Anson resolved, as we were then before the wind, to keep all his sails set, and not to change his course: for though we had no doubt but the chase would alter her course in the night; yet, as it was uncertain what tack she would go upon, it was thought more prudent to keep on our course, as we must by this means unavoidably near her, than to change it on conjecture; when, if we should mistake, we must infallibly lose her. Thus then we continued the chase about an hour

and a half in the dark, some one or other on board us constantly imagining they discerned her sails right a-head of us; but at last Mr. Brett, then our second lieutenant, did really discover her about four points on the larboard-bow, steering off to the seaward: we immediately clapped the helm a-weather, and stood for her; and in less than an hour came up with her, and having fired fourteen shot at her, she struck. Our third lieutenant, Mr. Dennis, was sent in the boat with sixteen men, to take possession of the prize, and to return the prisoners to our ship. This ship was named the *Santa Teresa de Jesus*, built at Guaiquil, of about three hundred tons burthen, and was commanded by Bartolome Urrunaga, a Biscayer: she was bound from Guaiquil to Calao; her loading consisted of timber, cocoa, coconuts, tobacco, hides, Pito thread (which is very strong, and is made of a species of grass) Quito cloth, wax, &c. The specie on board her was inconsiderable, being principally small silver money, and not amounting to more than 170*l.* sterling. It is true, her cargo was of great value, could we have disposed of it; but, the Spaniards having strict orders never to ransom their ships, all the goods that we took in these seas, except what little we had occasion for ourselves, were of no advantage to us. Indeed, though we could make no profit thereby ourselves, it was some satisfaction to us to consider, that it was so much really lost to the enemy, and that the despoiling them was no contemptible branch of that service, in which we were now employed by our country.

Besides our prize's crew, which amounted to forty-five hands, there were on board her ten passengers, consisting of four men and three women, who were natives of the country, born of Spanish parents, and three black female slaves that attended them. The women were a mother and her two daughters, the eldest about twenty-one, and the youngest about fourteen. It is not to be wondered at, that women of these years should be excessively alarmed at the falling into the hands of an enemy, whom, from the former outrages of the bucaniers, and by the artful insinuations of their priests, they had been taught to consider as the most terrible and brutal of all mankind. These apprehensions, too, were in the present instance exaggerated by the singular beauty of the youngest of the women, and the rigorous disposition which they might well expect to find in a set of sailors, that had not seen a woman for near a twelvemonth. Full of these terrors, the women all hid themselves when our officer went on board, and when they were found out, it was with great difficulty that he could persuade them to approach the light: however, he soon satisfied them, by the humanity of his conduct and his assurances of their future security and honourable treatment, that they had nothing to fear. And the commodore being informed of the matter, sent directions that they should be continued on board their own ship, with the use of the same apartments, and with all the other conveniences they had enjoyed before, giving strict orders that they should receive no kind of inquietude or molestation whatever: and that they might be the more certain of having these orders complied with, or of complaining if they were not,

the commodore permitted the pilot, who in Spanish ships is generally the second person on board, to stay with them, as their guardian and protector. He was particularly chosen for this purpose by Mr. Anson, as he seemed to be extremely interested in all that concerned the women, and had at first declared that he was married to the youngest of them; though it afterwards appeared, both from the information of the rest of the prisoners, and other circumstances, that he had asserted this with a view the better to secure them from the insults they expected on their first falling into our hands. By this compassionate and indulgent behaviour of the commodore, the consternation of our female prisoners entirely subsided, and they continued easy and cheerful during the whole time they were with us, as I shall have occasion to mention more particularly hereafter.

I have before observed, that at the beginning of this chase, the *Centurion* ran her two consorts out of sight, for which reason we lay by all the night, after we had taken the prize, for Captain Saunders and Lieutenant Saumarez to join us, firing guns, and making false fires every half-hour, to prevent their passing us unobserved; but they were so far a-stern, that they neither heard nor saw any of our signals, and were not able to come up with us till broad day-light. When they had joined us we proceeded together to the northward, being now four sail in company. We here found the sea, for many miles round us, of a beautiful red colour: This, upon examination, we imputed to an immense quantity of spawn spread upon its surface; and taking up some of the water in a wine-glass, it soon changed from a dirty aspect to a clear crystal, with only some red globules of a slimy nature floating on the top. And now having a supply of timber on board our new prize, the commodore ordered our boats to be repaired, and a swivel gun-stock to be fixed in the bow both of the barge and pinnace, in order to increase their force, in case we should be obliged to have recourse to them for boarding ships, or for any attempts on shore.

As we stood from hence to the northward, nothing remarkable occurred for two or three days, though we spread our ships in such a manner, that it was not probable any vessel of the enemy could escape us. In our run along this coast we generally observed, that there was a current which set us to the northward, at the rate of ten or twelve miles each day. And now being in about eight degrees of South latitude, we began to be attended with vast numbers of flying fish and bonitos, which were the first we saw after our departure from the coast of Brazil. But it is remarkable that on the east side of South America they extended to a much higher latitude than they do on the west side; for we did not lose them on the coast of Brazil till we approached the southern tropic. The reason for this diversity is doubtless the different degrees of heat obtaining in the same latitude on different sides of that continent. And on this occasion I must beg leave to make a short digression on the heat and cold of different climates, and on the varieties which occur in the same place in different parts of the year, and in different places lying in the same degree of latitude.

The ancients, as appears in many places, conceived that of the five zones, into which they

divided the surface of the globe, two only were habitable, supposing that all between the tropics was too hot, and all within the polar circle too cold, to be supported by mankind. The falsehood of this reasoning has been long evinced; but the particular comparisons of the heat and cold of these various climates, has as yet been very imperfectly considered. However, enough is known safely to determine this position, that all places between the tropics are far from being the hottest on the globe, as many of those within the polar circles are far from enduring that extreme degree of cold, to which their situation should seem to subject them: that is to say, in other words, that the temperature of a place depends much more upon other circumstances, than upon its distance from the pole, or its proximity to the equinoctial.

This proposition relates to the general temperature of places, taking the whole year round; and in this sense it cannot be denied but that the city of London, for instance, enjoys much warmer seasons than the bottom of Hudson's Bay, which is nearly in the same latitude with it; for there the severity of the winter is so great, that it will scarcely permit the hardiest of our garden plants to live. And if the comparison be made between the coast of Brazil and the western shore of South America, as, for example, betwixt Bahia and Lima, the difference will be still more remarkable; for though the coast of Brazil is extremely sultry, yet the coast of the South Seas in the same latitude is perhaps as temperate and tolerable as any part of the globe; since in ranging along it we did not once meet with so warm weather as is frequent in a summer's day in England: and this was the more remarkable, as there never fell any rains to refresh and cool the air.

The causes of this temperature in the South Seas are not difficult to be assigned, and shall be hereafter mentioned. I am now only solicitous to establish the truth of this assertion, that the latitude of a place alone is no rule whereby to judge of the degree of heat and cold which obtains there. Perhaps this position might be more briefly confirmed by observing, that on the tops of the Andes, though under the equinoctial, the snow never melts the whole year round; a criterion of cold, stronger than what is known to take place in many parts far removed within the polar circle.

I have hitherto considered the temperature of the air all the year through, and the gross estimations of heat and cold which every one makes from his own sensation. If this matter be examined by means of thermometers, which in respect to the absolute degree of heat and cold are doubtless the most unerring evidences; if this be done, the result will be indeed most wonderful; for it will appear that the heat in very high latitudes, as at Petersburg for instance, is at particular times much greater than any that has been hitherto observed between the tropics; and that even at London, in the year 1746, there was the part of one day considerably hotter than what was at any time felt by a ship of Mr. Anson's squadron, in running from hence to Cape Horn and back again, and passing twice under the sun; for in the summer of that year, the thermometer in London (being one of those graduated according to the method of Fahrenheit) stood once at 78°; and the

greatest height at which a thermometer of the same kind stood in the foregoing ship, I find to be 76°: this was at St. Catherine's, in the latter end of December, when the sun was within about three degrees of the vertex. And as to Petersburg, I find, by the acts of the Academy established there, that in the year 1734, on the 20th and 25th of July, the thermometer rose to 98° in the shade, that is, it was twenty-two divisions higher than it was found to be at St. Catherine's; which is a degree of heat that, were it not authorised by the regularity and circumspection with which the observations seem to have been made, would appear altogether incredible.

If it should be asked, how it comes to pass then, that the heat in many places between the tropics is esteemed so violent and insufferable, when it appears, by these instances, that it is sometimes rivalled or exceeded in very high latitudes not far from the polar circle? I should answer, that the estimation of heat, in any particular place, ought not to be founded upon that degree of heat which may now and then obtain there, but is rather to be deduced from the medium observed in a whole season, or perhaps in a whole year: and in this light it will easily appear, how much more intense the same degree of heat may prove, by being long continued without remarkable variation. For instance, in comparing together St. Catherine's and Petersburg, we will suppose the summer heat at St. Catherine's to be 76°, and the winter heat to be twenty divisions short of it: I do not make use of this last conjecture upon sufficient observation; but I am apt to suspect that the allowance is full large. Upon this supposition then, the medium heat all the year round will be 66°, and this perhaps by night as well as day, with no great variation: now those who have attended to thermometers will readily own that a continuation of this degree of heat for a length of time would by the generality of mankind be styled violent and suffocating. But now at Petersburg, though a few times in the year the heat, by the thermometer, may be considerably greater than at St. Catherine's, yet, as at other times the cold is immensely sharper, the medium for a year, or even for one season only, would be far short of 66°. For I find that the variation of the thermometer at Petersburg is at least five times greater, from its highest to its lowest point, than what I have supposed to take place at St. Catherine's.

But besides this estimation of the heat of a place, by taking the medium for a considerable time together, there is another circumstance which will still augment the apparent heat of the warmer climates, and diminish that of the colder, though I do not remember to have seen it remarked in any author. To explain myself more distinctly upon this head, I must observe, that the measure of absolute heat, marked by the thermometer, is not the certain criterion of the sensation of heat, with which human bodies are affected: for as the presence and perpetual succession of fresh air is necessary to our respiration, so there is a species of tainted or stagnated air, which is often produced by the continuance of great heats, which never fails to excite in us an idea of sultriness and suffocating warmth, much beyond what the mere heat of the air alone, supposing it pure and agi-



tated, would occasion. Hence it follows that the mere inspection of the thermometer will never determine the heat which the human body feels from this cause; and hence it follows too, that the heat in most places between the tropics must be much more troublesome and uneasy, than the same degree of absolute heat in a high latitude: for the equability and duration of the tropical heat contribute to impregnate the air with a multitude of steams and vapours from the soil and water, and these being, many of them, of an impure and noxious kind, and being not easily removed, by reason of the regularity of the winds in those parts, which only shift the exhalations from place to place, without dispersing them, the atmosphere is by this means rendered less proper for respiration, and mankind are consequently affected with what they style a most intense and stifling heat: whereas in the higher latitudes these vapours are probably raised in smaller quantities, and the irregularity and violence of the winds frequently disperse them; so that, the air being in general pure and less stagnant, the same degree of absolute heat is not attended with that uneasy and suffocating sensation. This may suffice in general with respect to the present speculation; but I cannot help wishing, as it is a subject in which mankind, especially travellers of all sorts, are very much interested, that it were more thoroughly and accurately examined, and that all ships bound to the warmer climates would furnish themselves with thermometers of a known fabric, and would observe them daily, and register their observations; for considering the turn to philosophical subjects, which has obtained in Europe for the last fourscore years, it is incredible how very rarely anything of this kind has been attended to. For my own part, I do not recollect that I have ever seen any observations of the heat and cold, either in the East or West Indies, which were made by mariners or officers of vessels, except those made by Mr. Anson's order, on board the *Centurion*, and by Captain Legge on board the *Severn*, which was another ship of our squadron.

This digression I have been in some measure drawn into by the consideration of the fine weather we met with on the coast of Peru, even under the equinoctial itself, but the particularities of this weather I have not yet described: I shall now therefore add, that in this climate every circumstance concurred that could render the open air and the daylight desirable. For in other countries the scorching heat of the sun in summer renders the greater part of the day unapt either for labour or amusement; and the frequent rains are not less troublesome in the more temperate parts of the year. But in this happy climate the sun rarely appears: not that the heavens have at any time a dark and gloomy look; but there is constantly a cheerful grey sky, just sufficient to screen the sun, and to mitigate the violence of its perpendicular rays, without obscuring the air, or tinging the daylight with an unpleasant or melancholy hue. By this means all parts of the day are proper for labour or exercise abroad, nor is there wanting that refreshment and pleasing refrigeration of the air, which is sometimes produced in other climates by rains; for here the same effect is brought about by the fresh breezes from

the cooler regions to the southward. It is reasonable to suppose that this fortunate complexion of the heavens is principally owing to the neighbourhood of those vast hills, called the Andes, which running nearly parallel to the shore, and at a small distance from it, and extending themselves immensely higher than any other mountains upon the globe, form upon their sides and declivities a prodigious tract of country, where, according to the different approaches to the summit, all kinds of climates may at all seasons of the year be found. These mountains, by intercepting great part of the eastern winds which generally blow over the continent of South America, and by cooling that part of the air which forces its way over their tops, and by keeping besides a prodigious extent of the atmosphere perpetually cool, by its contiguity to the snows with which they are covered; these hills, I say, by thus extending the influence of their frozen crests to the neighbouring coasts and seas of Peru, are doubtless the cause of the temperature and equability which constantly prevail there. For when we were advanced beyond the equinoctial, where these mountains left us, and had nothing to screen us to the eastward, but the high lands on the isthmus of Panama, which are but mole-hills to the Andes, we then soon found that in a short run we had totally changed our climate, passing in two or three days from the temperate air of Peru to the sultry burning atmosphere of the West Indies. But it is time to return to our narration.

On the 10th of November we were three leagues south of the southernmost island of Lobos, lying in the latitude  $6^{\circ} 27'$  South. There are two islands of this name; this, called Lobos de la Mar, and another, which lies to the northward of it, very much resembling it in shape and appearance, and often mistaken for it, called Lobos de Tierra. We were now drawing near to the station appointed to the *Gloucester*, for which reason, fearing to miss her, we made an easy sail all night. The next morning, at day-break, we saw a ship in-shore, and to windward, plying up to the coast: she had passed by us with the favour of the night, and we soon perceiving her not to be the *Gloucester*, got our tacks on board, and gave her chase; but it proving very little wind, so that neither of us could make much way, the commodore ordered the barge, his pinnace, and the *Tryal's* pinnace, to be manned and armed, and to pursue the chase and board her. Lieutenant Brett, who commanded the barge, came up with her first, about nine o'clock, and running along-side of her, he fired a volley of small shot between the masts, just over the heads of the people on board, and then instantly entered with the greatest part of his men; but the enemy made no resistance, being sufficiently frightened by the dazzling of the cutlasses, and the volley they had just received. Lieutenant Brett ordered the sails to be trimmed, and bore down to the commodore, taking up in his way the two pinnaces. When he was arrived within about four miles of us he put off in the barge, bringing with him a number of the prisoners, who had given him some material intelligence, which he was desirous the commodore should be acquainted with as soon as possible. On his arrival we learnt, that the prize was called *Nuestra Senora del Carmin*, of

about two hundred and seventy tons burthen ; she was commanded by Marcos Morena, a native of Venice, and had on board forty-three mariners : she was deep laden with steel, iron, wax, pepper, cedar, plank, snuff, rosarios, European bale goods, powder-blue, cinnamon, Romish indulgences, and other species of merchandize : and though this cargo, in our present circumstances, was but of little value to us, yet with respect to the Spaniards, it was the most considerable capture that fell into our hands in this part of the world ; for it amounted to upwards of 400,000 dollars prime cost at Panama. This ship was bound to Callao, and had stopped at Paita in her passage, to take in a recruit of water and provisions, and had not left that place above twenty-four hours, before she fell into our hands.

I have mentioned that Mr. Brett had received some important intelligence from the prisoners, which he endeavoured to acquaint the commodore with immediately. The first person he received it from (though upon further examination it was confirmed by the other prisoners) was one John Williams, an Irishman, whom he found on board the Spanish vessel. Williams was a papist, who worked his passage from Cadiz, and had travelled over all the kingdom of Mexico as a pedlar : he pretended by this business he had got 4 or 5000 dollars ; but that he was embarrassed by the papists, who knew he had money, and was at last stripped of all he had. He was indeed at present all in rags, being but just got out of Paita gaol, where he had been confined for some misdemeanor : he expressed great joy upon seeing his countrymen, and immediately informed them, that a few days before, a vessel came into Paita, where the master of her informed the governor, that he had been chased in the offing by a very large ship, which from her size, and the colour of her sails, he was persuaded must be one of the English squadron : this we then conjectured to have been the Gloucester, as we afterwards found it was. The governor, upon examining the master, was fully satisfied of his relation, and immediately sent away an express to Lima to acquaint the viceroy therewith : and the royal officer residing at Paita, being apprehensive of a visit from the English, was busily employed in removing the king's treasure and his own to Piura, a town within land, about fourteen leagues distant. We further learnt from our prisoners, that there was a very considerable sum of money belonging to some merchants at Lima, that was now lodged at the Custom-house at Paita ; and that this was intended to be shipped on board a vessel, which was then in the port of Paita ; and was preparing to sail with the utmost expedition, being bound for the bay of Sonsonate, on the coast of Mexico, in order to purchase a part of the cargo of the Manila ship. This vessel at Paita was esteemed a prime sailer, and had just received a new coat of tallow on her bottom ; and, in the opinion of the prisoners, she might be able to sail the succeeding morning. The character they gave us of this vessel, in which the money was to be shipped, left us little reason to believe that our ship, which had been in the water near two years, could have any chance of coming up with her, if we once suffered her to escape out of the port. And therefore, as we were now discovered, and the

coast would be soon alarmed, and as our cruising in these parts any longer would answer no purpose, the commodore resolved to surprise the place, having first minutely informed himself of its strength and condition, and being fully satisfied, that there was little danger of losing many of our men in the attempt. This surprise of Paita, besides the treasure it promised us, and its being the only enterprise it was in our power to undertake, had these other advantages attending it, that we should in all probability supply ourselves with great quantities of live provision, of which we were at this time in want : and we should likewise have an opportunity of setting our prisoners on shore, who were now very numerous, and made a greater consumption of our food than our stock that remained was capable of furnishing long. In all these lights the attempt was a most eligible one, and what our necessities, our situation, and every prudential consideration, prompted us to. How it succeeded, and how far it answered our expectations, shall be the subject of the following chapter.

## CHAPTER VI.

*The taking of Paita, and our proceedings till we left the coast of Peru.*

THE town of Paita is situated in the latitude of 5° 12' south, in a most barren soil, composed only of sand and slate : the extent of it is but small, containing in all less than two hundred families. The houses are only ground-floors ; the walls built of split cane and mud, and the roofs thatched with leaves : these edifices, though extremely slight, are abundantly sufficient for a climate, where rain is considered as a prodigy, and is not seen in many years : so that it is said, that a small quantity of rain falling in this country in the year 1728, it ruined a great number of buildings, which mouldered away, and as it were melted before it. The inhabitants of Paita are principally Indians and black slaves, or at least a mixed breed, the whites being very few. The port of Paita, though in reality little more than a bay, is esteemed the best on that part of the coast ; and is indeed a very secure and commodious anchorage. It is greatly frequented by all vessels, coming from the north ; since it is here only that the ships from Acapulco, Sonsonate, Relalejo and Panama, can touch and refresh in their passage to Callao : and the length of these voyages (the wind for the greatest part of the year being full against them) renders it impossible to perform them without calling upon the coast for a recruit of fresh water. It is true, Paita is situated on so parched a spot, that it does not itself furnish a drop of fresh water, or any kind of greens or provisions, except fish and a few goats : but there is an Indian town called Colan, about two or three leagues distant to the northward, from whence water, maize, greens, fowls, &c. are brought to Paita on balsas or floats, for the conveniency of the ships that touch here ; and cattle are sometimes brought from Piura, a town which lies about fourteen leagues up in the country. The water brought from Colan is whitish, and of a disagreeable appearance, but it is said to

be very wholesome: for it is pretended by the inhabitants, that it runs through large woods of sarsaparilla, and that it is sensibly impregnated therewith. This port of Païta, besides furnishing the northern trade bound to Callao with water and necessaries, is the usual place where passengers from Acapulco or Panama, bound to Lima, disembark; for, as it is two hundred leagues from hence to Callao, the port of Lima, and as the wind is generally contrary, the passage by sea is very tedious and fatiguing, but by land there is a tolerably good road parallel to the coast, with many stations and villages for the accommodation of travellers.

The town of Païta is itself an open place; its sole protection and defence being a single fort. It was of consequence to us to be well informed of the fabric and strength of this fort; and by the examination of our prisoners we found, that there were eight pieces of cannon mounted in it, but that it had neither ditch nor outwork, being only surrounded by a plain brick wall; and that the garrison consisted of only one weak company, but the town itself might possibly arm three hundred men more.

Mr. Anson having informed himself of the strength of the place, resolved (as hath been said in the preceding chapter) to attempt it that very night. We were then about twelve leagues distant from the shore, far enough to prevent our being discovered; yet not so far but that, by making all the sail we could, we might arrive in the bay with our ships in the night. However, the commodore prudently considered that this would be an improper method of proceeding, as our ships being such large bodies might be easily discovered at a distance even in the night, and might thereby alarm the inhabitants, and give them an opportunity of removing their valuable effects. He therefore, as the strength of the place did not require our whole force, resolved to attempt it with our boats only, ordering the eighteen-oared barge, and our own and the Tryal's pinnaces, on that service; and having picked out fifty-eight men to man them, well provided with arms and ammunition, he gave the command of the expedition to Lieutenant Brett, and gave him his necessary orders. And the better to prevent the disappointment and confusion which might arise from the darkness of the night, and the ignorance of the streets and passages of the place, two of the Spanish pilots were ordered to attend the lieutenant, and to conduct him to the most convenient landing-place, and were afterwards to be his guides on shore; and that we might have the greater security for their faithful behaviour on this occasion, the commodore took care to assure all our prisoners, that if the pilots acted properly, they should all of them be released, and set on shore at this place; but in case of any misconduct or treachery, he threatened them that the pilots should be instantly shot, and that he would carry all the rest of the Spaniards, who were on board him, prisoners to England. So that the prisoners themselves were interested in our success, and therefore we had no reason to suspect our conductors either of negligence or perfidy.

And on this occasion I cannot but remark a singular circumstance of one of the pilots employed by us in this business. It seems (as we afterwards

learnt) he had been taken by Captain Clipperton above twenty years before, and had been forced to lead Clipperton and his people to the surprise of Truxillo, a town within land to the southward of Païta, where, however, he contrived to alarm his countrymen, and to save them, though the place was taken. Now that the only two attempts on shore, which were made at so long an interval from each other, should be guided by the same person, and he too a prisoner both times, and forced upon the employ contrary to his inclination, is an incident so very extraordinary, that I could not help taking notice of it. But to return to the matter in hand.

During our preparations, the ships themselves stood towards the port with all the sail they could make, being secure that we were yet at too great a distance to be seen. But, about ten o'clock at night, the ships being then within five leagues of the place, Lieutenant Brett, with the boats under his command, put off, and arrived at the mouth of the bay without being discovered; but no sooner had he entered it, than some of the people on board a vessel, riding at anchor there, perceived him, who instantly put off in their boat, rowing towards the fort, shouting and crying, "The English, the English dogs," &c. by which the whole town was suddenly alarmed, and our people soon observed several lights hurrying backwards and forwards in the fort, and other marks of the inhabitants being in great motion. Lieutenant Brett, on this, encouraged his men to pull briskly up to the shore, that they might give the enemy as little time as possible to prepare for their defence. However, before our boats could reach the shore, the people in the fort had got ready some of their cannon, and pointed them towards the landing-place; and though in the darkness of the night it might be well supposed that chance had a greater share than skill in their direction, yet the first shot passed extremely near one of the boats, whistling just over the heads of the crew. This made our people redouble their efforts; so that they had reached the shore, and were in part disembarked, by the time the second gun fired. As soon as our men landed, they were conducted by one of the Spanish pilots to the entrance of a narrow street, not above fifty yards distant from the beach, where they were covered from the fire of the fort; and being formed in the best manner the shortness of the time would allow, they immediately marched for the parade, which was a large square at the end of this street, the fort being one side of the square, and the governor's house another. In this march (though performed with tolerable regularity) the shouts and clamours of threescore sailors, who had been confined so long on shipboard, and were now, for the first time, on shore in an enemy's country, joyous as they always are when they land, and animated besides in the present case with the hopes of an immense pillage; the huzzas, I say, of this spirited detachment, joined with the noise of their drums, and favoured by the night, had augmented their numbers, in the opinion of the enemy, to at least three hundred; by which persuasion the inhabitants were so greatly intimidated, that they were much more solicitous about the means of their flight than of their resistance: so that though upon entering the parade, our people received a volley from the merchants who owned

the treasure then in the town; and who, with a few others, had ranged themselves in a gallery that ran round the governor's house, yet that post was immediately abandoned upon the first fire made by our people, who were thereby left in quiet possession of the parade.

On this success Lieutenant Brett divided his men into two parties, ordering one of them to surround the governor's house, and if possible to secure the governor, whilst he himself with the other marched to the fort, with an intent to force it. But, contrary to his expectation, he entered it without opposition; for the enemy, on his approach, abandoned it, and made their escape over the walls. By this means the whole place was mastered in less than a quarter of an hour's time from the first landing, with no other loss than that of one man killed on the spot, and two wounded; one of which was the Spanish pilot of the *Teresa*, who received a slight bruise by a ball which grazed on his wrist: indeed, another of the company, the Honourable Mr. Keppel, son to the Earl of Albemarle, had a very narrow escape; for having on a jockey cap, one side of the peak was shaved off close to his temple by a ball, which however did him no other injury.

And now, Lieutenant Brett, after this success, placed a guard at the fort, and another at the Governor's house, and appointed sentinels at all the avenues of the town, both to prevent any surprise from the enemy, and to secure the effects in the place from being embezzled. And this being done, his next care was to seize on the custom-house where the treasure lay, and to examine if any of the inhabitants remained in the town, that he might know what farther precautions it was necessary to take; but he soon found that the numbers left behind were no ways formidable; for the greatest part of them (being in bed when the place was surprised) had run away with so much precipitation, that they had not given themselves time to put on their clothes. And in this precipitate rout the governor was not the last to secure himself, for he fled betimes half naked, leaving his wife, a young lady of about seventeen years of age, to whom he had been married but three or four days, behind him, though she too was afterwards carried off in her shift by a couple of sentinels, just as the detachment, ordered to invest the house, arrived before it.

This escape of the governor was an displeasing circumstance, as Mr. Anson had particularly recommended it to Lieutenant Brett to secure his person, if possible, in hopes that by that means we might be able to treat for the ransom of the place; but it seems his alertness rendered it impossible to seize him. The few inhabitants who remained were confined in one of the churches under a guard, except some stout negroes which were found in the place; these, instead of being shut up, were employed the remaining part of the night to assist in carrying the treasure from the custom-house and other places to the fort. However, there was care taken that they should be always attended by a file of musketeers.

The transporting the treasure from the custom-house to the fort, was the principal occupation of Mr. Brett's people, after he had got possession of the place. But the sailors, while they were thus employed, could not be prevented from entering

the houses which lay near them, in search of private pillage. And the first things which occurred to them, being the clothes which the Spaniards in their flight had left behind them, and which, according to the custom of the country, were most of them either embroidered or laced, our people eagerly seized these glittering habits, and put them on over their own dirty trowsers and jackets; not forgetting, at the same time, the tie or bag-wig and laced hat, which were generally found with the clothes; and when this practice was once begun, there was no preventing the whole detachment from imitating it. And those, who came latest into the fashion, not finding men's clothes sufficient to equip themselves, they were obliged to take up with women's gowns and petticoats, which (provided there was finery enough) they made no scruple of putting on, and blending with their own greasy dress. So that when a party of them thus ridiculously metamorphosed first appeared before Mr. Brett, he was extremely surprised at their appearance, and could not immediately be satisfied they were his own people.

These were the transactions of our detachment on shore at Paita the first night. And now to return to what was done on board the *Centurion* in that interval. I must observe, that after the boats were gone off, we lay by till one o'clock in the morning, and then supposing our detachment to be near landing, we made an easy sail for the bay. About seven in the morning we began to open the bay, and soon after we had a view of the town; and though we had no reason to doubt of the success of the enterprise, yet it was with great joy that we first discovered an infallible signal of the certainty of our hopes; this was by means of our perspectives, for through them we saw an English flag hoisted on the flag-staff of the fort, which to us was an incontestable proof that our people had got possession of the town. We plied into the bay with as much expedition as the wind, which then blew off shore, would permit us. And at eleven, the *Tryal's* boat came on board us, laden with dollars and church-plate; and the officer who commanded her informed us of the preceding night's transactions, such as we have already related them. About two in the afternoon we came to an anchor in ten fathom and a half, at a mile and a half distance from the town, and were consequently near enough to have a more immediate intercourse with those on shore. And now we found that Mr. Brett had hitherto gone on in collecting and removing the treasure without interruption; but that the enemy had rendezvoused from all parts of the country on a hill, at the back of the town, where they made no inconsiderable appearance: for amongst the rest of their force, there were two hundred horse seemingly very well armed and mounted, and, as we conceived, properly trained and regimented, being furnished with trumpets, drums, and standards. These troops paraded about the hill with great ostentation, sounding their military music, and practising every art to intimidate us (as our numbers on shore were by this time not unknown to them), in hopes that we might be induced by our fears to abandon the place before the pillage was completed. But we were not so ignorant as to believe that this body of horse, which seemed to be what the enemy principally depended on, would dare to venture in

streets and amongst houses, even had their numbers been three times as great; and therefore, notwithstanding their menaces, we went on, as long as the day-light lasted, calmly, in sending off the treasure, and in employing the boats to carry on board the refreshments, such as hogs, fowls, &c. which we found here in great abundance. But, at night, to prevent any surprise, the commodore sent on shore a reinforcement, who posted themselves in all the streets leading to the parade; and for their greater security, they traversed the streets with barricadoes six feet high. And the enemy continuing quiet all night, we at day-break returned again to our labour of loading the boats and sending them off.

By this time we were convinced of what consequence it would have been to us, had fortune seconded the prudent views of the commodore, by permitting us to have secured the governor. For we found in the place many store-houses full of valuable effects, which were useless to us at present, and such as we could not find room for on board. But had the governor been in our power, he would, in all probability, have treated for a ransom, which would have been extremely advantageous both to him and us: whereas, he being now at liberty, and having collected all the force of the country, for many leagues round, and having even got a body of militia from Piura, which was fourteen leagues distant, he was so elated with his numbers, and so fond of his new military command, that he seemed not to trouble himself about the fate of his government. So that though Mr. Anson sent several messages to him by the inhabitants, who were in our power, desiring him to enter into a treaty for the ransom of the town and goods; giving him, at the same time, an intimation that he should be far from insisting on a rigorous equivalent, but perhaps might be satisfied with some live cattle, and a few necessaries for the use of the squadron, and assuring him too, that if he would not condescend at least to treat, he would set fire to the town and all the warehouses; yet the governor was so imprudent and arrogant, that he despised all these reiterated applications, and did not deign even to return the least answer to them.

On the second day of our being in possession of the place, several negro-slaves deserted from the enemy on the hill, and coming into the town, voluntarily entered into our service: one of these was well known to a gentleman on board, who remembered him formerly at Panama. And the Spaniards without the town being in extreme want of water, many of their slaves crept into the place by stealth, and carried away several jars of water to their masters on the hill; and though some of them were seized by our men in the attempt, yet the thirst among the enemy was so pressing, that they continued this practice till we left the place. And now, on this second day we were assured, both by the deserters and by these prisoners we took, that the Spaniards on the hill, who were by this time increased to a formidable number, had resolved to storm the town and fort the succeeding night; and that one Gordon, a Scotch papist, and captain of a ship in those seas, was to have the command of this enterprise. But we notwithstanding, continued sending off our boats, and prosecuted our work without the least hurry

or precipitation till the evening; and then a reinforcement was again sent on shore by the commodore, and Lieutenant Brett doubled his guards at each of the barricadoes; and our posts being connected by the means of sentinels placed within call of each other, and the whole being visited by frequent rounds, attending with a drum, these marks of our vigilance, which the enemy could not be ignorant of, as they could doubtless hear the drum, if not the calls of the sentinels; these marks, I say of our vigilance, and of our readiness to receive them, cooled their resolution, and made them forget the vaunts of the preceding day; so that we passed this second night with as little molestation as we had done the first.

We had finished sending the treasure on board the Centurion the evening before; so that the third morning, being the 15th of November, the boats were employed in carrying off the most valuable part of the effects that remained in the town. And the commodore intending to sail this day, he, about ten o'clock, pursuant to his promise, sent all his prisoners, amounting to eighty-eight, on shore, giving orders to Lieutenant Brett to secure them in one of the churches, under a strict guard, till he was ready to embark his men. Mr. Brett was at the same time ordered to set the whole town on fire, except the two churches (which by good fortune stood at some distance from the other houses), and then he was to abandon the place, and to come on board. These orders were punctually complied with; for Mr. Brett immediately set his men to work, to distribute pitch, tar, and other combustibles (of which great quantities were found here) into houses situated in different streets of the town, so that, the place being fired in many quarters at the same time, the destruction might be more violent and sudden, and the enemy, after our departure, might not be able to extinguish it. These preparations being made, he in the next place ordered the cannon, which he found in the fort, to be nailed up; and then setting fire to those houses which were most windward, he collected his men, and marched towards the beach, where the boats waited to carry them off. And the part of the beach where he intended to embark being an open place without the town, the Spaniards on the hill perceiving he was retreating, resolved to try if they could not precipitate his departure, and thereby lay some foundation for their future boasting. And for this purpose a small squadron of their horse, consisting of about sixty, picked out, as I suppose, for this service, marched down the hill with much seeming resolution; so that, had we not been prepossessed with a juster opinion of their prowess, we might have suspected that, now we were on the open beach with no advantage of situation, they would certainly have charged us: but we presumed (and we were not mistaken) that this was mere ostentation. For, notwithstanding the pomp and parade they advanced with, Mr. Brett had no sooner ordered his men to halt and face about, but the enemy stopped their career, and never dared to advance a step further.

When our people were arrived at their boats, and were ready to go on board, they were for some time delayed, by missing one of their number; but being unable, by their mutual inquiries

amongst each other, to inform themselves where he was left, or by what accident he was detained, they, after a considerable delay, resolved to get into their boats, and to put off without him. And the last man was actually embarked, and the boats just putting off, when they heard him calling to them to take him in. The town was by this time so thoroughly on fire, and the smoke covered the beach so effectually, that they could scarcely see him, though they heard his voice. The lieutenant instantly ordered one of the boats to his relief, who found him up to the chin in water, for he had waded as far as he durst, being extremely frightened with the apprehensions of falling into the hands of an enemy, enraged, as they doubtless were, with the pillage and destruction of their town. On inquiring into the cause of his staying behind, it was found that he had taken that morning too large a dose of brandy, which had thrown him into so sound a sleep, that he did not awake till the fire came near enough to scorch him. He was strangely amazed, on first opening his eyes, to see the place all in a blaze on one side, and several Spaniards and Indians not far from him on the other. The greatness and suddenness of his fright instantly reduced him to a state of sobriety, and gave him sufficient presence of mind to push through the thickest of the smoke, as the likeliest means to escape the enemy; and making the best of his way to the beach, he ran as far into the water as he durst, (for he could not swim) before he ventured to look back.

And here I cannot but observe, to the honour of our people, that though there were great quantities of wine and spirituous liquors found in the place, yet this man was the only one who was known to have so far neglected his duty, as to get drunk. Indeed, their whole behaviour, while they were on shore, was much more regular than could well have been expected from sailors, who had been so long confined to a ship: and though part of this prudent demeanour must doubtless be imputed to the diligence of their officers, and to the excellent discipline to which they had been long inured on board the commodore, yet it was doubtless no small reputation to the men, that they should in general refrain from indulging themselves in those intoxicating liquors, which they found ready to their hands in almost every warehouse.

And having mentioned this single instance of drunkenness, I cannot pass by another oversight, which was likewise the only one of its kind, and which was attended with very particular circumstances. There was an Englishman, who had formerly wrought as a ship-carpenter in the yard at Portsmouth, but leaving his country, had afterwards entered into the Spanish service, and was employed by them at the port of Guaiaquil; and it being well known to his friends in England that he was then in that part of the world, they put letters on board the *Centurion*, directed to him. This man being then by accident amongst the Spaniards, who were retired to the hill at Paita, he was desirous (as it should seem) of acquiring some reputation amongst his new masters. With this view he came down unarmed to a sentinel of ours, who was placed at some distance from the fort towards the enemy, and pretended to be

desirous of surrendering himself, and of entering into our service. Our sentinel had a cocked pistol, but being deceived by the other's fair speeches, he was so imprudent as to let him approach much nearer than he ought; so that the shipwright, watching his opportunity, rushed on the sentinel, and seizing his pistol, wrenched it out of his hand, and instantly ran away with it up the hill. By this time, two of our people, who seeing the fellow advance, had suspected his intention, were making towards him, and were thereby prepared to pursue him; but he got to the top of the hill before they could reach him, and then turning about, fired the pistol; at which instant his pursuers fired at him, and though he was at a great distance, and the crest of the hill hid him as soon as they had fired, so that they took it for granted they had missed him, yet we afterwards learnt that he was shot through the body, and had fallen down dead the very next step he took after he was out of sight. The sentinel too, who had been thus grossly imposed upon, did not escape unpunished; for he was ordered to be severely whipt for being thus shamefully surprised upon his post, and for having given an example of carelessness, which, if followed in other instances, might prove fatal to us all. But to return:

By the time our people had taken their comrades out of the water, and were making the best of their way for the squadron, the flames had taken possession of every part of the town, and had got such hold, both by means of combustibles that had been distributed for that purpose, and by the slightness of the materials of which the houses were composed, and their aptitude to take fire, that it was sufficiently apparent no efforts of the enemy (though they flocked down in great numbers) could possibly put a stop to it, or prevent the entire destruction of the place, and all the merchandise contained therein. A whole town on fire at once, especially a place that burnt with such facility and violence, being a very singular and awful spectacle.

Our detachment under Lieutenant Brett having safely joined the squadron, the commodore prepared to leave the place the same evening. He found, when he first came into the bay, six vessels of the enemy at anchor; one of which was the ship, which, according to our intelligence, was to have sailed with the treasure to the coast of Mexico, and which, as we were persuaded she was a good sailer, we resolved to take with us: the others were two snows, a bark, and two row-galleys of thirty-six oars a-piece: these last, as we were afterwards informed, with many others of the same kind built at different ports, were intended to prevent our landing in the neighbourhood of Callao: for the Spaniards, on the first intelligence of our squadron and its force, expected that we would attempt the city of Lima. The commodore, having no occasion for these other vessels, had ordered the masts of all five of them to be cut away on his first arrival; and now, at his leaving the place, they were towed out of the harbour, and scuttled and sunk; and the command of the remaining ship, called the *Solidad*, being given to Mr. Hughs, the lieutenant of the *Trial*, who had with him a crew of ten men to navigate her, the squadron towards midnight, weighed anchor, and sailed out of the bay, being now augmented

to six sail, that is the Centurion and the Tryal prize, together with the Carmelo, the Teresa, the Carmin, and our last acquired vessel the Solidad.

And now, before I entirely quit the account of our transactions at this place, it may not perhaps be improper to give a succinct relation of the booty we made here, and of the loss the Spaniards sustained. I have before observed, that there were great quantities of valuable effects in the town; but as the greatest part of them were what we could neither dispose of nor carry away, the total amount of this merchandise can only be rudely guessed at. But the Spaniards, in the representations they made to the court of Madrid (as we were afterwards assured), estimated their whole loss at a million and a half of dollars; and when it is considered, that no small part of the goods we burnt there were of the richest and most expensive species, as broad-cloths, silks, cambrics, velvets, &c., I cannot but think their valuation sufficiently moderate. As to our parts, our acquisition, though inconsiderable in comparison of what we destroyed, was yet in itself far from despicable; for the wrought plate, dollars and other coin, which fell into our hands amounted to upwards of 30,000*l.* sterling, besides several rings, bracelets, and jewels, whose intrinsic value we could not then determine; and over and above all this, the plunder which became the property of the immediate captors, was very great: so that upon the whole it was by much the most important booty we made upon that coast.

There remains, before I take leave of this place, another particularity to be mentioned, which, on account of the great honour which our national character in those parts has thence received, and the reputation which our commodore in particular has thereby acquired, merits a distinct and circumstantial discussion. It has been already related, that all the prisoners taken by us in our preceding prizes were put on shore, and discharged at this place; amongst which there were some persons of considerable distinction, particularly a youth of about seventeen years of age, son of the vice-president of the Council of Chili. As the barbarity of the buccaneers, and the artful use the ecclesiastics had made of it, had filled the natives of those countries with the most terrible ideas of the English cruelty, we always found our prisoners, at their first coming on board us, to be extremely dejected, and under great horror and anxiety. In particular, this youth, whom I last mentioned, having never been from home before, lamented his captivity in the most moving manner, regretting, in very plaintive terms, his parents, his brothers, his sisters, and his native country; of all which he was fully persuaded he had taken his last farewell, believing that he was now devoted, for the remaining part of his life, to an abject and cruel servitude; nor was he singular in his fears, for his companions on board, and indeed all the Spaniards that came into our power, had the same desponding opinion of their situation. Mr. Anson constantly exerted his utmost endeavours to efface these inhuman impressions they had received of us; always taking care, that as many of the principal people among them as there was room for, should dine at his table by turns; and giving the strictest orders too, that they should at all times, and in every circumstance, be treated

with the utmost decency and humanity. But notwithstanding this precaution, it was generally observed, that for the first day or two they did not quit their fears, but suspected the gentleness of their usage to be only preparatory to some unthought-of calamity. However, being confirmed by time, they grew perfectly easy in their situation and remarkably cheerful, so that it was often disputable, whether or no they considered their being detained by us as a misfortune. For the youth I have above-mentioned, who was near two months on board us, had at last so far conquered his melancholy surmises, and had taken such an affection to Mr. Anson, and seemed so much pleased with the manner of life, totally different from all he had ever seen before, that it is doubtful to me whether, if his own opinion had been taken, he would not have preferred a voyage to England in the Centurion, to the being set on shore at Paita, where he was at liberty to return to his country and his friends.

This conduct of the commodore to his prisoners, which was continued without interruption or deviation, gave them all the highest idea of his humanity and benevolence, and induced them likewise (as mankind are fond of forming general opinions) to entertain very favourable thoughts of the whole English nation. But whatever they might be disposed to think of Mr. Anson before the taking of the Teresa, their veneration for him was prodigiously increased by his conduct towards those women, whom (as I have already mentioned) he took in that vessel: for the leaving them in the possession of their apartments, the strict orders given to prevent all his people on board from approaching them, and the permitting the pilot to stay with them as their guardian, were measures that seemed so different from what might be expected from an enemy and a heretic, that the Spaniards on board, though they had themselves experienced his beneficence, were surprised at this new instance of it; and the more so, as all this was done without his ever having seen the women, though the two daughters were both esteemed handsome, and the youngest was celebrated for her uncommon beauty.<sup>1</sup> The women themselves, too, were so sensible of the obligations they owed him for the care and attention with which he had protected them, that they absolutely refused to go on shore at Paita, till they had been permitted to wait on him on board the Centurion, to return him thanks in person. Indeed, all the prisoners left us with the strongest assurances of their grateful remembrance of his uncommon treatment. A jesuit in particular, whom the commodore had taken, and who was an ecclesiastic of some distinction, could not help expressing himself with great thankfulness for the civilities he and his countrymen had found on board, declaring that he should consider it as his duty to do Mr. Anson justice

<sup>1</sup> "We have heard a great deal of the continence of Scipio Africanus, when that conqueror of Spain refused to see a beautiful princess that had fallen into his power." If Anson, under the circumstances of the times and country, be denied the meed of praise bestowed on the Roman general, as an example of stern Roman virtue, he was amply repaid for his generosity and humanity to his prisoners, by their cordial and grateful remembrance of his treatment, which was applauded and circulated through every corner of Spanish America.—*Barrow's Life of Lord Anson.*

at all times; adding, that his usage of the men-prisoners was such as could never be forgot, and such as he could never fail to acknowledge and recite upon all occasions: but that his behaviour to the women was so extraordinary, and so extremely honourable, that he doubted all the regard due to his own ecclesiastical character, would be scarcely sufficient to render it credible. And indeed we were afterwards informed, that both he and the rest of our prisoners had not been silent on this head, but had, both at Lima and at other places, given the greatest encomiums to our commodore; the jesuit in particular, as we were told, having on his account interpreted in a lax and hypothetical sense that article of his Church, which asserts the impossibility of heretics being saved.

And let it not be imagined, that the impressions which the Spaniards hence received to our advantage, is a matter of small import: for, not to mention several of our countrymen who have already felt the good effects of these prepossessions, the Spaniards are a nation, whose good opinion of us is doubtless of more consequence than that of all the world besides: not only as the commerce we have formerly carried on with them, and perhaps may again hereafter, is so extremely valuable; but also as the transacting it does so immediately depend on the honour and good faith of those who are entrusted with its management. But, however, had no national conveniences attended it, the commodore's equity and good temper would not less have deterred him from all tyranny and cruelty to those whom the fortune of war had put into his hands. I shall only add, that by his constant attachment to these humane and prudent maxims, he has acquired a distinguished reputation amongst the Creolian Spaniards, which is not confined merely to the coast of the South Seas, but is extended through all the Spanish settlements in America; so that his name is frequently to be met with in the mouths of most of the Spanish inhabitants of that prodigious empire.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER VII.

*From our departure from Paita, to our arrival at Quibo.*

WHEN we got under sail from the road of Paita (which, as I have already observed, was about midnight, on the 16th of November) we stood to the westward, and in the morning the commodore gave orders that the whole squadron should spread themselves, in order to look out for the Gloucester. For we now drew near to the station where Captain Mitchel had been directed to cruise, and hourly expected to get sight of him; but the whole day passed without seeing him.

And now a jealousy, which had taken its rise at Paita, between those who had been ordered on shore for the attack, and those who had continued on board, grew to such a height that the commodore, being made acquainted with it, thought it necessary to interpose his authority to appease it. The ground of this animosity was the plun-

der gotten at Paita, which those who had acted on shore had appropriated to themselves, and considered it as a reward for the risks they had run, and the resolution they had shown in that service. But those who had remained on board considered this as a very partial and unjust procedure, urging, that had it been left to their choice, they should have preferred the acting on shore to the continuing on board; that their duty, while their comrades were on shore, was extremely fatiguing; for besides the labour of the day, they were constantly under arms all night to secure the prisoners, whose numbers exceeded their own, and of whom it was then necessary to be extremely watchful, to prevent any attempts they might have formed in that critical conjuncture; that upon the whole it could not be denied, but that the presence of a sufficient force on board was as necessary to the success of the enterprise as the action of the others on shore; and therefore those who had continued on board insisted, that they could not be deprived of their share of the plunder without manifest injustice. These were the contests amongst our men, which were carried on with great heat on both sides: and though the plunder in question was a very trifle, in comparison of the treasure taken in the place (in which there was no doubt but those on board had an equal right), yet as the obstinacy of sailors is not always regulated by the importance of the matter in dispute, the commodore thought it necessary to put a stop to this ferment betimes. And accordingly, the morning after our leaving of Paita, he ordered all hands upon the quarter-deck; where, addressing himself to those who had been detached on shore, he commended their behaviour, and thanked them for their services on that occasion: but then representing to them the reasons urged, by those who had continued on board, for an equal distribution of the plunder, he told them that he thought these reasons very conclusive, and that the expectations of their comrades were justly founded; and therefore he ordered, that not only the men, but all the officers likewise, who had been employed in taking the place, should produce the whole of their plunder immediately upon the quarter-deck; and that it should be impartially divided amongst the whole crew, in proportion to each man's rank and commission: and to prevent those who had been in possession of the plunder from murmuring at this diminution of their share, the commodore added, that as an encouragement to others who might be hereafter employed on like services, he would give his entire share to be distributed amongst those who had been detached for the attack of the place. Thus this troublesome affair, which if permitted to have gone on, might perhaps have been attended with mischievous consequences, was by the commodore's prudence soon appeased, to the general satisfaction of the ship's company: not but there were some few, whose selfish dispositions were uninfluenced by the justice of this procedure, and who were incapable of discerning the force of equity, however glaring, when it tended to deprive them of any part of what they had once got into their hands.

This important business employed the best part of the day, after we came from Paita. And now, at night, having no sight of the Gloucester, the commodore ordered the squadron to bring-to, that

<sup>1</sup> " Even to this day the name of Anson is held in the highest respect in the Spanish provinces of America, while the fate of Paita is forgotten, or, if remembered, is so chiefly to reprobate the obstinacy of the governor."—*Barrow's Life of Lord Anson.*



we might not pass her in the dark. The next morning we again looked out for her, and at ten we saw a sail, to which we gave chase; and at two in the afternoon we came near enough to her to discover her to be the Gloucester, with a small vessel in tow. About an hour after, we were joined by them; and then we learnt that Captain Mitchel, in the whole time of his cruise, had only taken two prizes; one of them being a small snow, whose cargo consisted chiefly of wine, brandy, and olives in jars, with about 7000*l.* in specie; and the other a large boat or launch, which the Gloucester's barge came up with near the shore. The prisoners on board this vessel alleged, that they were very poor, and that their lading consisted only of cotton; though the circumstances in which the barge surprised them, seemed to insinuate that they were more opulent than they pretended to be; for the Gloucester's people found them at dinner upon pigeon-pie, served up in silver dishes. However, the officer who commanded the barge having opened several of the jars on board, to satisfy his curiosity, and finding nothing in them but cotton, he was inclined to believe the account the prisoners gave him: but the cargo being taken into the Gloucester, and there examined more strictly, they were agreeably surprised to find, that the whole was a very extraordinary piece of false package; and that there was concealed amongst the cotton, in every jar, a considerable quantity of double doubloons and dollars, to the amount in the whole of near 12,000*l.* This treasure was going to Paita, and belonged to the same merchants who were the proprietors of the greatest part of the money we had taken there; so that, had this boat escaped the Gloucester, it is probable her cargo would have fallen into our hands. Besides these two prizes which we have mentioned, the Gloucester's people told us, that they had been in sight of two or three other ships of the enemy which had escaped them; and one of them we had reason to believe, from some of our intelligence, was of an immense value.

Being now joined by the Gloucester and her prize, it was resolved that we should stand to the northward, and make the best of our way either to Cape St. Lucas on California, or to Cape Corientes on the coast of Mexico. Indeed the commodore, when at Juan Fernandes, had determined with himself to touch in the neighbourhood of Panama, and to endeavour to get some correspondence over-land with the fleet under the command of Admiral Vernon. For when we departed from England, we left a large force at Portsmouth, which was intended to be sent to the West Indies, there to be employed in an expedition against some of the Spanish settlements. And Mr. Anson taking it for granted, that this enterprise had succeeded, and that Porto Bello perhaps might be then garrisoned by British troops, he hoped that on his arrival at the isthmus, he should easily procure an intercourse with our countrymen on the other side, either by the Indians, who were greatly disposed in our favour, or even by the Spaniards themselves, some of whom, for proper rewards, might be induced to carry on this intelligence, which, after it was once begun, might be continued with very little difficulty; so that Mr. Anson flattered himself, that he might by

this means have received a reinforcement of men from the other side, and that by settling a prudent plan of operations with our commanders in the West-Indies, he might have taken even Panama itself; which would have given to the British nation the possession of that isthmus, whereby we should have been in effect masters of all the treasures of Peru, and should have had in our hands an equivalent for any demands, however extraordinary, which we might have been induced to have made on either of the branches of the house of Bourbon.

Such were the projects which the commodore revolved in his thoughts at the island of Juan Fernandes, notwithstanding the feeble condition to which he was then reduced. And indeed, had the success of our force in the West Indies been answerable to the general expectation, it cannot be denied but these views would have been the most prudent that could have been thought of. But in examining the papers which were found on board the Carmelo, the first prize we took, we learnt (though I then omitted to mention it) that our attempt against Carthagena had failed, and that there was no probability that our fleet, in that part of the world, would engage in any new enterprise, that would at all facilitate this plan. And therefore Mr. Anson gave over all hopes of being reinforced across the isthmus, and consequently had no inducement at present to proceed to Panama, as he was incapable of attacking the place; and there was great reason to believe, that by this time there was a general embargo on all the coast.

The only feasible measure then which was left us, was to get as soon as possible to the southern parts of California, or to the adjacent coast of Mexico, there to cruise for the Manila galleon, which we knew was now at sea, bound to the port of Acapulco. And we doubted not to get on that station, time enough to intercept her; for this ship does not actually arrive at Acapulco till towards the middle of January, and we were now but in the middle of November, and did not conceive that our passage thither would cost us above a month or five weeks; so that we imagined, we had near twice as much time as was necessary for our purpose. Indeed there was a business which we foresaw would occasion some delay, but we flattered ourselves that it would be despatched in four or five days, and therefore could not interrupt our project. This was the recruiting of our water; for the number of prisoners we had entertained on board, since our leaving the island of Fernandes, had so far exhausted our stock, that it was impossible to think of venturing upon this passage to the coast of Mexico, till we had procured a fresh supply; especially as at Paita, where we had some hopes of getting a quantity, we did not find enough for our consumption during the time we staid there. It was for some time a matter of deliberation, where we should take in this necessary article; but by consulting the accounts of former navigators, and examining our prisoners, we at last resolved for the island of Quibo, situated at the mouth of the bay of Panama: nor was it but on good grounds that the commodore conceived this to be the properest place for watering the squadron. Indeed, there was a small island called Coeos,

which was less out of our way than Quibo, where some of the buccaneers have pretended they found water; but none of our prisoners knew anything of it, and it was thought too hazardous to risk the safety of the squadron, and expose ourselves to the hazard of not meeting with water when we came there, on the mere authority of these legendary writers, of whose misrepresentations and falsities we had almost daily experience. Besides, by going to Quibo we were not without hopes that some of the enemy's ships bound to or from Panama might fall into our hands, particularly such of them as were put to sea before they had any intelligence of our squadron.

Having determined therefore to go to Quibo, we directed our course to the northward, being eight sail in company, and consequently having the appearance of a very formidable fleet; and on the 19th, at day-break, we discovered Cape Blanco, bearing S.S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. seven miles distant. This cape lies in the latitude of  $4^{\circ} 15'$  south, and is always made by ships bound either to windward or to leeward; so that off this cape is a most excellent station to cruise upon the enemy. By this time we found that our last prize, the *Solidad*, was far from answering the character given her of a good sailer; and she and the *Santa Teresa* delaying us considerably, the commodore ordered them both to be cleared of everything that might prove useful to the rest of the ships, and then to be burnt; and having given proper instructions, and a rendezvous to the *Gloucester* and the other prizes, we proceeded in our course for Quibo; and, on the 22d in the morning, saw the island of Plata, bearing east, distant four leagues. Here one of our prizes was ordered to stand close in with it, both to discover if there were any ships between that island and the continent, and likewise to look out for a stream of fresh water, which was reported to be there, and which would have saved us the trouble of going to Quibo; but she returned without having seen any ship, or finding any water. At three in the afternoon Point Manta bore S.E. by E., seven miles distant; and there being a town of the same name in the neighbourhood, Captain Mitchel took this opportunity of sending away several of his prisoners from the *Gloucester* in the Spanish launch. The boats were now daily employed in distributing provisions on board the *Tryal* and other prizes, to complete their stock for six months: and that the *Centurion* might be the better prepared to give the Manila ship (one of which we were told was of an immense size) a warm reception, the carpenters were ordered to fix eight stocks in the main and fore tops, which were properly fitted for the mounting of swivel guns.

On the 25th we had a sight of the island of Gallo, bearing E.S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., four leagues distant; and from hence we crossed the bay of Panama with a N.W. course, hoping that this would have carried us in a direct line to the island of Quibo. But we afterwards found that we ought to have stood more to the westward; for the winds in a short time began to incline to that quarter, and made it difficult for us to gain the island. And now, after passing the equinoctial, (which we did on the 22d,) and leaving the neighbourhood of the Cordilleras, and standing more and more towards

the isthmus, where the communication of the atmosphere to the eastward and the westward was no longer interrupted, we found in very few days an extraordinary alteration in the climate. For instead of that uniform temperature, where neither the excess of heat or cold was to be complained of, we had now for several days together close and sultry weather, resembling what we had before met with on the coast of Brazil, and in other parts between the tropics on the eastern side of America. We had besides frequent calms and heavy rains; which we at first ascribed to the neighbourhood of the Line, where this kind of weather is generally found to prevail at all seasons of the year; but observing that it attended us to the latitude of seven degrees north, we were at length induced to believe that the stormy season, or, as the Spaniards call it, the *Vandevals*, was not yet over; though many writers, particularly Captain Shelvocke, positively assert, that this season begins in June, and is ended in November; and our prisoners all affirmed the same thing. But perhaps its end may not be always constant, and it might last this year longer than usual.

On the 27th, Captain Mitchel having finished the clearing of his largest prize, she was scuttled, and set on fire; but we still consisted of five ships, and were fortunate enough to find them all good sailers; so that we never occasioned any delay to each other. Being now in a rainy climate, which we had been long disused to, we found it necessary to caulk the decks and sides of the *Centurion*, to prevent the rain-water from running into her.

On the 3rd of December we had a view of the island of Quibo; the east end of which then bore from us N.N.W., four leagues distant, and the island of Quicara W.N.W., at about the same distance. Here we struck ground with sixty-five fathoms of line, and found the bottom to consist of grey sand, with black specks. When we had thus got sight of the land, we found the wind to hang westerly; and therefore, night coming on, we thought it advisable to stand off till morning, as there are said to be some shoals in the entrance of the channel. At six the next morning Point Mariato bore N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N., three or four leagues distant. In weathering this point, all the squadron, except the *Centurion*, were very near it; and the *Gloucester*, being the leewardmost ship, was forced to tack and stand to the southward, so that we lost sight of her. At nine, the island *Sebaco* bore N.W. by N., four leagues distant; but the wind still proving unfavourable, we were obliged to ply on and off for the succeeding twenty-four hours, and were frequently taken aback. However, at eleven the next morning, the wind happily settled in the S.S.W., and we bore away for the S.S.E. end of the island, and about three in the afternoon entered the Canal Bueno, passing round a shoal which stretches off about two miles from the south point of the island. This Canal Bueno, or God Channel, is at least six miles in breadth; and as we had the wind large, we kept in a good depth of water, generally from twenty-eight to thirty-three fathoms, and came not within a mile and a half distance of the breakers; though, in all probability, if it had been necessary, we might have ventured much nearer without incurring the

least danger. At seven in the evening we came to an anchor in thirty-three fathoms muddy ground; the south point of the island bearing S.E. by S., a remarkable high part of the island W. by N., and the island Sebaco E. by N. Being thus arrived at this island of Quibo, the account of the place, and of our transactions there, shall be referred to the ensuing chapter.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Our proceedings at Quibo, with an account of the place.*

THE next morning, after our coming to an anchor, an officer was despatched on shore to discover the watering-place, who having found it, returned before noon; and then we sent the long-boat for a load of water, and at the same time we weighed and stood farther in with our ships. At two we came again to an anchor in twenty-two fathoms, with a bottom of rough gravel intermixed with broken shells, the watering place now bearing from us N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N., only three quarters of a mile distant.

This island of Quibo is extremely convenient for wooding and watering; for the trees grow close to the high-water mark, and a large rapid stream of fresh water runs over the sandy beach into the sea; so that we were little more than two days in laying in all the wood and water we wanted. The whole island is of a very moderate height, excepting one part. It consists of a continued wood spread over the whole surface of the country, which preserves its verdure all the year round. Amongst the other wood we found there abundance of cassia and a few lime trees. It appeared singular to us that, considering the climate and the shelter, we should see no other birds there than parrots, parroquets, and macaws; indeed of these last there were prodigious flights. Next to these birds, the animals we found there in most plenty were monkeys and guanoes, and these we frequently killed for food; for though there were many herds of deer upon the place, yet the difficulty of penetrating the woods prevented our coming near them, so that though we saw them often, we killed only two during our stay. Our prisoners assured us that this island abounded with tigers; and we did once discover the print of a tiger's paw upon the beach, but the tigers themselves we never saw. The Spaniards, too, informed us that there was often found in the woods a most mischievous serpent, called the flying snake, which they said darted itself from the boughs of trees on either man or beast that came within its reach; and whose sting they believed to be inevitable death. Besides these mischievous land animals, the sea hereabouts is infested with great numbers of alligators of an extraordinary size; and we often observed a large kind of flat-fish, jumping a considerable height out of the water, which we supposed to be the fish that is said frequently to destroy the pearl divers, by clasping them in its fins as they rise from the bottom; and we were told that the divers, for their security, are now always armed with a sharp knife, which, when they are entangled, they stick into the belly of the fish, and thereby disengage themselves from its embraces.

Whilst the ship continued here at anchor, the commodore, attended by some of his officers, went in a boat to examine a bay which lay to the northward; and they afterwards ranged all along the eastern side of the island. And in the places where they put on shore in the course of this expedition, they generally found the soil to be extremely rich, and met with great plenty of excellent water. In particular, near the N.E. point of the island, they discovered a natural cascade, which surpassed, as they conceived, everything of this kind which human art or industry has hitherto produced. It was a river of transparent water, about forty yards wide, which ran down a declivity of near a hundred and fifty yards in length. The channel it ran in was very irregular; for it was entirely formed of rock, both its sides and bottom being made up of large detached blocks; and by these the course of the water was frequently interrupted: for in some places it ran sloping with a rapid but uniform motion, while in other parts it tumbled over the ledges of rocks with a perpendicular descent. All the neighbourhood of this stream was a fine wood; and even the huge masses of rock which overhung the water, and which, by their various projections, formed the inequalities of the channel, were covered with lofty forest trees. Whilst the commodore, and those who were with him, were attentively viewing this place, and were remarking the different blendings of the water, the rocks and the wood, there came in sight (as it were with an intent still to heighten and animate the prospect) a prodigious flight of macaws, which hovering over this spot, and often wheeling and playing on the wing about it, afforded a most brilliant appearance, by the glittering of the sun on their variegated plumage; so that some of the spectators cannot refrain from a kind of transport, when they recount the complicated beauties which occurred in this extraordinary waterfall.

In this expedition, which the boat made along the eastern side of the island, though they met with no inhabitants, yet they saw many huts upon the shore, and great heaps of shells of fine mother-of-pearl scattered up and down in different places: these were the remains left by the pearl-fishers from Panama, who often frequent this place in the summer season; for the pearl oysters, which are to be met with everywhere in the bay of Panama, are so plentiful at Quibo, that by advancing a very little way into the sea, you might stoop down and reach them from the bottom. They are usually very large, and out of curiosity we opened some of them with a view of tasting them, but we found them extremely tough and unpalatable. And having mentioned these oysters and the pearl-fishery, I must beg leave to recite a few particulars relating thereto.

The oysters most productive of pearls are those found in considerable depths; for though what are taken up by wading near shore are of the same species, yet the pearls found in them are very rare and very small. It is said too that the pearl partakes in some degree of the quality of the bottom on which the oyster is found; so that if the bottom be muddy the pearl is dark and ill-coloured.

The taking up oysters from great depths for the sake of the pearls they contain, is a work per-

formed by negro slaves, of which the inhabitants of Panama and the neighbouring coast formerly kept great numbers, which were carefully trained to this business. And these are said not to be esteemed complete divers till they have by degrees been able to protract their stay under water so long, that the blood gushes out from their nose, mouth, and ears. And it is the tradition of the country, that when this accident has once befallen them, they dive for the future with much greater facility than before; and they have no apprehension either that any inconvenience can attend it, the bleeding generally stopping of itself, or that there is any probability of their being ever subject to it a second time. But to return from this digression.

Though the pearl-oyster, as has been said, was incapable of being eaten, yet the sea at this place furnished us with another dainty, in the greatest plenty and perfection: this was the turtle, of which we took here what quantity we pleased. There are generally reckoned four species of turtle; that is, the trunk turtle, the loggerhead, the hawksbill, and the green turtle. The two first are rank and unwholesome; the hawksbill (which furnishes the tortoiseshell) is but indifferent food, though better than the other two; but the green turtle is generally esteemed, by the greatest part of those who are acquainted with its taste, to be the most delicious of all eatables; and that it is a most wholesome food, we are amply convinced by our own experience: for we fed on this last species, or the green turtle, for near four months, and consequently, had it been in any degree noxious, its ill effects could not possibly have escaped us. At this island we took what quantity we pleased with great facility; for as they are an amphibious animal, and get on shore to lay their eggs, which they generally deposit in a large hole in the sand, just above the high-water mark, covering them up, and leaving them to be hatched by the heat of the sun, we usually dispersed several of our men along the beach, whose business it was to turn them on their backs when they came to land; and the turtle being thereby prevented from getting away, we carried them off at our leisure: by this means we not only secured a sufficient stock for the time we staid on the island, but we took a number of them with us to sea, which proved of great service both in lengthening out our store of provision, and in heartening the whole crew with an almost constant supply of fresh and palatable food; for the turtle being large, they generally weighing about 200lbs. weight each, those we took with us lasted us near a month, and by that time we met with a fresh recruit on the coast of Mexico, where we often saw them in the heat of the day floating in great numbers on the surface of the water fast asleep. When we discovered them we usually sent out our boat with a man in the bow, who was a dexterous diver, and when the boat came within a few yards of the turtle, the diver plunged into the water, and took care to rise close upon it; and seizing the shell near the tail, and pressing down the hinder parts, the turtle, when awakened, began to strike with its claws, which motion supported both it and the diver, till the boat came up and took them in. By this management we never wanted turtle for the succeeding four months in which we continued at sea; and though, when at

Quibo, we had already been three months on board, without otherwise putting our feet on shore, than in the few days we stayed at this island of Quibo, (except those employed in the attack of Païta,) yet in the whole seven months, from our leaving Juan Fernandes to our anchoring in the harbour of Chequetan, we buried no more in the whole squadron than two men; a most incontestable proof that the turtle, on which we fed for the last four months of this term, was at least innocent, if not something more.

Considering the scarcity of provisions on some part of the coast of these seas, it appears wonderful, that a species of food so very palatable and salubrious as turtle, and so much abounding in those parts, should be proscribed by the Spaniards as unwholesome, and little less than poisonous. Perhaps the strange appearance of this animal may have been the foundation of this ridiculous and superstitious aversion, which is strongly rooted in all the inhabitants of that coast, and of which we had many instances in the course of this navigation. I have already observed, that we put our Spanish prisoners on shore at Païta, and that the Gloucester sent theirs to Manta; but as we had taken in our prizes some Indian and negro slaves, we did not set these on shore with their masters, but continued them on board, as our crews were thin, to assist in navigating our ships. These poor people being possessed with the prejudices of the country they came from, were astonished at our feeding on turtle, and seemed fully persuaded that it would soon destroy us; but finding that none of us died, nor even suffered in our health by a continuation of this diet, they at last got so far the better of their aversion, as to be persuaded to taste it, to which the absence of all other kinds of fresh provisions might not a little contribute. However, it was with great reluctance, and very sparingly, that they first began to eat of it: but the relish improving upon them by degrees, they at last grew extremely fond of it, and preferred it to every other kind of food, and often felicitated each other on the happy experience they had acquired, and the delicious and plentiful repasts it would be always in their power to procure, when they should again return back to their country. Those who are acquainted with the manner of life of these unhappy wretches, need not be told, that next to large draughts of spirituous liquors, plenty of tolerable food is the greatest joy they know, and consequently the discovering a method which would always supply them with what quantity they pleased, of a food more luxurious to the palate than any their haughty lords and masters could indulge in, was doubtless a circumstance which they considered as the most fortunate that could befall them.

After this digression, which the prodigious quantity of turtle on this island of Quibo, and the store of it we thence took to sea, in some measure led me into, I shall now return to our own proceedings.

In three days' time we had completed our business at this place, and were extremely impatient to put to sea, that we might arrive time enough on the coast of Mexico to intercept the Manila galleon. But the wind being contrary, detained us a night; and the next day, when we got into the offing, (which we did through the same chan-

nel by which we entered,) we were obliged to keep hovering about the island, in hopes of getting sight of the Gloucester; which, as I have in the last chapter mentioned, was separated from us on our first arrival. It was the 9th of December, in the morning, when we put to sea; and continuing to the southward of the island, looking out for the Gloucester, we, on the 10th, at five in the afternoon, discerned a small sail to the northward of us, to which we gave chase, and, coming up with her, took her. She proved to be a barque from Panama, bound to Cheripec, an inconsiderable village on the continent, and was called the *Jesu Nazareno*. She had nothing on board but some oakum, about a ton of rock-salt, and between 30*l.*, and 40*l.* in specie, most of it consisting of small silver money, intended for purchasing a cargo of provisions at Cheripec.

And on occasion of this prize I cannot but observe, for the use of future cruisers, that had we been in want of provisions, we had by this capture an obvious method of supplying ourselves. For at Cheripec, whither she was bound, there is a constant store of provisions prepared for the vessels who go thither every week from Panama, the market of Panama being chiefly supplied from thence: so that by putting a few of our hands on board our prize, we might easily have seized a large store without any hazard, since Cheripec is a place of no strength. And as provisions are the staple commodity of that place and of its neighbourhood, the knowledge of this circumstance may be of great use to such cruisers as find their provisions grow scant, and yet are desirous of continuing on that coast as long as possible. But to return:

On the 12th of December, we were at last relieved from the perplexity we had suffered by the separation of the Gloucester; for on that day she joined us, and informed us that in tacking to the southward, on our first arrival, she had sprung her foretop-mast, which had disabled her from working to windward, and prevented her from joining us sooner. And now we scuttled and sunk the *Jesu Nazareno*, the prize we took last; and having the greatest impatience to get into a proper station for the galleon, we stood all together to the westward, leaving the island of Quibo (notwithstanding all the impediments we met with) in about nine days after our first coming in sight of it.

## CHAPTER IX.

*From Quibo to the coast of Mexico.*

On the 12th of December we stood from Quibo to the westward, and the same day the commodore delivered fresh instructions to the captains of the men-of-war, and the commanders of our prizes, appointing them the rendezvous they were to make, and the courses they were to steer, in case of a separation. And first, they were directed to use all possible despatch in getting to the northward of the harbour of Acapulco, where they were to endeavour to fall in with the land, between the latitudes of 18 and 19 degrees; from thence, they were to beat up the coast at eight or ten leagues' distance from the shore, till they came abreast of Cape Corientes, in the latitude of 20° 20'. When

they arrived there, they were to continue cruising on that station till the 14th of February; and then they were to proceed to the middle island of the Tres Marias, in the latitude of 21° 25', bearing from Cape Corientes N.W. by N., twenty-five leagues distant. And if at this island they did not meet the commodore, they were there to recruit their wood and water, and then to make the best of their way to the island of Macao, on the coast of China. These orders being distributed to all the ships, we had little doubt of arriving soon upon our intended station, as we expected, upon the increasing our offing from Quibo, to fall in with the regular trade-wind. But, to our extreme vexation, we were baffled for near a month, either with tempestuous weather from the western quarter, or with dead calms and heavy rains, attended with a sultry air; so that it was the 25th of December before we got a sight of the island of Cocos, which by our reckoning was only a hundred leagues from the continent; and we had the mortification to make so little way, that we did not lose sight of it again in five days. This island we found to be in the latitude of 5° 20' north. It has a high hummock towards the western part, which descends gradually, and at last terminates in a low point to the eastward. From the island of Cocos we stood W. by N., and were till the 9th of January in running a hundred leagues more. We had at first flattered ourselves, that the uncertain weather and western gales we met with were owing to the neighbourhood of the continent, from which, as we got more distant, we expected every day to be relieved, by falling in with the eastern trade-wind: but as our hopes were so long baffled, and our patience quite exhausted, we began at length to despair of succeeding in the great purpose we had in view, that of intercepting the Manila galleon; and this produced a general dejection amongst us, as we had at first considered this project as almost infallible, and had indulged ourselves in the most boundless hopes of the advantages we should thence receive. However, our despondency was at last somewhat alleviated, by a favourable change of the wind; for on the 9th of January, a gale for the first time sprang up from the N.E., and on this we took the Carmelo in tow, as the Gloucester did the Carmin, making all the sail we could to improve the advantage, for we still suspected that it was only a temporary gale, which would not last long; but the next day we had the satisfaction to find, that the wind did not only continue in the same quarter, but blew with so much briskness and steadiness, that we now no longer doubted of its being the true trade-wind. And as we advanced apace towards our station, our hopes began to revive, and our former despair by degrees gave place to more sanguine prejudices: for though the customary season of the arrival of the galleon at Acapulco was already elapsed, yet we were by this time unreasonable enough to flatter ourselves, that some accidental delay might, for our advantage, lengthen out her passage beyond its usual limits.

When we got into the trade-wind, we found no alteration in it till the 17th of January, when we were advanced to the latitude of 12° 50', but on that day it shifted to the westward of the north: this change we imputed to our having hauled up too soon, though we then esteemed ourselves full

seventy leagues from the coast, which plainly shows that the trade-wind does not take place but at a considerable distance from the continent. After this, the wind was not so favourable to us as it had been : however, we still continued to advance, and, on the 26th of January, being then to the northward of Acapulco, we tacked and stood to the eastward, with a view of making the land.

In the preceding fortnight we caught some turtle on the surface of the water, and several dolphins, bonitos, and albacores. One day, as one of the sail-maker's mates was fishing from the end of the jib-boom, he lost his hold, and dropped into the sea ; and the ship, which was then going at the rate of six or seven knots, went directly over him : but as we had the Carmelo in tow, we instantly called out to the people on board her, who threw him over several ends of ropes, one of which he fortunately caught hold of, and twisting it round his arm, they hauled him into the ship, without his having received any other injury than a wrench in his arm, of which he soon recovered.

When, on the 26th of January, we stood to the eastward, we expected, by our reckonings, to have fallen in with the land on the 28th ; but though the weather was perfectly clear, we had no sight of it at sunset, and therefore we continued on our course, not doubting but we should see it by the next morning. About ten at night we discovered a light on the larboard-bow, bearing from us N.N.E. The Tryal's prize, too, which was about a mile ahead of us, made a signal at the same time for seeing a sail ; and as we had none of us any doubt but what we saw was a ship's light, we were all extremely animated with a firm persuasion that it was the Manila galleon, which had been so long the object of our wishes : and what added to our alacrity, was our expectation of meeting with two of them instead of one, for we took it for granted that the light in view was carried in the top of one ship for a direction to her consort. We immediately cast off the Carmelo and pressed forward with all our canvas, making a signal for the Gloucester to do the same. Thus we chased the light, keeping all our hands to their respective quarters, under an expectation of engaging in the next half hour, as we sometimes conceived the chase to be about a mile distant, and at other times to be within reach of our guns ; and some on board us positively averred, that besides the light, they could plainly discern her sails. The commodore himself was so fully persuaded that we should be soon alongside of her, that he sent for his first lieutenant, who commanded between decks, and directed him to see all the great guns loaded with two round-shot for the first broadside, and after that with one round-shot and one grape ; strictly charging him, at the same time, not to suffer a gun to be fired, till he, the commodore, should give orders, which he informed the lieutenant would not be till we arrived within pistol-shot of the enemy. In this constant and eager attention we continued all night, always presuming that another quarter of an hour would bring us up with this Manila ship, whose wealth, with that of her supposed consort, we now estimated by round millions. But when the morning broke, and daylight came on, we were most strangely and vexatiously disappointed, by finding that the

light which had occasioned all this bustle and expectancy, was only a fire on the shore. Indeed the circumstances of this deception are so extraordinary as to be scarcely credible ; for, by our run during the night, and the distance of the land in the morning, there was no doubt to be made but this fire, when we first discovered it, was above twenty-five leagues from us : and yet I believe there was no person on board who doubted of its being a ship's light, or of its being near at hand. It was indeed upon a very high mountain, and continued burning for several days afterwards ; it was not a volcano, but rather, as I suppose, stubble or heath set on fire for some purpose of agriculture.

At sun-rising, after this mortifying delusion, we found ourselves about nine leagues off the land, which extended from the N.W. to E.½N. On this land we observed two remarkable hummocks, such as are usually called paps, which bore north from us : these, a Spanish pilot and two Indians, who were the only persons amongst us that pretended to have traded in this part of the world, affirmed to be over the harbour of Acapulco. Indeed, we very much doubted their knowledge of the coast ; for we found these paps to be in the latitude of 17° 56', whereas those over Acapulco are said to be in 17 degrees only ; and we afterwards found our suspicions of their skill to be well grounded : however, they were very confident, and assured us, that the height of the mountains was itself an infallible mark of the harbour ; the coast, as they pretended (though falsely) being generally low to the eastward and westward of it.

And now being in the track of the Manila galleon, it was a great doubt with us (as it was near the end of January) whether she was or was not arrived : but examining our prisoners about it, they assured us, that she was sometimes known to come in after the middle of February ; and they endeavoured to persuade us, that the fire we had seen on shore was a proof that she was as yet at sea, it being customary, as they said, to make use of these fires as signals for her direction, when she continued longer out than ordinary. On this information, strengthened by our propensity to believe them in a matter which so pleasingly flattered our wishes, we resolved to cruise for her for some days ; and we accordingly spread our ships at the distance of twelve leagues from the coast, in such a manner, that it was impossible she should pass us unobserved : however, not seeing her soon, we were at intervals inclined to suspect, that she had gained her port already ; and as we now began to want a harbour to refresh our people, the uncertainty of our present situation gave us great uneasiness, and we were very solicitous to get some positive intelligence, which might either set us at liberty to consult our necessities, if the galleon was arrived, or might animate us to continue on our present cruise with cheerfulness, if she was not. With this view the commodore, after examining our prisoners very particularly, resolved to send a boat, under colour of the night, into the harbour of Acapulco, to see if the Manila ship was there or not, one of the Indians being very positive that this might be done without the boat itself being discovered. To execute this project, the barge was despatched

the 6th of February, with a sufficient crew and two officers, who took with them a Spanish pilot, and the Indian who had insisted on the practicability of this measure, and had undertaken to conduct it. Our barge did not return to us again till the eleventh, when the officers acquainted Mr. Anson, that, agreeable to our suspicion, there was nothing like a harbour in the place where the Spanish pilots had at first asserted Acapulco to lie; that when they had satisfied themselves in this particular, they steered to the eastward, in hopes of discovering it, and had coasted alongshore thirty-two leagues; that in this whole range they met chiefly with sandy beaches of a great length, over which the sea broke with so much violence, that it was impossible for a boat to land; that at the end of their run they could just discover two paps at a very great distance to the eastward, which from their appearance and their latitude, they concluded to be those in the neighbourhood of Acapulco; but that not having a sufficient quantity of fresh water and provision for their passage thither and back again, they were obliged to return to the commodore, to acquaint him with their disappointment. On this intelligence we all made sail to the eastward, in order to get into the neighbourhood of that port, the commodore resolving to send the barge a second time upon the same enterprise, when we were arrived within a moderate distance. And the next day, which was the 12th of February, we being by that time considerably advanced, the barge was again dispatched, and particular instructions given to the officers to preserve themselves from being seen from the shore. On the thirteenth we espied a high land to the eastward, which we first imagined to be that over the harbour of Acapulco; but we afterwards found that it was the high land of Seguatencio, where there is a small harbour, of which we shall have occasion to make more ample mention hereafter.

And now, having waited six days without any news of our barge, we began to be uneasy for her safety; but, on the seventh day, that is, on the 19th of February, she returned. The officers informed the commodore, that they had discovered the harbour of Acapulco, which they esteemed to bear from us E.S.E., at least fifty leagues distant: that on the 17th, about two in the morning, they were got within the island that lies at the mouth of the harbour, and yet neither the Spanish pilot, nor the Indian, who were with them, could give them any information where they then were; but that while they were lying upon their oars in suspense what to do, being ignorant that they were then at the very place they sought for, they discerned a small light upon the surface of the water, on which they instantly plied their paddles, and moving as silently as possible towards it, they found it to be in a fishing canoe, which they surprised, with three negroes that belonged to it. It seems the negroes at first attempted to jump overboard; and being so near the land, they would easily have swum on shore; but they were prevented by presenting a piece at them, on which they readily submitted, and were taken into the barge. The officers further added, that they had immediately turned the canoe adrift against the face of a rock, where it would inevitably be dashed to pieces by the fury of the sea.

This they did to deceive those who perhaps might be sent from the town to search after the canoe; for upon seeing several pieces of a wreck, they would immediately conclude that the people on board her had been drowned, and would have no suspicion of their having fallen into our hands. When the crew of the barge had taken this precaution, they exerted their utmost strength in pulling out to sea, and by dawn of day had gained such an offing, as rendered it impossible for them to be seen from the coast.

And now having gotten the three negroes in our possession, who were not ignorant of the transactions at Acapulco, we were soon satisfied about the most material points which had long kept us in suspense: and on examination we found, that we were indeed disappointed in our expectation of intercepting the galleon before her arrival at Acapulco; but we learnt other circumstances which still revived our hopes, and which, we then conceived, would more than balance the opportunity we had already lost; for though our negro prisoners informed us that the galleon arrived at Acapulco on our 9th of January, which was about twenty days before we fell in with this coast, yet they at the same time told us, that the galleon had delivered her cargo, and was taking in water and provisions for her return, and that the viceroy of Mexico had, by proclamation, fixed her departure from Acapulco to the 14th of March, N. S. This last news was most joyfully received by us, as we had no doubt but she must certainly fall into our hands, and as it was much more eligible to seize her on her return, than it would have been to have taken her before her arrival, as the specie for which she had sold her cargo, and which she would now have on board, would be prodigiously more to be esteemed by us than the cargo itself; great part of which would have perished on our hands, and no part of it could have been disposed of by us at so advantageous a mart as Acapulco.

Thus we were a second time engaged in an eager expectation of meeting with this Manila ship, which, by the fame of its wealth, we had been taught to consider as the most desirable prize that was to be met with in any part of the globe. As all our future projects will be in some sort regulated with a view to the possession of this celebrated galleon, and as the commerce which is carried on by means of these vessels between the city of Manila and the port of Acapulco is perhaps the most valuable, in proportion to its quantity, of any in the known world, I shall endeavour, in the ensuing chapter, to give as distinct an account as I can of all the particulars relating thereto, both as it is a matter in which I conceive the public to be in some degree interested, and as I flatter myself, that from the materials which have fallen into my hands, I am enabled to describe it with more distinctness than has hitherto been done, at least in our language.

## CHAPTER X.

*An account of the commerce carried on between the city of Manila on the island of Luconia, and the port of Acapulco on the coast of Mexico.*

ABOUT the end of the 15th century, and the beginning of the 16th, the discovery of new countries and of new branches of commerce was the reigning passion of several of the European princes. But those who engaged most deeply and fortunately in these pursuits were the kings of Spain and Portugal; the first of these having discovered the immense and opulent continent of America and its adjacent islands, whilst the other, by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, had opened to his fleets a passage to the southern coast of Asia, usually called the East Indies, and by his settlements in that part of the globe became possessed of many of the manufactures and natural productions with which it abounded, and which, for some ages, had been the wonder and delight of the more polished and luxurious part of mankind.

In the mean time, these two nations of Spain and Portugal, who were thus prosecuting the same views, though in different quarters of the world, grew extremely jealous of each other, and became apprehensive of mutual encroachments, and therefore, to quiet their jealousies, and to enable them with more tranquillity to pursue the propagation of the catholic faith in these distant countries, (they having both of them given distinguished marks of their zeal for their mother church, by their butchery of innocent pagans,) Pope Alexander VI. granted to the Spanish crown the property and dominion of all places either already discovered, or that should be discovered, a hundred leagues to the westward of the islands of Azores, leaving all the unknown countries to the eastward of this limit, to the industry and future disquisition of the Portuguese: and this boundary being afterwards removed two hundred and fifty leagues more to the westward, by the agreement of both nations, it was imagined that by this regulation all the seeds of future contests were suppressed. For the Spaniards presumed, that the Portuguese would be hereby prevented from meddling with their colonies in America: and the Portuguese supposed that their East Indian settlements, and particularly the Spice Islands, which they had then newly discovered, were secured from any future attempts of the Spanish nation.

But it seems that the infallibility of the holy father had, on this occasion, deserted him, and for want of being more conversant in geography, he had not foreseen that the Spaniards, by pushing their discoveries to the west, and the Portuguese to the east, might at last meet with each other, and be again embroiled; as it actually happened within a few years afterwards. For Frederick Magellan, who was an officer in the king of Portugal's service, having received some disgust from that court, either by the defalcation of his pay, or by having his parts, as he conceived, too cheaply considered, he entered into the service of the king of Spain; and being, as it appears, a man of ability, he was very desirous of signaling his talents by some enterprise, which might prove extremely vexatious to his former masters, and

might teach them to estimate his worth by the greatness of the mischief he brought upon them; this being the most obvious and natural turn of all fugitives, and more especially of those who, being really men of capacity, have quitted their country by reason of the small account that has been made of them. Magellan, in pursuance of these vindictive views, knowing that the Portuguese court considered their possession of the Spice Islands as their most important acquisition in the East Indies, resolved with himself to instigate the court of Spain to an enterprise which, by still pushing their discoveries, would give them a right to interfere both in the property and commerce of those renowned Portuguese settlements; and the king of Spain approving of this project, Magellan, in the year 1519, set sail from the port of Seville, in order to carry this enterprise into execution. He had with him a considerable force, consisting of five ships and two hundred and thirty-four men, with which he stood for the coast of South America, and ranging along the shore, he at last, towards the end of October, 1520, had the good fortune to discover those straits, which have since been denominated from him, and which opened him a passage into the Pacific Ocean. And this first part of his scheme being thus happily accomplished, he, after some stay on the coast of Peru, set sail again to the westward, with a view of falling in with the Spice Islands. In this extensive run he first discovered the Ladrões or Marian Islands; and continuing on his course, he at length reached the Philippine Islands, which are the most eastern part of Asia, where, venturing on shore in a hostile manner, and skirmishing with the Indians, he was slain.

By the death of Magellan, the original project of securing some of the Spice Islands was defeated; for those who were left in command contented themselves with ranging through them, and purchasing some spices from the natives; after which they returned home round the Cape of Good Hope, being the first ships which had ever surrounded this terraqueous globe; and thereby demonstrated, by a palpable experiment obvious to the grossest and most vulgar capacity, the reality of its long disputed spherical figure.

But though Spain did not hereby acquire the property of any of the Spice Islands, yet the discovery made in this expedition of the Philippine Islands was thought too considerable to be neglected; for these were not far distant from those places which produced spices, and were very well situated for the Chinese trade, and for the commerce of other parts of India; and, therefore, a communication was soon established and carefully supported between these islands and the Spanish colonies on the coast of Peru: so that the city of Manila (which was built on the island of Luconia, the chief of the Philippines) soon became the mart for all Indian commodities, which were bought up by the inhabitants, and were annually sent to the South Seas to be there vended on their account; and the returns of this commerce to Manila, being principally made in silver, the place by degrees grew extremely opulent and considerable, and its trade so far increased as to engage the attention of the court of Spain, and to be frequently controlled and regulated by royal edicts.



In the infancy of this trade, it was carried on from the port of Callao to the city of Manila, in which voyage the trade-wind continually favoured them ; so that notwithstanding these places were distant between three and four thousand leagues, yet the voyage was often made in little more than two months ; but then the return from Manila was extremely troublesome and tedious, and is said to have sometimes taken them up above a twelvemonth, which, if they pretended to ply up within the limits of the trade-wind, is not at all to be wondered at ; and it is asserted that, in their first voyages, they were so imprudent and unskilful as to attempt this course. However, that route was soon laid aside, by the advice, as it is said, of a Jesuit, who persuaded them to steer to the northward till they got clear of the trade-winds, and then, by the favour of the westerly winds, which generally prevail in high latitudes, to stretch away for the coast of California. This has been the practice for at least a hundred and sixty years past : for Sir Thomas Cavendish, in the year 1586, engaged, off the south end of California, a vessel bound from Manila to the American coast. And it was in compliance with this new plan of navigation, and to shorten the run both backwards and forwards, that the staple of this commerce to and from Manila was removed from Callao, on the coast of Peru, to the port of Acapulco on the coast of Mexico, where it continues fixed at this time.

Such was the commencement, and such were the early regulations, of this commerce ; but its present condition being a much more interesting subject, I must beg leave to dwell longer on this head, and to be indulged in a more particular narration, beginning with a description of the island of Luconia, and of the port and bay of Manila.

The island of Luconia, though situated in the latitude of 15 degrees north, is esteemed to be in general extremely healthy, and the water that is found upon it is said to be the best in the world ; it produces all the fruits of the warm climates, and abounds in a most excellent breed of horses, supposed to be carried thither first from Spain : it is very well situated for the Indian and Chinese trade ; and the bay and port of Manila, which lies on its western side, is perhaps the most remarkable on the whole globe, the bay being a large circular basin, near ten leagues in diameter, and great part of it entirely land-locked. On the east side of this bay stands the city of Manila, which is very large and populous ; and which, at the beginning of this war, was only an open place, its principal defence consisting in a small fort, which was in great measure surrounded on every side by houses ; but they have lately made considerable additions to its fortifications, though I have not yet learnt in what manner. The port, peculiar to the city, is called Cabite, and lies near two leagues to the southward ; and in this port all the ships employed in the Acapulco trade are usually stationed.

The city of Manila itself is in a very healthy situation, is well watered, and is in the neighbourhood of a very fruitful and plentiful country ; but as the principal business of this place is its trade to Acapulco, it lies under some disadvantage from the difficulty there is in getting to sea to the east-

ward : for the passage is among islands and through channels where the Spaniards, by reason of their unskilfulness in marine affairs, waste much time, and are often in great danger.

The trade carried on from this place to China and different parts of India, is principally for such commodities as are intended to supply the kingdoms of Mexico and Peru. These are spices, all sorts of Chinese silks and manufactures ; particularly silk stockings, of which I have heard that no less than fifty thousand pair were the usual number shipped on board the annual ship ; vast quantities of Indian stuffs, as calicoes and chintz, which are much worn in America, together with other minuter articles, as goldsmiths' work, &c., which is principally done at the city of Manila itself by the Chinese ; for it is said there are at least twenty thousand Chinese who constantly reside there, either as servants, manufacturers, or brokers. All these different commodities are collected at Manila, thence to be transported annually in one or more ships, to the port of Acapulco, in the kingdom of Mexico.

But this trade to Acapulco is not laid open to all the inhabitants of Manila, but is confined by very particular regulations, somewhat analogous to those by which the trade of the register-ships from Cadiz to the West Indies is restrained. The ships employed herein are found by the king of Spain, who pays the officers and crews ; and the tonnage is divided into a certain number of bales, all of the same size ; these are distributed amongst the convents at Manila, but principally to the Jesuits, as a donation for the support of their mission for the propagation of the catholic faith ; and these convents have hereby a right to embark such a quantity of goods on board the Manila ship, as the tonnage of their bales amounts to ; or if they choose not to be concerned in trade themselves, they have the power of selling this privilege to others ; and as the merchants to whom they grant their shares are often unprovided of a stock, it is usual for the convents to lend them considerable sums of money on bottomry.

The trade is, by the royal edicts, limited to a certain value, which the annual cargo ought not to exceed. Some Spanish manuscripts I have seen, mention this limitation to be 600,000 dollars ; but the annual cargo does certainly surpass this sum ; and though it may be difficult to fix its exact value, yet, from many comparisons, I conclude, that the return cannot be greatly short of three millions of dollars.

It is sufficiently obvious that the greatest part of the treasure, returned from Acapulco to Manila, does not remain in that place, but is again dispersed into different parts of India. And as all European nations have generally esteemed it good policy to keep their American settlements in an immediate dependence on their mother country, without permitting them to carry on directly any gainful traffic with other powers, these considerations have occasioned many remonstrances to be presented to the court of Spain against the Indian trade, hereby allowed to the kingdom of Peru and Mexico ; it having been urged, that the silk manufactures of Valencia and other parts of Spain are hereby greatly prejudiced, and the linens carried from Cadiz are much injured in their sale ;

since the Chinese silks coming almost directly to Acapulco, can be afforded much cheaper there than any European manufactures of equal goodness; and the cottons from the Coromandel coast make the European linens almost useless. So that the Manila trade renders both Mexico and Peru less dependent upon Spain for a supply of their necessities than they ought to be; and exhausts those countries of a considerable quantity of silver, the greatest part of which, were this trade prohibited, would centre in Spain, either in payment for Spanish commodities, or in gains to the Spanish merchant; whereas now the only advantage which arises from it is, the enriching the Jesuits and a few particular persons besides, at the other extremity of the world. These arguments did so far influence Don Joseph Patinho, who was then prime minister, but an enemy to the Jesuits, that about the year 1725, he had resolved to abolish this trade, and to have permitted no Indian commodities to be introduced into any of the Spanish ports in the West Indies, but what were carried there in the register ships from Europe. But the powerful intrigues of the Jesuits prevented this regulation from taking place.

This trade from Manila to Acapulco and back again, is usually carried on in one or at most two annual ships, which set sail from Manila about July, and arrive at Acapulco in the December, January, or February following, and having there disposed of their effects, return for Manila sometime in March, where they generally arrive in June; so that the whole voyage takes up very near an entire year; for this reason, though there is often no more than one ship employed at a time, yet there is always one ready for the sea when the other arrives; and, therefore, the commerce at Manila are provided with three or four stout ships, that, in case of any accident, the trade may not be suspended. The largest of these ships, whose name I have not learnt, is described as little less than one of our first-rate men-of-war, and indeed she must be of an enormous size, for it is known that when she was employed with other ships from the same port, to cruise for our China trade, she had no less than twelve hundred men on board. Their other ships, though far inferior in bulk to this, are yet stout large vessels, of the burthen of twelve hundred tons and upwards, and usually carry from three hundred and fifty to six hundred hands, passengers included, with fifty odd guns. As these are all king's ships, commissioned and paid by him, there is usually one of the captains, who is styled the general, and who carries the royal standard of Spain at the main-top gallant mast-head, as we shall more particularly observe hereafter.

And now, having described the port of Manila and the shipping they employ, it is necessary to give a more circumstantial detail of their navigation. The ship having received her cargo on board, and being fitted for the sea, generally weighs from the mole of Cabite about the middle of July, taking the advantage of the westerly monsoon, which then sets in, to carry them to sea. It appears that the getting through the Bocadero to the eastward must be a troublesome navigation, and, in fact, it is sometimes the end of August before they get clear of the land. When they have got through this passage, and

are clear of the islands, they stand to the northward of the east, in order to get into the latitude of 30° odd degrees, where they expect to meet with westerly winds, before which they run away for the coast of California. It is most remarkable that, by the concurrent testimony of all the Spanish navigators, there is not one port, nor even a tolerable road, as yet found out betwixt the Philippine Islands and the coast of California and Mexico; so that from the time the Manila ship first loses sight of land, she never lets go her anchor till she arrives on the coast of California, and very often not till she gets to its southernmost extremity; and, therefore, as this voyage is rarely of less than six months' continuance, and the ship is deep laden with merchandise and crowded with people, it may appear wonderful how they can be supplied with a stock of fresh water for so long a time; and indeed their method of procuring it is extremely singular, and deserves a very particular recital.

It is well known to those who are acquainted with the Spanish customs in the South Seas, that their water is preserved on ship-board, not in casks, but in earthen jars, which in some sort resemble the large oil jars we often see in Europe. When the Manila ship first puts to sea, they take on board a much greater quantity of water than can be stowed between decks; and the jars which contain it are hung all about the shrouds and stays, so as to exhibit at a distance a very odd appearance. And though it is one convenience of their jars that they are much more manageable than casks, and are liable to no leakage, unless they are broken, yet it is sufficiently obvious that a six, or even a three months' store of water could never be stowed in a ship so loaded, by any management whatsoever; and therefore without some other supply, this navigation could not be performed. A supply, indeed, they have; but the reliance upon it seems at first sight so extremely precarious, that it is wonderful such numbers should risk the perishing by the most dreadful of all deaths, on the expectation of so casual a circumstance. In short, their only method of recruiting their water is by the rains, which they meet with between the latitudes of 30° and 40° north, and which they are always prepared to catch. For this purpose they take to sea with them a great number of mats, which they place slopingly against the gunwale, whenever the rain descends; these mats extend from one end of the ship to the other; and their lower edges rest on a large split bamboo, so that all the water which falls on the mats drains into the bamboo, and by this, as a trough, is conveyed into a jar; and this method of supplying their water, however accidental and extraordinary it may at first sight appear, has never been known to fail them; so that it is common for them, when their voyage is a little longer than usual, to fill all their water-jars several times over.

However, though their distresses for fresh water are much short of what might be expected in so tedious a navigation, yet there are other inconveniences generally attendant upon a long continuance at sea, from which they are not exempted. The principal of these is the scurvy, which sometimes rages with extreme violence, and destroys great numbers of the people; but at other times

their passage to Acapulco (of which alone I would be here understood to speak) is performed with little loss.

The length of time employed in this passage, so much beyond what usually occurs in any other navigation, is perhaps in part to be imputed to the indolence and unskilfulness of the Spanish sailors, and to an unnecessary degree of caution and concern for so rich a vessel; for it is said that they never set their main-sail in the night, and often lie by unnecessarily. And indeed the instructions given to their captains (which I have seen) seem to have been drawn up by such as were more apprehensive of too strong a gale, though favourable, than of the inconveniences and mortality attending a lingering and tedious voyage; for the captain is particularly ordered to make his passage in the latitude of thirty degrees, if possible; and to be extremely careful to stand no farther to the northward than is absolutely necessary for the getting a westerly wind. This, according to our conceptions, appears to be a very absurd restriction; since it can scarcely be doubted, but that in the higher latitudes the westerly winds are much steadier and brisker than in the latitude of thirty degrees; so that the whole conduct of this navigation seems liable to very great censure. For if, instead of steering E.N.E. into the latitude of thirty odd degrees, they at first stood N.E., or even still more northerly, into the latitude of forty or forty-five degrees, in part of which course the trade-winds would greatly assist them, I doubt not but by this management they might considerably contract their voyage, and perhaps perform it in half the time which is now allotted for it; for in the journals I have seen of these voyages, it appears, that they are often a month or six weeks after their laying the land, before they get into the latitude of thirty degrees; whereas, with a more northerly course, it might easily be done in a fourth part of the time; and when they were once well advanced to the northward, the westerly winds would soon blow them over to the coast of California, and they would be thereby freed from the other embarrassments to which they are now subjected, only at the expense of a rough sea and a stiff gale. And this is not merely matter of speculation; for I am credibly informed that, about the year 1721, a French ship, by pursuing this course, ran from the coast of China to the valley of Vanderas, on the coast of Mexico, in less than fifty days. But it was said that this ship, notwithstanding the shortness of her passage, suffered prodigiously by the scurvy, so that she had only four or five of her crew left when she arrived in America.

However, I shall descant no longer on the probability of performing this voyage in a much shorter time, but shall content myself with reciting the actual occurrences of the present navigation. The Manila ship having stood so far to the northward as to meet with a westerly wind, stretches away nearly in the same latitude for the coast of California. And when she has run into the longitude of ninety-six degrees from Cape Espiritu Santo, she generally meets with a plant floating on the sea, which, being called *porra* by the Spaniards, is, I presume, a species of sea-leek. On the sight of this plant they esteem themselves sufficiently near the Californian shore, and immediately stand

to the southward; and they rely so much on this circumstance, that on the first discovery of the plant the whole ship's company chant a solemn *Te Deum*, esteeming the difficulties and hazards of their passage to be now at an end; and they constantly correct their longitude thereby, without ever coming within sight of land. After falling in with these signs, as they denominate them, they steer to the southward, without endeavouring to fall in with the coast, till they have run into a lower latitude; for as there are many islands and some shoals adjacent to California, the extreme caution of the Spanish navigators makes them very apprehensive of being engaged with the land; however, when they draw near its southern extremity, they venture to haul in, both for the sake of making Cape St. Lucas to ascertain their reckoning, and also to receive intelligence from the Indian inhabitants, whether or no there are any enemies on the coast; and this last circumstance, which is a particular article in the captain's instructions, makes it necessary to mention the late proceedings of the Jesuits amongst the Californian Indians.

Since the first discovery of California, there have been various wandering missionaries who have visited it at different times, though to little purpose; but of late years the Jesuits, encouraged and supported by a large donation from the Marquis de Valero, a most munificent bigot, have fixed themselves upon the place, and have established a very considerable mission. Their principal settlement lies just within Cape St. Lucas, where they have collected a great number of savages, and have endeavoured to inure them to agriculture and other mechanic arts. And their efforts have not been altogether ineffectual; for they have planted vines at their settlements with very good success, so that they already make a considerable quantity of wine, resembling in flavour the inferior sort of Madeira, which begins to be esteemed in the neighbouring kingdom of Mexico.

The Jesuits, then, being thus firmly rooted on California, they have already extended their jurisdiction quite across the country from sea to sea, and are endeavouring to spread their influence farther to the northward; with which view they have made several expeditions up the gulf between California and Mexico, in order to discover the nature of the adjacent countries, all which they hope hereafter to bring under their power. And being thus occupied in advancing the interests of their society, it is no wonder if some share of attention is engaged about the security of the Manila ship, in which their convents at Manila are so deeply concerned. For this purpose there are refreshments, as fruits, wine, water, &c., constantly kept in readiness for her; and there is besides care taken, at Cape St. Lucas, to look out for any ship of the enemy, which might be cruising there to intercept her; this being a station where she is constantly expected, and where she has been often waited for and fought with, though generally with little success. In consequence then of the measures mutually settled between the Jesuits of Manila and their brethren at California, the captain of the galleon is ordered to fall in with the land to the northward of Cape St. Lucas, where the inhabitants are directed, on sight of the vessel, to make the proper signals with fires; and on

discovering these fires, the captain is to send his launch on shore with twenty men, well armed, who are to carry with them the letters from the convents at Manila to the Californian missionaries, and are to bring back the refreshments which will be prepared for them, and likewise intelligence whether or no there are any enemies on the coast. And if the captain finds, from the account which is sent him, that he has nothing to fear, he is directed to proceed for Cape St. Lucas, and thence to Cape Corientes, after which he is to coast it along for the port of Acapulco.

The most usual time of the arrival of the galleon at Acapulco is towards the middle of January; but this navigation is so uncertain, that she sometimes gets in a month sooner, and at other times has been detained at sea above a month longer. The port of Acapulco is by much the securest and finest in all the northern parts of the Pacific Ocean; being, as it were, a basin surrounded by very high mountains. But the town is a most wretched place, and extremely unhealthy, for the air about it is so pent up by the hills, that it has scarcely any circulation. The place is, besides, destitute of fresh water, except what is brought from a considerable distance; and is in all respects so inconvenient, that, except at the time of the mart, whilst the Manila galleon is in the port, it is almost deserted.

When the galleon arrives in this port, she is generally moored on its western side, and her cargo is delivered with all possible expedition. And now the town of Acapulco, from almost a solitude, is immediately thronged with merchants from all parts of the kingdom of Mexico. The cargo being landed and disposed of, the silver and the goods intended for Manila are taken on board, together with provisions and water, and the ship prepares to put to sea with the utmost expedition. There is indeed no time to be lost; for it is an express order to the captain to be out of the port of Acapulco, on his return, before the first day of April, N. S.

And having mentioned the goods intended for Manila, I must observe, that the principal return is always made in silver, and, consequently, the rest of the cargo is but of little account; the other articles, besides the silver, being some cochineal and a few sweetmeats, the produce of the American settlements, together with European millinery-ware for the women at Manila, and some Spanish wines, such as tent and sherry, which are intended for the use of their priests in the administration of the sacrament.

And this difference in the cargo of the ship to and from Manila, occasions a very remarkable variety in the manner of equipping the ship for these two different voyages. For the galleon, when she sets sail from Manila, being deep laden with a variety of bulky goods, she has not the convenience of mounting her lower tier of guns, but carries them in her hold till she draws near Cape St. Lucas, and is apprehensive of an enemy. Her hands too are as few as is consistent with the safety of the ship, that she may be less pestered with the stowage of provisions. But on her return from Acapulco, as her cargo lies in less room, her lower tier is (or ought to be) always mounted before she leaves the port, and her crew

is augmented with a supply of sailors, and with one or two companies of foot, which are intended to reinforce the garrison at Manila. And there being, besides, many merchants who take their passage to Manila on board the galleon, her whole number of hands on her return is usually little short of six hundred, all which are easily provided for by reason of the small stowage necessary for the silver.

The galleon being thus fitted for her return, the captain, on leaving the port of Acapulco, steers for the latitude of 13° or 14°, and runs on that parallel till he gets sight of the island of Guam, one of the Ladrões. In this run the captain is particularly directed to be careful of the shoals of St. Bartholomew, and of the island of Gasparico. He is also told in his instructions that, to prevent his passing the Ladrões in the dark, there are orders given that, through all the month of June, fires shall be lighted every night on the highest part of Guam and Rota, and kept in till the morning.

At Guam there is a small Spanish garrison, (as will be more particularly mentioned hereafter,) purposely intended to secure that place for the refreshment of the galleon, and to yield her all the assistance in their power. However, the danger of the road at Guam is so great, that though the galleon is ordered to call there, yet she rarely stays above a day or two, but getting her water and refreshments on board as soon as possible, she steers away directly for Cape Espiritu Santo, on the island of Samal. Here the captain is again ordered to look out for signals; and he is told, that sentinels will be posted not only on that cape, but likewise in Catanduanas, Butusan, Birriborongo, and on the island of Batan. These sentinels are instructed to make a fire when they discover the ship, which the captain is carefully to observe: for if, after this first fire is extinguished, he perceives that four or more are lighted up again, he is then to conclude that there are enemies on the coast; and on this he is immediately to endeavour to speak with the sentinel on shore, and to procure from him more particular intelligence of their force, and of the station they cruise in: pursuant to which, he is to regulate his conduct, and to endeavour to gain some secure port amongst those islands, without coming in sight of the enemy; and in case he should be discovered when in port, and should be apprehensive of an attack, he is then to land his treasure, and to take some of his artillery on shore for its defence, not neglecting to send frequent and particular accounts to the city of Manila of all that passes. But if, after the first fire on shore, the captain observes that two others only are made by the sentinels, he is then to conclude, that there is nothing to fear; and he is to pursue his course without interruption, and to make the best of his way to the port of Cabite, which is the port to the city of Manila, and the constant station for all the ships employed in this commerce to Acapulco.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Our cruise off the port of Acapulco for the Manila ship.*

I HAVE already mentioned, in the ninth chapter, that the return of our barge from the port of Acapulco, where she had surprised three negro fishermen, gave us inexpressible satisfaction, as we learnt from our prisoners that the galleon was then preparing to put to sea, and that her departure was fixed, by an edict of the viceroy of Mexico, to the 14th of March, N.S., that is, to the 3d of March according to our reckoning.

What related to this Manila ship being the matter to which we were most attentive, it was necessarily the first article of our examination; but having satisfied ourselves upon this head, we then indulged our curiosity in inquiring after other news; when the prisoners informed us that they had received intelligence at Acapulco of our having plundered and burnt the town of Paita; and that on this occasion the governor of Acapulco had augmented the fortifications of the place, and had taken several precautions to prevent us from forcing our way into the harbour; that, in particular, he had placed a guard on the island which lies at the harbour's mouth, and that this guard had been withdrawn but two nights before the arrival of our barge: so that had the barge succeeded in her first attempt, or had she arrived at the port the second time two days sooner, she could scarcely have avoided being seized on, or if she had escaped, it must have been with the loss of the greatest part of her crew, as she would have been under the fire of the guard before she had known her danger.

The withdrawing of this guard was a circumstance that greatly encouraged us, as it seemed to demonstrate, not only that the enemy had not as yet discovered us, but likewise that they had now no farther apprehensions of our visiting their coast. Indeed the prisoners assured us that they had no knowledge of our being in those seas, and that they had therefore flattered themselves that, in the long interval since our taking of Paita, we had steered another course. But we did not consider the opinion of these negro prisoners as so authentic a proof of our being hitherto concealed, as the withdrawing of the guard from the harbour's mouth; for this, being the action of the governor, was of all arguments the most convincing, as he might be supposed to have intelligence with which the rest of the inhabitants were unacquainted.

Satisfied, therefore, that we were undiscovered, and that the time was fixed for the departure of the galleon from Acapulco, we made all necessary preparations, and waited with the utmost impatience for the important day. As this was the 3d of March, and it was the 19th of February when the barge returned and brought us our intelligence, the commodore resolved to continue the greatest part of the intermediate time on his present station, to the westward of Acapulco, conceiving that in this situation there would be less danger of his being seen from the shore, which was the only circumstance that could deprive us of the immense treasure on which we had at present so eagerly fixed our thoughts. During this interval we were employed in scrubbing and cleansing our ships'

bottoms, in bringing them into their most advantageous trim, and in regulating the orders, signals, and stations, to be observed when we should arrive off Acapulco, and the time of the departure of the galleon should draw nigh.

And now, on the first of March, we made the high lands, usually called the paps, over Acapulco, and got with all possible expedition into the situation prescribed by the Commodore's orders. The distribution of our squadron on this occasion, both for the intercepting the galleon and for the avoiding a discovery from the shore, was so very judicious, that it well merits to be distinctly described. The order of it was thus:

The Centurion brought the paps over the harbour to bear N.N.E., at fifteen leagues' distance, which was a sufficient offing to prevent our being seen by the enemy. To the westward of the Centurion there was stationed the Carmelo, and to the eastward were the Tryal prize, the Gloucester, and the Carmin. These were all ranged in a circular line, and each ship was three leagues distant from the next; so that the Carmelo and the Carmin, which were the two extremes, were twelve leagues' distance from each other: and as the galleon could without doubt be discerned at six leagues' distance from either extremity, the whole sweep of our squadron, within which nothing could pass undiscovered, was at least twenty-four leagues in extent; and yet we were so connected by our signals, as to be easily and speedily informed of what was seen in any part of the line: and to render this disposition still more complete, and to prevent even the possibility of the galleon's escaping us in the night, the two cutters belonging to the Centurion and the Gloucester were both manned and sent in shore, and were ordered to lie all day at the distance of four or five leagues from the entrance of the port, where, by reason of their smallness, they could not possibly be discovered; but in the night they were directed to stand nearer to the harbour's mouth, and as the light of the morning came on, they were to return back again to their day-posts. When the cutters should first discover the Manila ship, one of them was ordered to return to the squadron, and to make a signal whether the galleon stood to the eastward or to the westward, whilst the other was to follow the galleon at a distance, and, if it grew dark, was to direct the squadron in their chase by showing false fires.

Besides the care we had taken to prevent the galleon from passing by us unobserved, we had not been inattentive to the means of engaging her to advantage when we came up with her: for, considering the thinness of our hands, and the vaunting accounts given by the Spaniards of her size, her guns, and her strength, this was a consideration not to be neglected. As we supposed that none of our ships but the Centurion and the Gloucester were capable of lying alongside of her, we took on board the Centurion all the hands belonging to the Carmelo and the Carmin, except what were just sufficient to navigate those ships; and Captain Saunders was ordered to send from the Tryal prize ten Englishmen, and as many negroes, to reinforce the crew of the Gloucester: and for the encouragement of our negroes, of which we had a considerable number on board, we promised them that on their good behaviour they should all

have their freedom ; and as they had been almost every day trained to the management of the great guns for the two preceding months, they were very well qualified to be of service to us ; and from their hopes of liberty, and in return for the usage they had met with amongst us, they seemed disposed to exert themselves to the utmost of their power.

And now being thus prepared for the reception of the galleon, we expected with the utmost impatience the so often mentioned 3d of March, the day fixed for her departure. And on that day we were all of us most eagerly engaged in looking out towards Acapulco ; and we were so strangely prepossessed with the certainty of our intelligence, and with an assurance of her coming out of port, that some or other on board us were constantly imagining that they discovered one of our cutters returning with a signal. But, to our extreme vexation, both this day and the succeeding night passed over without any news of the galleon. However we did not yet despair, but were all heartily disposed to flatter ourselves that some unforeseen accident had intervened, which might have put off her departure for a few days ; and suggestions of this kind occurred in plenty, as we knew that the time fixed by the viceroy for her sailing, was often prolonged on the petition of the merchants of Mexico. Thus we kept up our hopes, and did not abate of our vigilance ; and as the 7th of March was Sunday, the beginning of Passion-week, which is observed by the papists with great strictness and a total cessation from all kinds of labour, so that no ship is permitted to stir out of port during the whole week, this quieted our apprehensions for some days, and disposed us not to expect the galleon till the week following. On the Friday in this week our cutters returned to us, and the officers on board them were very confident that the galleon was still in port, for that she could not possibly have come out but they must have seen her. On the Monday morning succeeding Passion-week, that is, on the 15th of March, the cutters were again despatched to their old station, and our hopes were once more indulged in as sanguine prepossessions as before ; but in a week's time our eagerness was greatly abated, and a general dejection and despondency took place in its room. It is true there were some few amongst us who still kept up their spirits, and were very ingenious in finding out reasons to satisfy themselves that the disappointment we had hitherto met with had only been occasioned by a casual delay of the galleon, which a few days would remove, and not by a total suspension of her departure for the whole season. But these speculations were not relished by the generality of our people, for they were persuaded that the enemy had by some accident discovered our being upon the coast, and had therefore laid an embargo on the galleon till the next year. And indeed this persuasion was but too well founded, for we afterwards learnt that our barge, when sent on the discovery of the port of Acapulco, had been seen from the shore, and that this circumstance (no embarkations but canoes ever frequenting that coast) was to them a sufficient proof of the neighbourhood of our squadron ; on which they stopped the galleon till the succeeding year.

The commodore himself, though he declared not

his opinion, was yet in his own thoughts very apprehensive that we were discovered, and that the departure of the galleon was put off ; and he had, in consequence of this opinion, formed a plan for possessing himself of Acapulco ; for he had no doubt but the treasure as yet remained in the town, even though the orders for the despatching of the galleon were countermanded. Indeed the place was too well defended to be carried by an open attempt ; for, besides the garrison and the crew of the galleon, there were in it at least a thousand men, well armed, who had marched thither as guards to the treasure, when it was brought down from the city of Mexico ; for the roads thereabouts are so much infested, either by independent Indians or fugitives, that the Spaniards never trust the silver without an armed force to protect it. And besides, had the strength of the place been less considerable, and such as might have appeared not superior to the efforts of our squadron, yet a declared attack would have prevented us from receiving any advantages from its success ; since, upon the first discovery of our squadron, all the treasure would have been ordered into the country, and in a few hours would have been out of our reach ; so that our conquest would have been only a desolate town, where we should have found nothing that could have been of the least consequence to us.

For these reasons, the surprisal of the place was the only method that could at all answer our purpose ; and, therefore, the manner in which Mr. Anson proposed to conduct this enterprise was, by setting sail with the squadron in the evening, time enough to arrive at the port in the night ; and as there is no danger on that coast, he would have stood boldly for the harbour's mouth, where he expected to arrive, and might perhaps have entered it before the Spaniards were acquainted with his designs. As soon as he had run into the harbour, he intended to have pushed two hundred of his men on shore in his boats, who were immediately to attempt the fort ; whilst he, the commodore, with his ships, was employed in firing upon the town, and the other batteries. And these different operations, which would have been executed with great regularity, could hardly have failed of succeeding against an enemy, who would have been prevented by the suddenness of the attack, and by the want of daylight, from concerting any measures for their defence ; so that it was extremely probable that we should have carried the fort by storm ; and then the other batteries, being open behind, must have been soon abandoned ; after which, the town, and its inhabitants, and all the treasure, must necessarily have fallen into our hands, for the place is so cooped up with mountains, that it is scarcely possible to escape out of it, but by the great road, which passes under the fort. This was the project which the commodore had settled in general in his thoughts ; but when he began to inquire into such circumstances as were necessary to be considered in order to regulate the particulars of its execution, he found there was a difficulty, which, being insuperable, occasioned the enterprise to be laid aside : for on examining the prisoners about the winds which prevail near the shore, he learned (and it was afterwards confirmed by the officers of our cutters) that nearer in-shore there was

always a dead calm for the greatest part of the night, and that towards morning, when a gale sprung up, it constantly blew off the land ; so that the setting sail from our present station in the evening, and arriving at Acapulco before daylight, was impossible.

This scheme, as has been said, was formed by the commodore upon a supposition that the galleon was detained till the next year ; but as this was a matter of opinion only, and not founded on intelligence, and there was a possibility that she might still put to sea in a short time, the commodore thought it prudent to continue his cruise upon this station, as long as the necessary attention to his stores of wood and water, and to the convenient season for his future passage to China, would give him leave ; and, therefore, as the cutters had been ordered to remain before Acapulco till the 23d of March, the squadron did not change its position till that day ; when the cutters not appearing, we were in some pain for them, apprehending they might have suffered either from the enemy or the weather ; but we were relieved from our concern the next morning, when we discovered them, though at a great distance, and to the leeward of the squadron. We bore down to them and took them up, and were informed by them, that, conformable to their orders, they had left their station the day before, without having seen anything of the galleon ; and we found that the reason of their being so far to the leeward of us was a strong current, which had driven the whole squadron to windward.

And here it is necessary to mention that, by information which was afterwards received, it appeared that this prolongation of our cruise was a very prudent measure, and afforded us no contemptible chance of seizing the treasure, on which we had so long fixed our thoughts. For it seems, after the embargo was laid on the galleon, as is before mentioned, the persons principally interested in the cargo sent several expresses to Mexico to beg that she might still be permitted to depart. For as they knew, by the accounts sent from Paita, that we had not more than three hundred men in all, they insisted that there was nothing to be feared from us ; for that the galleon (carrying above twice as many hands as our whole squadron) would be greatly an overmatch for us. And though the viceroy was inflexible, yet, on the account of their representation, she was kept ready for the sea for near three weeks after the first order came to detain her.

When we had taken up the cutters, all the ships being joined, the commodore made a signal to speak with their commanders ; and upon inquiry into the stock of fresh water remaining on board the squadron, it was found to be so very slender, that we were under a necessity of quitting our station to procure a fresh supply ; and consulting what place was the most proper for this purpose, it was agreed, that the harbour of Seguataneo or Chequetan, being the nearest to us, was on that account the most eligible ; and it was therefore immediately resolved to make the best of our way thither. And that, even while we were recruiting our water, we might not totally abandon our views upon the galleon ; which, perhaps upon certain intelligence of our being employed at Chequetan, might venture to slip out to sea, our cutter, under

the command of Mr. Hughes, the lieutenant of the Tryal prize, was ordered to cruise off the port of Acapulco for twenty-four days ; that if the galleon should set sail in that interval, we might be speedily informed of it. In pursuance of these resolutions, we endeavoured to ply to the westward to gain our intended port ; but were often interrupted in our progress by calms and adverse currents. In these intervals we employed ourselves in taking out the most valuable part of the cargoes of the Carmelo and Carmin prizes, which two ships we intended to destroy as soon as we had tolerably cleared them.

By the first of April we were so far advanced towards Seguataneo, that we thought it expedient to send out two boats, that they might range along the coast and discover the watering-place ; they were gone some days, and our water being now very short, it was a particular felicity to us that we met with daily supplies of turtle, for had we been entirely confined to salt provisions, we must have suffered extremely in so warm a climate. Indeed, our present circumstances were sufficiently alarming, and gave the most considerate amongst us as much concern as any of the numerous perils we had hitherto encountered ; for our boats, as we conceived by their not returning, had not as yet discovered a place proper to water at, and by the leakage of our casks and other accidents, we had not ten days' water on board the whole squadron : so that, from the known difficulty of procuring water on this coast, and the little reliance we had on the buccaneer writers, (the only guides we had to trust to,) we were apprehensive of being soon exposed to a calamity, the most terrible of any in the long disheartening catalogue of the distresses of a sea-faring life.

But these gloomy suggestions were soon happily ended ; for our boats returned on the fifth of April, having discovered a place proper for our purpose, about seven miles to the westward of the rocks of Seguataneo, which, by the description they gave of it, appeared to be the port, called by Dampier the harbour, of Chequetan. The success of our boats was highly agreeable to us, and they were ordered out again the next day, to sound the harbour and its entrance, which they had represented as very narrow. At their return they reported the place to be free from any danger ; so that on the seventh we stood in, and that evening came to an anchor in eleven fathoms. The Gloucester came to an anchor at the same time with us ; but the Carmelo and the Carmin having fallen to leeward, the Tryal prize was ordered to join them, and to bring them in, which in two or three days she effected.

Thus, after a four months' continuance at sea, from the leaving of Quibo, and having but six days' water on board, we arrived in the harbour of Chequetan, the description of which, and of the adjacent coast, shall be the business of the ensuing chapter.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Description of the harbour of Chequetan, and of the adjacent coast and country.*

THE harbour of Chequetan, which we here propose to describe, lies in the latitude of  $17^{\circ} 36'$  north, and is about thirty leagues to the westward of Acapulco. It is easy to be discovered by any ship that will keep well in with the land, especially by such as range down coast from Acapulco, and will attend to the following particulars.

There is a beach of sand which extends eighteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco to the westward, against which the sea breaks with such violence, that it is impossible to land in any part of it; but yet the ground is so clean that ships, in the fair season, may anchor in great safety, at the distance of a mile or two from the shore. The land adjacent to this beach is generally low, full of villages, and planted with a great number of trees; and on the tops of some small eminences there are several look-out towers; so that the face of the country affords a very agreeable prospect. For the cultivated part, which is the part here described, extends some leagues back from the shore, and there appears to be bounded by the chain of mountains, which stretch to a considerable distance on either side of Acapulco. It is a most remarkable particularity, that in this whole extent, being, as has been mentioned, eighteen leagues, and containing, in appearance, the most populous and best planted district of the whole coast, there should be neither canoes, boats, nor any other embarkations either for fishing, coasting, or for pleasure.

The beach here described is the surest guide for finding the harbour of Chequetan; for five miles to the westward of the extremity of this beach there appears a hummock, which at first makes like an island, and is in shape not very unlike the hill of Petaplan hereafter mentioned, though much smaller. Three miles to the westward of this hummock is a white rock lying near the shore, which cannot easily be passed by unobserved. It is about two cables' length from the land, and lies in a large bay about nine leagues over. The westward point of this bay is the hill of Petaplan. This hill, too, like the fore-mentioned hummock, may be at first mistaken for an island, though it be in reality a peninsula, which is joined to the continent by a low and narrow isthmus, covered over with shrubs and small trees. The bay of Seguataneo extends from this hill a great way to the westward; at a small distance from the hill, and opposite to the entrance of the bay, there is an assemblage of rocks, which are white from the excrements of boobies and tropical birds. Four of these rocks are high and large, and, together with several smaller ones, are, by the help of a little imagination, pretended to resemble the form of a cross, and are called the "White Friars." These rocks bear W. by N. from Petaplan; and about seven miles to the westward of them lies the harbour of Chequetan, which is still more minutely distinguished by a large and single rock, that rises out of the water a mile and a half distant from its entrance, and bears S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. from the middle of it.

These are the infallible marks by which the harbour of Chequetan may be known to those who keep well in with the land; and I must add, that the coast is no ways to be dreaded from the middle of October to the beginning of May, nor is there then any danger from the winds; though, in the remaining part of the year, there are frequent and violent tornadoes, heavy rains, and hard gales in all directions of the compass. But, as to those who keep at any considerable distance from the coast, there is no other method to be taken by them for finding this harbour, than that of making it by its latitude: for there are so many ranges of mountains rising one upon the back of another within land, that no drawings of the appearance of the coast can be at all depended on, when off at sea; for every little change of distance or variation of position brings new mountains in view, and produces an infinity of different prospects, which would render all attempts of delineating the aspect of the coast impossible.

This may suffice as to the methods of discovering the harbour of Chequetan. Its entrance is but about half-a-mile broad; the two points which form it, and which are faced with rocks that are almost perpendicular, bear from each other S.E. and N.W. The harbour is environed on all sides, except to the westward, with high mountains over-spread with trees. The passage into it is very safe on either side of the rock that lies off the mouth of it, though we, both in coming in and going out, left it to the eastward. The ground without the harbour is gravel mixed with stones, but within it is a soft mud: and it must be remembered that, in coming to an anchor, a good allowance should be made for a large swell, which frequently causes a great send of the sea; as likewise, for the ebbing and flowing of the tide, which we observed to be about five feet, and that it set nearly E. and W.

The watering-place for fresh water has the appearance of a large standing lake, without any visible outlet into the sea, from which it is separated by a part of the strand. The origin of this lake is a spring, that bubbles out of the ground near half-a-mile within the country. We found the water a little brackish, but more considerably so towards the sea-side; for the nearer we advanced towards the spring-head, the softer and fresher it proved: this laid us under a necessity of filling all our casks from the furthest part of the lake, and occasioned us some trouble; and would have proved still more difficult, had it not been for our particular management, which, for the convenience of it, deserves to be recommended to all who shall hereafter water at this place. Our method consisted in making use of canoes which drew but little water; for, loading them with a number of small casks, they easily got up the lake to the spring-head, and the small casks being there filled, were in the same manner transported back again to the beach, where some of our hands always attended to start them into other casks of a larger size.

Though this lake, during our continuance there, appeared to have no outlet into the sea, yet there is reason to suppose that in the wet season it overflows the strand, and communicates with the ocean; for Dampier, who was formerly here, speaks of it as a large river. Indeed there must



be a very great body of water amassed before the lake can rise high enough to overflow the strand ; for the neighbouring country is so low, that great part of it must be covered with water, before it can run out over the beach.

As the country in the neighbourhood, particularly the tract which we have already described, appeared to be well peopled, and cultivated, we hoped thence to have procured fresh provision and other refreshments which we stood in need of. With this view, the morning after we came to an anchor, the commodore ordered a party of forty men, well armed, to march into the country, and to endeavour to discover some town or village, where they were to attempt to set on foot a correspondence with the inhabitants ; for we doubted not, if we could have any intercourse with them, but that by presents of some of the coarse merchandise, with which our prizes abounded (which, though of little consequence to us, would to them be extremely valuable) we should allure them to furnish us with whatever fruits or fresh provisions were in their power. Our people were directed on this occasion to proceed with the greatest circumspection, and to make as little ostentation of hostility as possible ; for we were sensible, that we could meet with no wealth here worth our notice, and that what necessities we really wanted, we should in all probability be better supplied with by an open amicable traffic, than by violence and force of arms. But this endeavour of opening an intercourse with the inhabitants proved ineffectual ; for towards evening, the party which had been ordered to march into the country, returned greatly fatigued with their unusual exercise, and some of them so far spent as to have fainted by the way, and to be obliged to be brought back upon the shoulders of their companions. They had marched in all, as they conceived, about ten miles, in a beaten road, where they often saw the fresh dung of horses or mules. When they had got about five miles from the harbour, the road divided between the mountains into two branches, one running to the east, and the other to the west : after some deliberation about the course they should take, they agreed to pursue the eastern road, which, when they had followed for some time, led them at once into a large plain or savannah ; on one side of which they discovered a sentinel on horseback with a pistol in his hand : it was supposed that when they first saw him he was asleep, but his horse started at the glittering of their arms, and turning round suddenly rode off with his master, who was very near being unhorsed in the surprise, but he recovered his seat, and escaped with the loss only of his hat and his pistol, which he dropped on the ground. Our people ran after him, in hopes of discovering some village or habitation which he would retreat to, but as he had the advantage of being on horseback, he soon lost sight of them. However, they were unwilling to come back without making some discovery, and therefore still followed the track they were in ; but the heat of the day increasing, and finding no water to quench their thirst, they were at first obliged to halt, and then resolved to return ; for as they saw no signs of plantations or cultivated land, they had no reason to believe that there was any village or settlement near them : but to leave no means untried of procuring some intercourse with the

people, the officers stuck up several poles in the road, to which were affixed declarations, written in Spanish, encouraging the inhabitants to come down to the harbour, and to traffic with us, giving the strongest assurances of a kind reception, and faithful payment for any provisions they should bring us. This was doubtless a very prudent measure, but yet it produced no effect ; for we never saw any of them during the whole time of our continuance at this port of Chequetan. But had our men, upon the division of the path, taken the western road instead of the eastern, it would soon have led them to a village or town, which in some Spanish manuscripts is mentioned as being in the neighbourhood of this port, and which we afterwards learned was not above two miles from that turning.

And on this occasion I cannot help mentioning another adventure, which happened to some of our people in the bay of Petaplan, as it may help to give the reader a just idea of the temper of the inhabitants of this part of the world. Some time after our arrival at Chequetan, Lieutenant Brett was sent by the commodore, with two of our boats under his command, to examine the coast to the eastward, particularly to make observations on the bay and watering-place of Petaplan. As Mr. Brett, with one of the boats, was preparing to go on shore towards the hill of Petaplan, he, accidentally looking across the bay, perceived, on the opposite strand, three small squadrons of horse parading upon the beach, and seeming to advance towards the place where he proposed to land. On sight of this he immediately put off the boat, though he had but sixteen men with him, and stood over the bay towards them : and he soon came near enough to perceive that they were mounted on very sightly horses, and were armed with carbines and lances. On seeing him make towards them, they formed upon the beach, and seemed resolved to dispute his landing, firing several distant shot at him as he drew near ; till at last the boat being arrived within a reasonable distance of the most advanced squadron, Mr. Brett ordered his people to fire, upon which this resolute cavalry instantly ran in great confusion into the wood, through a small opening. In this precipitate flight one of their horses fell down and threw his rider ; but, whether he was wounded or not we could not learn, for both man and horse soon got up again, and followed the rest into the wood. In the mean time, the other two squadrons, who were drawn up at a great distance behind, out of the reach of our shot, were calm spectators of the rout of their comrades ; for they had halted on our first approach, and never advanced afterwards. It was doubtless fortunate for our people that the enemy acted with so little prudence, and exerted so little spirit ; for had they concealed themselves till our men had landed, it is scarcely possible but the whole boat's crew must have fallen into their hands ; since the Spaniards were not much short of two hundred, and the whole number, with Mr. Brett, as hath been already mentioned, only amounted to sixteen. However, the discovery of so considerable a force, collected in this bay of Petaplan, obliged us constantly to keep a boat or two before it : for we were apprehensive that the cutter, which we had left to cruise off Acapulco, might, on her return, be surprised by

the enemy, if she did not receive timely information of her danger. But now to proceed with the account of the harbour of Chequetan.

After our unsuccessful attempt to engage the people of the country to furnish us with the necessaries we wanted, we desisted from any more endeavours of the same nature, and were obliged to be contented with what we could procure for ourselves in the neighbourhood of the port. We caught fish here in tolerable quantities, especially when the smoothness of the water permitted us to haul the seine. Amongst the rest, we got there cavallies, breams, mullets, soles, fiddle-fish, sea-eggs, and lobsters: and we here, and in no other place, met with that extraordinary fish called the torpedo, or numbing fish, which is in shape very like the fiddle-fish, and is not to be known from it but by a brown circular spot of about the bigness of a crown-piece near the centre of its back; perhaps its figure will be better understood, when I say it is a flat fish, much resembling the thorn-back. This fish, the torpedo, is indeed of a most singular nature, productive of the strangest effects on the human body: for whoever handles it, or happens even to set his foot upon it, is presently seized with a numbness all over him; but which is more distinguishable in that limb which was in immediate contact with it. The same effect too will be in some degree produced by touching the fish with anything held in the hand; for I myself had a considerable degree of numbness conveyed to my right arm, through a walking cane which I rested on the body of the fish for some time; and I make no doubt but I should have been much more sensibly affected, had not the fish been near expiring when I made the experiment: for it is observable that this influence acts with most vigour when the fish is first taken out of the water, and entirely ceases when it is dead, so that it may be then handled or even eaten without any inconvenience. I shall only add that the numbness of my arm on this occasion did not go off on a sudden, as the accounts of some naturalists gave me reason to expect, but diminished gradually, so that I had some sensation of it remaining till the next day.

To the account given of the fish we met with here, I must add, that though turtle now grew scarce, and we met with none in this harbour of Chequetan, yet our boats, which, as I have mentioned, were stationed off Petaplan, often supplied us therewith; and though this was a food that we had now been so long as it were confined to, (for it was the only fresh provisions which we had tasted for near six months,) yet we were far from being cloyed with it, or from finding that the relish we had of it at all diminished.

The animals we met with on shore were principally guanoes, with which the country abounds, and which are by some reckoned delicious food. We saw no beasts of prey here, except we should esteem that amphibious animal, the alligator, as such, several of which our people discovered, but none of them very large. However, we were satisfied that there were great numbers of tigers in the woods, though none of them came in sight; for we every morning found the beach near the watering place imprinted very thick with their footsteps: but we never apprehended any mischief from them;

for they are by no means so fierce as the Asiatic or African tiger, and are rarely, if ever, known to attack mankind. Birds were here in sufficient plenty; for we had abundance of pheasants of different kinds, some of them of an uncommon size, but they were very dry and tasteless food. And besides these we had a variety of smaller birds, particularly parrots, which we often killed for food.

The fruits and vegetable refreshments at this place were neither plentiful, nor of the best kinds: there were, it is true, a few bushes scattered about the woods, which supplied us with limes, but we scarcely could procure enough for our present use; and these, with a small plum of an agreeable acid, called in Jamaica the hog-plum, together with another fruit called the papah, were the only fruits to be found in the woods. Nor is there any other useful vegetable here worth mentioning, except brooklime: this indeed grew in great quantities near the fresh-water banks; and, as it was esteemed an antiscorbutic, we fed upon it frequently, though its extreme bitterness made it very unpalatable.

These are the articles most worthy of notice in this harbour of Chequetan. I shall only mention a particular of the coast lying to the westward of it, that to the eastward having been already described. As Mr. Anson was always attentive to whatever might be of consequence to those who might frequent these seas hereafter; and, as we had observed that there was a double land to the westward of Chequetan, which stretched out to a considerable distance, with a kind of opening, which appeared not unlike the inlet to some harbour, the commodore, soon after we came to an anchor, sent a boat to discover it more accurately, and it was found, on a nearer examination, that the two hills, which formed the double land, were joined together by a valley, and that there was no harbour nor shelter between them.

By all that has been said, it will appear that the conveniences of this port of Chequetan, particularly in the articles of refreshment, are not altogether such as might be desired: but yet, upon the whole, it is a place of considerable consequence, and the knowledge of it may be of great import to future cruisers. For it is the only secure harbour in a vast extent of coast, except Acapulco, which is in the hands of the enemy. It lies at a proper distance from Acapulco for the convenience of such ships as may have any designs on the Manila galleon; and it is a place where wood and water may be taken in with great security, in despite of the efforts of the inhabitants of the adjacent district: for there is but one narrow path which leads through the woods into the country, and this is easily to be secured by a very small party, against all the strength the Spaniards in that neighbourhood can muster. After this account of Chequetan, and the coast contiguous to it, we shall return to the recital of our own proceedings.

## CHAPTER XIII.

*Our proceedings at Chequetan and on the adjacent coast, till our setting sail for Asia.*

THE next morning, after our coming to an anchor in the harbour of Chequetan, we sent about ninety of our men well armed on shore, forty of whom were ordered to march into the country, as has been mentioned, and the remaining fifty were employed to cover the watering-place, and to prevent any interruption from the natives.

Here we completed the unloading of the Carmelo and Carmin, which we had begun at sea; at least we took out of them the indigo, cacao, and cochineal, with some iron for ballast, which were all the goods we intended to preserve, though they did not amount to a tenth of their cargoes. Here, too, it was agreed, after a mature consultation, to destroy the Tryal's prize, as well as the Carmelo and Carmin, whose fate had been before resolved on. Indeed the ship was in good repair and fit for the sea; but as the whole numbers on board our squadron did not amount to the complement of a fourth-rate man-of-war, we found it was impossible to divide them into three ships, without rendering them incapable of navigating in safety in the tempestuous weather we had reason to expect on the coast of China, where we supposed we should arrive about the time of the change of the monsoons. These considerations determined the commodore to destroy the Tryal's prize, and to reinforce the Gloucester with the greatest part of her crew. And in consequence of this resolve, all the stores on board the Tryal's prize were removed into the other ships, and the prize herself, with the Carmelo and Carmin, were prepared for scuttling with all the expedition we were masters of; but the greatest difficulties we were under in laying in a store of water (which have been already touched on) together with the necessary repairs of our rigging and other unavoidable occupations, took us up so much time, and found us such unexpected employment, that it was near the end of April before we were in a condition to leave the place.

During our stay here, there happened an incident, which, as it proved the means of convincing our friends in England of our safety, which for some time they had despaired of, and were then in doubt about, I shall beg leave particularly to recite. I have observed, in the preceding chapter, that from this harbour of Chequetan there was but one pathway which led through the woods into the country. This we found much beaten, and were thence convinced that it was well known to the inhabitants. As it passed by the spring-head, and was the only avenue by which the Spaniards could approach us, we, at some distance beyond the spring-head, felled several large trees, and laid them one upon the other across the path; and at this barricado we constantly kept a guard: and we besides ordered our men employed in watering to have their arms ready, and, in case of any alarm, to march instantly to this post. And though our principal intention was to prevent our being disturbed by any sudden attack of the enemy's horse, yet it answered another purpose, which was not in itself less important; this was to hinder our own people from straggling singly into the country,

where we had reason to believe they would be surprised by the Spaniards, who would doubtless be extremely solicitous to pick up some of them, in hopes of getting intelligence of our future designs. To avoid this inconvenience, the strictest orders were given to the sentinels to let no person whatever pass beyond their post; but notwithstanding this precaution we missed one Lewis Leger, who was the commodore's cook: and as he was a Frenchman, and suspected to be a papist, it was by some imagined that he had deserted with a view of betraying all that he knew to the enemy; but this appeared, by the event, to be an ill-grounded surmise; for it was afterwards known that he had been taken by some Indians, who carried him prisoner to Acapulco, from whence he was transferred to Mexico, and thence to Vera Cruz, where he was shipped on board a vessel bound to Old Spain: and the vessel being obliged by some accident to put into Lisbon, Leger escaped on shore, and was by the British consul sent from thence to England; where he brought the first authentic account of the safety of the commodore, and of what he had done in the South Seas. The relation he gave of his own seizure was, that he had rambled into the woods at some distance from the barricado, where he had first attempted to pass, but had been stopped and threatened to be punished; that his principal view was to get a quantity of limes for his master's store; and that in this occupation he was surprised unawares by four Indians, who stripped him naked, and carried him in that condition to Acapulco, exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, which at that time of the year shone with its greatest violence: and afterwards at Mexico his treatment in prison was sufficiently severe, and the whole course of his captivity was a continued instance of the hatred which the Spaniards bear to all those who endeavour to disturb them in the peaceable possession of the coasts of the South Seas. Indeed Leger's fortune was, upon the whole, extremely singular; for after the hazards he had run in the commodore's squadron, and the severities he had suffered in his long confinement amongst the enemy, a more fatal disaster attended him on his return to England: for though, when he arrived in London, some of Mr. Anson's friends interested themselves in relieving him from the poverty to which his captivity had reduced him; yet he did not long enjoy the benefit of their humanity, for he was killed in an insignificant night brawl, the cause of which could scarcely be discovered.

And here I must observe that though the enemy never appeared in sight during our stay in this harbour, yet we perceived that there were large parties of them encamped in the woods about us; for we could see their smokes, and could thence determine that they were posted in a circular line surrounding us at a distance; and just before our coming away they seemed, by the increase of their fires, to have received a considerable reinforcement. But to return:

Towards the latter end of April, the unloading of our three prizes, our wooding and watering, and, in short, all our proposed employments at the harbour of Chequetan, were completed: so that, on the 27th of April, the Tryal's prize, the Carmelo and the Carmin, all which we here intended to destroy, were towed on shore and scuttled, and

a quantity of combustible materials were distributed in their upper works ; and the next morning the Centurion and the Gloucester weighed anchor, but as there was but little wind, and that not in their favour, they were obliged to warp out of the harbour. When they had reached the offing, one of the boats was despatched back again to set fire to our prize, which was accordingly executed. And a canoe was left fixed to a grapple in the middle of the harbour, with a bottle in it well corked, inclosing a letter to Mr. Hughes, who commanded the cutter, which was ordered to cruise before the port of Acapulco, when we came off that station. And on this occasion I must mention more particularly than I have yet done, the views of the commodore in leaving the cutter before that port.

When we were necessitated to make for Chequetan to take in our water, Mr. Anson considered that our being in that harbour would soon be known at Acapulco ; and therefore he hoped that, on the intelligence of our being employed in port, the galleon might put to sea, especially as Chequetan is so very remote from the course generally steered by the galleon : he therefore ordered the cutter to cruise twenty-four days off the port of Acapulco, and her commander was directed, on perceiving the galleon under sail, to make the best of his way to the commodore at Chequetan. As the Centurion was doubtless a much better sailer than the galleon, Mr. Anson, in this case, resolved to have got to sea as soon as possible, and to have pursued the galleon across the Pacific Ocean : and supposing he should not have met with her in his passage, (which, considering that he would have kept nearly the same parallel, was not very improbable,) yet he was certain of arriving off Cape Espiritu Santo, on the island of Samal, before her ; and that being the first land she makes on her return to the Philippines, we could not have failed to have fallen in with her, by cruising a few days in that station. But the viceroy of Mexico ruined this project by keeping the galleon in the port of Acapulco all that year.

The letter left in the canoe for Mr. Hughes, the commander of the cutter, (the time of whose return was now considerably elapsed,) directed him to go back immediately to his former station before Acapulco, where he would find Mr. Anson, who resolved to cruise for him there for a certain number of days ; after which, it was added, that the commodore would return to the southward to join the rest of the squadron. This last article was inserted to deceive the Spaniards, if they got possession of the canoe, (as we afterwards learnt they did,) but could not impose on Mr. Hughes, who well knew that the commodore had no squadron to join, nor any intention of steering back to Peru.

Being now in the offing of Chequetan, bound across the vast Pacific Ocean in our way to China, we were impatient to run off the coast as soon as possible ; for as the stormy season was approaching apace, and as we had no further views in the American seas, we had hoped that nothing would have prevented us from standing to the westward, the moment we got out of the harbour of Chequetan : and it was no small mortification to us, that our necessary employment there had detained us so much longer than we expected ; and now

we were farther detained by the absence of the cutter, and the standing towards Acapulco in search of her. Indeed, as the time of her cruise had been expired for near a fortnight, we suspected that she had been discovered from the shore ; and that the governor of Acapulco had thereupon sent out a force to seize her, which, as she carried but six hands, was no very difficult enterprise. However, this being only conjecture, the commodore, as soon as he was got clear of the harbour of Chequetan, stood along the coast to the eastward in search of her : and to prevent her from passing by us in the dark, we brought-to every night ; and the Gloucester, whose station was a league within us towards the shore, carried a light, which the cutter could not but perceive, if she kept along-shore, as we supposed she would do ; and as a farther security, the Centurion and the Gloucester alternately showed two false fires every half hour. Indeed, had she escaped us, she would have found orders in the canoe to have returned immediately before Acapulco, where Mr. Anson proposed to cruise for her some days.

By Sunday, the 2d of May, we were advanced within three leagues of Acapulco, and having seen nothing of our boat, we gave her over for lost, which, besides the compassionate concern for our ship-mates, and for what it was apprehended they might have suffered, was in itself a misfortune, which, in our present scarcity of hands, we were all greatly interested in : for the crew of the cutter, consisting of six men and the lieutenant, were the very flower of our people, purposely picked out for this service, and known to be every one of them of tried and approved resolution, and as skilful seamen as ever trod a deck. However, as it was the general belief among us that they were taken and carried into Acapulco, the commodore's prudence suggested a project which we hoped would recover them. This was founded on our having many Spanish and Indian prisoners in our possession, and a number of sick negroes, who could be of no service to us in the navigating of the ship. The commodore therefore wrote a letter the same day to the governor of Acapulco, telling him, that he would release them all, provided the governor returned the cutter's crew ; and the letter was despatched the same afternoon by a Spanish officer, of whose honour we had a good opinion, and who was furnished with a launch belonging to one of our prizes, and a crew of six other prisoners who all gave their parole for their return. The officer, too, besides the commodore's letter, carried with him a joint petition signed by all the rest of the prisoners, beseeching his Excellency to acquiesce in the terms proposed for their liberty. From a consideration of the number of our prisoners, and the quality of some of them, we did not doubt but the governor would readily comply with Mr. Anson's proposal, and therefore we kept plying on and off the whole night, intending to keep well in with the land, that we might receive an answer at the limited time, which was the next day, being Monday : but both on the Monday and Tuesday we were driven so far off shore, that we could not hope to receive any answer ; and on the Wednesday morning we found ourselves fourteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco ; but as the wind was now favourable, we pressed forwards with all our

sail, and did not doubt of getting in with the land in a few hours. Whilst we were thus standing in, the man at the mast-head called out that he saw a boat under sail at a considerable distance to the south-eastward: this we took for granted was the answer of the governor to the commodore's message, and we instantly edged towards it; but when we drew nearer, we found to our unspeakable joy that it was our own cutter. While she was still at a distance, we imagined that she had been discharged out of the port of Acapulco by the governor; but when she drew nearer, the wan and meagre countenances of the crew, the length of their beards, and the feeble and hollow tone of their voices, convinced us that they had suffered much greater hardships than could be expected from even the severities of a Spanish prison. They were obliged to be helped into the ship, and were immediately put to bed, and with rest, and nourishing diet, which they were plentifully supplied with from the commodore's table, they recovered their health and vigour apace: and now we learnt that they had kept the sea the whole time of their absence, which was above six weeks; that when they finished their cruise before Acapulco, and had just begun to ply to the westward in order to join the squadron, a strong adverse current had forced them down the coast to the eastward in spite of all their efforts; that at length their water being all expended, they were obliged to search the coast farther on to the eastward, in quest of some convenient landing-place, where they might get a fresh supply; that in this distress they ran upwards of eighty leagues to leeward, and found everywhere so large a surf, that there was not the least possibility of their landing; that they passed some days in this dreadful situation, without water, and having no other means left them to allay their thirst than sucking the blood of the turtle which they caught; and at last, giving up all hopes of relief, the heat of the climate too augmenting their necessities, and rendering their sufferings insupportable, they abandoned themselves to despair, fully persuaded that they should perish by the most terrible of all deaths; but that they were soon after happily relieved by a most unexpected incident, for there fell so heavy a rain, that by spreading their sails horizontally, and by putting bullets in the centers of them to draw them to a point, they caught as much water as filled all their cask; that immediately upon this fortunate supply they stood to the westward in quest of the commodore; and being now luckily favoured by a strong current, they joined us in less than fifty hours, from the time they stood to the westward, after having been absent from us full forty-three days. Those who have an idea of the inconsiderable size of a cutter belonging to a sixty-gun ship, (being only an open boat about twenty-two feet in length,) and who will attend to the various accidents to which she was exposed during a six weeks' continuance alone, in the open ocean, on so impracticable and dangerous a coast, will readily own, that her return to us at last, after all the difficulties which she actually experienced, and the hazards to which she was each hour exposed, may be considered as little short of miraculous.

I cannot finish the article of this cutter, with-

out remarking how little reliance navigators ought to have on the accounts of the buccanier writers: for though in this run of hers, eighty leagues to the eastward of Acapulco, she found no place where it was possible for a boat to land, yet those writers have not been ashamed to feign harbours and convenient watering-places within these limits; thereby exposing such as should confide in their relations, to the risk of being destroyed by thirst.

And now having received our cutter, the sole object of our coming a second time before Acapulco, the commodore resolved not to lose a moment's time longer, but to run off the coast with the utmost expedition, both as the stormy season on the coast of Mexico was now approaching apace, and as we were apprehensive of having the westerly monsoon to struggle with when we came upon the coast of China; and therefore he no longer stood towards Acapulco, as he now wanted no answer from the governor; but yet he resolved not to deprive his prisoners of the liberty, which he had promised them; so that they were all immediately embarked in two launches which belonged to our prizes, those from the Centurion in one launch, and those from the Gloucester in the other. The launches were well equipped with masts, sails and oars; and, lest the wind might prove unfavourable, they had a stock of water and provisions put on board them sufficient for fourteen days. There were discharged thirty-nine persons from on board the Centurion, and eighteen from the Gloucester, the greatest part of them Spaniards, the rest Indians and sick negroes: but as our crews were very weak, we kept the mulattoes and some of the stoutest of the negroes, with a few Indians, to assist us; but we dismissed every Spanish prisoner whatever. We have since learnt, that these two launches arrived safe at Acapulco, where the prisoners could not enough extol the humanity with which they had been treated; and that the governor, before their arrival, had returned a very obliging answer to the commodore's letter, and had attended it with a present of two boats laden with the choicest refreshments and provisions which were to be got at Acapulco; but that these boats not having found our ships, were at length obliged to put back again, after having thrown all their provisions overboard in a storm which threatened their destruction.

The sending away our prisoners was our last transaction on the American coast; for no sooner had we parted with them, than we and the Gloucester made sail to the S.W., proposing to get a good offing from the land, where we hoped, in a few days, to meet with the regular trade-wind, which the accounts of former navigators had represented as much brisker and steadier in this ocean, than in any other part of the globe: for it has been esteemed no uncommon passage, to run from hence to the easternmost parts of Asia in two months; and we flattered ourselves that we were as capable of making an expeditious passage, as any ships that had ever run this course before us: so that we hoped soon to gain the coast of China, for which we were now bound. And conformable to the general idea of this navigation given by former voyagers, we considered it as free from all kinds of embarrassment

of bad weather, fatigue, or sickness; and consequently we undertook it with alacrity, especially as it was no contemptible step towards our arrival at our native country, for which many of us by this time began to have great longings. Thus, on the 6th of May, we, for the last time, lost sight of the mountains of Mexico, persuaded, that in a few weeks we should arrive at the river of Canton in China, where we expected to meet with many English ships, and numbers of our countrymen; and hoped to enjoy the advantages of an amicable, well-frequented port, inhabited by a polished people, and abounding with the conveniences and indulgences of a civilised life; blessings, which now for near twenty months had never been once in our power. But there yet remains (before we take our leave of America) the consideration of a matter well worthy of attention, the discussion of which shall be referred to the ensuing chapter.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

*A brief account of what might have been expected from our squadron, had it arrived in the South Seas in good time.*

AFTER the recital of the transactions of the commodore, and the ships under his command, on the coasts of Peru and Mexico, as contained in the preceding part of this book, it will be no useless digression to examine what the whole squadron might have been capable of achieving, had it arrived in those seas in so good a plight, as it would probably have done, had the passage round Cape Horn been attempted in a more seasonable time of the year. This disquisition may be serviceable to those who shall hereafter form projects of the like nature for that part of the world, or may be entrusted with their execution. And therefore I propose, in this chapter, to consider, as succinctly as I can, the numerous advantages which the public might have received from the operations of the squadron, had it set sail from England a few months sooner.

And first, I must suppose, that in the summertime we might have got round Cape Horn with an inconsiderable loss, and without any damage to our ships or rigging. For the Duke and Duchess of Bristol, who between them had above three hundred men, buried no more than two, from the coast of Brazil to Juan Fernandes; and out of a hundred and eighty-three hands which were on board the Duke, there were only twenty-one sick of the scurvy, when they arrived at that island: whence, as men-of-war are much better provided with all conveniences than privateers, we might, doubtless, have appeared before Baldivia in full strength, and in a condition of entering immediately on action; and therefore, as that place was in a very defenceless state, its cannon incapable of service, and its garrison in great measure unarmed, it was impossible that it could have opposed our force, or that its half-starved inhabitants, most of whom are convicts banished thither from other parts, could have had any other thoughts than that of submitting; and Baldivia, which is a most excellent port, being once taken, we should immediately have been terrible to the whole kingdom of Chili, and should, doubtless, have awed the most distant parts of the Spanish empire. Indeed,

it is far from improbable that, by a prudent use of our advantages, we might have given a violent shock to the authority of Spain on that whole continent; and might have rendered some, at least, of her provinces independent. This would, doubtless, have turned the whole attention of the Spanish ministry to that part of the world, where the danger would have been so pressing. And thence Great Britain and her allies might have been rid of the numerous embarrassments, which the wealth of the Spanish Indies, operating in conjunction with the Gallic intrigues, have constantly thrown in her way.

And that I may not be thought to over-rate the force of this squadron, by ascribing to it a power of overturning the Spanish government in America, it is necessary to premise a few observations on the condition of the provinces bordering on the South Seas, and on the disposition of the inhabitants, both Spaniards and Indians, at that time; by which it will appear, that there was great dissension amongst the governors, and disaffection among the Creolians; that they were in want of arms and stores, and had fallen into a total neglect of all military regulations in their garrisons; and that as to the Indians on their frontier, they were universally discontented, and seemed to be watching with impatience for the favourable moment, when they might take a severe revenge for the barbarities they had groaned under for more than two ages; so that every circumstance concurred to facilitate the enterprises of our squadron. Of all these particulars we were amply informed by the letters we took on board our prizes, none of these vessels, as I remember, having had the precaution to throw her papers overboard.

The ill blood amongst the governors was greatly augmented by their apprehensions of our squadron; for every one being willing to have it believed, that the bad condition of his government was not the effect of negligence, there were continual demands and remonstrances amongst them, in order to throw the blame upon each other. Thus, for instance, the president of St. Jago in Chili, the president of Panama, and many other governors and military officers, were perpetually soliciting the viceroy of Peru to furnish them with the necessary supplies of money for putting their provinces and places in a proper state of defence to oppose our designs. But the customary answer of the viceroy to these representations was the emptiness of the royal chest at Lima, and the difficulties he was under to support the expenses of his own government; and in one of his letters (which we intercepted), he mentioned his apprehensions that he might even be necessitated to stop the pay of the troops, and of the garrison of Callao, the key of the whole kingdom of Peru. Indeed he did at times remit to these governors some part of their demands; but as what he sent them was greatly short of their wants, it rather tended to the raising jealousies and heart-burnings amongst them, than contributed to the purposes for which it was intended.

And besides these mutual janglings amongst the governors, the whole body of the people were extremely dissatisfied; for they were fully persuaded that the affairs of Spain, for many years before, had been managed by the influence of a particular foreign interest, which was altogether detached

from the advantages of the Spanish nation. So that the inhabitants of these distant provinces believed themselves to be sacrificed to an ambition, which never considered their convenience or interests, or paid any regard to the reputation of their name, or the honour of their country. That this was the temper of the Creolian Spaniards at that time, might be evinced from a hundred instances; but I shall content myself with one, which is indeed conclusive. This is the testimony of the French mathematicians sent into America, to measure the magnitude of an equatorial degree of latitude. For in the relation of the murder of a surgeon belonging to their company in one of the cities of Peru, and of the popular tumult occasioned thereby, written by one of those astronomers, the author confesses, that the inhabitants, during the uproar, all joined in imprecations on their bad governors, and bestowed the most abusive language upon the French, detesting them, in all probability, more particularly as belonging to a nation, to whose influence in the Spanish councils the Spaniards imputed all their misfortunes.

And whilst the Creolian Spaniards were thus dissatisfied, it appears by the letters we intercepted, that the Indians, on almost every frontier, were ripe for a revolt, and would have taken up arms on the slightest encouragement; in particular, the Indians in the southern parts of Peru; as likewise the Arraucos, and the rest of the Chilian Indians, the most powerful and terrible to the Spanish name of any on that continent. For it seems, that in the disputes between the Spaniards and the Indians, which happened some time before our arrival, the Spaniards had insulted the Indians with an account of the force, which they expected from Old Spain, under the command of Admiral Pizarro, and had vaunted that he was coming thither to complete the great work which had been left unfinished by his ancestors. These threats alarmed the Indians, and made them believe that their extirpation was resolved on. For the Pizarros being the first conquerors of that coast, the Peruvian Indians held the name, and all that bore it, in execration; not having forgot the destruction of their monarchy, the massacre of their beloved Inca, Atapalpa, the extinction of their religion, and the slaughter of their ancestors; all perpetrated by the family of the Pizarros. The Chilian Indians, too, abhorred a chief descended from those, who, by their lieutenants, had first attempted to enslave them, and had necessitated their tribes, for more than a century, to be continually wasting their blood in defence of their independence.

And let it not be supposed, that among those barbarous nations the traditions of such distant transactions could not be continued till the present times; for all who have been acquainted with that part of the world agree, that the Indians, in their public feasts, and annual solemnities, constantly revive the memory of these tragic incidents; and those who have been present at these spectacles have observed, that all the recitals and representations of this kind were received with an enthusiastic rage, and with such vehement emotions, as plainly evinced how strongly the memory of their former wrongs was implanted in them, and how acceptable the means of revenge would at all times prove. To this account I must add,

too, that the Spanish governors themselves were so fully informed of the disposition of the Indians, and were so apprehensive of a general defection among them, that they employed all their industry to reconcile the most dangerous tribes, and to prevent them from immediately taking up arms. Among the rest, the president of Chili in particular made large concessions to the Arraucos, and the other Chilian Indians, by which, and by distributing considerable presents to their leading men, he at last got them to consent to a prolongation of the truce between the two nations. But these negotiations were not concluded at the time when we might have been in the South Seas; and had they been completed, yet the hatred of these Indians to the Spaniards was so great, that it would have been impossible for their chiefs to have prevented their joining us.

Thus, then, it appears that on our arrival in the South Sea we might have found the whole coast unprovided with troops, and destitute even of arms; for we well knew, from very particular intelligence, that there were not three hundred fire-arms, of which too the greatest part were matchlocks, in all the province of Chili. At the same time, the Indians would have been ready to revolt, the Spaniards disposed to mutiny, and the governors enraged with each other, and each prepared to rejoice at the disgrace of his antagonist; whilst we, on the other hand, might have consisted of near two thousand men, the greatest part in health and vigour, all well armed and united under a chief, whose enterprising genius (as we have seen) could not be depressed by a continued series of the most sinister events, and whose equable and prudent turn of temper would have remained unvaried, in the midst of the greatest degree of good success; and who besides possessed, in a distinguished manner, the two qualities, the most necessary in these uncommon undertakings; I mean, that of maintaining his authority, and preserving, at the same time, the affections of his people. Our other officers too of every rank, appear, by the experience the public has since had of them, to have been equal to any enterprise they might have been charged with by their commander; and our men (at all times brave if well conducted) in such a cause where treasure was the object, and under such leaders, would doubtless have been prepared to rival the most celebrated achievements hitherto performed by British mariners.

It cannot then be contested, but that Baldivia must have surrendered on the appearance of our squadron; after which it may be presumed that the Arraucos, the Pulches, and Penguiches, inhabiting the banks of the river Imperial, about twenty-five leagues to the northward of this place, would have immediately taken up arms, being disposed, as has been already related, and encouraged by the arrival of so considerable a force in their neighbourhood. As these Indians can bring into the field near thirty thousand men, the greatest part of them horse, their first step would doubtless have been the invading the province of Chili, which they would have found totally unprovided of ammunition and weapons; and as its inhabitants are a luxurious and effeminate race, they would have been incapable, on such an emergency, of giving any opposition to this rugged enemy; so that it is no strained conjecture to

imagine, that the Indians would soon have been masters of the whole country. And the other Indians on the frontiers of Peru being equally disposed with the Arraucos to shake off the Spanish yoke, it is highly probable, that they likewise would have embraced the occasion, and that a general insurrection would have taken place through all the Spanish territories in South America; in which case, the only resource left to the Creolians (dissatisfied as they were with the Spanish government) would have been to have made the best terms they could with their Indian neighbours, and to have withdrawn themselves from the obedience of a master, who had shown so little regard to their security. This last supposition may perhaps appear chimerical to those who measure the possibility of all events by the scanty standard of their own experience; but the temper of the times, and the strong dislike of the natives to the measures then pursued by the Spanish court, sufficiently evince at least its possibility. But not to insist on the presumption of a general revolt, it is sufficient for our purpose to conclude that the Arraucos would scarcely have failed of taking arms on our appearance; for this alone would so far have embarrassed the enemy that they would no longer have thought of opposing us, but would have turned all their care to the Indian affairs; as they still remember, with the utmost horror, the sacking of their cities, the rifling of their convents, the captivity of their wives and daughters, and the desolation of their country by these resolute savages, in the last war between the two nations. For it must be remembered, that this tribe of Indians have been frequently successful against the Spaniards, and possess at this time a large tract of country, which was formerly full of Spanish towns and villages, whose inhabitants were all either destroyed or carried into captivity by the Arraucos and the neighbouring Indians, who, in a war against the Spaniards, never fail to join their forces.

But even independent of an Indian revolt, there were but two places on all the coast of the South Sea, which could be supposed capable of resisting our squadron; these were the cities of Panama and Callao: as to the first of these, its fortifications were so decayed, and it was so much in want of powder, that the governor himself, in an intercepted letter, acknowledged it was incapable of being defended; so that I take it for granted it would have given us but little trouble, especially if we had opened a communication across the Isthmus with our fleet on the other side: and for the city and port of Callao, its condition was not much better than that of Panama; for its walls are built upon the plain ground, without either outwork or ditch before them, and consist only of very slender feeble masonry, without any earth behind them; so that a battery of five or six pieces of cannon, raised anywhere within four or five hundred paces of the place, would have had a full view of the whole rampart, and would have opened it in a short time; and the breach hereby formed, as the walls are so extremely thin, could not have been difficult of ascent: for the ruins would have been but little higher than the surface of the ground; and it would have yielded this particular advantage to the assailants, that the

bullets, which grazed upon it, would have driven before them such shivers of brick and stone, as would have prevented the garrison from forming behind it, supposing that the troops employed in the defence of the place, should have so far surpassed the usual limits of Creolian bravery, as to resolve to stand a general assault: indeed, such a resolution cannot be imputed to them; for the garrison and people were in general dissatisfied with the viceroy's behaviour, and were never expected to act a vigorous part. The viceroy himself greatly apprehended that the commodore would make him a visit at Lima, the capital of the kingdom of Peru; to prevent which, if possible, he had ordered twelve galleys to be built at Guanaquil and other places, which were intended to oppose the landing of our boats, and to hinder us from pushing our men on shore. But this was an impracticable project, and proceeded on the supposition that our ships, when we should land our men, would keep at such a distance, that these galleys, by drawing little water, would have been out of the reach of their guns; whereas the commodore, before he had made such an attempt, would doubtless have been possessed of several prize ships, which he would not have hesitated to have run on shore for the protection of his boats; and besides there were many places on that coast, and one in particular in the neighbourhood of Callao, where there was good anchoring, though a great depth of water, within a cable's length of the shore; so that the cannon of the men-of-war would have swept all the coast to above a mile's distance from the water's edge, and would have effectually prevented any force from assembling to oppose the landing and forming of our men: and the place had this additional advantage, that it was but two leagues distant from the city of Lima; so that we might have been at that city within four hours after we should have been first discovered from the shore. The place I have here in view is about two leagues south of Callao, and just to the northward of the head-land called, in Frezier's draught of that coast, Morro Solar. Here there is seventy or eighty fathoms of water within two cables' length of the shore; and the Spaniards themselves were so apprehensive of our attempting to land there, that they had projected to build a fort close to the water; but there being no money in the royal chests, they could not go on with that work, and therefore they contented themselves with keeping a guard of a hundred horse there, that they might be sure to receive early notice of our appearance on that coast. Indeed some of them (as we were told) conceiving our management at sea to be as pusillanimous as their own, pretended that the commodore would never dare to bring in his ships there, for fear that in so great a depth of water their anchors could not hold them.

And here let it not be imagined that I am proceeding upon groundless and extravagant presumptions, when I conclude that fifteen hundred or a thousand of our people, well conducted, should have been an over-match for any numbers the Spaniards could muster in South America. For not to mention the experience we had of them at Paita and Petaplan, it must be remembered, that our commodore was extremely solicitous to have all his men trained to the dextrous use of



their fire-arms; whereas the Spaniards in this part of the world were in great want of arms, and were very awkward in the management of the few they had; and though, on their repeated representations, the court of Spain had ordered several thousand firelocks to be put on board Pizarro's squadron, yet those, it is evident, could not have been in America time enough to have been employed against us; so that by our arms, and our readiness in the use of them, (not to insist on the timidity and softness of our enemy,) we should in some degree have had the same advantages which the Spaniards themselves had, in the first discovery of this country, against its naked and unarmed inhabitants.

And now let it be considered what were the events which we had to fear, or what were the circumstances which could have prevented us from giving law to all the coast of South America, and thereby cutting off from Spain the resources which she drew from those immense provinces. By sea there was no force capable of opposing us; for how soon soever we had sailed, Pizarro's squadron could not have sailed sooner than it did, and therefore could not have avoided the fate it met with; as we should have been masters of the ports of Chili, we could there have supplied ourselves with the provisions we wanted in the greatest plenty; and from Baldivia to the equinoctial we ran no risk of losing our men by sickness, (that being of all climates the most temperate and healthy,) nor of having our ships disabled by bad weather; and had we wanted hands to assist in the navigating our squadron, whilst a considerable part of our men were employed on shore, we could not have failed of getting whatever numbers we pleased in the ports we should have taken, and the prizes which would have fallen into our hands; and I must observe that the Indians, who are the principal sailors in that part of the world, are extremely docile and dextrous, and though they are not fit to struggle with the inclemencies of a cold climate, yet in temperate seas they are most useful and laborious seamen.

Thus, then, it appears what important revolutions might have been brought about by our squa-

dron, had it departed from England as early as it ought to have done: and from hence it is easy to conclude, what immense advantages might have thence accrued to the public. For, as on our success it would have been impossible for the kingdom of Spain to have received any treasure from the provinces bordering on the South Seas, or even to have had any communication with them, it is certain that the whole attention of that monarchy must have been immediately employed in regaining the possession of these inestimable territories, either by force or compact. By the first of these methods it was scarcely possible they could succeed; for it must have been at least a twelvemonth from our arrival, before any ships from Spain could get into the South Seas, and those perhaps separated, disabled, and sickly; and by that time they would have had no port in their possession, either to rendezvous at or to refit in; whilst we might have been supplied across the Isthmus with whatever necessaries, stores, or even men we wanted, and might thereby have maintained our squadron in as good a plight as when it first set sail from St. Helens. In short, it required but little prudence in the conduct of this business to have rendered all the efforts of Spain, seconded by the power of France, ineffectual, and to have maintained our conquests in defiance of them both: so that they must either have resolved to have left Great Britain masters of the wealth of South America, (the principal support of all their destructive projects,) or they must have submitted to her terms, and have been contented to receive these provinces back again as an equivalent for those restrictions to their future ambition, which her prudence should have dictated to them. Having thus discussed the prodigious weight which the operations of our squadron might have added to the national influence of this kingdom, I shall here end this second book, referring to the next, the passage of the shattered remains of our force across the Pacific Ocean, and all their future transactions till the commodore's arrival in England.

END OF BOOK II.

## BOOK III.

### CHAPTER I.

*The run from the coast of Mexico to the Ladrões or Marian islands.*

WHEN, on the sixth of May, 1742, we left the coast of America, we stood to the S.W. with a view of meeting with the N.E. trade-wind, which the accounts of former writers made us expect at seventy or eighty leagues' distance from the land: we had besides another reason for standing to the southward, which was the getting into the latitude of 13 or 14° north; that being the parallel where the Pacific Ocean is most usually crossed, and consequently where the navigation is esteemed the safest: this last purpose we had soon answered, being in a day or two sufficiently advanced to the south. At the same time we were also farther from the shore than we had presumed was neces-

sary for the falling in with the trade-wind: but in this particular we were most grievously disappointed; for the wind still continued to the westward, or at best variable. As the getting into the N.E. trade, was to us a matter of the last consequence, we stood more to the southward, and made many experiments to meet with it; but all our efforts were for a long time unsuccessful: so that it was seven weeks, from our leaving the coast, before we got into the true trade-wind. This was an interval, in which we believed we should well nigh have reached the easternmost parts of Asia: but we were so baffled with the contrary and variable winds, which for all that time perplexed us, that we were not as yet advanced above a fourth part of the way. The delay alone would have been a sufficient mortification; but there were other circumstances attending it, which

rendered this situation not less terrible, and our apprehensions perhaps still greater than in any of our past distresses. For our two ships were by this time extremely crazy; and many days had not passed, before we discovered a spring in the foremast of the *Centurion*, which rounded about twenty-six inches of its circumference, and which was judged to be at least four inches deep; and no sooner had our carpenters secured this with fishing it, but the *Gloucester* made a signal of distress; and we learnt that she had a dangerous spring in her main-mast, twelve feet below the trussel-trees; so that she could not carry any sail upon it. Our carpenters, on a strict examination of this mast, found it so very rotten and decayed, that they judged it necessary to cut it down as low as it appeared to have been injured; and by this it was reduced to nothing but a stump, which served only as a step to the topmast. These accidents augmented our delay, and occasioned us great anxiety about our future security: for on our leaving the coast of Mexico, the scurvy had begun to make its appearance again amongst our people; though from our departure from *Juan Fernandes* we had till then enjoyed a most uninterrupted state of health. We too well knew the effects of this disease, from our former fatal experience, to suppose that anything but a speedy passage could secure the greater part of our crew from perishing by it: and as, after being seven weeks at sea, there did not appear any reasons that could persuade us we were nearer the trade-wind than when we first set out, there was no ground for us to suppose but our passage would prove at least three times as long as we at first expected; and consequently we had the melancholy prospect, either of dying by the scurvy, or perishing with the ship for want of hands to navigate her. Indeed, some amongst us were at first willing to believe, that in this warm climate, so different from what we felt in passing round *Cape Horn*, the violence of this disease, and its fatality, might be in some degree mitigated; as it had not been unusual to suppose that its particular virulence in that passage was in a great measure owing to the severity of the weather: but the havoc of the distemper, in our present circumstances, soon convinced us of the falsity of this speculation; as it likewise exploded some other opinions, which usually pass current about the cause and nature of this disease.

For it has been generally presumed, that plenty of fresh provisions and of water are effectual preventives of this malady; but it happened that in the present instance we had a considerable stock of fresh provisions on board, as hogs and fowls, which were taken at *Païta*; and we besides almost every day caught great abundance of bonitos, dolphins, and albacores; and the unsettled season, which deprived us of the benefit of the trade-wind, proved extremely rainy; so that we were enabled to fill up our water-casks, almost as fast as they were empty; and each man had five pints of water allowed him every day, during the passage. But notwithstanding this plenty of water, and that the fresh provisions were distributed amongst the sick, and the whole crew often fed upon fish, yet neither were the sick hereby relieved, nor the progress and advancement of the disease retarded: nor was it in these instances only that we found ourselves disappointed; for though it has been

usually esteemed a necessary piece of management to keep all ships, where the crews are large, as clean and airy between decks as possible; and it has been believed by many, that this particular, if well attended to, would prevent the appearance of the scurvy, or at least, mitigate its effects; yet we observed, during the latter part of our run, that though we kept all our ports open, and took uncommon pains in cleansing and sweetening the ships, yet neither the progress nor the virulence of the disease were thereby sensibly abated.

However, I would not be understood to assert, that fresh provisions, plenty of water, and a constant fresh supply of sweet air between decks, are matters of no moment: I am, on the contrary, well satisfied, that they are all of them articles of great importance, and are doubtless extremely conducive to the health and vigour of a crew, and may in many cases prevent the fatal malady we are now speaking of from taking place. All I have aimed at, in what I have advanced, is only to show that in some instances, both the cure and the prevention of this disease is impossible to be effected by any management, or by the application of any remedies which can be made use of at sea. Indeed, I am myself fully persuaded, that when it has once got to a certain head, there are no other means in nature for relieving the diseased, but carrying them on shore, or at least bringing them into the neighbourhood of land. Perhaps a distinct and adequate knowledge of the source of this disease may never be discovered; but in general, there is no difficulty in conceiving that as a continued supply of fresh air is necessary to all animal life, and as this air is so particular a fluid, that without losing its elasticity, or any of its obvious properties, it may be rendered unfit for this purpose, by the mixing with it some very subtle and otherwise imperceptible effluvia; it may be conceived, I say, that the steams arising from the ocean may have a tendency to render the air they are spread through less properly adapted to the support of the life of terrestrial animals, unless these steams are corrected by effluvia of another kind, and which perhaps the land alone can supply.

To what hath been already said in relation to this disease, I shall add, that our surgeon (who during our passage round *Cape Horn*, had ascribed the mortality we suffered to the severity of the climate) exerted himself in the present run to the utmost, and at last declared, that all his measures were totally ineffectual, and did not in the least avail his patients: on which it was resolved by the commodore to try the effects of two medicines, which, just before his departure from England, were the subject of much discourse, I mean the pill and drop of *Mr. Ward*. For however violent the effects of these medicines are said to have sometimes proved, yet in the present instance, where destruction seemed inevitable without some remedy, the experiment at least was thought advisable: and therefore, one or both of them, at different times, were given to persons in every stage of the distemper. Out of the numbers that took them, one, soon after swallowing the pill, was seized with a violent bleeding at the nose: he was before given over by the surgeon, and lay almost at the point of death; but he immediately found himself much better, and continued to recover, though slowly, till he warrived on shore, which was near a fortnight after.

A few others too were relieved for some days, but the disease returned again with as much violence as ever; though neither did these, nor the rest, who received no benefit, appear to be reduced to a worse condition than they would have been if they had taken nothing. The most remarkable property of these medicines, and what was obvious in almost every one that took them, was, that they operated in proportion to the vigour of the patient; so that those who were within two or three days of dying were scarcely affected; and as the patient was differently advanced in the disease, the operation was either a gentle perspiration, an easy vomit, or a moderate purge: but if they were taken by one in full strength, they then produced all the before-mentioned effects with considerable violence, which sometimes continued for six or eight hours together, with little intermission. But to return to the prosecution of our voyage.

I have already observed, that, a few days after our running off the coast of Mexico, the Gloucester had her main-mast cut down to a stump, and we were obliged to fish our fore-mast; and that these misfortunes were greatly aggravated, by our meeting with contrary and variable winds for near seven weeks. I shall now add, that when we reached the trade-wind, and it settled between the north and the east, yet it seldom blew with so much strength, but the Centurion might have carried all her small sails abroad with the greatest safety; so that now, had we been a single ship, we might have run down our longitude apace, and have reached the Ladrões soon enough to have recovered great numbers of our men, who afterwards perished. But the Gloucester, by the loss of her main-mast, sailed so very heavily, that we had seldom any more than our top-sails set, and yet were frequently obliged to lie-to for her: and, I conceive, that in the whole we lost little less than a month by our attendance upon her, in consequence of the various mischances she encountered. In all this run it was remarkable, that we were rarely many days together, without seeing great numbers of birds; which is a proof that there are many islands, or at least rocks, scattered all along at no very considerable distance from our track. Some indeed there are marked in the Spanish chart, hereafter mentioned; but the frequency of the birds, seem to evince that there are many more than have been hitherto discovered; for the greatest part of the birds we observed were such as are known to roost on shore; and the manner of their appearance sufficiently made out, that they came from some distant haunt every morning, and returned thither again in the evening; for we never saw them early or late; and the hour of their arrival and departure gradually varied, which we supposed was occasioned by our running nearer their haunts or getting further from them.

The trade-wind continued to favour us without any fluctuation, from the end of June till towards the end of July. But on the 26th of July, being then, as we esteemed, about three hundred leagues distant from the Ladrões, we met with a westerly wind, which did not come about again to the eastward in four days' time. This was a most dispiriting incident, as it at once damped all our hopes of speedy relief, especially too as it was attended with a vexatious accident to the Gloucester: for in one part of these four days the wind flattened to a calm, and the ships rolled very deep; by which means

the Gloucester's forecap split, and her top-mast came by the board, and broke her fore-yard directly in the slings.\* As she was hereby rendered incapable of making any sail for some time, we were obliged, as soon as a gale sprang up, to take her in tow; and near twenty of the healthiest and ablest of our seamen were taken from the business of our own ship, and were employed for eight or ten days together on board the Gloucester in repairing her damages: but these things, mortifying as we thought them, were but the beginning of our disasters; for scarce had our people finished their business in the Gloucester, before we met with a most violent storm in the western board, which obliged us to lie-to. In the beginning of this storm our ship sprang a leak, and let in so much water, that all our people, officers included, were employed continually in working the pumps: and the next day we had the vexation to see the Gloucester, with her top-mast once more by the board; and whilst we were viewing her with great concern for this new distress, we saw her main-top-mast, which had hitherto served as a jury main-mast, share the same fate. This completed our misfortunes, and rendered them without resource; for we knew the Gloucester's crew were so few and feeble, that without our assistance they could not be relieved: and our sick were now so far increased, and those that remained in health so continually fatigued with the additional duty of our pumps, that it was impossible for us to lend them any aid. Indeed we were not as yet fully apprised of the deplorable situation of the Gloucester's crew; for when the storm abated, (which during its continuance prevented all communication with them,) the Gloucester bore up under our stern; and captain Mitchel informed the commodore, that besides the loss of his masts, which was all that had appeared to us, the ship had then no less than seven feet of water in her hold, although his officers and men had been kept constantly at the pumps for the last twenty-four hours.

This last circumstance was indeed a most terrible accumulation to the other extraordinary distresses of the Gloucester, and required, if possible, the most speedy and vigorous assistance; which Captain Mitchel begged the commodore to send him: but the debility of our people, and our own immediate preservation, rendered it impossible for the commodore to comply with his request. All that could be done was to send our boat on board for a more particular condition of the ship; and it was soon suspected that the taking her people on board us, and then destroying her, was the only measure that could be prosecuted in the present emergency, both for the security of their lives and of our own.

Our boat soon returned with a representation of the state of the Gloucester, and of her several defects, signed by Captain Mitchel and all his

\* "On the 15th of June the Gloucester found her main-mast sprung at the head, which, upon examination, was discovered to be entirely rotten. On the 29th of July the Gloucester carried away her foretop-mast and fore-yard. My ship's company are now miserably afflicted with the scurvy, the ship very leaky, the men and officers that were well being only able to make one spell at the pump."—*Anson's Official Report.*

"This is all," observes Sir John Barrow, "that Anson says of the second attack of this afflicting malady; but, coming from the commodore, it speaks volumes."

officers; by which it appeared, that she had sprung a leak by the stern-post being loose, and working with every roll of the ship, and by two beams a-midships being broken in the orlop; no part of which the carpenters reported was possible to be repaired at sea: that both officers and men had worked twenty-four hours at the pumps without intermission, and were at length so fatigued, that they could continue their labour no longer, but had been forced to desist, with seven feet of water in the hold, which covered their casks, so that they could neither come at fresh-water, nor provision: that they had no mast standing, except the fore-mast, the mizen-mast, and the mizen top-mast, nor had they any spare masts to get up in the room of those they had lost: that the ship was besides extremely decayed in every part, for her knees and clamps were all worked quite loose, and her upper works in general were so loose, that the quarter-deck was ready to drop down: and that her crew was greatly reduced, for there remained alive on board her no more than seventy-seven men, eighteen boys, and two prisoners, officers included; and that of this whole number, only sixteen men and eleven boys were capable of keeping the deck, and several of these very infirm.

The commodore, on the perusal of this melancholy representation, presently ordered them a supply of water and provisions, of which they seemed to be in immediate want, and at the same time sent his own carpenter on board them, to examine into the truth of every particular; and it being found, on the strictest inquiry, that the preceding account was in no instance exaggerated, it plainly appeared, that there was no possibility of preserving the Gloucester any longer, as her leaks were irreparable, and the united hands on board both ships, capable of working, would not be able to free her, even if our own ship should not employ any part of them. What then could be resolved on, when it was the utmost we ourselves could do to manage our own pumps? indeed there was no room for deliberation; the only step to be taken was, the saving the lives of the few that remained on board the Gloucester, and getting out of her as much as possible before she was destroyed. And therefore the commodore immediately sent an order to Captain Mitchel, as the weather was now calm and favourable, to send his people on board the Centurion as expeditiously as he could; and to take out such stores as he could get at, whilst the ship could be kept above water. And as our leak required less attention, whilst the present easy weather continued, we sent our boats with as many men as we could spare, to Captain Mitchel's assistance.

The removing the Gloucester's people on board us, and the getting out such stores as could most easily be come at, gave us full employment for two days. Mr. Anson was extremely desirous to have gotten two of her cables and an anchor, but the ship rolled so much, and the men were so excessively fatigued, that they were incapable of effecting it; nay, it was even with the greatest difficulty that the prize-money, which the Gloucester had taken in the South Seas, was secured, and sent on board the Centurion: however, the prize-goods on board her, which amounted to several thousand pounds in value, and were prin-

cipally the Centurion's property, were entirely lost; nor could any more provision be got out than five casks of flour, three of which were spoiled by the salt-water. Their sick men, amounting to near seventy, were removed into boats with as much care as the circumstances of that time would permit; but three or four of them expired as they were hoisting them into the Centurion.

It was the 15th of August, in the evening, before the Gloucester was cleared of every thing that was proposed to be removed; and though the hold was now almost full of water, yet as the carpenters were of opinion that she might still swim for some time, if the calm should continue, and the water become smooth, she was set on fire; for we knew not how near we might now be to the island of Guam, which was in the possession of our enemies, and the wreck of such a ship would have been to them no contemptible acquisition. When she was set on fire, Captain Mitchel and his officers left her, and came on board the Centurion: and we immediately stood from the wreck, not without some apprehensions (as we had now only a light breeze) that if she blew up soon, the concussion of the air might damage our rigging; but she fortunately burnt, though very fiercely, the whole night, her guns firing successively, as the flames reached them. And it was six in the morning, when we were about four leagues distant, before she blew up; the report she made upon this occasion was but a small one, but there was an exceeding black pillar of smoke, which shot up into the air to a very considerable height.

Thus perished his Majesty's ship the Gloucester. And now it might have been expected, that being freed from the embarrassments which her frequent disasters had involved us in, we might proceed on our way much brisker than we had hitherto done, especially as we had received some small addition to our strength, by the taking on board the Gloucester's crew; but our anxieties were not yet to be relieved; for, notwithstanding all that we had hitherto suffered, there remained much greater distresses, which we were still to struggle with. For the late storm, which had proved so fatal to the Gloucester, had driven us to the northward of our intended course; and the current setting the same way, after the weather abated, had forced us still a degree or two farther, so that we were now in  $17^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$  of North latitude, instead of being in  $13^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$ , which was the parallel we proposed to keep, in order to reach the island of Guam: and as it had been a perfect calm for some days since the cessation of the storm, and we were ignorant how near we were to the meridian of the Ladrões, and supposed ourselves not to be far from it, we apprehended that we might be driven to the leeward of them by the current, without discovering them: in this case, the only land we could make would be some of the eastern parts of Asia, where, if we could arrive, we should find the western monsoon in its full force, so that it would be impossible for the stoutest best-manned ship to get in. And this coast being removed between four and five hundred leagues farther, we, in our languishing circumstances, could expect no other than to be destroyed by the scurvy, long before the most favourable gale could carry us to such a distance: for our deaths were now ex-

tremely alarming, no day passing in which we did not bury eight or ten, and sometimes twelve, of our men; and those, who had hitherto continued healthy, began to fall down apace. Indeed we made the best use we could of the present calm, by employing our carpenters in searching after the leak, which was now considerable, notwithstanding the little wind we had: the carpenters at length discovered it to be in the gunner's fore-store-room, where the water rushed in under the breast-hook, on each side of the stem; but though they found where it was, they agreed that it was impossible to stop it, till we should get into port, and till they could come at it on the outside; however, they did the best they could within-board, and were fortunate enough to reduce it, which was a considerable relief to us.

We had hitherto considered the calm which succeeded the storm, and which continued for some days, as a very great misfortune; since the currents were driving us to the northward of our parallel, and we thereby risked the missing of the Ladrões, which we now conceived ourselves to be very near. But when a gale sprang up, our condition was still worse; for it blew from the S.W., and consequently was directly opposed to the course we wanted to steer: and though it soon veered to the N.E., yet this served only to tantalise us, for it returned back again in a very short time to its old quarter. However, on the 22d of August we had the satisfaction to find that the current was shifted, and had set us to the southward: and the 23d, at day-break, we were cheered with the discovery of two islands in the western board: this gave us all great joy, and raised our drooping spirits; for before this, a universal dejection had seized us, and we almost despaired of ever seeing land again: the nearest of these islands we afterwards found to be Anatacan; we judged it to be full fifteen leagues from us, and it seemed to be high land, though of an indifferent length: the other was the island of Serigan; and had rather the appearance of a high rock, than a place we could hope to anchor at. We were extremely impatient to get in with the nearest island, where we expected to meet with anchoring-ground, and an opportunity of refreshing our sick: but the wind proved so variable all day, and there was so little of it, that we advanced towards it but slowly; however, by the next morning we were got so far to the westward that we were in view of a third island, which was that of Paxaros, though marked in the chart only as a rock. This was small and very low land, and we had passed within less than a mile of it, in the night, without seeing it: and now at noon, being within four miles of the island of Anatacan, the boat was sent away to examine the anchoring-ground and the produce of the place; and we were not a little solicitous for her return, as we then conceived our fate to depend upon the report we should receive: for the other two islands were obviously enough incapable of furnishing us with any assistance, and we knew not then that there were any others which we could reach. In the evening the boat came back, and the crew informed us that there was no place for a ship to anchor, the bottom being everywhere foul ground, and all, except one small spot, not less than fifty fathoms in depth; that on that spot there was thirty fathoms, though not above half a mile from

the shore; and that the bank was steep too, and could not be depended on: they farther told us, that they had landed on the island, but with some difficulty, on account of the greatness of the swell; that they found the ground was everywhere covered with a kind of wild cane, or rush; but that they met with no water, and did not believe the place to be inhabited; though the soil was good, and abounded with groves of cocoa-nut trees.

This account of the impossibility of anchoring at this island occasioned a general melancholy on board; for we considered it as little less than the prelude to our destruction; and our despondency was increased by a disappointment we met with the succeeding night; for, as we were plying under topsails, with an intention of getting nearer to the island, and of sending our boat on shore to load with cocoa-nuts for the refreshment of our sick, the wind proved squally, and blew so strong off shore, that we were driven so far to the southward, that we dared not send off our boat. And now the only possible circumstance, that could secure the few which remained alive from perishing, was the accidental falling in with some other of the Ladrone Islands better prepared for our accommodation; and as our knowledge of these islands was extremely imperfect, we were to trust entirely to chance for our guidance; only as they are all of them usually laid down near the same meridian, and we had conceived those we had already seen to be part of them, we concluded to stand to the southward as the most probable means of falling in with the next. Thus, with the most gloomy persuasion of our approaching destruction, we stood from the island of Anatacan, having all of us the strongest apprehensions (and those not ill founded) either of dying of the scurvy, or of perishing with the ship, which, for want of hands to work her pumps, might in a short time be expected to founder.

## CHAPTER II.

*Our arrival at Tinian, and an account of the Island, and of our proceedings there, till the Centurion drove out to Sea.*

It was on the 26th of August, 1742, in the morning, when we lost sight of Anatacan. The next morning we discovered three other islands to the eastward, which were from ten to fourteen leagues from us. These were, as we afterwards learnt, the islands of Saypan, Tinian, and Aguijan. We immediately steered towards Tinian, which was the middlemost of the three, but had so much of calms and light airs, that though we were helped forwards by the currents, yet next day, at day-break, we were at least five leagues distant from it. However, we kept on our course, and about ten in the morning we perceived a proa under sail to the southward, between Tinian and Aguijan. As we imagined from hence that these islands were inhabited, and knew that the Spaniards had always a force at Guam, we took the necessary precautions for our own security, and for preventing the enemy from taking advantage of our present wretched circumstances, of which they would be sufficiently informed by the manner of our working the ship; we therefore mustered all our hands,

who were capable of standing to their arms, and loaded our upper and quarter-deck guns with grape-shot; and that we might the more readily procure some intelligence of the state of these islands, we showed Spanish colours, and hoisted a red flag at the fore top-mast-head, to give our ship the appearance of the Manila galleon, hoping thereby to decoy some of the inhabitants on board us. Thus preparing ourselves, and standing towards the land, we were near enough, at three in the afternoon, to send the cutter in shore, to find out a proper berth for the ship; and we soon perceived that a proa came off the shore to meet the cutter, fully persuaded, as we afterwards found, that we were the Manila ship. As we saw the cutter returning back with the proa in tow, we immediately sent the pinnace to receive the proa and the prisoners, and to bring them on board, that the cutter might proceed on her errand. The pinnace came back with a Spaniard and four Indians, which were the people taken in the proa. The Spaniard was immediately examined as to the produce and circumstances of this island of Tinian, and his account of it surpassed even our most sanguine hopes; for he informed us that it was uninhabited, which, in our present defenceless condition, was an advantage not to be despised, especially as it wanted but few of the conveniences that could be expected in the most cultivated country; for he assured us, that there was great plenty of very good water, and that there were an incredible number of cattle, hogs, and poultry running wild on the island, all of them excellent in their kind; that the woods produced sweet and sour oranges, limes, lemons, and cocoa-nuts in great plenty, besides a fruit peculiar to these islands (called by Dampier, bread-fruit); that from the quantity and goodness of the provisions produced here, the Spaniards at Guam made use of it as a store for supplying the garrison; that he himself was a serjeant of that garrison, and was sent there with twenty-two Indians to jerk beef, which he was to load for Guam on board a small bark of about fifteen tons, which lay at anchor near the shore.

This account was received by us with inexpressible joy: part of it we were ourselves able to verify on the spot, as we were by this time near enough to discover several numerous herds of cattle feeding in different places of the island; and we did not any ways doubt the rest of his relation, as the appearance of the shore prejudiced us greatly in its favour, and made us hope, that not only our necessities might be there fully relieved, and our diseased recovered, but that, amidst those pleasing scenes which were then in view, we might procure ourselves some amusement and relaxation, after the numerous fatigues we had undergone: for the prospect of the country did by no means resemble that of an uninhabited and uncultivated place, but had much more the air of a magnificent plantation, where large lawns and stately woods had been laid out together with great skill, and where the whole had been so artfully combined, and so judiciously adapted to the slopes of the hills, and the inequalities of the ground, as to produce a most striking effect, and to do honour to the invention of the contriver. Thus (an event not unlike what we had already seen) we were forced upon the most desirable and salutary measures by

accidents, which at first sight we considered as the greatest of misfortunes; for had we not been driven by the contrary winds and currents to the northward of our course, (a circumstance, which at that time gave us the most terrible apprehensions,) we should, in all probability, never have arrived at this delightful island, and consequently, we should have missed of that place, where alone all our wants could be most amply relieved, our sick recovered, and our enfeebled crew once more refreshed, and enabled to put again to sea.

The Spanish serjeant, from whom we received the account of the island, having informed us that there were some Indians on shore under his command, employed in jerking beef, and that there was a barque at anchor to take it on board, we were desirous, if possible, to prevent the Indians from escaping, who doubtless would have given the governor of Guam intelligence of our arrival; and we therefore immediately dispatched the pinnace to secure the barque, which the serjeant told us was the only embarkation on the place; and then, about eight in the evening, we let go our anchor in twenty-two fathoms; and though it was almost calm, and whatever vigour and spirit was to be found on board was doubtless exerted to the utmost on this pleasing occasion, when, after having kept the sea for some months, we were going to take possession of this little paradise, yet we were full five hours in furling our sails: it is true, we were somewhat weakened by the crews of the cutter and pinnace, which were sent on shore; but it is not less true, that, including those absent with the boats and some negro and Indian prisoners, all the hands we could muster capable of standing at a gun amounted to no more than seventy-one, most of which number, too, were incapable of duty; but on the greatest emergencies this was all the force we could collect, in our present enfeebled condition, from the united crews of the Centurion, the Gloucester, and the Tryal, which, when we departed from England, consisted altogether of near a thousand hands.

When we had furled our sails, the remaining part of the night was allowed to our people for their repose, to recover them from the fatigue they had undergone; and in the morning a party was sent on shore, well armed, of which I myself was one, to make ourselves masters of the landing-place, as we were not certain what opposition might be made by the Indians on the island: we landed without difficulty, for the Indians having perceived, by our seizure of the barque the night before, that we were enemies, they immediately fled into the woody parts of the island. We found on shore many huts which they had inhabited, and which saved us both the time and trouble of erecting tents; one of these huts which the Indians made use of for a store-house was very large, being twenty yards long and fifteen broad; this we immediately cleared of some bales of jerked beef, which we found in it, and converted it into an hospital for our sick, who, as soon as the place was ready to receive them, were brought on shore, being in all a hundred and twenty-eight: numbers of these were so very helpless, that we were obliged to carry them from the boats to the hospital upon our shoulders, in which humane employment (as before at Juan Fernandes) the commodore himself, and every one of his officers, were engaged

without distinction; and, notwithstanding the great debility and the dying aspects of the greatest part of our sick, it is almost incredible how soon they began to feel the salutary influence of the land; for, though we buried twenty-one men on this and the preceding day, yet we did not lose above ten men more during our whole two months' stay here; and in general, our diseased received so much benefit from the fruits of the island, particularly the fruits of the acid kind, that, in a week's time, there were but few who were not so far recovered, as to be able to move about without help.

And now being in some sort established at this place, we were enabled more particularly to examine its qualities and productions; and that the reader may the better judge of our manner of life here, and future navigators be better apprised of the conveniences we met with, I shall, before I proceed any farther in the history of our own adventures, throw together the most interesting particulars that came to our knowledge, in relation to the situation, soil, produce, and conveniences of this island of Tinian.

This island lies in the latitude of  $15^{\circ} 8'$  north, and longitude from Acapulco  $114^{\circ} 50'$  west. Its length is about twelve miles, and its breadth about half as much; it extending from the S.S.W. to N.N.E. The soil is everywhere dry and healthy, and somewhat sandy, which being less disposed than other soils to a rank and over luxuriant vegetation, occasions the meadows and the bottoms of the woods to be much neater and smoother than is customary in hot climates. The land rises by easy slope, from the very beach where we watered to the middle of the island; though the general course of its ascent is often interrupted and traversed by gentle descents and valleys; and the inequalities that are formed by the different combinations of these gradual swellings of the ground, are most beautifully diversified with large lawns, which are covered with a very fine trefoil, intermixed with a variety of flowers, and are skirted by woods of tall and well-spread trees, most of them celebrated either for their aspect or their fruit. The turf of the lawns is quite clean and even, and the bottoms of the woods in many places clear of all bushes and underwoods; and the woods themselves usually terminate on the lawns with a regular outline, not broken, nor confused with straggling trees, but appearing as uniform, as if laid out by art. Hence arose a great variety of the most elegant and entertaining prospects, formed by the mixture of these woods and lawns, and their various intersections with each other, as they spread themselves differently through the valleys, and over the slopes and declivities with which the place abounds. The fortunate animals, too, which for the greatest part of the year are the sole lords of this happy soil, partake in some measure of the romantic cast of the island, and are no small addition to its wonderful scenery: for the cattle, of which it is not uncommon to see herds of some thousands feeding together in a large meadow, are certainly the most remarkable in the world; for they are all of them milk-white, except their ears, which are generally black. And though there are no inhabitants here, yet the clamour and frequent parading of domestic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite the ideas of the neighbourhood of farms and

villages, and greatly contribute to the cheerfulness and beauty of the place. The cattle on the island we computed were at least ten thousand; and we had no difficulty in getting near them, as they were not shy of us. Our first method of killing them was shooting them; but at last, when, by accidents to be hereafter recited, we were obliged to husband our ammunition, our men ran them down with ease. Their flesh was extremely well tasted, and was believed by us to be much more easily digested, than any we had ever met with. The fowls too were exceeding good, and were likewise run down with little trouble; for they could scarcely fly further than a hundred yards at a flight, and even that fatigued them so much, that they could not readily rise again; so that, aided by the openness of the woods, we could at all times furnish ourselves with whatever number we wanted. Besides the cattle and the poultry, we found here abundance of wild hogs: these were most excellent food; but as they were a very fierce animal, we were obliged either to shoot them, or to hunt them with large dogs, which we found upon the place at our landing, and which belonged to the detachment which was then upon the island amassing provisions for the garrison of Guam. As these dogs had been purposely trained to the killing of the wild hogs, they followed us very readily, and hunted for us; but though they were a large bold breed, the hogs fought with so much fury, that they frequently destroyed them, so that we by degrees lost the greatest part of them.

But this place was not only extremely grateful to us from the plenty and excellence of its fresh provisions, but was as much perhaps to be admired for its fruits and vegetable productions, which were most fortunately adapted to the cure of the sea scurvy, which had so terribly reduced us. For in the woods there were inconceivable quantities of cocoa-nuts, with the cabbages growing on the same tree: there were besides guavaes, limes, sweet and sour oranges, and a kind of fruit, peculiar to these islands, called by the Indians, rima, but by us the bread-fruit, for it was constantly eaten by us during our stay upon the island instead of bread, and so universally preferred to it, that no ship's bread was expended during that whole interval. It grew upon a tree which is somewhat lofty, and which, towards the top, divides into large and spreading branches. The leaves of this tree are of a remarkable deep green, are notched about the edges, and are generally from a foot to eighteen inches in length. The fruit itself grows indifferently on all parts of the branches; it is in shape rather elliptical than round, is covered with a rough rind, and is usually seven or eight inches long; each of them grows singly and not in clusters. This fruit is fittest to be used when it is full grown, but is still green; in which state its taste has some distant resemblance to that of an artichoke bottom, and its texture is not very different, for it is soft and spongy. As it ripens it grows softer and of a yellow colour, and then contracts a luscious taste, and an agreeable smell, not unlike a ripe peach; but then it is esteemed unwholesome, and is said to produce fluxes. Besides the fruits already enumerated, there were many other vegetables extremely conducive to the cure of the malady we had long laboured under, such as water-melons, dandelion, creeping purslain, mint,

scurvy-grass, and sorrel; all which, together with the fresh meats of the place, we devoured with great eagerness, prompted thereto by the strong inclination which nature never fails of exciting in scorbutic disorders for these powerful specifics.

It will easily be conceived from what hath been already said, that our cheer upon this island was in some degree luxurious, but I have not yet recited all the varieties of provision which we here indulged in. Indeed we thought it prudent totally to abstain from fish, the few we caught at our first arrival having surfeited those who ate of them; but considering how much we had been inured to that species of food, we did not regard this circumstance as a disadvantage, especially as the defect was so amply supplied by the beef, pork, and fowls already mentioned, and by great plenty of wild fowl; for I must observe, that near the centre of the island there were two considerable pieces of fresh water, which abounded with duck, teal, and curlew: not to mention the whistling plover, which we found there in prodigious plenty.

And now perhaps it may be wondered at, that an island, so exquisitely furnished with the conveniences of life, and so well adapted, not only to the subsistence, but likewise to the enjoyment of mankind, should be entirely destitute of inhabitants, especially as it is in the neighbourhood of other islands, which in some measure depend upon this for their support. To obviate this difficulty, I must observe, that it is not fifty years since the island was depopulated. The Indians we had in our custody assured us, that formerly the three islands of Tinian, Rota, and Guam, were all full of inhabitants; and that Tinian alone contained thirty thousand souls: but a sickness raging amongst these islands which destroyed multitudes of the people, the Spaniards, to recruit their numbers at Guam, which were greatly diminished by this mortality, ordered all the inhabitants of Tinian thither; where, languishing for their former habitations, and their customary method of life, the greatest part of them in a few years died of grief. Indeed, independent of that attachment which all mankind have ever shown to the places of their birth and bringing up, it should seem, from what has been already said, that there were few countries more worthy to be regretted than this of Tinian.

These poor Indians might reasonably have expected, at the great distance from Spain where they were placed, to have escaped the violence and cruelty of that haughty nation, so fatal to a large proportion of the whole human race: but it seems their remote situation could not protect them from sharing in the common destruction of the western world, all the advantage they received from their distance being only to perish an age or two later. It may perhaps be doubted, if the number of the inhabitants of Tinian, who were banished to Guam, and who died the repining for their native home, was so great as what we have related above; but, not to mention the concurrent assertion of our prisoners and the commodiousness of the island and its great fertility, there are still remains to be met with on the place which evince it to have been once extremely populous, for there are in all parts of the island a great number of ruins of a very particular kind; they usually consist of two rows of square pyramidal

pillars, each pillar being about six feet from the next, and the distance between the rows being about twelve feet; the pillars themselves are about five feet square at the base, and about thirteen feet high, and on the top of each of them there is a semi-globe, with the flat part upwards; the whole of the pillars and semi-globe is solid, being composed of sand and stone cemented together and plastered over. If the account our prisoners gave us of these structures was true, the island must indeed have been extremely populous, for they assured us that they were the foundations of particular buildings set apart for those Indians only who had engaged in some religious vow; and monastic institutions are often to be met with in many Pagan nations. However, if these ruins were originally the basis of the common dwelling-houses of the natives, their numbers must have been considerable, for in many parts of the island they are extremely thick planted, and sufficiently evince the great plenty of former inhabitants. But to return to the present state of the island.

Having mentioned the conveniences of this place, the excellence and quantity of its fruits and provisions, the neatness of its lawns, the stateliness, freshness, and fragrance of its woods, the happy inequality of its surface, and the variety and elegance of the views it afforded, I must now observe that all these advantages were greatly enhanced by the healthiness of its climate, by the almost constant breezes which prevail there, and by the frequent showers which fall, and which, though of a very short and almost momentary duration, are extremely grateful and refreshing, and are perhaps one cause of the salubrity of the air, and of the extraordinary influence it was observed to have upon us, in increasing and invigorating our appetites and digestion. This was so remarkable, that those among our officers who were at all other times spare and temperate eaters, who, besides a slight breakfast, made but one moderate repast a day, were here, in appearance, transformed into gluttons; for instead of one reasonable flesh-meal, they were now scarcely satisfied with three, and each of them so prodigious in quantity, as would at another time have produced a fever or a surfeit: and yet our digestion so well corresponded with the keenness of our appetites, that we were neither disordered nor even loaded by this repletion; for after having, according to the custom of the island, made a large beef breakfast, it was not long before we began to consider the approach of dinner as a very desirable though somewhat tardy incident.

And now having been thus large in my encomiums on this island, in which, however, I conceive I have not done it justice, it is necessary I should speak of those circumstances in which it is defective, whether in point of beauty or utility.

And first, with respect to its water. I must own that before I had seen this spot I did not conceive that the absence of running water, of which it is entirely destitute, could have been so well replaced by any other means as it is in this island; for though there are no streams, yet the water of the wells and springs, which are to be met with everywhere near the surface, is extremely good; and in the midst of the island there are two or three considerable pieces of excellent water, whose edges are as neat and even as if they had



been basons purposely made for the decoration of the place. It must however be confessed that, with regard to the beauty of the prospects, the want of rills and streams is a very great defect, not to be compensated either by large pieces of standing water, or by the neighbourhood of the sea, though that, by reason of the smallness of the island, generally makes a part of every extensive view.

As to the residence upon the island, the principal inconvenience attending it is the vast numbers of musquitos and various other species of flies, together with an insect called a tick, which, though principally attached to the cattle, would yet frequently fasten upon our limbs and bodies, and if not perceived and removed in time would bury its head under the skin and raise a painful inflammation. We found here too centipedes and scorpions, which we supposed were venomous, but none of us ever received any injury from them.

But the most important and formidable exception to this place remains still to be told. This is the inconvenience of the road, and the little security there is at some seasons for a ship at anchor. The only proper anchoring-place for ships of burthen is at the S.W. end of the island. In this place the Centurion anchored in twenty and twenty-two fathom water, opposite to a sandy bay, and about a mile and a half distant from the shore. The bottom of this road is full of sharp-pointed coral rocks, which, during four months of the year, that is from the middle of June to the middle of October, renders it a very unsafe place to lie at. This is the season of the western monsoons, when near the full and change of the moon, but more particularly at the change, the wind is usually variable all round the compass, and seldom fails to blow with such fury that the stoutest cables are not to be confided in. What adds to the danger at these times is the excessive rapidity of the tide of flood, which sets to the S.E. between this island and that of Agniguan, a small island near the southern extremity of Timian. This tide runs at first with a vast head and overflow of water, and occasions such a hollow and overgrown sea as is scarcely to be conceived; so that (as will be hereafter more particularly mentioned) we were under the dreadful apprehension of being pooped by it, though we were in a sixty-gun ship. In the remaining eight months of the year, that is, from the middle of October to the middle of June, there is a constant season of settled weather, when, if the cables are but well armed, there is scarcely any danger of their being so much as rubbed; so that during all that interval it is as secure a road as could be wished for. I shall only add, that the anchoring bank is very shelving, and stretches along the S.W. end of the island, and that it is entirely free from shoals, except a reef of rocks which is visible and lies about half a mile from the shore, and affords a narrow passage into a small sandy bay, which is the only place where boats can possibly land. After this account of the island and its produce, it is necessary to return to our own history.

Our first undertaking after our arrival was the removal of our sick on shore, as hath been mentioned. Whilst we were thus employed, four of the Indians on shore, being part of the Spanish serjeant's detachment, came and surrendered

themselves to us, so that with those we took in the proa we had now eight of them in our custody. One of the four who submitted undertook to show us the most convenient place for killing cattle, and two of our men were ordered to attend him on that service; but one of them unwarily trusting the Indian with his firelock and pistol, the Indian escaped with them into the woods: his countrymen who remained behind were apprehensive of suffering for this perfidy of their comrade, and therefore begged leave to send one of their own party into the country, who they engaged should both bring back the arms and persuade the whole detachment from Guam to submit to us. The commodore granted their request, and one of them was despatched on this errand, who returned next day and brought back the firelock and pistol, but assured us he had met with them in a pathway in the wood, and protested that he had not been able to meet with any one of his countrymen. This report had so little the air of truth, that we suspected there was some treachery carrying on, and therefore, to prevent any future communication amongst them, we immediately ordered all the Indians who were in our power on board the ship, and did not permit them to return any more on shore.

When our sick were well settled on the island, we employed all the hands that could be spared from attending them, in arming the cables with a good rounding several fathom from the anchor, to secure them from being rubbed by the coral rocks which here abounded. And this being completed, our next attention was our leak, and in order to raise it out of water, we, on the first of September, began to get the guns aft to bring the ship by the stern; and now the carpenters, being able to come at it on the outside, ripped off the old sheathing that was left, and caulked all the seams on both sides the cut-water and leaved them over, and then new sheathed the bows to the surface of the water. By this means we conceived the defect was sufficiently secured; but upon our beginning to bring the guns into their places, we had the mortification to perceive that the water rushed into the ship in the old place with as much violence as ever. Hereupon we were necessitated to begin again; and that our second attempt might be more effectual we cleared the fore store-room, and sent a hundred and thirty barrels of powder on board the small Spanish bark we had seized here, by which means we raised the ship about three feet out of the water forwards, and the carpenters ripped off the sheathing lower down, and new caulked all the seams, and afterwards laid on new sheathing; and then, supposing the leak to be effectually stopped, we began to move the guns forwards; but, the upper deck guns were scarcely in their places, when, to our amazement, it burst out again; and now, as we durst not cut away the lining within board, lest a but-end or a plank might start, and we might go down immediately, we had no other resource left than chincing and caulking within-board; and indeed by this means the leak was stopped for some time; but when our guns were all in their places, and our stores were taken on board, the water again forced its way through a hole in the stem, where one of the bolts was driven in; and on this we desisted from all farther efforts, being now well assured that the

defect was in the stem itself, and that it was not to be remedied till we should have an opportunity of heaving down.

Towards the middle of September several of our sick were tolerably recovered by their residence on shore ; and on the 12th of September all those who were so far relieved, since their arrival, as to be capable of doing duty were sent on board the ship. And then the commodore, who was himself ill of the scurvy, had a tent erected for him on shore, where he went with the view of staying a few days for the recovery of his health, being convinced, by the general experience of his people, that no other method but living on the land was to be trusted to for the removal of this dreadful malady. The place where his tent was pitched on this occasion was near the well, whence we got all our water, and was indeed a most elegant spot.

As the crew on board were now reinforced by the recovered hands returned from the island, we began to send our casks on shore to be fitted up, which till now could not be done, for the coopers were not well enough to work. We likewise weighed our anchors that we might examine our cables, which we suspected had by this time received considerable damage. And as the new moon was now approaching, when we apprehended violent gales, the commodore, for our greater security, ordered that part of the cables next to the anchors to be armed with the chains of the fire-granels ; and they were besides cackled twenty fathom from the anchors, and seven fathom from the service, with a good rounding of a 4½ inch hawser ; and to all these precautions we added that of lowering the main and fore-yard close down, that in case of blowing weather the wind might have less power upon the ship to make her ride a strain.

Thus effectually prepared, as we conceived, we expected the new moon, which was the 18th of September, and riding safe that and the three succeeding days (though the weather proved very squally and uncertain), we flattered ourselves (for I was then on board) that the prudence of our measures had secured us from all accidents ; but on the 22nd the wind blew from the eastward with such fury, that we soon despaired of riding out the storm ; and therefore we should have been extremely glad that the commodore and the rest of our people on shore, which were the greatest part of our hands, had been on board with us, since our only hopes of safety seemed to depend on our putting immediately to sea ; but all communication with the shore was now effectually cut off, for there was no possibility that a boat could live, so that we were necessitated to ride it out till our cables parted. Indeed it was not long before this happened, for the small bower parted at five in the afternoon, and the ship swung off to the best bower ; and as the night came on the violence of the wind still increased ; but notwithstanding its inexpressible fury, the tide ran with so much rapidity as to prevail over it ; for the tide having set to the northward in the beginning of the storm, turned suddenly to the southward about six in the evening, and forced the ship before it in despite of the storm which blew upon the beam. And now the sea broke most surprisingly all round us, and a large tumbling swell threatened to poop us ; the

long-boat, which was at this time moored a-stern, was on a sudden canted so high, that it broke the transom of the commodore's gallery, whose cabin was on the quarter-deck, and would doubtless have risen as high as the taffarel, had it not been for this stroke which stove the boat all to pieces ; but the poor boat-keeper, though extremely bruised, was saved almost by miracle. About eight the tide slackened, but the wind did not abate ; so that at eleven the best bower cable, by which alone we rode, parted. Our sheet anchor, which was the only one we had left, was instantly cut from the bow ; but before it could reach the bottom we were driven from twenty-two into thirty-five fathom ; and after we had veered away one whole cable, and two thirds of another, we could not find ground with sixty fathom of line. This was a plain indication that the anchor lay near the edge of the bank, and could not hold us long. In this pressing danger, Mr. Saumarez, our first lieutenant, who now commanded on board, ordered several guns to be fired, and lights to be shown, as a signal to the commodore of our distress ; and in a short time after, it being then about one o'clock, and the night excessively dark, a strong gust, attended with rain and lightning, drove us off the bank and forced us out to sea, leaving behind us on the island, Mr. Anson, with many more of our officers, and great part of our crew, amounting in the whole to a hundred and thirteen persons. Thus were we all, both at sea and on shore, reduced to the utmost despair by this catastrophe, those on shore conceiving they had no means left them ever to leave the island, and we on board utterly unprepared to struggle with the fury of the seas and winds we were now exposed to, and expecting each moment to be our last.

### CHAPTER III.

#### *Transactions at Tinian after the departure of the Centurion.*

THE storm which drove the Centurion to sea, blew with too much turbulence to permit either the commodore or any of the people on shore to hear the guns, which she fired as signals of distress ; and the frequent glare of the lightning had prevented the explosions from being observed. So that, when at day-break, it was perceived from the shore that the ship was missing, there was the utmost consternation amongst them. For much the greatest part of them immediately concluded that she was lost, and intreated the commodore that the boat might be sent round the island to look for the wreck ; and those who believed her safe, had scarcely any expectation that she would ever be able to make the island again. For the wind continued to blow strong at east, and they knew how poorly she was maued and provided for struggling with so tempestuous a gale. And if the Centurion was lost, or should be incapable of returning, there appeared in either case no possibility of their ever getting off the island ; for they were at least six hundred leagues from Macao, which was their nearest port ; and they were masters of no other vessel than the small Spanish bark of about fifteen tons, which they seized at their first arrival, and which would not even hold

a fourth part of their number. And the chance of their being taken off the island by the casual arrival of any other ship was altogether desperate ; as perhaps no European ship had ever anchored here before, and it were madness to expect that like incidents should send another here in a hundred ages to come. So that their desponding thoughts could only suggest to them the melancholy prospect of spending the remainder of their days on this island, and bidding adieu for ever to their country, their friends, their families, and all their domestic endearments.

Nor was this the worst they had to fear : for they had reason to expect, that the governor of Guam, when he should be informed of their situation, might send a force sufficient to overpower them, and to remove them to that island ; and then, the most favourable treatment they could hope for would be to be detained prisoners for life ; since, from the known policy and cruelty of the Spaniards in their distant settlements, it was rather to be expected that the governor, if he once had them in his power, would make their want of commissions (all of them being on board the *Centurion*) a pretext for treating them as pirates, and for depriving them of their lives with infamy.<sup>1</sup>

In the midst of these gloomy reflections, Mr. Anson had doubtless his share of disquietude ; but he always kept up his usual composure and steadiness : and having soon projected a scheme for extricating himself and his men from their present anxious situation, he first communicated it to some of the most intelligent persons about him ; and having satisfied himself that it was practicable, he then endeavoured to animate his people to a speedy and vigorous prosecution of it. With this view he represented to them, how little foundation there was for their apprehensions of the *Centurion's* being lost : that he should have hoped, they had been all of them better acquainted with sea affairs, than to give way to the impression of so chimerical a fright ; and that he doubted not, but if they would seriously consider what such a ship was capable of enduring, they would confess that there was not the least probability of her having perished : that he was not without hopes that she might return in a few days ; but if she did not, the worst that could be supposed, was, that she was driven so far to the leeward of the island that she could not regain it, and that she would consequently be obliged to bear away for Macao on the coast of China : that as it was necessary to be prepared against all events, he had, in this case, considered of a method of carrying them off the island, and joining their old ship the *Centurion* again at Macao : that this method was to hale the Spanish bark on shore, to saw her asunder, and to lengthen her twelve feet, which would enlarge her to near

forty tons burthen, and would enable her to carry them all to China : that he had consulted the carpenters, and they had agreed that this proposal was very feasible, and that nothing was wanting to execute it but the united resolution and industry of the whole body : he added, that for his own part, he would share the fatigue and labour with them, and would expect no more from any man than what he, the commodore himself, was ready to submit to ; and concluded with representing to them the importance of saving time ; and that, in order to be the better prepared for all events, it was necessary to set to work immediately, and to take it for granted, that the *Centurion* would not be able to put back (which was indeed the commodore's secret opinion) ; since, if she did return, they should only throw away a few days' application ; but, if she did not, their situation, and the season of the year, required their utmost despatch.

These remonstrances, though not without effect, did not immediately operate so powerfully as Mr. Anson could have wished : he indeed raised their spirits, by showing them the possibility of their getting away, of which they had before despaired ; but then, from their confidence of this resource, they grew less apprehensive of their situation, gave a greater scope to their hopes, and flattered themselves that the *Centurion* would return and prevent the execution of the commodore's scheme, which they could easily foresee would be a work of considerable labour : by this means it was some days before they were all of them heartily engaged in the project ; but at last, being in general convinced of the impossibility of the ship's return, they set themselves zealously to the different tasks allotted them, and were as industrious and as eager as their commander could desire, punctually assembling at daybreak at the rendezvous, whence they were distributed to their different employments, which they followed with unusual vigour till night came on.

And here I must interrupt the course of this transaction for a moment, to relate an incident which for some time gave Mr. Anson more concern than all the preceding disasters. A few days after the ship was driven off, some of the people on shore cried out, "A sail!" This spread a general joy, every one supposing that it was the ship returning ; but presently a second sail was descried, which quite destroyed their first conjecture and made it difficult to guess what they were. The commodore eagerly turned his glass towards them, and saw they were two boats ; on which it immediately occurred to him that the *Centurion* was gone to the bottom, and that these were her two boats coming back with the remains of her people ; and this sudden and unexpected suggestion wrought on him so powerfully that, to conceal his emotion, he was obliged (without speaking to any one) instantly to retire to his tent, where he passed some bitter moments in the firm belief that the ship was lost, and that now all his views of farther distressing the enemy, and of still signaling his expedition by some important exploit, were at an end.

But he was soon relieved from these disturbing thoughts by discovering that the two boats in the offing were Indian proas ; and, perceiving that they stood towards the shore, he directed every

\* "An enterprising Englishman, John Oxnam by name, having been active in his attacks upon the Spaniards, was at length taken prisoner at the Pearl Islands, by an expedition despatched from Panama, under the command of Juan de Ortega, in 1575. Being carried to that place, and questioned by the governor, as to whether he had the Queen of England's commission, or a licence from any other prince or state? He replied, that he had no commission, but that he acted upon his own authority, and at his own risk. Upon this answer, Oxnam and his men were condemned to death, and the whole, except five boys, were executed."—*Burney's History of Discoveries.*

appearance that could give them any suspicion to be removed, and concealed his people in the adjacent thickets, prepared to secure the Indians when they should land. But after the proas had stood in within a quarter of a mile of the land, they suddenly stopped short, and remaining there motionless for near two hours they then made sail again and stood to the southward. But to return to the projected enlargement of the bark.

If we examine how they were prepared for going through with this undertaking, on which their safety depended, we shall find that, independent of other matters which were of as much importance, the lengthening of the bark alone was attended with great difficulty. Indeed, in a proper place, where all the necessary materials and tools were to be had, the embarrassment would have been much less; but some of these tools were to be made, and many of the materials were wanting, and it required no small degree of invention to supply all these deficiencies. And when the hull of the bark should be completed this was but one article, and there were many others of equal weight which were to be well considered: these were the rigging it, the victualling it, and, lastly, the navigating it for the space of six or seven hundred leagues, through unknown seas, where no one of the company had ever passed before. In some of these particulars such obstacles occurred that, without the intervention of very extraordinary and unexpected accidents, the possibility of the whole enterprise would have fallen to the ground, and their utmost industry and efforts must have been fruitless. Of all these circumstances I shall make a short recital.

It fortunately happened that the carpenters, both of the Gloucester and of the Tryal, with their chests of tools, were on shore when the ship drove out to sea; the smith too was on shore, and had with him his forge and some tools, but unhappily his bellows had not been brought from on board, so that he was incapable of working, and without his assistance they could not hope to proceed with their design. Their first attention therefore was to make him a pair of bellows, but in this they were for some time puzzled by their want of leather; however, as they had hides in sufficient plenty, and they had found a hogshead of lime, which the Indians or Spaniards had prepared for their own use, they tanned some hides with this lime; and though we may suppose the workmanship to be but indifferent, yet the leather they thus made served tolerably well, and the bellows (to which a gun-barrel served for a pipe) had no other inconvenience than that of being somewhat strong scented from the imperfection of the tanner's work.

Whilst the smith was preparing the necessary iron-work, others were employed in cutting down trees and sawing them into planks; and this being the most laborious task, the commodore wrought at it himself for the encouragement of his people. As there were neither blocks nor cordage sufficient for tackles to hale the bark on shore, it was proposed to get her up on rollers, and for these the body of the cocoa-nut tree was extremely useful, for its smoothness and circular turn prevented much labour, and fitted it for the purpose with very little workmanship: a number of these trees were therefore felled and the ends of them pro-

perly opened for the reception of handspikes, and in the meantime a dry-dock was dug for the bark, and ways laid from thence quite into the sea, to facilitate the bringing her up. And besides those who were thus occupied in preparing measures for the future enlargement of the bark, a party was constantly ordered for the killing and preparing of provisions for the rest: and though in these various employments, some of which demanded considerable dexterity, it might have been expected there would have been great confusion and delay, yet good order being once established, and all hands engaged, their preparations advanced apace. Indeed the common men, I presume, were not the less tractable for their want of spirituous liquors; for, there being neither wine nor brandy on shore, the juice of the cocoa-nut was their constant drink, and this, though extremely pleasant, was not at all intoxicating, but kept them very cool and orderly.

And now the officers began to consider of all the articles necessary for the fitting out the bark; when it was found, that the tents on shore, and the spare cordage accidentally left there by the Centurion, together with the sails and rigging already belonging to the bark, would serve to rig her indifferently well, when she was lengthened: and as they had tallow in plenty, they proposed to pay her bottom with a mixture of tallow and lime, which it was known was well adapted to that purpose: so that with respect to her equipment, she would not have been very defective. There was, however, one exception, which would have proved extremely inconvenient, and that was her size: for as they could not make her quite forty tons burthen, she would have been incapable of containing half the crew below the deck, and she would have been so top-heavy, that if they were all at the same time ordered upon deck, there would be no small hazard of her oversetting; but this was a difficulty not to be removed, as they could not augment her beyond the size already proposed. After the manner of rigging and fitting up the bark was considered and regulated, the next essential point to be thought on was, how to procure a sufficient stock of provisions for their voyage; and here they were greatly at a loss what course to take; for they had neither grain nor bread of any kind on shore, their bread-fruit, which would not keep at sea, having all along supplied its place: and though they had live cattle enough, yet they had no salt to cure beef for a sea-store, nor would meat take salt in that climate. Indeed, they had preserved a small quantity of jerked beef, which they found upon the place at their landing; but this was greatly disproportioned to the run of near six hundred leagues, which they were to engage in, and to the number of hands they should have on board. It was at last, however, resolved to take on board as many cocoa-nuts as they possibly could; to make the most of their jerked beef, by a very sparing distribution of it; and to endeavour to supply their want of bread by rice; to furnish themselves with which, it was proposed, when the bark was fitted up, to make an expedition to the island of Rota, where they were told that the Spaniards had large plantations of rice under the care of the Indian inhabitants: but as this last measure was to be executed by force, it became necessary to examine what

ammunition had been left on shore, and to preserve it carefully; and on this inquiry, they had the mortification to find, that the utmost that could be collected by the strictest search, did not amount to more than ninety charges of powder for their firelocks, which was considerably short of one a-piece for each of the company, and was indeed a very slender stock of ammunition, for such as were to eat no grain or bread for a month, but what they were to procure by force of arms.

But the most alarming circumstance, and what, without the providential interposition of very improbable events, had rendered all their schemes abortive, remains yet to be related. The general idea of the fabric and equipment of the vessel was settled in a few days; and when this was done, it was not difficult to make some estimation of the time necessary to complete her. After this, it was natural to expect that the officers would consider on the course they were to steer, and the land they were to make. These reflections led them to the disheartening discovery, that there was neither compass nor quadrant on the island. Indeed the commodore had brought a pocket-compass on shore for his own use; but Lieutenant Brett had borrowed it to determine the position of the neighbouring islands, and he had been driven to sea in the *Centurion*, without returning it: and as to a quadrant, that could not be expected to be found on shore, for as it was of no use at land, there could be no reason for bringing it from on board the ship. It was eight days, from the departure of the *Centurion*, before they were in any degree relieved from this terrible perplexity: at last, in rummaging a chest belonging to the Spanish bark, they found a small compass, which, though little better than the toys usually made for the amusement of school-boys, was to them an invaluable treasure. And a few days after, by a similar piece of good fortune, they found a quadrant on the sea-shore, which had been thrown overboard amongst other lumber belonging to the dead: the quadrant was eagerly seized, but on examination, it unluckily wanted vanes, and therefore in its present state was altogether useless; however, fortune still continuing in a favourable mood, it was not long before a person out of curiosity pulling out the drawer of an old table, which had been driven on shore, found therein some vanes, which fitted the quadrant very well; and it being thus completed, it was examined by the known latitude of the place, and was found to answer to a sufficient degree of exactness.

And now, all these obstacles being in some degree removed, (which were always as much as possible concealed from the vulgar, that they might not grow remiss with the apprehension of labouring to no purpose) the work proceeded very successfully and vigorously: the necessary iron-work was in great forwardness; and the timbers and planks (which, though not the most exquisite performances of the sawyer's art, were yet sufficient for the purpose) were all prepared; so that, on the 6th of October, being the fourteenth day from the departure of the ship, they haled the bark on shore, and, on the two succeeding days she was sawn asunder, (though with great care not to cut her planks) and her two parts were separated the proper distance from each other, and, the mate-

rials being all ready before-hand, they, the next day, being the 9th of October, went on with great despatch in their proposed enlargement of her; and by this time they had all their future operations so fairly in view, and were so much masters of them, that they were able to determine when the whole would be finished, and had accordingly fixed the 5th of November for the day of their putting to sea. But their projects and labours were now drawing to a speedier and happier conclusion; for on the 11th of October, in the afternoon, one of the Gloucester's men, being upon a hill in the middle of the island, perceived the *Centurion* at a distance, and running down with his utmost speed towards the landing-place, he, in the way, saw some of his comrades, to whom he hallooed out with great ecstasy, "The ship, the ship!" This being heard by Mr. Gordon, a lieutenant of marines, who was convinced by the fellow's transport that his report was true, Mr. Gordon ran towards the place where the commodore and his people were at work, and being fresh and in breath, easily outstripped the Gloucester's man, and got before him to the commodore, who, on hearing this happy and unexpected news, threw down his axe with which he was then at work, and by his joy broke through, for the first time, the equable and unvaried character which he had hitherto preserved; the others, who were with him, instantly ran down to the sea-side in a kind of frenzy, eager to feast themselves with a sight they had so ardently wished for, and of which they had now for a considerable time despaired. By five in the evening, the *Centurion* was visible in the offing to them all; and, a boat being sent off with eighteen men to reinforce her, and with fresh meat and fruits for the refreshment of her crew, she, the next afternoon, happily came to an anchor in the road, where the commodore immediately came on board her, and was received by us with the sincerest and heartiest acclamations: for, from the following short recital of the fears, the dangers and fatigues we in the ship underwent, during our nineteen days' absence from Tinian, it may be easily conceived, that a harbour, refreshments, repose, and the joining of our commander and shipmates, were not less pleasing to us, than our return was to them.

#### CHAPTER IV.

*Proceedings on board the Centurion, when driven out to sea.*

THE *Centurion* being now once more safely arrived at Tinian, to the mutual respite of the labours of our divided crew, it is high time that the reader, after the relation already given of the projects and employment of those left on shore, should be apprised of the fatigues and distresses, to which we, who were driven off to sea, were exposed during the long interval of nineteen days that we were absent from the island.

It has been already mentioned, that it was the 22nd of September, about one o'clock, in an extremely dark night, when by the united violence of a prodigious storm, and an exceeding rapid tide, we were driven from our anchors and forced to sea. Our condition then was truly deplorable; we were in a leaky ship, with three cables in our

hawse, to one of which hung our only remaining anchor; we had not a gun on board lashed, nor a port barred in; our shrouds were loose, and our top-masts unrigged, and we had struck our fore and main yards close down before the storm came on, so that there were no sails we could set, except our mizen.

In this dreadful extremity we could muster no more strength on board, to navigate the ship, than a hundred and eight hands, several negroes and Indians included: this was scarcely the fourth part of our complement; and of these the greater number were either boys, or such as, being lately recovered from the scurvy, had not yet arrived at half their former vigour. No sooner were we at sea, but by the violence of the storm, and the working of the ship, we made a great quantity of water through our hawse-holes, ports and scuppers, which, added to the constant effect of our leak, rendered our pumps alone a sufficient employment for us all: but though this leakage, by being a short time neglected, would inevitably end in our destruction, yet we had other dangers then impending, which occasioned this to be regarded as a secondary consideration only. For we all imagined, that we were driving directly on the neighbouring island of Aguiuan, which was about two leagues distant; and as we had lowered our main and fore yards close down, we had no sails we could set but the mizen, which was altogether insufficient to carry us clear of this instant peril: we therefore immediately applied ourselves to work, endeavouring, by the utmost of our efforts, to heave up the main and fore yards, in hopes that, if we could but be enabled to make use of our lower canvas, we might possibly weather the island, and thereby save ourselves from this impending shipwreck. But after full three hours' ineffectual labour, the jeers broke, and the men being quite jaded, we were obliged, by mere debility, to desist, and quietly to expect our fate, which we then conceived to be unavoidable: for we imagined ourselves by this time, to be driven just upon the shore, and the night was so extremely dark, that we expected to discover the island no otherwise than by striking upon it; so that the belief of our destruction, and the uncertainty of the point of time when it would take place, occasioned us to pass several hours under the most serious apprehensions that each succeeding moment would send us to the bottom. Nor did these continued terrors, of instantly striking and sinking, end but with the daybreak; when we with great transport perceived, that the island, we had thus dreaded, was at a considerable distance, and that a strong northern current had been the cause of our preservation.

The turbulent weather, which forced us from Tinian, did not begin to abate till three days after; and then we swayed up the fore-yard, and began to heave up the main-yard, but the jeers broke and killed one of our men, and prevented us at that time from proceeding. The next day, being the 26th of September, was a day of most severe fatigue to us all; for it must be remembered, that in these exigencies no rank or office exempted any person from the manual application and bodily labour of a common sailor. The business of this day was no less than an attempt to heave up the sheet-anchor, which we had hitherto dragged at

our bows with two cables an end<sup>1</sup>. This was a work of great importance to our future preservation. For, not to mention the impediment to our navigation, and the hazard it would be to our ship, if we attempted to make sail with the anchor in its present situation, we had this most interesting consideration to animate us, that it was the only anchor we had left; and, without securing it, we should be under the utmost difficulties and hazards whenever we made the land again; and therefore being all of us fully apprised of the consequence of this enterprise, we laboured at it with the severest application for full twelve hours, when we had indeed made a considerable progress, having brought the anchor in sight; but it then growing dark, and we being excessively fatigued, we were obliged to desist, and to leave our work unfinished till the next morning, when, by the benefit of a night's rest, we completed and hung the anchor at our bow.

It was the 27th of September in the morning, that is, five days after our departure, when we thus secured our anchor; and the same day we got up our main-yard. And having now conquered, in some degree, the distress and disorder which we were necessarily involved in at our first driving out to sea, and being enabled to make use of our canvas, we set our courses, and for the first time stood to the eastward, in hopes of regaining the island of Tinian, and joining our commodore in a few days. For we were then, by our accounts, only forty-seven leagues to the south-west of Tinian; so that on the first day of October, having then run the distance necessary for making the island according to our reckoning, we were in full expectation of seeing it; but we were unhappily disappointed, and were thereby convinced that a current had driven us to the westward. And as we could not judge how much we might hereby have deviated, and, consequently, how long we might still expect to be at sea, we had great apprehensions that our stock of water might prove deficient; for we were doubtful about the quantity we had on board, and found many of our casks so decayed, as to be half-leaked out. However, we were delivered from our uncertainty the next day, by having a sight of the island of Guam, by which we discovered that the currents had driven us forty-four leagues to the westward of our accounts. This sight of land having satisfied us of our situation, we kept plying to the eastward, though with excessive labour, for the wind continuing fixed in the eastern board, we were obliged to tack often, and our crew were so weak, that without the assistance of every man on board, it was not in our power to put the ship about. This severe employment lasted till the 11th of October, being the nineteenth day from our departure; when arriving in the offing of Tinian, we were reinforced from the shore, as hath been already mentioned; and on the evening of the same day, we, to our inexpressible joy, came to an anchor in the road, thereby procuring to our shipmates on shore, as well as to ourselves, a cessation from the fatigues and apprehensions which this disastrous incident had given rise to.

<sup>1</sup> The nautical reader will be surprised at this passage. The first object should have been to heave up the anchor; for how was it possible for the ship to perform, even if they had succeeded in swaying the yards up, and making sail, with the sheet anchor at the end of 200 fathoms (400 yards) of cable towing at the bows?

## CHAPTER V.

*Employment at Tinian, till the final departure of the Centurion from thence; with a description of the Ladrões.*

WHEN the commodore came on board the Centurion, on her return to Tinian, as already mentioned, he resolved to stay no longer at the island than was absolutely necessary to complete our stock of water, a work which we immediately set ourselves about. But the loss of our long-boat, which was staved against our poop, when we were driven out to sea, put us to great inconveniences in getting our water on board; for we were obliged to raft off all our casks, and the tide ran so strong, that, besides the frequent delays and difficulties it occasioned, we more than once lost the whole raft. Nor was this our only misfortune; for, on the 14th of October, being but the third day after our arrival, a sudden gust of wind brought home our anchor, forced us off the bank, and drove the ship out to sea a second time. The commodore, it is true, and the principal officers, were now on board; but we had near seventy men on shore, who had been employed in filling our water, and procuring provisions. These had with them our two cutters; but as they were too many for the cutters to bring off at once, we sent the eighteen-oared barge to assist them; and at the same time made a signal for all that could to embark. The two cutters soon came off to us full of men; but forty of the company, who were employed in killing cattle in the wood, and in bringing them down to the landing-place, were left behind; and though the eighteen-oared barge was left for their conveyance, yet, as the ship soon drove to a considerable distance, it was not in their power to join us. However, as the weather was favourable, and our crew was now stronger than when we were first driven out, we, in about five days' time, returned again to an anchor at Tinian, and relieved those we had left behind us from their second fears of being deserted by their ship.

On our arrival, we found that the Spanish bark, the old object of their hopes, had undergone a new metamorphosis. For those we had left on shore began to despair of our return; and conceiving that the lengthening the bark, as formerly proposed, was both a toilsome and unnecessary measure, considering the small number they consisted of, they had resolved to join her again, and to restore her to her first state; and in this scheme they had made some progress; for they had brought the two parts together, and would have soon completed her, had not our coming back put a period to their labours and disquietudes.

These people we had left behind informed us, that just before we were seen in the offing, two proas had stood in very near the shore, and had continued there for some time; but on the appearance of our ship, they crowded away, and were presently out of sight. And, on this occasion I must mention an incident, which, though it happened during the first absence of the ship, was then omitted, to avoid interrupting the course of the narration.

It hath already been observed, that a part of the detachment sent to this island under the com-

mand of the Spanish serjeant, lay concealed in the woods; and we were the less solicitous to find them out, as our prisoners all assured us that it was impossible for them to get off, and, consequently, that it was impossible for them to send any intelligence about us to Guam. But when the Centurion drove out to sea, and left the commodore on shore, he one day, attended by some of his officers, endeavoured to make the tour of the island. In this expedition, being on a rising ground, they perceived in the valley beneath them the appearance of a small thicket, which, by observing more nicely, they found had a progressive motion. This at first surprised them; but they soon discovered that it was no more than several large cocoa-bushes, which were dragged along the ground, by persons concealed beneath them. They immediately concluded that these were some of the serjeant's party (which was indeed true); and therefore the commodore and his people made after them, in hopes of finding out their retreat. The Indians soon perceived they were discovered, and hurried away with precipitation; but Mr. Anson was so near them, that he did not lose sight of them till they arrived at their cell, which he and his officers entering found to be abandoned, there being a passage from it down a precipice contrived for the convenience of flight. They found here an old firelock or two, but no other arms. However, there was a great quantity of provisions, particularly salted spareribs of pork, which were excellent; and from what our people saw here, they concluded, that the extraordinary appetite which they had found at this island was not confined to themselves alone; for, it being about noon, the Indians had laid out a very plentiful repast, considering their numbers, and had their bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts prepared ready for eating, and in a manner which plainly evinced that, with them too, a good meal was neither an uncommon nor an unheeded article. The commodore having in vain endeavoured to discover the path by which the Indians had escaped, he and his officers contented themselves with sitting down to the dinner which was thus luckily fitted to their present appetites; after which they returned back to their old habitation, displeased at missing the Indians, as they hoped to have engaged them in our service, if they could have had any conference with them. But notwithstanding what our prisoners had asserted, we were afterwards assured, that these Indians were carried off to Guam long before we left the place. But to return to our history.

On our coming to an anchor again, after our second driving off to sea, we laboured indefatigably in getting in our water; and having, by the 20th of October, completed it to fifty tons, which we supposed would be sufficient for our passage to Macao, we, on the next day, sent one of each mess on shore, to gather as large a quantity of oranges, lemons, cocoa-nuts, and other fruits of the island, as they possibly could, for the use of themselves and messmates, when at sea. And these purveyors returning on board us on the evening of the same day, we then set fire to the bark and proa, hoisted in our boats, and got under sail, steering away for the south end of the island of Formosa, and taking our leaves, for the third and last time, of the island of Tinian: an island which,

whether we consider the excellence of its productions, the beauty of its appearance, the elegance of its woods and lawns, the healthiness of its air, or the adventures it gave rise to, may in all these views be truly styled romantic.

And now, postponing for a short time our run to Formosa, and thence to Canton, I shall interrupt the narration with a description of that range of islands, usually called the Ladrões, or Marian Islands, of which this of Tinian is one.

These islands were discovered by Magellan in the year 1521; and by the account given of the two he first fell in with, it should seem that they were the islands of Saypan and Tinian; for they are described in his expedition as very beautiful islands, and as lying between fifteen and sixteen degrees of north latitude. These characteristics are particularly applicable to the two above-mentioned places; for the pleasing appearance of Tinian hath occasioned the Spaniards to give it the additional name of Buenavista; and Saypan, which is in the latitude of 15° 22' north, affords no contemptible prospect when seen from the sea.

There are usually reckoned twelve of these islands; but if the small islets and rocks are counted in, then their whole number will amount to above twenty. They were formerly most of them well inhabited; and, even not sixty years ago, the three principal islands, Guam, Rota, and Tinian, together, are said to have contained above fifty thousand people: but since that time Tinian has been entirely depopulated; and only two or three hundred Indians have been left at Rota to cultivate rice for the island of Guam; so that now no more than Guam can properly be said to be inhabited. This island of Guam is the only settlement of the Spaniards; here they keep a governor and garrison, and here the Manila ship generally touches for refreshment in her passage from Aca-pulco to the Philippines. It is esteemed to be about thirty leagues in circumference, and contains, by the Spanish accounts, near four thousand inhabitants, of which a thousand are said to live in the city of San Ignatio de Agand, where the governor generally resides, and where the houses are represented as considerable, being built with stone and timber, and covered with tiles, a very uncommon fabric for these warm climates and savage countries: besides this city there are upon the island thirteen or fourteen villages. As this is a post of some consequence, on account of the refreshment it yields to, the Manila ship, there are two castles on the seashore; one is the castle of St. Angelo, which lies near the road, where the Manila ship usually anchors, and is but an insignificant fortress, mounting only five guns, eight-pounders; the other is the castle of St. Lewis, which is N.E. from St. Angelo, and four leagues distant, and is intended to protect a road where a small vessel anchors, which arrives here every other year from Manila. This fort mounts the same number of guns as the former: and besides these forts there is a battery of five pieces of cannon, on an eminence near the seashore. The Spanish troops employed on this island consist of three companies of foot, from forty to fifty men each; and this is the principal strength the governor has to depend on; for he cannot rely on any assistance from the Indian inhabitants, being

generally upon ill terms with them, and so apprehensive of them, that he has debarred them the use of fire-arms or lances.

The rest of these islands, though not inhabited, do yet abound with many kinds of refreshment and provision; but there is no good harbour or road to be met with amongst them all: of that of Tinian we have treated largely already; nor is the road of Guam much better: for it is not unusual for the Manila ship, though she proposes to stay there but twenty-four hours, to be forced to sea, and to leave her boat behind her. This is an inconvenience so sensibly felt by the commerce at Manila, that it is always recommended to the governor at Guam to use his best endeavours for the discovery of some safe port in this part of the world. How industrious he may be to comply with his instructions I know not; but this is certain, that, notwithstanding the many islands already found out between the coast of Mexico and the Philippines, there is not yet known any one safe port in that whole tract; though in other parts of the world it is not uncommon for very small islands to furnish most excellent harbours.

From what has been said it appears that the Spaniards, on the island of Guam, are extremely few compared to the Indian inhabitants; and formerly the disproportion was still greater, as may be easily conceived from what has been said, in another chapter, of the numbers heretofore on Tinian alone. These Indians are a bold well-limbed people; and it should seem from some of their practices that they are no ways defective in understanding; for their flying proas in particular, which have been for ages the only vessels used by them, are so singular and extraordinary an invention, that it would do honour to any nation, however dexterous and acute. For if we consider the aptitude of this proa to the particular navigation of these islands, which, lying all of them nearly under the same meridian, and within the limits of the trade-wind, require the vessels made use of in passing from one to the other to be particularly fitted for sailing with the wind upon the beam; or, if we examine the uncommon simplicity and ingenuity of its fabric and contrivance, or the extraordinary velocity with which it moves, we shall, in each of these articles, find it worthy of our admiration, and meriting a place amongst the mechanical productions of the most civilised nations, where arts and sciences have most eminently flourished. As former navigators, though they have mentioned these vessels, have yet treated of them imperfectly; and, as I conceive that, besides their curiosity, they may furnish both the shipwright and seaman with no contemptible observations, I shall here insert a very exact description of the built, rigging, and working of these vessels, which I am well enabled to do; for one of them, as I have mentioned, fell into our hands at our first arrival at Tinian, and Mr. Brett took it to pieces, on purpose to delineate its fabric and dimensions with greater accuracy: so that the following account may be relied on.

The name of flying proa given to these vessels, is owing to the stiffness with which they sail. Of this the Spaniards assert such stories as appear altogether incredible to those who have never seen these vessels move; nor are the Spaniards the



only people who relate these extraordinary tales of their celerity. For those who shall have the curiosity to inquire at the dock at Portsmouth, about a trial made there some years since with a very imperfect one built at that place, will meet with accounts not less wonderful than any the Spaniards have given. However, from some rude estimations made by our people of the velocity with which they crossed the horizon at a distance, while we lay at Tinian, I cannot help believing that, with a brisk trade-wind, they will run near twenty miles an hour : which, though greatly short of what the Spaniards report of them, is yet a prodigious degree of swiftness. But let us give a distinct idea of its figure.

The construction of this proa is a direct contradiction to the practice of all the rest of mankind. For as the rest of the world make the head of their vessels different from the stern, but the two sides alike ; the proa, on the contrary, has her head and stern exactly alike, but her two sides very different ; the side intended to be always the lee-side being flat ; and the windward-side made rounding, in the manner of other vessels ; and, to prevent her oversetting, which, from her small breadth, and the straight run of her leeward-side, would, without this precaution, infallibly happen, there is a frame laid out from her to windward, to the end of which is fastened a log fashioned into the shape of a small boat, and made hollow : the weight of the frame is intended to balance the proa, and the small boat is by its buoyancy (as it is always in the water) to prevent her oversetting to windward ; and this frame is usually called an outrigger. The body of the proa (at least of that we took) is made of two pieces joined endways, and sewed together with bark, for there is no iron used about her : she is about two inches thick at the bottom, which at the gunwale is reduced to less than one : the mast is supported by a shroud, and by two stays : the sail is made of matting, and the mast, yard, boom, and outriggers, are all made of bamboo : the heel of the yard is always lodged in one of the sockets, according to the tack the proa goes on ; and when she alters her tack, they bear away a little to bring her stern up to the wind, then by easing the halyard and raising the yard, and carrying the heel of it along the lee-side of the proa, they fix it in the opposite socket ; whilst the boom at the same time, by letting fly one sheet, and haling the other sheet, shifts into a contrary situation to what it had before, and that which was the stern of the proa now becomes the head, and she is trimmed on the other tack. When it is necessary to reef or furl the sail, this is done by rolling it round the boom. The proa generally carries six or seven Indians ; two of which are placed in the head and stern, who steer the vessel alternately with a paddle according to the tack she goes on, he in the stern being the steersman ; the other Indians are employed either in baling out the water which she accidentally ships, or in setting and trimming the sail. From the description of these vessels it is sufficiently obvious how dexterously they are fitted for ranging this collection of islands called the Ladrões : for as these islands lie nearly N. and S. of each other, and are all within the limits of the trade-wind, the proas, by sailing most excellently on a wind, and with either end foremost, can run from one of these

islands to the other and back again, only by shifting the sail, without ever putting about ; and, by the flatness of their lee-side, and their small breadth, they are capable of lying much nearer the wind than any other vessel hitherto known, and thereby have an advantage which no vessels that go large can ever pretend to : the advantage I mean is that of running with a velocity nearly as great, and perhaps sometimes greater than that with which the wind blows. This, however paradoxical it may appear, is evident enough in similar instances on shore : for it is well known that the sails of a windmill often move faster than the wind ; and one great superiority of common windmills over all others, that ever were, or ever will be contrived to move with a horizontal motion, is analogous to the case we have mentioned of a vessel upon a wind and before the wind : for the sails of a horizontal windmill, the faster they move, the more they detract from the impulse of the wind upon them ; whereas the common windmills, by moving perpendicular to the torrent of air, are nearly as forcibly acted on by the wind when they are in motion as when they are at rest.

Thus much may suffice as to the description and nature of these singular embarkations. I must add that vessels bearing some obscure resemblance to these are to be met with in various parts of the East Indies ; but none of them, that I can learn, to be compared with those of the Ladrões, either in their construction or celerity ; which should induce one to believe that this was originally the invention of some genius of these islands, and was afterwards imperfectly copied by the neighbouring nations : for though the Ladrões have no immediate intercourse with any other people, yet there lie to the S. and S.W. of them a great number of islands, which are supposed to extend to the coast of New Guinea. These islands are so near the Ladrões that canoes from them have sometimes, by distress, been driven to Guam ; and the Spaniards did once despatch a bark for their discovery, which left two Jesuits amongst them, who were afterwards murdered : and the inhabitants of the Ladrões with their proas may, by like accident, have been driven amongst these islands. Indeed I should conceive that the same range of islands extends to the S.E. as well as the S.W. and that to a prodigious distance : for Schouten, who traversed the south part of the Pacific Ocean in the year 1615, met with a large double canoe full of people, at above a thousand leagues distance from the Ladrões towards the S.E. If this double canoe was any distant imitation of the flying proa, which is no very improbable conjecture, this can only be accounted for by supposing that there is a range of islands, near enough to each other to be capable of an accidental communication, which is extended from the Ladrões thither. And indeed all those who have crossed from America to the East Indies in a southern latitude, have never failed of meeting with several very small islands scattered over that immense ocean.

And as there may be hence some reason to suppose that the Ladrões are only a part of an extensive chain of islands spreading themselves to the southward towards the unknown boundaries of the Pacific Ocean ; so it appears from the Spanish chart, elsewhere spoken of, that the same chain is extended from the northward of the

Ladrones to Japan : so that in this light the Ladrones will be only one small portion of a range of islands, reaching from Japan perhaps to the unknown southern continent. After this short account of these places, I shall now return to the prosecution of our voyage.

## CHAPTER VI.

*From Tinian to Macao.*

I HAVE already mentioned, that, on the 21st of October, in the evening, we took our leave of the island of Tinian, steering the proper course for Macao in China. The eastern monsoon was now, we reckoned, fairly settled ; and we had a constant gale blowing right upon our stern : so that we generally ran from forty to fifty leagues a-day. But we had a large hollow sea pursuing us, which occasioned the ship to labour much ; whence we received great damage in our rigging, which was grown very rotten, and our leak was augmented : but happily for us, our people were now in full health ; so that there were no complaints of fatigue, but all went through their attendance on the pumps, and every other duty of the ship, with ease and cheerfulness.

Having now no other but our sheet-anchor left, except our prize-anchors, which were stowed in the hold, and were too light to be depended on, we were under great concern how we should manœuvre on the coast of China, where we were all entire strangers, and where we should doubtless be frequently under the necessity of coming to an anchor. Our sheet-anchor being obviously much too heavy for a coasting anchor, it was at length resolved to fix two of our largest prize-anchors into one stock, and to place between their shanks two guns, four pounders, which was accordingly executed, and it was to serve as a best bower : and a third prize-anchor being in like manner joined with our stream-anchor, with guns between them, we thereby made a small bower ; so that, besides our sheet-anchor, we had again two others at our bows, one of which weighed 3900 and the other 2900 pounds.

The 3d of November, about three in the afternoon, we saw an island, which at first we imagined to be the island of Botel Tobago Ximo : but on our nearer approach we found it to be much smaller than that is usually represented ; and about an hour after we saw another island, five or six miles farther to the westward. As no chart, nor any journal we had seen, took notice of any other island to the eastward of Formosa, than Botel Tobago Ximo, and as we had no observation of our latitude at noon, we were in some perplexity, being apprehensive that an extraordinary current had driven us into the neighbourhood of the Bashee islands ; and therefore, when night came on, we brought to, and continued in this posture till the next morning, which proving dark and cloudy, for some time prolonged our uncertainty ; but it cleared up about nine o'clock, when we again discerned the two islands above-mentioned ; we then pressed forward to the westward, and by eleven got sight of the southern part of the island of Formosa. This satisfied us that the second island we saw was Botel Tobago Ximo,

and the first a small island or rock, lying five or six miles due east from it, which, not being mentioned by any of our books or charts, was the occasion of our fears.

When we got sight of the island of Formosa, we steered W. by S. in order to double its extremity, and kept a good look out for the rocks of Vele Rete, which we did not see till two in the afternoon. They then bore from us W.N.W., three miles distant, the south end of Formosa at the same time bearing N. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., about five leagues distant. To give these rocks a good berth, we immediately hauled up S. by W., and so left them between us and the land. Indeed we had reason to be careful of them ; for though they appeared as high out of the water as a ship's hull, yet they are environed with breakers on all sides, and there is a shoal stretching from them at least a mile and a half to the southward, whence they may be truly called dangerous. The course from Botel Tobago Ximo to these rocks, is S.W. by W. and the distance about twelve or thirteen leagues : and the south end of Formosa, off which they lie, is in the latitude of  $21^{\circ} 50'$  north, and in  $23^{\circ} 50'$  west longitude from Tinian, according to our most approved reckonings, though by some of our accounts above a degree more.

While we were passing by these rocks of Vele Rete, there was an outery of fire on the fore-castle ; this occasioned a general alarm, and the whole crew instantly flocked together in the utmost confusion, so that the officers found it difficult for some time to appease the uproar : but having at last reduced the people to order, it was perceived that the fire proceeded from the furnace ; and pulling down the brick-work, it was extinguished with great facility, for it had taken its rise from the bricks, which, being over-heated, had begun to communicate the fire to the adjacent wood-work. In the evening we were surprised with a view of what we at first sight conceived to have been breakers, but, on a stricter examination, we found them to be only a great number of fires on the island of Formosa. These, we imagined, were intended by the inhabitants of that island as signals for us to touch there, but that suited not our views, we being impatient to reach the port of Macao as soon as possible. From Formosa we steered W.N.W., and sometimes still more northerly, proposing to fall in with the coast of China, to the eastward of Pedro Blanco ; for the rock so called is usually esteemed an excellent direction for ships bound to Macao. We continued this course till the following night, and then frequently brought to, to try if we were in soundings : but it was the 5th of November, at nine in the morning, before we struck ground, and then we had forty-two fathom, and a bottom of grey sand mixed with shells. When we had got about twenty miles farther W.N.W., we had thirty-five fathom, and the same bottom, from whence our soundings gradually decreased from thirty-five to twenty-five fathom ; but soon after, to our great surprise, they jumped back again to thirty fathom : this was an alteration we could not very well account for, since all the charts laid down regular soundings everywhere to the northward of Pedro Blanco ; and for this reason we kept a very careful look-out, and altered our course to N.N.W., and having run thirty-five miles in this direction, our soundings

again gradually diminished to twenty-two fathom, and we at last, about midnight, got sight of the mainland of China, bearing N. by W., four leagues distant: we then brought the ship to, with her head to the sea, proposing to wait for the morning; and before sunrise we were surprised to find ourselves in the midst of an incredible number of fishing-boats, which seemed to cover the surface of the sea as far as the eye could reach. I may well style their number incredible, since I cannot believe, upon the lowest estimate, that there were so few as six thousand, most of them manned with five hands, and none of those we saw with less than three. Nor was this swarm of fishing vessels peculiar to this spot; for, as we ran on to the westward, we found them as abundant on every part of the coast. We at first doubted not but we should procure a pilot from them to carry us to Macao; but though many of them came close to the ship, and we endeavoured to tempt them by showing them a number of dollars, a most alluring bait for Chinese of all ranks and professions, yet we could not entice them on board us, nor procure any directions from them; though, I presume, the only difficulty was their not comprehending what we wanted them to do, for we could have no communication with them but by signs: indeed we often pronounced the word Macao; but this we had reason to suppose they understood in a different sense; for in return they sometimes held up fish to us, and we afterwards learnt, that the Chinese name for fish is of a somewhat similar sound. But what surprised us most, was the inattention and want of curiosity, which we observed in this herd of fishermen: a ship like ours had doubtless never been in those seas before; perhaps, there might not be one, amongst all the Chinese employed in this fishery, who had ever seen any European vessel; so that we might reasonably have expected to have been considered by them as a very uncommon and extraordinary object; but though many of their vessels came close to the ship, yet they did not appear to be at all interested about us, nor did they deviate in the least from their course to regard us; which insensibility, especially in maritime persons, about a matter in their own profession, is scarcely to be credited, did not the general behaviour of the Chinese, in other instances, furnish us with continual proofs of a similar turn of mind: it may perhaps be doubted, whether this cast of temper be the effect of nature or education; but, in either case, it is an incontestible symptom of a mean and contemptible disposition, and is alone a sufficient confutation of the extravagant panegyrics, which many hypothetical writers have bestowed on the ingenuity and capacity of this nation. But to return:

Not being able to procure any information from the Chinese fishermen about our proper course to Macao, it was necessary for us to rely entirely on our own judgment; and concluding from our latitude, which was 22° 42' North, and from our soundings, which were only seventeen or eighteen fathoms, that we were yet to the eastward of Pedro Blanco, we stood to the westward: and for the assistance of future navigators, who may hereafter doubt about the parts of the coast they are upon, I must observe, that besides the latitude of Pedro Blanco, which is 22° 18', and the depth

of water, which to the westward of that rock is almost everywhere twenty fathoms, there is another circumstance which will give great assistance in judging of the position of the ship: this is the kind of ground; for, till we came within thirty miles of Pedro Blanco, we had constantly a sandy bottom; but there the bottom changed to soft and muddy, and continued so quite to the island of Macao; only while we were in sight of Pedro Blanco, and very near it, we had for a short space a bottom of greenish mud, intermixed with sand.

It was on the 5th of November, at midnight, when we first made the coast of China; and the next day, about two o'clock, as we were standing to the westward within two leagues of the coast, and still surrounded by fishing vessels in as great numbers as at first, we perceived that a boat a-head of us waved a red flag, and blew a horn: this we considered as a signal made to us, either to warn us of some shoal, or to inform us that they would supply us with a pilot, and in this belief we immediately sent our cutter to the boat, to know their intentions; but we were soon made sensible of our mistake, and found that this boat was the commodore of the whole fishery, and that the signal she had made was to order them all to leave off fishing, and to return in shore, which we saw them instantly obey. On this disappointment we kept on our course, and soon after passed by two very small rocks, which lay four or five miles distant from the shore; but night came on before we got sight of Pedro Blanco, and we therefore brought to till the morning, when we had the satisfaction to discover it. It is a rock of a small circumference, but of a moderate height, and, both in shape and colour, resembles a sugar-loaf, and is about seven or eight miles from the shore. We passed within a mile and a half of it, and left it between us and the land, still keeping on to the westward; and the next day, being the 7th, we were a-breast of a chain of islands, which stretched from east to west. These, as we afterwards found, were called the islands of Lema; they are rocky and barren, and are in all, small and great, fifteen or sixteen; and there are, besides, a great number of other islands between them and the mainland of China. These islands we left on the starboard side, passing within four miles of them, where we had twenty-four fathom water. We were still surrounded by fishing-boats; and we once more sent the cutter on board one of them, to endeavour to procure a pilot, but could not prevail; however one of the Chinese directed us by signs to sail round the westernmost of the island or rocks of Lema, and then to hale up. We followed this direction, and in the evening came to an anchor in eighteen fathom.

After having continued at anchor all night, we on the 9th, at four in the morning, sent our cutter to sound the channel, where we proposed to pass; but before the return of the cutter, a Chinese pilot put on board us, and told us, in broken Portuguese, he would carry us to Macao for thirty dollars. These were immediately paid him, and we then weighed and made sail; and soon after several other pilots came on board us, who, to recommend themselves, produced certificates from the captains of several ships they had piloted in, but we con-

tinued the ship under the management of the Chinese who came first on board. By this time we learned that we were not far distant from Macao, and that there were in the river of Canton, at the mouth of which Macao lies, eleven European ships, of which four were English. Our pilot carried us between the islands of Bamboo and Cabouce, but the winds hanging in the northern board, and the tides often setting strongly against us, we were obliged to come frequently to an anchor, so that we did not get through between the two islands till the 12th of November, at two in the morning. In passing through, our depth of water was from twelve to fourteen fathom; and as we still steered on N. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., between a number of other islands, our soundings underwent little or no variation till towards the evening, when they increased to seventeen fathom; in which depth (the wind dying away) we anchored not far from the island of Lantoon, which is the largest of all this range of islands. At seven in the morning we weighed again, and steering W. S. W. and S. W. by W., we at ten o'clock happily anchored in Macao road, in five fathom water, the city of Macao bearing W. by N., three leagues distant; the peak of Lantoon E. by N., and the grand Ladrone S. by E., each of them about five leagues distant. Thus, after a fatiguing cruise of above two years' continuance, we once more arrived in an amicable port in a civilised country; where the conveniences of life were in great plenty; where the naval stores, which we now extremely wanted, could be in some degree procured; where we expected the inexpressible satisfaction of receiving letters from our relations and friends; and where our countrymen, who were lately arrived from England, would be capable of answering the numerous inquiries we were prepared to make, both about public and private occurrences, and to relate to us many particulars, which, whether of importance or not, would be listened to by us with the utmost attention, after the long suspension of our correspondence with our country, to which the nature of our undertaking had hitherto subjected us.

## CHAPTER VII.

### *Proceedings at Macao.*

THE city of Macao, in the road of which we came to an anchor on the 12th of November, is a Portuguese settlement, situated in an island at the mouth of the river of Canton. It was formerly a very rich and populous city, and capable of defending itself against the power of the adjacent Chinese governors; but at present it is much fallen from its ancient splendour; for though it is inhabited by Portuguese, and hath a governor nominated by the king of Portugal, yet it subsists merely by the sufferance of the Chinese, who can starve the place, and dispossess the Portuguese, whenever they please. This obliges the governor of Macao to behave with great circumspection, and carefully to avoid every circumstance that may give offence to the Chinese. The river of Canton, at the mouth of which this city lies, is the only Chinese port frequented by European ships; and this river is indeed a more commodious harbour, on many accounts, than Macao. But the

peculiar customs of the Chinese, only adapted to the entertainment of trading ships, and the apprehensions of the commodore, lest he should embroil the East-India Company with the regency of Canton, if he should insist on being treated upon a different footing than the merchantmen, made him resolve to go first to Macao, before he ventured into the port of Canton. Indeed, had not this reason prevailed with him, he himself had nothing to fear; for it is certain that he might have entered the port of Canton, and might have continued there as long as he pleased, and afterwards have left it again, although the whole power of the Chinese empire had been brought together to oppose him.

The commodore, not to depart from his usual prudence, no sooner came to an anchor in Macao road, than he despatched an officer with his compliments to the Portuguese governor of Macao, requesting his excellency, by the same officer, to advise him in what manner it would be proper to act to avoid offending the Chinese; which, as there were then four of our ships in their power at Canton, was a matter worthy of attention. The difficulty which the commodore principally apprehended, related to the duty usually paid by all ships in the river of Canton, according to their tonnage. For as men of war are exempted in every foreign harbour from all manner of port charges, the commodore thought it would be derogatory to the honour of his country, to submit to this duty in China: and therefore he desired the advice of the governor of Macao, who, being a European, could not be ignorant of the privileges claimed by a British man of war, and consequently might be expected to give us the best lights for avoiding this perplexity. Our boat returned in the evening with two officers sent by the governor, who informed the commodore, that it was the governor's opinion, that if the Centurion ventured into the river of Canton, the duty would certainly be demanded; and, therefore, if the commodore approved of it, he would send him a pilot, who should conduct us into another safe harbour, called the Typa, which was every way commodious for careening the ship (an operation we were resolved to begin upon as soon as possible) and where the above-mentioned duty would in all probability be never asked for.

This proposal the commodore agreed to, and in the morning we weighed anchor, and under the direction of the Portuguese pilot, steered for the intended harbour. As we entered two islands, which form the eastern passage to it, we found our soundings decreased to three fathom and a half. But the pilot assuring us that this was the least depth we should meet with, we continued our course, till at length the ship stuck fast in the mud, with only eighteen foot water abaft; and the tide of ebb making, the water sewed to sixteen feet, but the ship remained perfectly upright; we then sounded all round us, and finding the water deepened to the northward, we carried out our small bower with two hawsers an end, and at the return of the tide of flood, hove the ship afloat; and a small breeze springing up at the same instant, we set the fore-top sail, and slipping the hawser, ran into the harbour, where we moored in about five fathom water. This harbour of the Typa is formed by a number of islands, and is

about six miles distant from Macao. Here we saluted the castle of Macao with eleven guns, which were returned by an equal number.

The next day the commodore paid a visit in person to the governor, and was saluted at his landing by eleven guns; which were returned by the Centurion. Mr. Anson's business in this visit, was to solicit the governor to grant us a supply of provisions, and to furnish us with such stores as were necessary to refit the ship. The governor seemed really inclined to do us all the service he could, and assured the commodore, in a friendly manner, that he would privately give us all the assistance in his power; but he, at the same time, frankly owned, that he dared not openly furnish us with anything we demanded, unless we first procured an order for it from the viceroy of Canton; for that he neither received provisions for his garrison, nor any other necessaries, but by permission from the Chinese government; and as they took care only to furnish him from day to day, he was indeed no other than their vassal, whom they could at all times compel to submit to their own terms, only by laying an embargo on his provisions.

On this declaration of the governor, Mr. Anson resolved himself to go to Canton, to procure a license from the viceroy; and he accordingly hired a Chinese boat for himself and his attendants; but just as he was ready to embark, the hoppo, or Chinese custom-house officer at Macao, refused to grant a permit to the boat, and ordered the watermen not to proceed, at their peril. The commodore at first endeavoured to prevail with the hoppo to withdraw his injunction, and to grant a permit; and the governor of Macao employed his interest with the hoppo to the same purpose. Mr. Anson, finding the officer inflexible, told him the next day, that if he longer refused to grant the permit, he would man and arm his own boats to carry him thither; asking the hoppo, at the same time, who he imagined would dare to oppose him. This threat immediately brought about what his intreaties had laboured for in vain. The permit was granted, and Mr. Anson went to Canton. On his arrival there, he consulted with the supercargoes and officers of the English ships, how to procure an order from the viceroy for the necessaries he wanted. But in this he had reason to suppose that the advice they gave him, though doubtless well intended, was yet not the most prudent. For as it is the custom with these gentlemen never to apply to the supreme magistrate himself, whatever difficulties they labour under, but to transact all matters relating to the government by the mediation of the principal Chinese merchants, Mr. Anson was advised to follow the same method upon this occasion, the English promising (in which they were doubtless sincere) to exert all their interest to engage the merchants in his favour. And when the Chinese merchants were applied to, they readily undertook the management of it, and promised to answer for its success; but after near a month's delay, and reiterated excuses, during which interval they pretended to be often upon the point of completing the business, they at last (being pressed, and measures being taken for delivering a letter to the viceroy) threw off the mask, and declared they neither had applied to the viceroy, nor could they; for he was too great a

man, they said, for them to approach on any occasion. And, not contented with having themselves thus grossly deceived the commodore, they now used all their persuasion with the English at Canton, to prevent them from intermeddling with anything that regarded him, representing to them, that it would in all probability embroil them with the government, and occasion them a great deal of unnecessary trouble; which groundless insinuations had indeed but too much weight with those they were applied to.

It may be difficult to assign a reason for this perfidious conduct of the Chinese merchants: interest indeed is known to exert a boundless influence over the inhabitants of that empire; but how their interest could be affected in the present case, is not easy to discover; unless they apprehended that the presence of a ship of force might damp their Manila trade, and therefore acted in this manner with a view of forcing the commodore to Batavia; but it might be as natural in this light to suppose, that they would have been eager to have got him despatched. I therefore rather impute their behaviour to the unparalleled pusillanimity of the nation, and to the awe they are under of the government: for as such a ship as the Centurion, fitted for war only, had never been seen in those parts before, she was the horror of these dastards, and the merchants were in some degree terrified even with the idea of her, and could not think of applying to the viceroy (who is doubtless fond of all opportunities of fleecing them) without representing to themselves the pretences which a hungry and tyrannical magistrate might possibly find, for censuring their intermeddling in so unusual a transaction, in which he might pretend the interest of the state was immediately concerned. However, be this as it may, the commodore was satisfied that nothing was to be done by the interposition of the merchants, as it was on his pressing them to deliver a letter to the viceroy, that they had declared they durst not intermeddle, and had confessed, that notwithstanding all their pretences of serving him, they had not yet taken one step towards it. Mr. Anson therefore told them, that he would proceed to Batavia, and refit his ship there; but informed them, at the same time, that this was impossible to be done, unless he was supplied with a stock of provisions sufficient for his passage. The merchants, on this, undertook to procure him provisions, but assured him, that it was what they durst not engage in openly, but proposed to manage it in a clandestine manner, by putting a quantity of bread, flour, and other provisions on board the English ships, which were now ready to sail; and these were to stop at the mouth of the Tupa, where the Centurion's boats were to receive it. This article, which the merchants represented as a matter of great favour, being settled, the commodore, on the 16th of December, returned from Canton to the ship, seemingly resolved to proceed to Batavia to refit, as soon as he should get his supplies of provision on board.

But Mr. Anson (who never intended going to Batavia) found, on his return to the Centurion, that her main-mast was sprung in two places, and that the leak was considerably increased; so that, upon the whole, he was fully satisfied, that though he should lay in a sufficient stock of provisions, yet it would be impossible for him to put to sea

without refitting: for, if he left the port with his ship in her present condition, she would be in the utmost danger of foundering; and therefore, notwithstanding the difficulties he had met with, he resolved at all events to have her hove down, before he left Macao. He was fully convinced, by what he had observed at Canton, that his great caution not to injure the East-India Company's affairs, and the regard he had shown to the advice of their officers, had occasioned all his embarrassments. For he now saw clearly, that if he had at first carried his ship into the river of Canton, and had immediately applied himself to the mandarins, who are the chief officers of state, instead of employing the merchants to apply for him; he would, in all probability, have had all his requests granted, and would have been soon despatched. He had already lost a month, by the wrong measures he had been put upon, but he resolved to lose as little more time as possible; and therefore, the 17th of December, being the next day after his return from Canton, he wrote a letter to the viceroy of that place, acquainting him, that he was commander-in-chief of a squadron of his Britannic Majesty's ships of war, which had been cruising for two years past in the South Seas against the Spaniards, who were at war with the king his master; that, in his way back to England, he had put into the port of Macao, having a considerable leak in his ship, and being in great want of provisions, so that it was impossible for him to proceed on his voyage, till his ship was repaired, and he was supplied with the necessaries he wanted; that he had been at Canton, in hopes of being admitted to a personal audience of his excellency; but being a stranger to the customs of the country, he had not been able to inform himself what steps were necessary to be taken to procure such an audience, and therefore was obliged to apply to him in this manner, to desire his excellency to give order for his being permitted to employ carpenters and proper workmen to refit his ship, and to furnish himself with provisions and stores, thereby to enable him to pursue his voyage to Great Britain with this monsoon, hoping, at the same time, that these orders would be issued with as little delay as possible, lest it might occasion his loss of the season, and he might be prevented from departing till next winter.

This letter was translated into the Chinese language, and the commodore delivered it himself to the hoppo or chief officer of the emperor's customs at Macao, desiring him to forward it to the viceroy of Canton, with as much expedition as he could. The officer at first seemed unwilling to take charge of it, and raised many objections about it, so that Mr. Anson suspected him of being in league with the merchants of Canton, who had always shown a great apprehension of the commodore's having any immediate intercourse with the viceroy or mandarins; and therefore the commodore, with some resentment, took back his letter from the hoppo, and told him he would immediately send an officer with it to Canton in his own boat, and would give him positive orders not to return without an answer from the viceroy. The hoppo perceiving the commodore to be in earnest, and fearing to be called to an account for his refusal, begged to be entrusted with the letter, and promised to

deliver it, and to procure an answer as soon as possible. And now it was soon seen how justly Mr. Anson had at last judged of the proper manner of dealing with the Chinese; for this letter was written but the 17th of December, as hath been already observed; and, on the 19th in the morning a mandarin of the first rank, who was governor of the city of Janson, together with two mandarins of an inferior class, and a great retinue of officers and servants, having with them eighteen half galleys decorated with a greater number of streamers, and furnished with music, and full of men, came to grapnel a-head of the Centurion; whence the mandarin sent a message to the commodore, telling him that he (the mandarin) was ordered, by the viceroy of Canton, to examine the condition of the ship, and desiring the ship's boat might be sent to fetch him on board. The Centurion's boat was immediately despatched, and preparations were made for receiving him; for a hundred of the most sightly of the crew were uniformly dressed in the regimentals of the marines, and were drawn up under arms on the main-deck, against his arrival. When he entered the ship he was saluted by the drums, and what other military music there was on board; and passing by the new-formed guard, he was met by the commodore on the quarter-deck, who conducted him to the great cabin. Here the mandarin explained his commission, declaring that his business was to examine all the particulars mentioned in the commodore's letter to the viceroy, and to confront them with the representation that had been given of them; that he was particularly instructed to inspect the leak, and had for that purpose brought with him two Chinese carpenters; and that for the greater regularity and despatch of his business, he had every head of enquiry separately written down on a sheet of paper, with a void space opposite to it, where he was to insert such information and remarks thereon, as he could procure by his own observation.

This mandarin appeared to be a person of very considerable parts, and endowed with more frankness and honesty, than is to be found in the generality of the Chinese. After the proper inquiries had been made, particularly about the leak, which the Chinese carpenters reported to be as dangerous as it had been represented, and consequently that it was impossible for the Centurion to proceed to sea without being refitted, the mandarin expressed himself satisfied with the account given in the commodore's letter. And this magistrate, as he was more intelligent than any other person of his nation that came to our knowledge, so likewise was he more curious and inquisitive, viewing each part of the ship with particular attention, and appearing greatly surprised at the largeness of the lower deck guns, and at the weight and size of the shot. The commodore, observing his astonishment, thought this a proper opportunity to convince the Chinese of the prudence of granting him a speedy and ample supply of all he wanted: with this view he told the mandarin, and those who were with him, that, besides the demands he made for a general supply, he had a particular complaint against the proceedings of the custom-house of Macao; that at his first arrival the Chinese boats had brought on board plenty of greens, and variety of fresh provisions for daily use, for which they had always

been paid to their full satisfaction, but that the custom-house officers at Macao had soon forbid them, by which means he was deprived of those refreshments which were of the utmost consequence to the health of his men, after their long and sickly voyage; that as they, the mandarins, had informed themselves of his wants, and were eye-witnesses of the force and strength of his ship, they might be satisfied it was not for want of power to supply himself, that he desired the permission of the government to purchase what provisions he stood in need of; that they must be convinced that the Centurion alone was capable of destroying the whole navigation of the port of Canton, or of any other port in China, without running the least risk from all the force the Chinese could collect; that it was true, this was not the manner of proceeding between nations in friendship with each other; but it was likewise true, that it was not customary for any nation to permit the ships of their friends to starve and sink in their ports, when those friends had money to supply their wants, and only desired liberty to lay it out; that they must confess, he and his people had hitherto behaved with great modesty and reserve; but that, as his wants were each day increasing, hunger would at last prove too strong for any restraint, and necessity was acknowledged in all countries to be superior to every other law; and therefore it could not be expected that his crew would long continue to starve in the midst of that plenty to which their eyes were every day witnesses: to this the commodore added, (though perhaps with a less serious air) that if by the delay of supplying him with provisions his men should be reduced to the necessity of turning cannibals, and preying upon their own species, it was easy to be foreseen that, independent of their friendship to their comrades, they would, in point of luxury, prefer the plump well-fed Chinese to their own emaciated shipmates. The first mandarin acquiesced in the justness of this reasoning, and told the commodore, that he should that night proceed for Canton; that on his arrival, a council of mandarins would be summoned, of which he himself was a member; and that by being employed in the present commission, he was of course the commodore's advocate; that, as he was fully convinced of the urgency of Mr. Anson's necessity, he did not doubt but, on his representation, the council would be of the same opinion; and that all that was demanded would be amply and speedily granted: and with regard to the commodore's complaint of the custom-house of Macao, he undertook to rectify that immediately by his own authority; for desiring a list to be given him of the quantity of provisions necessary for the expense of the ship for a day, he wrote a permit under it, and delivered it to one of his attendants, directing him to see that quantity sent on board early every morning; and this order, from that time forwards, was punctually complied with.

When this weighty affair was thus in some degree regulated, the commodore invited him and his two attendant mandarins to dinner, telling them at the same time, that if his provisions, either in kind or quantity, was not what they might expect, they must thank themselves for having confined him to so hard an allowance. One of his dishes was beef, which the Chinese all dislike,

though Mr. Anson was not apprised of it; this seems to be derived from the Indian superstition, which for some ages past has made a great progress in China. However, his guests did not entirely fast; for the three mandarins completely finished the white part of four large fowls. But they were extremely embarrassed with their knives and forks, and were quite incapable of making use of them: so that, after some fruitless attempts to help themselves, which were sufficiently awkward, one of the attendants was obliged to cut their meat in small pieces for them. But whatever difficulty they might have in complying with the European manner of eating, they seemed not to be novices in drinking. The commodore excused himself in this part of the entertainment under the pretence of illness; but there being another gentleman present, of a florid and jovial complexion, the chief mandarin clapped him on the shoulder, and told him by the interpreter, that certainly he could not plead sickness, and therefore insisted on his bearing him company; and that gentleman perceiving, that after they had despatched four or five bottles of Frontinac, the mandarin still continued unruined, he ordered a bottle of citron-water to be brought up, which the Chinese seemed much to relish; and this being near finished, they arose from table, in appearance cool and uninfluenced by what they had drunk, and the commodore having, according to custom, made the mandarin a present, they all departed in the same vessels that brought them.

After their departure the commodore with great impatience expected the resolution of the council, and the necessary licenses for his refitment. For it must be observed, as has already appeared from the preceding narration, that he could neither purchase stores nor necessaries with his money, nor did any kind of workmen dare to engage themselves to work for him, without the permission of the government first obtained. And in the execution of these particular injunctions the magistrates never fail of exercising great severity; they, notwithstanding the fustian eulogiums bestowed upon them by the catholic missionaries and their European copiers, being composed of the same fragile materials with the rest of mankind, and often making use of the authority of the law, not to suppress crimes, but to enrich themselves by the pillage of those who commit them; for capital punishments are rare in China, the effeminate genius of the nation, and their strong attachment to lucre, disposing them rather to make use of fines; and hence arises no inconsiderable profit to those who compose their tribunals: consequently prohibitions of all kinds, particularly such as the alluring prospect of great profit may often tempt the subject to infringe, cannot but be favourite institutions in such a government. But to return:

Some time before this Captain Saunders took his passage to England on board a Swedish ship, and was charged with despatches from the commodore; and soon after, in the month of December, Captain Mitchel, Colonel Cracherode, and Mr. Tassel, one of the agent-victuallers, with his nephew Mr. Charles Harriot, embarked on board some of our Company's ships; and I, having obtained the commodore's leave to return home, embarked with them. I must observe too (having

omitted it before) that whilst we lay here at Macao, we were informed by some of the officers of our Indiamen, that the *Severn* and *Pearl*, the two ships of our squadron which had separated from us off Cape Noir, were safely arrived at Rio Janeiro on the coast of Brazil. I have formerly taken notice that, at the time of their separation, we apprehended them to be lost. And there were many reasons which greatly favoured this suspicion: for we knew that the *Severn* in particular was extremely sickly; and this was the more obvious to the rest of the ships, as in the preceding part of the voyage her commander Captain Legge had been remarkable for his exemplary punctuality in keeping his station, till, for the last ten days before his separation, his crew was so diminished and enfeebled, that with his utmost efforts it was not possible for him to maintain his proper position with his wonted exactness. The extraordinary sickness on board him was by many imputed to the ship, which was new, and on that account was believed to be the more unhealthy; but whatever was the cause of it, the *Severn* was by much the most sickly of the squadron: for before her departure from St. Catherine's she buried more men than any of them, inasmuch that the commodore was obliged to recruit her with a number of fresh hands; and, the mortality still continuing on board her, she was supplied with men a second time at sea after our setting sail from St. Julians; and, notwithstanding these different reinforcements, she was at last reduced to the distressed condition I have already mentioned: so that the commodore himself was firmly persuaded she was lost; and therefore it was with great joy we received the news of her and the *Pearl's* safety, after the strong persuasion, which had so long prevailed amongst us, of their having both perished. But to proceed with the transactions between Mr. Anson and the Chinese.

Notwithstanding the favourable disposition of the mandarin governor of Janson at his leaving Mr. Anson, several days were elapsed before he had any advice from him; and Mr. Anson was privately informed there were great debates in council upon his affair; partly perhaps owing to its being so unusual a case, and in part to the influence, as I suppose, of the intrigues of the French at Canton: for they had a countryman and fast friend residing on the spot who spoke the language very well, and was not unacquainted with the venality of the government, nor with the persons of several of the magistrates, and consequently could not be at a loss for means of traversing the assistance desired by Mr. Anson. And this opposition of the French was not merely the effect of national prejudice or contrariety of political interests, but was in a good measure owing to their vanity, a motive of much more weight with the generality of mankind than any attachment to the public service of their community: for, the French pretending their Indiamen to be men-of-war, their officers were apprehensive that any distinction granted to Mr. Anson, on account of his bearing the king's commission, would render them less considerable in the eyes of the Chinese, and would establish a prepossession at Canton in favour of ships of war, by which they, as trading vessels, would suffer in their importance: and I wish the affectation of endeavouring to pass for men-of-war,

and the fear of sinking in the estimation of the Chinese, if the *Centurion* was treated in a different manner from themselves, had been confined to the officers of the French ships only. However, notwithstanding all these obstacles, it should seem that the representation of the commodore to the mandarins of the facility with which he could right himself, if justice were denied him, had at last its effect: for, on the 6th of January, in the morning, the governor of Janson, the commodore's advocate, sent down the viceroy of Canton's warrant for the refitment of the *Centurion*, and for supplying her people with all they wanted; and, the next day, a number of Chinese smiths and carpenters went on board, to agree for all the work by the great. They demanded at first to the amount of a thousand pounds sterling for the necessary repairs of the ship, the boats, and the masts: this the commodore seemed to think an unreasonable sum, and endeavoured to persuade them to work by the day; but that proposal they would not hearken to; so it was at last agreed that the carpenters should have to the amount of about six hundred pounds for their work; and that the smiths should be paid for their iron-work by weight, allowing them at the rate of three pounds a hundred nearly for the small work, and forty-six shillings for the large.

This being regulated, the commodore exerted himself to get this most important business completed; I mean the heaving down the *Centurion*, and examining the state of her bottom: for this purpose the first lieutenant was despatched to Canton to hire two country vessels, called in their language junks, one of them being intended to heave down by, and the other to serve as a magazine for the powder and ammunition: at the same time the ground was smoothed on one of the neighbouring islands, and a large tent was pitched for lodging the lumber and provisions, and near a hundred Chinese caulkers were soon set to work on the decks and sides of the ship. But all these preparations, and the getting ready the careening gear, took up a great deal of time; for the Chinese caulkers, though they worked very well, were far from being expeditious; and it was the 26th of January before the junks arrived; and the necessary materials, which were to be purchased at Canton, came down very slowly; partly from the distance of the place, and partly from the delays and backwardness of the Chinese merchants. And in this interval Mr. Anson had the additional perplexity to discover that his fore-mast was broken asunder above the upper deck partners, and was only kept together by the fishes which had been formerly clapt upon it.

However, the *Centurion's* people made the most of their time, and exerted themselves the best they could; and as, by clearing the ship, the carpenters were enabled to come at the leak, they took care to secure that effectually whilst the other preparations were going forwards. The leak was found to be below the fifteen foot mark, and was principally occasioned by one of the bolts being worn away and loose in the joining of the stem where it was scarfed.

At last, all things being prepared, they, on the 22nd of February, in the morning, hove out the first course of the *Centurion's* starboard side, and had the satisfaction to find that her bottom ap-



peared sound and good; and, the next day, (having by that time completed the new sheathing of the first course) they righted her again to set up anew the careening rigging, which stretched much. Thus they continued heaving down, and often righting the ship from a suspicion of their careening tackle, till the 3rd of March; when, having completed the paying and sheathing the bottom, which proved to be everywhere very sound; they, for the last time, righted the ship, to their great joy; for not only the fatigue of careening had been considerable, but they had been apprehensive of being attacked by the Spaniards, whilst the ship was thus incapacitated for defence. Nor were their fears altogether groundless; for they learnt afterwards, by a Portuguese vessel, that the Spaniards at Manila had been informed that the Centurion was in the Typa, and intended to careen there; and that thereupon the governor had summoned his council, and had proposed to them to endeavour to burn her whilst she was careening, which was an enterprise which, if properly conducted, might have put them in great danger: they were farther told, that this scheme was not only proposed, but resolved on; and that a captain of a vessel had actually undertaken to perform the business for forty thousand dollars, which he was not to receive unless he succeeded; but the governor pretending that there was no treasure in the royal chest, and insisting that the merchants should advance the money, and they refusing to comply with the demand, the affair was dropped: perhaps the merchants suspected that the whole was only a pretext to get forty thousand dollars from them; and indeed this was affirmed by some who bore the governor no good will, but with what truth it is difficult to ascertain.

As soon as the Centurion was righted, they took in her powder, and gunner's stores, and proceeded in getting in their guns as fast as possible, and then used their utmost expedition in repairing the foremast, and in completing the other articles of her refitment. And being thus employed, they were alarmed, on the 10th of March, by a Chinese fisherman, who brought them intelligence that he had been on board a large Spanish ship off the Grand Ladrone, and that there were two more in company with her: he added several particulars to his relation; as that he had brought one of their officers to Macao; and that, on this, boats went off early in the morning from Macao to them: and the better to establish the belief of his veracity, he said he desired no money, if his information should not prove true. This was presently believed to be the forementioned expedition from Manila; and the commodore immediately fitted his cannon and small arms in the best manner he could for defence; and having then his pinnace and cutter in the offing, which had been ordered to examine a Portuguese vessel, which was getting under sail, he sent them the advice he had received, and directed them to look out strictly: but no such ships ever appeared, and they were soon satisfied the whole of the story was a fiction; though it was difficult to conceive what reason could induce the fellow to be at such extraordinary pains to impose on them.

It was the beginning of April before they had new-rigged the ship, stowed their provisions and water on board, and had fitted her for the sea;

and before this time the Chinese grew very uneasy, and extremely desirous that she should be gone; either not knowing, or pretending not to believe, that this was a point the commodore was as eagerly set on as they could be. On the 3rd of April, two mandarin boats came on board from Macao to urge his departure; and this having been often done before, though there had been no pretence to suspect Mr. Anson of any affected delays, he at this last message answered them in a determined tone, desiring them to give him no further trouble, for he would go when he thought proper, and not before. On this rebuke the Chinese (though it was not in their power to compel him to be gone) immediately prohibited all provisions from being carried on board him, and took such care that their injunctions should be complied with, that from that time forwards nothing could be purchased at any rate whatever.

On the 6th of April, the Centurion weighed from the Typa, and warped to the southward; and, by the 15th, she was got into Macao road, completing her water as she passed along, so that there remained now very few articles more to attend to; and her whole business being finished by the 19th, she, at three in the afternoon of that day, weighed and made sail, and stood to sea.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*From Macao to Cape Espiritu Santo: the taking of the Manila galleon, and returning back again.*

THE commodore was now got to sea, with his ship very well refitted, his stores replenished, and an additional stock of provisions on board: his crew too was somewhat reinforced; for he had entered twenty-three men during his stay at Macao, the greatest part of which were Lascars or Indian sailors, and some few Dutch.<sup>1</sup> He gave out at Macao, that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England; and though the westerly monsoon was now set in, when that passage is considered as impracticable, yet, by the confidence he had expressed in the strength of his ship, and the dexterity of his people, he had persuaded not only his own crew, but the people at Macao likewise, that he proposed to try this unusual experiment; so that there were many letters put on board him by the inhabitants of Canton and Macao for their friends at Batavia.

But his real design was of a very different nature: for he knew, that instead of one annual ship from Acapulco to Manila there would be this year, in all probability, two; since, by being before Acapulco, he had prevented one of them from putting to sea the preceding season. He therefore resolved to cruise for these returning vessels off Cape Espiritu Santo, on the island of Samal, which is the first land they always make in the Philippine Islands. And as June is generally the month in which they arrive there, he doubted not but he should get to his intended

<sup>1</sup> "The number of men I have now borne is two hundred and one, amongst which are included all the officers and boys which I had out of the Gloucester, Tryal prize, and Anna pink, so that I have not before the most more than forty-five able seamen."—Anson's official report.

station time enough to intercept them. It is true they were said to be stout vessels, mounting forty-four guns a-piece, and carrying above five hundred hands, and might be expected to return in company; and he himself had but two hundred and twenty-seven hands on board, of which near thirty were boys: but this disproportion of strength did not deter him, as he knew his ship to be much better fitted for a sea-engagement than theirs, and as he had reason to expect that his men would exert themselves in the most extraordinary manner, when they had in view the immense wealth of these Manila galleons.

This project the commodore had resolved on in his own thoughts, ever since his leaving the coast of Mexico. And the greatest mortification which he received, from the various delays he had met with in China, was his apprehension, lest he might be thereby so long retarded as to let the galleons escape him. Indeed, at Macao it was incumbent on him to keep these views extremely secret; for there being a great intercourse and a mutual connexion of interests between that port and Manila, he had reason to fear, that if his designs were discovered, intelligence would be immediately sent to Manila, and measures would be taken to prevent the galleons from falling into his hands: but being now at sea, and entirely clear of the coast, he summoned all his people on the quarter-deck, and informed them of his resolution to cruise for the two Manila ships, of whose wealth they were not ignorant. He told them he should choose a station, where he could not fail of meeting with them; and though they were stout ships, and full manned, yet, if his own people behaved with their accustomed spirit, he was certain he should prove too hard for them both, and that one of them at least could not fail of becoming his prize: he further added, that many ridiculous tales had been propagated about the strength of the sides of these ships, and their being impenetrable to cannon-shot; that these fictions had been principally invented to palliate the cowardice of those who had formerly engaged them; but he hoped there were none of those present weak enough to give credit to so absurd a story: for his own part, he did assure them upon his word, that, whenever he met with them, he would fight them so near that they should find, his bullets, instead of being stopped by one of their sides, should go through them both.

This speech of the commodore's was received by his people with great joy: for no sooner had he ended, than they expressed their approbation, according to naval custom, by three strenuous cheers, and all declared their determination to succeed or perish, whenever the opportunity presented itself. And now their hopes, which since their departure from the coast of Mexico, had entirely subsided, were again revived; and they all persuaded themselves, that, notwithstanding the various casualties and disappointments they had hitherto met with, they should yet be repaid the price of their fatigues, and should at last return home enriched with the spoils of the enemy: for firmly relying on the assurances of the commodore, that they should certainly meet with the vessels, they were all of them too sanguine to doubt a moment of mastering them; so that they considered themselves as having them already in

their possession. And this confidence was so universally spread through the whole ship's company, that, the commodore having taken some Chinese sheep to sea with him for his own provision, and one day inquiring of his butcher, why, for some time past, he had seen no mutton at his table, asking him if all the sheep were killed, the butcher very seriously replied, that there were indeed two sheep left, but that if his honour would give him leave, he proposed to keep those for the entertainment of the general of the galleons.

When the Centurion left the port of Macao, she stood for some days to the westward; and, on the first of May, they saw part of the island of Formosa; and, standing thence to the southward, they, on the 4th of May, were in the latitude of the Bashee islands, as laid down by Dampier; but they suspected his account of inaccuracy, as they found that he had been considerably mistaken in the latitude of the south end of Formosa: for this reason they kept a good look-out, and about seven in the evening discovered from the mast-head five small islands, which were judged to be the Bashees, and they had afterwards a sight of Botel Tobago Ximo. By this means they had an opportunity of correcting the position of the Bashee islands, which had been hitherto laid down twenty-five leagues too far to the westward: for by their observations, they esteemed the middle of these islands to be in  $21^{\circ} 4'$  north, and to bear from Botel Tobago Ximo S.S.E. twenty leagues distant, that island itself being in  $21^{\circ} 57'$  north.

After getting a sight of the Bashee islands, they stood between the S. and S.W. for Cape Espiritu Santo; and, the 20th of May at noon, they first discovered that cape, which about four o'clock they brought to bear S.S.W., about eleven leagues distant. It appeared to be of a moderate height, with several round hummocks on it. As it was known that there were sentinels placed upon this cape to make signals to the Acapulco ship, when she first falls in with the land, the commodore immediately tacked, and ordered the top-gallant sails to be taken in, to prevent being discovered; and, this being the station in which it was resolved to cruise for the galleons, they kept the cape between the south and the west, and endeavoured to confine themselves between the latitude of  $12^{\circ} 50'$  and  $13^{\circ} 5'$ , the cape itself lying, by their observations, in  $12^{\circ} 40'$  north and in  $4^{\circ}$  of east longitude from Botel Tobago Ximo.

It was the last of May, by the foreign style, when they arrived off this cape; and, the month of June, by the same style, being that in which the Manila ships are usually expected, the Centurion's people were now waiting each hour with the utmost impatience for the happy crisis which was to balance the account of all their past calamities. As from this time there was but small employment for the crew, the commodore ordered them almost every day to be exercised in the management of the great guns, and in the use of their small arms. This had been his practice, more or less, at all convenient seasons during the whole course of his voyage; and the advantages which he received from it, in his engagement with the galleon, were an ample recompense for all his care and attention. Indeed, it should seem that there are few particulars of a commander's duty of more importance than this, how much soever it may have

been sometimes overlooked or misunderstood: for it will, I suppose, be confessed, that in two ships of war, equal in the number of their men and guns, the disproportion of strength, arising from a greater or less dexterity in the use of their great guns and small arms, is what can scarcely be balanced by any other circumstances whatever. For, as these are the weapons with which they are to engage, what greater inequality can there be betwixt two contending parties, than that one side should perfectly understand the use of their weapons, and should have the skill to employ them in the most effectual manner for the annoyance of their enemy, while the other side should, by their awkward management of them, render them rather terrible to themselves, than mischievous to their antagonists? This seems so plain and natural a conclusion, that a person unacquainted with these affairs would suppose the first care of a commander to be the training his people to the use of their arms.

But human affairs are not always conducted by the plain dictates of common sense. There are many other principles which influence our transactions: and there is one in particular, which though of a very erroneous complexion, is scarcely ever excluded from our most serious deliberations; I mean custom, or the practice of those who have preceded us. This is usually a power too mighty for reason to grapple with; and is the most terrible to those who oppose it, as it has much of superstition in its nature, and pursues all those who question its authority with unrelenting vehemence. However, in these later ages of the world, some lucky encroachments have been made upon its prerogative; and it may reasonably be hoped, that the gentlemen of the navy, whose particular profession hath of late been considerably improved by a number of new inventions, will of all others be the readiest to give up those practices which have nothing to plead but prescription, and will not suppose that every branch of their business hath already received all the perfection of which it is capable. Indeed, it must be owned, that if a dexterity in the use of small arms, for instance, hath been sometimes less attended to on board our ships of war, than might have been wished for, it hath been rather owing to unskilful methods of teaching it, than to negligence: for the common sailors, how strongly soever attached to their own prejudices, are very quick-sighted in finding out the defects of others, and have ever shown a great contempt for the formalities practised in the training of land troops to the use of their arms; but when those who have undertaken to instruct the seamen have contented themselves with inculcating only what was useful, and that in the simplest manner, they have constantly found their people sufficiently docile, and the success hath even exceeded their expectation. Thus on board Mr. Anson's ship, where they were only taught the shortest method of loading with cartridges, and were constantly trained to fire at a mark, which was usually hung at the yard-arm, and where some little reward was given to the most expert, the whole crew, by this management, were rendered extremely skilful, quick in loading, all of them good marksmen, and some of them most extraordinary ones; so that I doubt not but, in the use of small arms, they were more

than a match for double their number, who had not been habituated to the same kind of exercise. But to return:

It was the last of May, N.S. as hath been already said, when the *Centurion* arrived off Cape Espiritu Santo; and consequently the next day began the month in which the galleons were to be expected. The commodore therefore made all necessary preparations for receiving them, having hoisted out his long-boat, and lashed her alongside, that the ship might be ready for engaging, if they fell in with the galleons in the night. All this time too he was very solicitous to keep at such a distance from the cape, as not to be discovered: but it hath been since learnt, that notwithstanding his care, he was seen from the land; and advice of him was sent to Manila, where it was at first disbelieved, but on reiterated intelligence (for it seems he was seen more than once) the merchants were alarmed, and the governor was applied to, who undertook (the commerce supplying the necessary sums) to fit out a force consisting of two ships of thirty-two guns, one of twenty guns and two sloops of ten guns, each, to attack the *Centurion* on her station: and some of these vessels did actually weigh with this view; but the principal ship not being ready, and the monsoon being against them, the commerce and the governor disagreed, and the enterprise was laid aside. This frequent discovery of the *Centurion* from the shore was somewhat extraordinary; for the pitch of the cape is not high, and she usually kept from ten to fifteen leagues distant; though once indeed, by an in-draught of the tide, as was supposed, they found themselves in the morning within seven leagues of the land.

As the month of June advanced, the expectancy and impatience of the commodore's people each day increased. And I think no better idea can be given of their great eagerness on this occasion, than by copying a few paragraphs from the journal of an officer, who was then on board; as it will, I presume, be a more natural picture of the full attachment of their thoughts to the business of their cruise, than can be given by any other means. The paragraphs I have selected, as they occur in order of time, are as follow:

"May 31, Exercising our men at their quarters, in great expectation of meeting with the galleons very soon; this being the eleventh of June their style."

"June 3, Keeping in our stations, and looking out for the galleons."

"June 5, Begin now to be in great expectation, this being the middle of June their style."

"June 11, Begin to grow impatient at not seeing the galleons."

"June 13, The wind having blown fresh easterly for the forty-eight hours past, gives us great expectations of seeing the galleons soon."

"June 15, Cruising on and off, and looking out strictly."

"June 19, This being the last day of June, N.S. the galleons, if they arrive at all, must appear soon."

From these samples it is sufficiently evident, how completely the treasure of the galleons had engrossed their imagination, and how anxiously they passed the latter part of their cruise, when

the certainty of the arrival of these vessels was dwindled down to probability only, and that probability became each hour more and more doubtful. However, on the 20th of June O. S., being just a month from their arrival on their station, they were relieved from this state of uncertainty; when, at sun-rise, they discovered a sail from the mast-head, in the S.E. quarter. On this, a general joy spread through the whole ship; for they had no doubt but this was one of the galleons, and they expected soon to see the other. The commodore instantly stood towards her, and at half an hour after seven they were near enough to see her from the Centurion's deck; at which time the galleon fired a gun, and took in her top-gallant sails, which was supposed to be a signal to her consort, to hasten her up; and therefore the Centurion fired a gun to leeward, to amuse her. The commodore was surprised to find, that in all this time the galleon did not change her course, but continued to bear down upon him; for he hardly believed, what afterwards appeared to be the case, that she knew his ship to be the Centurion, and resolved to fight him.

About noon the commodore was little more than a league distant from the galleon, and could fetch her wake, so that she could not now escape; and, no second ship appearing, it was concluded that she had been separated from her consort. Soon after, the galleon hauled up her fore-sail, and brought-to under top-sails, with her head to the northward, hoisting Spanish colours, and having the standard of Spain flying at the top-gallant mast-head. Mr. Anson, in the mean time, had prepared all things for an engagement on board the Centurion, and had taken all possible care, both for the most effectual exertion of his small strength, and for the avoiding the confusion and tumult, too frequent in actions of this kind. He picked out about thirty of his choicest hands and best marksmen, whom he distributed into his tops, and who fully answered his expectation, by the signal services they performed. As he had not hands enough remaining to quarter a sufficient number to each great gun, in the customary manner, he therefore, on his lower tier, fixed only two men to each gun, who were to be solely employed in loading it, whilst the rest of his people were divided into different gangs of ten and twelve men each, which were constantly moving about the decks, to run out and fire such guns as were loaded. By this management he was enabled to make use of all his guns; and, instead of firing broadsides with intervals between them, he kept up a constant fire without intermission, whence he doubted not to procure very signal advantages; for it is common with the Spaniards to fall down upon the decks when they see a broadside preparing, and to continue in that posture till it is given; after which they rise again, and, presuming the danger to be some time over, work their guns, and fire with great briskness, till another broadside is ready: but the firing gun by gun, in the manner directed by the commodore, rendered this practice of theirs impossible.

The Centurion being thus prepared, and nearing the galleon apace, there happened, a little after noon, several squalls of wind and rain, which often obscured the galleon from their sight; but whenever it cleared up, they observed her resolutely

lying-to; and, towards one o'clock, the Centurion hoisted her broad pendant and colours, she being then within gun-shot of the enemy. And the commodore observing the Spaniards to have neglected clearing their ship till that time, as he then saw them throwing overboard cattle and lumber, he gave orders to fire upon them with the chase-guns, to embarrass them in their work, and prevent them from completing it, though his general directions had been not to engage till they were within pistol-shot. The galleon returned the fire with two of her stern-chasers; and the Centurion getting her sprit-sail-yard fore and aft, that if necessary she might be ready for boarding; the Spaniards in a bravado rigged their sprit-sail-yard fore and aft likewise. Soon after, the Centurion came abreast of the enemy within pistol-shot, keeping to the leeward with a view of preventing them from putting before the wind, and gaining the port of Jalapay, from which they were about seven leagues distant. And now the engagement began in earnest, and, for the first half hour, Mr. Anson over-reached the galleon, and lay on her bow; where, by the great wideness of his ports he could traverse almost all his guns upon the enemy, whilst the galleon could only bring a part of hers to bear. Immediately on the commencement of the action, the mats, with which the galleon had stuffed her netting, took fire, and burnt violently, blazing up half as high as the mizen-top. This accident (supposed to be caused by the Centurion's wads) threw the enemy into great confusion, and at the same time alarmed the commodore, for he feared lest the galleon should be burnt, and lest he himself too might suffer by her driving on board him: but the Spaniards at last freed themselves from the fire, by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole mass which was in flames, into the sea. But still the Centurion kept her first advantageous position, firing her cannon with great regularity and briskness, whilst at the same time the galleon's decks lay open to her top-men, who, having at their first volley driven the Spaniards from their tops, made prodigious havoc with their small arms, killing or wounding every officer but one that ever appeared on the quarter-deck, and wounding in particular the general of the galleon himself. And though the Centurion, after the first half hour, lost her original situation, and was close alongside the galleon, and the enemy continued to fire briskly for near an hour longer, yet at last the commodore's grape-shot swept their decks so effectually, and the number of their slain and wounded was so considerable, that they began to fall into great disorder, especially as the general, who was the life of the action, was no longer capable of exerting himself. Their embarrassment was visible from on board the commodore. For the ships were so near, that some of the Spanish officers were seen running about with great assiduity, to prevent the desertion of their men from their quarters: but all their endeavours were in vain; for after having, as a last effort, fired five or six guns with more judgment than usual, they gave up the contest; and, the galleon's colours being singed off the ensign-staff in the beginning of the engagement, she struck the standard at her main-top-gallant mast-head, the person who was employed to do it having been in imminent peril

of being killed, had not the commodore, who perceived what he was about, given express orders to his people to desist from firing.

Thus was the Centurion possessed of this rich prize, amounting in value to near a million and a half of dollars. She was called the Nostra Signora de Cabadonga, and was commanded by the general Don Jeronimo de Montero, a Portuguese by birth, and the most approved officer for skill and courage of any employed in that service. The galleon was much larger than the Centurion, had five hundred and fifty men and thirty-six guns mounted for action, besides twenty-eight pidreoes in her gunwale, quarters and tops, each of which carried a four-pound ball. She was very well furnished with small-arms, and was particularly provided against boarding, both by her close quarters, and by a strong net-work of two inch rope, which was laced over her waist, and was defended by half pikes. She had sixty-seven killed in the action, and eighty-four wounded, whilst the Centurion had only two killed, and a lieutenant and sixteen wounded, all of whom, but one, recovered: of so little consequence are the most destructive arms in untutored and unpractised hands!

The treasure thus taken by the Centurion having been for at least eighteen months the great object of their hopes, it is impossible to describe the transport on board, when, after all their reiterated disappointments, they at last saw their wishes accomplished. But their joy was near being suddenly damped by a most tremendous incident: for no sooner had the galleon struck, than one of the lieutenants coming to Mr. Anson to congratulate him on his prize, whispered him at the same time, that the Centurion was dangerously on fire near the powder-room. The commodore received this dreadful news without any apparent emotion, and, taking care not to alarm his people, gave the necessary orders for extinguishing it, which was happily done in a short time, though its appearance at first was extremely terrible. It seems some cartridges had been blown up by accident between decks, whereby a quantity of oakum in the after-hatchway, near the after powder-room, was set on fire; and the great smother and smoke of the oakum occasioned the apprehension of a more extended and mischievous fire. At the same instant, too, the galleon fell on board the Centurion on the starboard quarter, but she was cleared without doing or receiving any considerable damage.

The commodore made his first lieutenant, Mr. Saumarez, captain of this prize, appointing her a post-ship in his Majesty's service. Captain Saumarez, before night, sent on board the Centurion all the Spanish prisoners, but such as were thought the most proper to be retained to assist in navigating the galleon. And now the commodore learnt, from some of these prisoners, that the other ship, which he had kept in the port of Acapulco the preceding year, instead of returning in company with the present prize as was expected, had set sail from Acapulco alone much sooner than usual, and had, in all probability, got into the port of Manila long before the Centurion arrived off Espiritu Santo; so that Mr. Anson, notwithstanding his present success, had great reason to regret his loss of time at Macao, which prevented him from taking two rich prizes instead of one.

The commodore, when the action was ended,

resolved to make the best of his way with his prize for the river of Canton, being in the mean time fully employed in securing his prisoners, and in removing the treasure from on board the galleon into the Centurion. The last of these operations was too important to be postponed; for as the navigation to Canton was through seas but little known, and where, from the season of the year, much bad weather might be expected, it was of great consequence that the treasure should be sent on board the Centurion, which ship, by the presence of the commander-in-chief, the greater number of her hands, and her other advantages, was doubtless much safer against all the casualties of winds and seas than the galleon: and the securing the prisoners was a matter of still more consequence, as not only the possession of the treasure, but the lives of the captors, depended thereon. This was indeed an article which gave the commodore much trouble and disquietude; for they were above double the number of his own people; and some of them, when they were brought on board the Centurion, and had observed how slenderly she was manned, and the large proportion which the striplings bore to the rest, could not help expressing themselves with great indignation, to be thus beaten by a handful of boys. The method which was taken to hinder them from rising, was by placing all but the officers and the wounded in the hold, where, to give them as much air as possible, two hatchways were left open; but then (to avoid all danger whilst the Centurion's people should be employed upon the deck) there was a square partition of thick planks, made in the shape of a funnel, which enclosed each hatch-way on the lower deck, and reached to that directly over it on the upper deck; these funnels served to communicate the air to the hold better than could have been done without them; and, at the same time, added greatly to the security of the ship; for they being seven or eight feet high, it would have been extremely difficult for the Spaniards to have clambered up; and still to augment that difficulty, four swivel-guns, loaded with musket-bullets, were planted at the mouth of each funnel, and a sentinel with a lighted match constantly attended, prepared to fire into the hold amongst them, in case of any disturbance. Their officers, who amounted to seventeen or eighteen, were all lodged in the first lieutenant's cabin, under a constant guard of six men; and the general, as he was wounded, lay in the commodore's cabin with a sentinel always with him; and they were all informed, that any violence or disturbance would be punished with instant death. And that the Centurion's people might be at all times prepared, if, notwithstanding these regulations, any tumult should arise, the small arms were constantly kept loaded in a proper place, whilst all the men went armed with cutlasses and pistols; and no officer ever pulled off his clothes, and when he slept had always his arms lying ready by him.

These measures were obviously necessary, considering the hazards to which the commodore and his people would have been exposed, had they been less careful. Indeed, the sufferings of the poor prisoners, though impossible to be alleviated, were much to be commiserated; for the weather was extremely hot, the stench of the hold loathsome, beyond all conception, and their allowance of water

but just sufficient to keep them alive, it not being practicable to spare them more than at the rate of a pint a day for each, the crew themselves having only an allowance of a pint and a half. All this considered, it was wonderful that not a man of them died during their long confinement, except three of the wounded, who died the same night they were taken: though it must be confessed, that the greatest part of them were strangely metamorphosed by the heat of the hold; for when they were first taken, they were sightly, robust fellows; but when, after above a month's imprisonment, they were discharged in the river of Canton, they were reduced to mere skeletons; and their air and looks corresponded much more to the conception formed of ghosts and spectres, than to the figure and appearance of real men.

Thus employed in securing the treasure and the prisoners, the commodore, as hath been said, stood for the river of Canton; and, on the 30th of June, at six in the evening, got sight of Cape Delangano, which then bore west ten leagues distant; and the next day he made the Bashee islands, and the wind being so far to the northward, that it was difficult to weather them, it was resolved to stand through between Grafton and Monmouth islands, where the passage seemed to be clear; but in getting through, the sea had a very dangerous aspect, for it rippled and foamed, as if it had been full of breakers, which was still more terrible, as it was then night. But the ships got through very safe (the prize always keeping a-head), and it was found that the appearance which had alarmed them had been occasioned only by a strong tide. I must here observe, that though the Bashee islands are usually reckoned to be no more than five, yet there are many more lying about them to the westward, which, as the channels amongst them are not at all known, makes it advisable for ships rather to pass to the northward or southward, than through them; and indeed the commodore proposed to have gone to the northward, between them and Formosa, had it been possible for him to have weathered them. From hence the Centurion steering the proper course for the river of Canton, she, on the 8th of July, discovered the island of Supata, the westernmost of the Lena islands, being the double-peaked rock, formerly referred to. This island of Supata they made to be a hundred and thirty-nine leagues distant from Grafton's island, and to bear from it north 82° 37' west: and, on the 11th, having taken on board two Chinese pilots, one for the Centurion, and the other for the prize, they came to an anchor off the city of Macao.

By this time the particulars of the cargo of the galleon were well ascertained, and it was found that she had on board 1,313,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 oz. of virgin silver, besides some cochineal, and a few other commodities, which, however, were but of small account, in comparison of the specie. And this being the commodore's last prize, it hence appears, that all the treasure taken by the Centurion was not much short of 400,000*l.* independent of the ships and merchandise, which she either burnt or destroyed, and which, by the most reasonable estimation, could not amount to so little as 600,000*l.* more: so that the whole loss of the enemy, by our squadron, did doubtless exceed a million sterling. To which, if there be added

the great expense of the court of Spain, in fitting out Pizarro, and in paying the additional charges in America, incurred on our account, together with the loss of their men-of-war, the total of all these articles will be a most exorbitant sum, and is the strongest conviction of the utility of this expedition, which, with all its numerous disadvantages, did yet prove so extremely prejudicial to the enemy. I shall only add, that there were taken on board the galleon several draughts and journals, from some of which many of the particulars recited in the 10th chapter of the second book are collected. Among the rest there was found a chart of all the ocean, between the Philippines and the coast of Mexico, which was what was made use of by the galleon in her own navigation.

## CHAPTER IX.

### *Transactions in the river of Canton.*

THE commodore having taken pilots on board, proceeded with his prize for the river of Canton; and, on the 14th of July, came to an anchor short of the Bocca Tigris, which is a narrow passage forming the mouth of that river: this entrance he proposed to stand through the next day, and to run up as far as Tiger Island, which is a very safe road, secured from all winds. But whilst the Centurion and her prize were thus at anchor, a boat with an officer came off from the mandarin, commanding the forts at Bocca Tigris to examine what the ships were, and whence they came. Mr. Anson informed the officer, that his ship was a ship of war, belonging to the king of Great Britain; and that the other in company with him was a prize he had taken; that he was going into Canton river to shelter himself against the hurricanes which were then coming on; and that as soon as the monsoon shifted, he should proceed for England. The officer then desired an account of what men, guns, and ammunition were on board, a list of all which he said was to be sent to the government of Canton. But when these articles were repeated to him, particularly when he was told that there were in the Centurion four hundred firelocks, and between three and four hundred barrels of powder, he shrugged up his shoulders, and seemed to be terrified with the bare recital, saying, that no ships ever came into Canton river armed in that manner; adding, that he durst not set down the whole of this force, lest it should too much alarm the regency. After he had finished his inquiries, and was preparing to depart, he desired to leave two custom-house officers behind him; on which the commodore told him, that though as a man-of-war he was prohibited from trading, and had nothing to do with customs or duties of any kind, yet, for the satisfaction of the Chinese, he would permit two of their people to be left on board, who might themselves be witnesses how punctually he should comply with his instructions. The officer seemed amazed when Mr. Anson mentioned being exempted from all duties, and told him, that the emperor's duty must be paid by all ships that came into his ports: and it is supposed, that on this occasion, private directions were given by him to the Chinese pilot, not to carry the commodore through the Bocca Tigris; which makes

it necessary, more particularly, to describe that entrance.

The Bocca Tigris is a narrow passage, little more than musket-shot over, formed by two points of land, on each of which there is a fort, that on the starboard side being a battery on the water's edge, with eighteen embrasures, but where there were no more than twelve iron cannon mounted, seeming to be four or six pounders; the fort on the larboard side is a large castle, resembling those old buildings which here in England we often find distinguished by that name; it is situated on a high rock, and did not appear to be furnished with more than eight or ten cannon, none of which were supposed to exceed six-pounders. These are the defences which secure the river of Canton; and which the Chinese (extremely defective in all military skill) have imagined were sufficient to prevent any enemy from forcing his way through.

But it is obvious, from the description of these forts, that they could have given no obstruction to Mr. Anson's passage, even if they had been well supplied with gunners and stores; and therefore, though the pilot, after the Chinese officer had been on board, refused at first to take charge of the ship, till he had leave from the forts, yet as it was necessary to get through without any delay, for fear of the bad weather which was hourly expected, the commodore weighed on the 15th, and ordered the pilot to carry him by the forts, threatening him that, if the ship ran aground, he would instantly hang him up at the yard-arm. The pilot, awed by these threats, carried the ship through safely, the forts not attempting to dispute the passage. Indeed the poor pilot did not escape the resentment of his countrymen, for when he came on shore, he was seized and sent to prison, and was rigorously disciplined with the bamboo. However, he found means to get at Mr. Anson afterwards, to desire of him some recompense for the chastisement he had undergone, and of which he then carried very significant marks about him; and Mr. Anson, in commiseration of his sufferings, gave him such a sum of money, as would at any time have enticed a Chinese to have undergone a dozen bastinadoings.

Nor was the pilot the only person that suffered on this occasion; for the commodore soon after seeing some royal junks pass by him from Bocca Tigris towards Canton, he learnt, on inquiry, that the mandarin commanding the forts was a prisoner on board them; that he was already turned out, and was now carrying to Canton, where it was expected he would be severely punished for having permitted the ships to pass; and the commodore urging the unreasonableness of this procedure, from the inability of the forts to have done otherwise, explaining to the Chinese the great superiority his ships would have had over the forts, by the number and size of their guns, the Chinese seemed to acquiesce in his reasoning, and allowed that their forts could not have stopped him; but they still asserted, that the mandarin would infallibly suffer, for not having done, what all his judges were convinced, was impossible. To such indefensible absurdities are those obliged to submit, who think themselves concerned to support their authority, when the necessary force is wanting. But to return:

On the 16th of July the commodore sent his second lieutenant to Canton, with a letter to the viceroy, informing him of the reason of the Centurion's putting into that port; and that the commodore himself soon proposed to repair to Canton, to pay a visit to the viceroy. The lieutenant was very civilly received, and was promised that an answer should be sent to the commodore the next day. In the mean time Mr. Anson gave leave to several of the officers of the galleon to go to Canton, they engaging their parole to return in two days. When these prisoners got to Canton, the regency sent for them, and examined them, inquiring particularly by what means they had fallen into Mr. Anson's power. And on this occasion the prisoners were honest enough to declare, that as the kings of Great Britain and of Spain were at war, they had proposed to themselves the taking of the Centurion, and had bore down upon her with that view, but that the event had been contrary to their hopes: however, they acknowledged that they had been treated by the commodore, much better than they believed they should have treated him, had he fallen into their hands. This confession from an enemy had great weight with the Chinese, who, till then, though they had revered the commodore's power, had yet suspected his morals, and had considered him rather as a lawless freebooter, than as one commissioned by the state for the revenge of public injuries. But they now changed their opinion, and regarded him as a more important person; to which perhaps the vast treasure of his prize might not a little contribute; the acquisition of wealth being a matter greatly adapted to the estimation and reverence of the Chinese nation.

In this examination of the Spanish prisoners, though the Chinese had no reason in the main to doubt of the account which was given them, yet there were two circumstances which appeared to them so singular, as to deserve a more ample explanation; one of them was the great disproportion of men between the Centurion and the galleon; the other was the humanity, with which the people of the galleon were treated after they were taken. The mandarins therefore asked the Spaniards, how they came to be overpowered by so inferior a force; and how it happened, since the two nations were at war, that they were not put to death when they came into the hands of the English. To the first of these inquiries the Spaniards replied, that though they had more hands than the Centurion, yet she being intended solely for war, had a great superiority in the size of her guns, and in many other articles, over the galleon, which was a vessel fitted out principally for traffic: and as to the second question, they told the Chinese, that amongst the nations of Europe, it was not customary to put to death those who submitted; though they readily owned, that the commodore, from the natural bias of his temper, had treated both them and their countrymen, who had formerly been in his power, with very unusual courtesy, much beyond what they could have expected, or than was required by the customs established between nations at war with each other. These replies fully satisfied the Chinese, and at the same time wrought very powerfully in the commodore's favour.

On the 20th of July, in the morning, three

mandarins, with a great number of boats, and a vast retinue, came on board the Centurion, and delivered to the commodore the viceroy of Canton's order for a daily supply of provisions, and for pilots to carry the ships up the river as far as the second bar; and at the same time they delivered him a message from the viceroy, in answer to the letter sent to Canton. The substance of the message was, that the viceroy desired to be excused from receiving the commodore's visit, during the then excessive hot weather; because the assembling the mandarins and soldiers, necessary to that ceremony, would prove extremely inconvenient and fatiguing; but that in September, when the weather would be more temperate, he should be glad to see both the commodore himself, and the English captain of the other ship that was with him. As Mr. Anson knew that an express had been despatched to the court at Peking, with an account of the Centurion and her prize being arrived in the river of Canton, he had no doubt but the principal motive for putting off this visit was, that the regency at Canton might gain time to receive the emperor's instructions, about their behaviour in this unusual affair.

When the mandarins had delivered their message, they began to talk to the commodore about the duties to be paid by his ships; but he immediately told them, that he would never submit to any demand of that kind; that as he neither brought any merchandise thither, nor intended to carry any away, he could not be reasonably deemed to be within the meaning of the emperor's orders, which were doubtless calculated for trading vessels only; adding, that no duties were ever demanded of men-of-war, by nations accustomed to their reception, and that his master's orders expressly forbade him from paying any acknowledgment for his ships anchoring in any port whatever.

The mandarins being thus cut short on the subject of the duty, they said they had another matter to mention, which was the only remaining one they had in charge; this was a request to the commodore, that he would release the prisoners he had taken on board the galleon; for that the viceroy of Canton apprehended the emperor, his master, might be displeased, if he should be informed, that persons, who were his allies, and carried on a great commerce with his subjects, were under confinement in his dominions. Mr. Anson was himself extremely desirous to get rid of the Spaniards, having, on his first arrival, sent about a hundred of them to Macao, and those who remained, which were near four hundred more, were on many accounts, a great incumbrance to him. However, to inhance the favour, he at first raised some difficulties; but permitting himself to be prevailed on, he at last told the mandarins, that to show his readiness to oblige the viceroy, he would release the prisoners, whenever they, the Chinese, would send boats to fetch them off. This matter being thus adjusted, the mandarins departed; and, on the 28th of July, two Chinese junks were sent from Canton, to take on board the prisoners, and to carry them to Macao. And the commodore, agreeably to his promise, dismissed them all, and ordered his purser to send with them eight days' provision for their subsistence, during their sailing down the river; this being despatched, the Centurion and

her prize came to her moorings, about the second bar, where they proposed to continue till the monsoon shifted.

Though the ships, in consequence of the viceroy's permit, found no difficulty in purchasing provisions for their daily consumption, yet it was impossible for the commodore to proceed to England, without laying in a large quantity both of provisions and stores for his use, during the voyage: the procuring this supply was attended with much embarrassment; for there were people at Canton who had undertaken to furnish him with biscuit, and whatever else he wanted; and his linguist, towards the middle of September, had assured him, from day to day, that all was ready, and would be sent on board him immediately. But a fortnight being elapsed, and nothing being brought, the commodore sent to Canton to inquire more particularly into the reasons of this disappointment: and he had soon the vexation to be informed, that the whole was an illusion; that no order had been procured from the viceroy, to furnish him with his sea-stores, as had been pretended; that there was no biscuit baked, nor any one of the articles in readiness, which had been promised him; nor did it appear, that the contractors had taken the least step to comply with their agreement. This was most disagreeable news, and made it suspected, that the furnishing the Centurion for her return to Great Britain might prove a more troublesome matter than had been hitherto imagined; especially, too, as the month of September was nearly elapsed, without Mr. Anson's having received any message from the viceroy of Canton.

And here perhaps it might be expected that some satisfactory account should be given of the motives of the Chinese for this faithless procedure. But as I have already, in a former chapter, made some kind of conjectures about a similar event, I shall not repeat them again in this place, but shall observe, that after all, it may perhaps be impossible for a European, ignorant of the customs and manners of that nation, to be fully apprised of the real incitements to this behaviour. Indeed, thus much may undoubtedly be asserted, that in artifice, falsehood, and an attachment to all kinds of lucre; many of the Chinese are difficult to be paralleled by any other people; but then the combination of these talents, and the manner in which they are applied in particular emergencies, are often beyond the reach of a foreigner's penetration; so that though it may be safely concluded, that the Chinese had some interest in thus amusing the commodore, yet it may not be easy to assign the individual views by which they were influenced. And that I may not be thought too severe in ascribing to this nation a fraudulent and selfish turn of temper, so contradictory to the character given of them in the legendary accounts of the Roman missionaries, I shall here mention an extraordinary transaction or two, which I hope will be some kind of confirmation of what I have advanced.

When the commodore lay first at Macao, one of his officers, who had been extremely ill, desired leave of him to go on shore every day on a neighbouring island, imagining that a walk upon the land would contribute greatly to the restoring of his health: the commodore would have dissuaded



him, suspecting the tricks of the Chinese, but the officer continuing importunate, in the end the boat was ordered to carry him. The first day he was put on shore he took his exercise, and returned without receiving any molestation, or even seeing any of the inhabitants; but the second day, he was assaulted, soon after his arrival, by a great number of Chinese who had been hoeing rice in the neighbourhood, and who beat him so violently with the handles of their hoes, that they soon laid him on the ground incapable of resistance; after which they robbed him, taking from him his sword, the hilt of which was silver, his money, his watch, gold-headed cane, snuff-box, sleeve-buttons and hat, with several other trinkets: in the mean time the boat's crew, who were at some little distance, and had no arms of any kind with them, were incapable of giving him any assistance; till at last one of them flew on the fellow who had the sword in his possession, and wresting it out of his hands drew it, and with it was preparing to fall on the Chinese, some of whom he could not have failed of killing; but the officer, perceiving what he was about, immediately ordered him to desist, thinking it more prudent to submit to the present violence, than to embroil his commodore in an inextricable squabble with the Chinese government, by the death of their subjects; which calmness in this gentleman was the more meritorious, as he was known to be a person of an uncommon spirit, and of a somewhat hasty temper: by this means the Chinese recovered the possession of the sword, which they soon perceived was prohibited to be made use of against them, and carried off their whole booty unmolested. No sooner were they gone, than a Chinese on horseback, very well dressed, and who had the air and appearance of a gentleman, came down to the shore, and, as far as could be understood by his signs, seemed to censure the conduct of his countrymen, and to commiserate the officer, being wonderfully officious to assist in getting him on board the boat: but notwithstanding this behaviour, it was shrewdly suspected that he was an accomplice in the theft, and time fully evinced the justice of those suspicions.

When the boat returned on board, and reported what had passed to the commodore, he immediately complained of it to the mandarin, who attended to see his ship supplied; but the mandarin coolly replied, that the boat ought not to have gone on shore, promising, however, that if the thieves could be found out, they should be punished; though it appeared plain enough, by his manner of answering, that he would never give himself any trouble in searching them out. However, a considerable time afterwards, when some Chinese boats were selling provisions to the Centurion, the person who had wrested the sword from the Chinese came with great eagerness to the commodore, to assure him that one of the principal thieves was then in a provision-boat along-side the ship; and the officer, who had been robbed, viewing the fellow on this report, and well remembering his face, orders were immediately given to seize him; and he was accordingly secured on board the ship, where strange discoveries were now made.

This thief, on his being first apprehended, expressed so much fright in his countenance, that it

was feared he would have died upon the spot; the mandarin too, who attended the ship, had visibly no small share of concern on the occasion. Indeed he had reason enough to be alarmed, since it was soon evinced that he had been privy to the whole robbery; for the commodore declaring that he would not deliver up the thief, but would himself order him to be shot, the mandarin immediately put off the magisterial air, with which he had at first pretended to demand him, and begged his release in the most abject manner: and the commodore appearing inflexible, there came on board, in less than two hours' time, five or six of the neighbouring mandarins, who all joined in the same intreaty, and, with a view of facilitating their suit, offered a large sum of money for the fellow's liberty. Whilst they were thus soliciting, it was discovered that the mandarin who was the most active amongst them, and who seemed to be most interested in the event, was the very gentleman who came to the officer, just after the robbery, and who pretended to be so much displeased with the villainy of his countrymen. And, on further inquiry it was found that he was the mandarin of the island; and that he had, by the authority of his office, ordered the peasants to commit that infamous action. And it seemed, as far as could be collected from the broken hints which were casually thrown out, that he and his brethren, who were all privy to the transaction, were terrified with the fear of being called before the tribunal at Canton, where the first article of their punishment would be the stripping them of all they were worth; though their judges (however fond of inflicting a chastisement so lucrative to themselves) were perhaps of as tainted a complexion as the delinquents. Mr. Anson was not displeased to have caught the Chinese in this dilemma; and he entertained himself for some time with their perplexity, rejecting their money with scorn, appearing inexorable to their prayers, and giving out that the thief should certainly be shot; but as he then foresaw that he should be forced to take shelter in their ports a second time, when the influence he might hereby acquire over the magistrates would be of great service to him, he at length permitted himself to be persuaded, and as a favour released his prisoner, but not till the mandarin had collected and returned all that had been stolen from the officer, even to the minutest trifle.

But notwithstanding this instance of the good intelligence between the magistrates and criminals, the strong addiction of the Chinese to lucre often prompts them to break through this awful confederacy, and puts them on defrauding the authority that protects them of its proper quota of the pillage. For not long after the above-mentioned transaction (the former mandarin, attendant on the ship, being, in the meantime, relieved by another), the commodore lost a topmast from his stern, which, after the most diligent inquiry, could not be traced: and as it was not his own, but had been borrowed at Macao to heave down by, and was not to be replaced in that part of the world, he was extremely desirous to recover it, and published a considerable reward to any who would bring it him again. There were suspicions from the first of its being stolen, which made him conclude a reward was the likeliest method of getting it back: accordingly, soon after, the mandarin told

him that some of his, the mandarin's, people had found the topmast, desiring the commodore to send his boats to fetch it, which being done, the mandarin's people received the promised reward; but the commodore told the mandarin that he would make him a present besides for the care he had taken in directing it to be searched for; and accordingly Mr. Anson gave a sum of money to his linguist, to be delivered to the mandarin; but the linguist knowing that the people had been paid, and ignorant that a further present had been promised, kept the money himself: however, the mandarin fully confiding in Mr. Anson's word, and suspecting the linguist, he took occasion, one morning, to admire the size of the Centurion's masts, and thence, on a pretended sudden recollection, he made a digression to the topmast which had been lost, and asked Mr. Anson if he had not got it again. Mr. Anson presently perceived the bent of this conversation, and inquired of him if he had not received the money from the linguist, and finding he had not, he offered to pay it him upon the spot. But this the mandarin refused, having now somewhat more in view than the sum which had been detained: for the next day the linguist was seized, and was doubtless muled of all he had gotten in the commodore's service, which was supposed to be little less than two thousand dollars; he was besides so severely bastinadoed with the bamboo, that it was with difficulty he escaped with his life; and when he was upbraided by the commodore (to whom he afterwards came begging) with his folly, in risking all he had suffered for fifty dollars, (the present intended for the mandarin) he had no other excuse to make than the strong bias of his nation to dishonesty; replying, in his broken jargon, "*Chinese man very great rogue truly, but have fashion, no can help.*"

It were endless to recount all the artifices, extortions, and frauds which were practised on the commodore and his people, by this interested race. The method of buying all things in China being by weight, the tricks made use of by the Chinese to increase the weight of the provision they sold to the Centurion, were almost incredible. One time a large quantity of fowls and ducks being bought for the ship's use, the greatest part of them presently died. This alarmed the people on board with the apprehension that they had been killed by poison; but on examination it appeared that it was only owing to their being crammed with stones and gravel to increase their weight, the quantity thus forced into most of the ducks being found to amount to ten ounces in each. The hogs too, which were bought ready killed of the Chinese butchers, had water injected into them for the same purpose; so that a carcass, hung up all night for the water to drain from it, has lost above a stone of its weight; and when, to avoid this cheat, the hogs were bought alive, it was found that the Chinese gave them salt to increase their thirst, and having by this means excited them to drink great quantities of water, they then took measures to prevent them from discharging it again by urine, and sold the tortured animals in this inflated state. When the commodore first put to sea from Macao, they practised an artifice of another kind; for as the Chinese never object to the eating of any food that dies of itself, they took care, by some secret practices, that great part of his live sea-store should

die in a short time after it was put on board, hoping to make a second profit of the dead carcasses which they expected would be thrown overboard; and two-thirds of the hogs dying before the Centurion was out of sight of land, many of the Chinese boats followed her only to pick up the carrion. These instances may serve as a specimen of the manners of this celebrated nation, which is often recommended to the rest of the world as a pattern of all kinds of laudable qualities. But to return:

The commodore, towards the end of September, having found out (as has been said) that those who had contracted to supply him with sea-provisions and stores had deceived him, and that the viceroy had not sent to him according to his promise, he saw it would be impossible for him to surmount the embarrassment he was under without going himself to Canton, and visiting the viceroy; and therefore, on the 27th of September, he sent a message to the mandarin who attended the Centurion, to inform him that he, the commodore, intended, on the first of October, to proceed in his boat to Canton; adding, that the day after he got there, he should notify his arrival to the viceroy, and should desire him to fix a time for his audience; to which the mandarin returned no other answer, than that he would acquaint the viceroy with the commodore's intentions. In the meantime all things were prepared for this expedition; and the boat's crew in particular, which Mr. Anson proposed to take with him, were clothed in a uniform dress, resembling that of the watermen on the Thames; they were in number eighteen and a coxswain; they had scarlet jackets and blue silk waistcoats; the whole trimmed with silver buttons, and with silver badges on their jackets and caps. As it was apprehended, and even asserted, that the payment of the customary duties for the Centurion and her prize, would be demanded by the regency of Canton, and would be insisted on previous to the granting a permission for victualling the ship for her future voyage; the commodore, who was resolved never to establish so dishonourable a precedent, took all possible precaution to prevent the Chinese from facilitating the success of their unreasonable pretensions by having him in their power at Canton: and therefore, for the security of his ship, and the great treasure on board her, he appointed his first lieutenant, Mr. Brett, to be captain of the Centurion under him, giving him proper instructions for his conduct; directing him, particularly, if he, the commodore, should be detained at Canton on account of the duties in dispute, to take out the men from the Centurion's prize, and to destroy her; and then to proceed down the river through the Bocca Tigris, with the Centurion alone, and to remain without that entrance till he received further orders from Mr. Anson.

These necessary steps being taken, which were not unknown to the Chinese, it should seem as if their deliberations were in some sort embarrassed thereby. It is reasonable to imagine that they were in general very desirous of getting the duties to be paid them; not perhaps solely in consideration of the amount of those dues, but to keep up their reputation for address and subtlety, and to avoid the imputation of receding from claims on which they had already so frequently insisted. However, as they now foresaw that they had no

other method of succeeding than by violence, and that even against this the commodore was prepared, they were at last disposed, I conceive, to let the affair drop, rather than entangle themselves in a hostile measure, which they found would only expose them to the risk of having the whole navigation of their port destroyed, without any certain prospect of gaining their favourite point thereby.

However, though there is reason to imagine that these were their thoughts at that time, yet they could not depart at once from the evasive conduct to which they had hitherto adhered. For when the commodore, on the morning of the first of October, was preparing to set out for Canton, his linguist came to him from the mandarin who attended his ship, to tell him that a letter had been received from the viceroy of Canton, desiring the commodore to put off his going thither for two or three days : but in the afternoon of the same day another linguist came on board, who, with much seeming fright, told Mr. Anson that the viceroy had expected him up that day, that the council was assembled, and the troops had been under arms to receive him ; and that the viceroy was highly offended at the disappointment, and had sent the commodore's linguist to prison chained, supposing that the whole had been owing to the linguist's negligence. This plausible tale gave the commodore great concern, and made him apprehend that there was some treachery designed him, which he could not yet fathom ; and though it afterwards appeared that the whole was a fiction, not one article of it having the least foundation, yet (for reasons best known to themselves) this falsehood was so well supported by the artifices of the Chinese merchants at Canton, that, three days afterwards, the commodore received a letter signed by all the supercargoes of the English ships then at that place, expressing their great uneasiness at what had happened, and intimating their fears that some insult would be offered to his boat if he came thither before the viceroy was fully satisfied about the mistake. To this letter Mr. Anson replied, that he did not believe there had been any mistake ; but was persuaded it was a forgery of the Chinese to prevent his visiting the viceroy ; that therefore he would certainly come up to Canton on the 13th of October, confident that the Chinese would not dare to offer him an insult, as well knowing it would be properly returned.

On the 13th of October, the commodore continuing firm to his resolution, all the supercargoes of the English, Danish, and Swedish ships came on board the *Centurion*, to accompany him to Canton, for which place he set out in his barge the same day, attended by his own boats, and by those of the trading ships, which on this occasion came to form his retinue ; and as he passed by Wampo, where the European vessels lay, he was saluted by all of them but the French, and in the evening he arrived safely at Canton. His reception at that city, and the most material transactions from henceforward, till his arrival in Great Britain, shall be the subject of the ensuing chapter.

## CHAPTER X.

*Proceedings at the city of Canton, and the return of the Centurion to England.*

WHEN the commodore arrived at Canton he was visited by the principal Chinese merchants, who affected to appear very much pleased that he had met with no obstruction in getting thither, and who thence pretended to conclude, that the viceroy was satisfied about the former mistake, the reality of which they still insisted on ; they added, that as soon as the viceroy should be informed that Mr. Anson was at Canton, (which they promised should be done the next morning) they were persuaded a day would be immediately appointed for the visit, which was the principal business that had brought the commodore thither.

The next day the merchants returned to Mr. Anson, and told him, that the viceroy was then so fully employed in preparing his despatches for Peking, that there was no getting admittance to him for some days ; but that they had engaged one of the officers of his court to give them information, as soon as he should be at leisure, when they proposed to notify Mr. Anson's arrival, and to endeavour to fix the day of audience. The commodore was by this time too well acquainted with their artifices, not to perceive that this was a falsehood ; and had he consulted only his own judgment, he would have applied directly to the viceroy by other hands : but the Chinese merchants had so far prepossessed the supercargoes of our ships with chimerical fears, that they (the supercargoes) were extremely apprehensive of being embroiled with the government, and of suffering in their interest, if those measures were taken, which appeared to Mr. Anson at that time to be the most prudent : and therefore, lest the malice and double-dealing of the Chinese might have given rise to some sinister incident, which would be afterwards laid at his door, he resolved to continue passive, as long as it should appear that he lost no time, by thus suspending his own opinion. With this view, he promised not to take any immediate step himself for getting admittance to the viceroy, provided the Chinese, with whom he contracted for provisions, would let him see that his bread was baked, his meat salted, and his stores prepared with the utmost despatch ; but if by the time when all was in readiness to be shipped off, (which it was supposed would be in about forty days) the merchants should not have procured the viceroy's permission, then the commodore proposed to apply for it himself. These were the terms Mr. Anson thought proper to offer, to quiet the uneasiness of the supercargoes ; and notwithstanding the apparent equity of the conditions, many difficulties and objections were urged ; nor would the Chinese agree to them, till the commodore had consented to pay for every article he bespoke before it was put in hand. However, at last the contract being passed, it was some satisfaction to the commodore to be certain that his preparations were now going on, and being himself on the spot, he took care to hasten them as much as possible.

During this interval, in which the stores and provisions were getting ready, the merchants con-

tinually entertained Mr. Anson with accounts of their various endeavours to get a license from the viceroy, and their frequent disappointments; which to him was now a matter of amusement, as he was fully satisfied there was not one word of truth in any thing they said. But when all was completed, and wanted only to be shipped, which was about the 24th of November, at which time too the N.E. monsoon was set in, he then resolved to apply himself to the viceroy to demand an audience, as he was persuaded that, without this ceremony, the procuring a permission to send his stores on board would meet with great difficulty. On the 24th of November, therefore, Mr. Anson sent one of his officers to the mandarin, who commanded the guard of the principal gate of the city of Canton, with a letter directed to the viceroy. When this letter was delivered to the mandarin, he received the officer who brought it very civilly, and took down the contents of it in Chinese, and promised that the viceroy should be immediately acquainted with it; but told the officer, it was not necessary for him to wait for an answer, because a message would be sent to the commodore himself.

On this occasion Mr. Anson had been under great difficulties about a proper interpreter to send with his officer, as he was well aware that none of the Chinese, usually employed as linguists, could be relied on: but he at last prevailed with Mr. Flint, an English gentleman belonging to the factory, who spoke Chinese perfectly well, to accompany his officer. This person, who upon this occasion and many others was of singular service to the commodore, had been left at Canton when a youth, by the late Captain Rigby. The leaving him there to learn the Chinese language was a step taken by that captain, merely from his own persuasion of the great advantages which the East India Company might one day receive from an English interpreter; and though the utility of this measure has greatly exceeded all that was expected from it, yet I have not heard that it has been to this day imitated: but we imprudently chouse (except in this single instance) to carry on the vast transactions of the port of Canton, either by the ridiculous jargon of broken English which some few of the Chinese have learnt, or by the suspected interpretation of the linguists of other nations.

Two days after the sending the above-mentioned letter, a fire broke out in the suburbs of Canton. On the first alarm, Mr. Anson went thither with his officers, and his boat's crew, to assist the Chinese. When he came there, he found that it had begun in a sailor's shed, and that by the slightness of the buildings, and the awkwardness of the Chinese, it was getting head apace: but he perceived, that by pulling down some of the adjacent sheds it might easily be extinguished; and particularly observing that it was running along a wooden cornice, which would soon communicate it to a great distance, he ordered his people to begin with tearing away that cornice; this was presently attempted, and would have been soon executed; but, in the mean time, he was told, that, as there was no mandarin there to direct what was to be done, the Chinese would make him, the commodore, answerable for whatever should be pulled down by his orders. On this his people desisted; and he sent them to the English

factory, to assist in securing the Company's treasure and effects, as it was easy to foresee that no distance was a protection against the rage of such a fire, where so little was done to put a stop to it; for all this time the Chinese contented themselves with viewing it, and now and then holding one of their idols near it, which they seemed to expect should check its progress: however, at last, a mandarin came out of the city, attended by four or five hundred firemen: these made some feeble efforts to pull down the neighbouring houses; but by this time the fire had greatly extended itself, and was got amongst the merchants' warehouses; and the Chinese firemen, wanting both skill and spirit, were incapable of checking its violence; so that its fury increased upon them, and it was feared the whole city would be destroyed. In this general confusion the viceroy himself came thither, and the commodore was sent to, and was entreated to afford his assistance, being told that he might take any measures he should think most prudent in the present emergency. And now he went thither a second time, carrying with him about forty of his people; who, upon this occasion, exerted themselves in such a manner, as in that country was altogether without example: for they were rather animated than deterred by the flames and falling buildings amongst which they wrought; so that it was not uncommon to see the most forward of them tumble to the ground on the roofs, and amidst the ruins of houses, which their own efforts brought down with them. By their boldness and activity the fire was soon extinguished, to the amazement of the Chinese; and the buildings being all on one floor, and the materials slight, the seamen, notwithstanding their daring behaviour, happily escaped with no other injuries than some considerable bruises.

The fire, though at last thus luckily extinguished, did great mischief during the time it continued; for it consumed a hundred shops and eleven streets full of warehouses, so that the damage amounted to an immense sum; and one of the Chinese merchants, well known to the English, whose name was Suceoy, was supposed, for his own share, to have lost near two hundred thousand pounds sterling. It raged indeed with unusual violence, for in many of the warehouses there were large quantities of camphor which greatly added to its fury, and produced a column of exceeding white flame, which shot up into the air to such a prodigious height, that the flame itself was plainly seen on board the Centurion, though she was thirty miles distant.

Whilst the commodore and his people were labouring at the fire, and the terror of its becoming general still possessed the whole city, several of the most considerable Chinese merchants came to Mr. Anson, to desire that he would let each of them have one of his soldiers (for such they styled his boat's crew from the uniformity of their dress) to guard their warehouses and dwelling-houses, which, from the known dishonesty of the populace, they feared would be pillaged in the tumult. Mr. Anson granted them this request; and all the men that he thus furnished to the Chinese behaved greatly to the satisfaction of their employers, who afterwards highly applauded their great diligence and fidelity.

By this means, the resolution of the English at

the fire and their trustiness, and punctuality elsewhere, was the general subject of conversation amongst the Chinese: and the next morning, many of the principal inhabitants waited on the commodore to thank him for his assistance; frankly owning to him, that they could never have extinguished the fire themselves, and that he had saved their city from being totally consumed. And soon after a message came to the commodore from the viceroy, appointing the 30th of November for his audience; which sudden resolution of the viceroy, in a matter that had been so long agitated in vain, was also owing to the signal services performed by Mr. Anson and his people at the fire, of which the viceroy himself had been in some measure an eye-witness.

The fixing this business of the audience was, on all accounts, a circumstance which Mr. Anson was much pleased with; as he was satisfied that the Chinese government would not have determined this point, without having agreed among themselves to give up their pretensions to the duties they claimed, and to grant him all he could reasonably ask; for as they well knew the commodore's sentiments, it would have been a piece of imprudence, not consistent with the refined cunning of the Chinese, to have admitted him to an audience, only to have contested with him. And therefore, being himself perfectly easy about the result of his visit, he made all necessary preparations against the day; and engaged Mr. Flint, whom I have mentioned before, to act, as interpreter in the conference; who, in this affair, as in all others, acquitted himself much to the commodore's satisfaction; repeating with great boldness, and doubtless with exactness, all that was given in charge, a part which no Chinese linguist would ever have performed with any tolerable fidelity.

At ten o'clock in the morning, on the day appointed, a mandarin came to the commodore, to let him know that the viceroy was ready to receive him; on which the commodore and his retinue immediately set out: and as soon as he entered the outer gate of the city, he found a guard of two hundred soldiers drawn up ready to attend him; these conducted him to the great parade before the emperor's palace, where the viceroy then resided. In this parade, a body of troops, to the number of ten thousand, were drawn up under arms, and made a very fine appearance, being all of them new clothed for this ceremony: and Mr. Anson and his retinue having passed through the middle of them, he was then conducted to the great hall of audience, where he found the viceroy seated under a rich canopy in the emperor's chair of state, with all his council of mandarins attending: here there was a vacant seat prepared for the commodore, in which he was placed on his arrival: he was ranked the third in order from the viceroy, there being above him only the head of the law, and of the treasury, who in the Chinese government take place of all military officers. When the commodore was seated, he addressed himself to the viceroy by his interpreter, and began with reciting the various methods he had formerly taken to get an audience; adding, that he imputed the delays he had met with to the insincerity of those he had employed, and that he had therefore no other means left, than to send, as he had done, his own officer with a letter to the

gate. On the mention of this the viceroy stopped the interpreter, and bade him assure Mr. Anson, that the first knowledge they had of his being at Canton was from that letter. Mr. Anson then proceeded, and told him, that the subjects of the king of Great Britain trading to China had complained to him, the commodore, of the vexatious impositions both of the merchants and inferior custom-house officers, to which they were frequently necessitated to submit, by reason of the difficulty of getting access to the mandarins, who alone could grant them redress: that it was his (Mr. Anson's) duty, as an officer of the king of Great Britain, to lay before the viceroy these grievances of the British subjects, which he hoped the viceroy would take into consideration, and would give orders, that for the future there should be no just reason for complaint. Here Mr. Anson paused, and waited some time in expectation of an answer; but nothing being said, he asked his interpreter, if he was certain the viceroy understood what he had urged; the interpreter told him he was certain it was understood, but he believed no reply would be made to it. Mr. Anson then represented to the viceroy the case of the ship *Hastingfield*, which, having been dismantled on the coast of China, had arrived in the river of Canton but a few days before. The people on board this vessel had been great sufferers by the fire; the captain in particular had all his goods burnt, and had lost besides, in the confusion, a chest of treasure of four thousand five hundred tael, which was supposed to be stolen by the Chinese boat men. Mr. Anson therefore desired that the captain might have the assistance of the government, as it was apprehended the money could never be recovered without the interposition of the mandarins. And to this request the viceroy made answer, that in settling the emperor's customs for that ship, some abatement should be made in consideration of her losses.

And now the commodore having despatched the business with which the officers of the East-India Company had entrusted him, he entered on his own affairs; acquainting the viceroy, that the proper season was now set in for returning to Europe, and that he waited only for a license to ship off his provisions and stores, which were all ready; and that as soon as this should be granted him, and he should have gotten his necessaries on board, he intended to leave the river of Canton, and to make the best of his way for England. The viceroy replied to this that the license should be immediately issued, and that everything should be ordered on board the following day. And finding that Mr. Anson had nothing farther to insist on, the viceroy continued the conversation for some time, acknowledging in very civil terms how much the Chinese were obliged to him for his signal services at the fire, and owning that he had saved the city from being destroyed: and then observing that the Centurion had been a good while on their coast, he closed his discourse, by wishing the commodore a good voyage to Europe. After which, the commodore, thanking him for his civility and assistance, took his leave.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following is Anson's own account of these proceedings:—"Finding I could not obtain the provisions and stores to enable me to proceed to Europe, I was under the necessity of visiting the Vice King, notwithstanding the

As soon as the commodore was out of the hall of audience, he was much pressed to go into a neighbouring apartment; where there was an entertainment provided; but finding, on inquiry, that the viceroy himself was not to be present, he declined the invitation, and departed, attended in the same manner as at his arrival; only at his leaving the city he was saluted by three guns, which are as many as in that country are ever fired on any ceremony. Thus the commodore, to his great joy, at last finished this troublesome affair, which, for the preceding four months, had given him great disquietude. Indeed he was highly pleased with procuring a license for the shipping of his stores and provisions; for thereby he was enabled to return to Great Britain with the first of the monsoon, and to prevent all intelligence of his being expected: but this, though a very important point, was not the circumstance which gave him the greatest satisfaction; for he was more particularly attentive to the authentic precedent established on this occasion, by which his majesty's ships of war are for the future exempted from all demands of duty in any of the ports of China.

In pursuance of the promises of the viceroy, the provisions were begun to be sent on board the day after the audience; and, four days after, the commodore embarked at Canton for the Centurion; and, on the 7th of December, the Centurion and her prize unmoored, and stood down the river, passing through the Bocca Tigris on the 10th. And on this occasion I must observe, that the Chinese had taken care to man the two forts, on each side of that passage, with as many men as they could well contain, the greatest part of them armed with pikes and match-lock muskets. These garrisons affected to show themselves as much as possible to the ships, and were doubtless intended to induce Mr. Anson to think more reverently than he had hitherto done of the Chinese military power: for this purpose they were equipped with much parade, having a great number of colours exposed to view; and on the castle in particular there were laid considerable heaps of large stones; and a soldier of unusual size, dressed

Europeans were of opinion that the Emperor's duties would be insisted upon, and that my refusing to pay them would embarrass the trade of the East India Company: not knowing what means they might make use of, when they had me in their power, I gave orders to Captain Brett, whom upon this occasion I had appointed captain under me, that, if he found me detained, he should destroy the galleon (out of which I had removed all the treasure, amounting to one million three hundred and thirteen thousand eight hundred and forty-three pieces of eight, and thirty-five thousand six hundred and eighty-two ounces of virgin silver and plate) and proceed with the Centurion without the river's mouth, out of gun-shot of the two forts.

"Contrary to the general opinion of the Europeans, the Vice-King received me with great civility and politeness, having ten thousand soldiers drawn up, and his council of Mandarins attending the audience, and granted me every thing I desired. I had great reason to be satisfied with the success of my visit, having obtained the principal point I had in view, which was establishing a precedent upon record that the Emperor's duties and mesurage had not been demanded from me, by which means His Majesty's ships will be under no difficulties in entering into any of the Emperor of China's ports for the future."—*Anson's official report.*

in very sightly armour, stalked about on the parapet with a battle-axe in his hand, endeavouring to put on as important and martial an air as possible, though some of the observers on board the Centurion shrewdly suspected, from the appearance of his armour, that instead of steel, it was composed only of a particular kind of glittering paper.

The Centurion and her prize being now without the river of Canton, and consequently upon the point of leaving the Chinese jurisdiction, I beg leave, before I quit all mention of the Chinese affairs, to subjoin a few remarks on the disposition and genius of that extraordinary people. And though it may be supposed, that observations made at Canton only, a place situated in the corner of the empire, are very imperfect materials on which to found any general conclusions, yet as those who have had opportunities of examining the inner parts of the country, have been evidently influenced by very ridiculous prepossessions, and as the transactions of Mr. Anson with the regency of Canton were of an uncommon nature, in which many circumstances occurred, different perhaps from any which have happened before, I hope the following reflections, many of them drawn from these incidents, will not be altogether unacceptable to the reader.

That the Chinese are a very ingenious and industrious people is sufficiently evinced from the great number of curious manufactures which are established amongst them, and which are eagerly sought for by the most distant nations; but though skill in the handicraft arts seems to be the most important qualification of this people, yet their talents therein are but of a second-rate kind; for they are much outdone by the Japanese in those manufactures which are common to both countries; and they are in numerous instances incapable of rivalling the mechanic dexterity of the Europeans. Indeed, their principal excellence seems to be imitation; and they accordingly labour under that poverty of genius which constantly attends all servile imitators. This is most conspicuous in works which require great truth and accuracy, as in clocks, watches, fire-arms, &c., for in all these, though they can copy the different parts, and can form some resemblance of the whole, yet they never could arrive at such a justness in their fabric as was necessary to produce the desired effect. And if we pass from their manufactures to artists of a superior class, as painters, statuaries, &c., in these matters they seem to be still more defective; their painters, though very numerous and in great esteem, rarely succeeding in the drawing or colouring of human figures, or in the grouping of large compositions; and though in flowers and birds their performances are much more admired, yet even in these some part of the merit is rather to be imputed to the native brightness and excellency of the colours, than to the skill of the painter; since it is very unusual to see the light and shade justly and naturally handled, or to find that ease and grace in the drawing which are to be met with in the works of European artists. In short, there is a stiffness and minuteness in most of the Chinese productions, which are extremely displeasing; and it may perhaps be asserted with great truth, that these defects in their arts are entirely owing to the peculiar turn of the people,

amongst whom nothing great or spirited is to be met with.

If we next examine the Chinese literature, (taking our accounts from the writers who have endeavoured to represent it in the most favourable light) we shall find that on this head their obstinacy and absurdity are most wonderful: for though, for many ages, they have been surrounded by nations to whom the use of letters was familiar, yet they, the Chinese alone, have hitherto neglected to avail themselves of that almost divine invention, and have continued to adhere to the rude and artificial method of representing words by arbitrary marks; a method which necessarily renders the number of their characters too great for human memory to manage, makes writing to be an art that requires prodigious application, and in which no man can be otherwise than partially skilled; whilst all reading, and understanding of what is written, is attended with infinite obscurity and confusion; for the connexion between these marks, and the words they represent, cannot be retained in books, but must be delivered down from age to age by oral tradition: and how uncertain this must prove in such a complicated subject, is sufficiently obvious to those who have attended to the variation which all verbal relations undergo when they are transmitted through three or four hands only. Hence it is easy to conclude that the history and inventions of past ages, recorded by these perplexed symbols, must frequently prove unintelligible; and consequently the learning and boasted antiquity of the nation must, in numerous instances, be extremely problematical.

But we are told by some of the missionaries, that though the skill of the Chinese in science is indeed much inferior to that of the Europeans, yet the morality and justice taught and practised by them are most exemplary. And from the description given by some of these good fathers, one should be induced to believe that the whole empire was a well-governed affectionate family, where the only contests were, who should exert the most humanity and beneficence: but our preceding relation of the behaviour of the magistrates, merchants and tradesmen at Canton sufficiently refutes these jesuitical fictions. And as to their theories of morality, if we may judge from the specimens exhibited in the works of the missionaries, we shall find them solely employed in recommending ridiculous attachments to certain immaterial points, instead of discussing the proper criterion of human actions, and regulating the general conduct of mankind to one another on reasonable and equitable principles. Indeed, the only pretension of the Chinese to a more refined morality than their neighbours, is founded, not on their integrity or beneficence, but solely on the affected evenness of their demeanour, and their constant attention to suppress all symptoms of passion and violence. But it must be considered, that hypocrisy and fraud are often not less mischievous to the general interests of mankind than impetuosity and vehemence of temper: since these, though usually liable to the imputation of imprudence, do not exclude sincerity, benevolence, resolution, nor many other laudable qualities. And perhaps, if this matter were examined to the bottom, it would appear that the calm and patient turn of the Chinese, on which they so much value themselves, and which distinguishes the nation from all others, is

in reality the source of the most exceptional part of their character; for it has been often observed, by those who have attended to the nature of mankind, that it is difficult to curb the more robust and violent passions, without augmenting at the same time the force of the selfish ones: so that the timidity, dissimulation, and dishonesty of the Chinese may, in some sort, be owing to the composure, and external decency, so universally prevailing in that empire.

Thus much for the general disposition of the people: but I cannot dismiss this subject without adding a few words about the Chinese government, that too having been the subject of boundless panegyric. And on this head I must observe, that the favourable accounts often given of their prudent regulations for the administration of their domestic affairs, are sufficiently confuted by their transactions with Mr. Anson: for we have seen that their magistrates are corrupt, their people thievish, and their tribunals crafty and venal. Nor is the constitution of the empire, or the general orders of the state, less liable to exception: since that form of government which does not in the first place provide for the security of the public against the enterprises of foreign powers, is certainly a most defective institution: and yet this populous, this rich and extensive country, so pompously celebrated for its refined wisdom and policy, was conquered about an age since by a handful of Tartars; and even now, by the cowardice of the inhabitants, and the want of proper military regulations, it continues exposed not only to the attempts of any potent state, but to the ravages of every petty invader. Nor is the state provided with ships of considerable force to protect them: for at Canton, where doubtless their principal naval power is stationed, we saw no more than four men-of-war junks, of about three hundred tons burthen, and mounted only with eight or ten guns, the largest of which did not exceed a four-pounder. This may suffice to give an idea of the defenceless state of the Chinese empire. But it is time to return to the commodore, whom I left with his two ships without the Bocca Tigris; and who, on the 12th of December, anchored before the town of Macao.

Whilst the ships lay here, the merchants of Macao finished their agreement for the galleon, for which they had offered 6000 dollars; this was much short of her value, but the impatience of the commodore to get to sea, to which the merchants were no strangers, prompted them to insist on so unequal a bargain. Mr. Anson had learnt enough from the English at Canton to conjecture, that the war betwixt Great Britain and Spain was still continued; and that probably the French might engage in the assistance of Spain, before he could arrive in Great Britain; and therefore, knowing that no intelligence could get to Europe of the prize he had taken, and the treasure he had on board, till the return of the merchantmen from Canton, he was resolved to make all possible expedition in getting back, that he might be himself the first messenger of his own good fortune, and might thereby prevent the enemy from forming any projects to intercept him: for these reasons, he, to avoid all delay, accepted of the sum offered for the galleon; and she being delivered to the merchants, the 15th of December 1743, the

Centurion, the same day, got under sail, on her return to England. And, on the 3rd of January, she came to an anchor at Prince's Island in the Straits of Sunda, and continued there wooding and watering till the 8th; when she weighed and stood for the Cape of Good Hope, where, on the 11th of March, she anchored in Table-bay.

The Cape of Good Hope is situated in a temperate climate, where the excesses of heat and cold are rarely known; and the Dutch inhabitants, who are numerous, and who here retain their native industry, have stocked it with prodigious plenty of all sort of fruits and provisions; most of which either from the equality of the seasons, or the peculiarity of the soil, are more delicious in their kind than can be met with elsewhere: so that by these, and by the excellent water which abounds there, this settlement is the best provided of any in the known world, for the refreshment of seamen after long voyages. Here the commodore continued till the beginning of April, highly delighted with the place, which by its extraordinary accommodations, the healthiness of its air, and the picturesque appearance of the country, all enlivened by the addition of a civilised colony, was not disgraced in an imaginary comparison with the valleys of Juan Fernandes, and the lawns of Tinian. During his stay he entered about forty new men; and having, by the 3rd of April 1744, completed his water and provision, he, on that day, weighed and put to sea; and, the 19th of the same month, they saw the island of St. Helena, which however they did not touch at, but stood on their way; and, on the 10th of June, being then in soundings, they spoke with an English ship from Amsterdam bound for Philadelphia, whence they received the

first intelligence of a French war; the twelfth, they got sight of the Lizard; and the fifteenth, in the evening, to their infinite joy, they came safe to an anchor at Spithead. But that the signal perils which had so often threatened them, in the preceding part of the enterprise, might pursue them to the very last, Mr. Anson learnt, on his arrival, that there was a French fleet of considerable force cruising in the chops of the Channel; which, by the account of their position, he found the Centurion had run through, and had been all the time concealed by a fog. Thus was this expedition finished, when it had lasted three years, and nine months; after having, by its event, strongly evinced this important truth, that though prudence, intrepidity, and perseverance united, are not exempted from the blows of adverse fortune; yet in a long series of transactions, they usually rise superior to its power, and in the end rarely fail of proving successful.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "This remark (observes Sir John Barrow) is certainly just; and no parallel is to be found, in the history of navigation, to the Voyage of Anson, unless it be that of Sir Francis Drake, which comes nearest to it, and in some respects is perhaps still more extraordinary. He left England with five ships, his own, the *Hind*, of 100 tons, the second 80, the third 30, a fly-boat 50, and a pinnace of 15 tons. He lost, or broke up, or left behind him, all but his own: plundered the Spaniards on the western coast, proceeded nearly to 50° N. to look for a north-east passage into the Atlantic, crossed the Pacific, proceeded round the Cape of Good Hope, and after an absence of two years and ten months, reached England with only his own ship and about 50 men out of 160."

One of the survivors of Anson's voyage, a seaman named George Gregory, died so late as 1804, at Kingston, at the great age of 109, having never known a day's illness since he went to sea in 1714.

THE END.



NARRATIVE  
OF THE  
MUTINY OF THE BOUNTY,

ON

*A Voyage to the South Seas.*

BY

LIEUT. W. BLIGH, COMMANDER.

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TO WHICH ARE ADDED

SOME ADDITIONAL PARTICULARS, AND A RELATION OF THE SUBSEQUENT FATE OF THE  
MUTINEERS, AND OF THE SETTLEMENT IN PITCAIRN'S ISLAND.



# THE MUTINY OF THE BOUNTY.

## CHAPTER I.

PLAN OF THE EXPEDITION—OUTFIT, AND OCCURRENCES TO THE TIME OF LEAVING ENGLAND—DESCRIPTION OF THE BREAD-FRUIT.

THE king having been graciously pleased to comply with a request from the merchants and planters interested in his majesty's West India possessions, that the bread-fruit tree might be introduced into those islands, a vessel, proper for the undertaking, was bought, and taken into dock at Deptford, to be provided with the necessary fixtures and preparations for executing the object of the voyage. These were completed according to a plan of my much honoured friend, Sir Joseph Banks, which, in the event, proved the most advantageous that could have been adopted for the intended purpose.

The ship was named the *Bounty*: I was appointed to command her on the 16th of August, 1787. Her burthen was nearly two hundred and fifteen tons; her extreme length on deck, ninety feet ten inches; extreme breadth, twenty-four feet three inches; and height in the hold under the beams, at the main hatchway, ten feet three inches. In the cockpit were the cabins of the surgeon, gunner, botanist, and clerk, with a steward-room and store-rooms. The between decks was divided in the following manner:—the great cabin was appropriated for the preservation of the plants, and extended as far forward as the after hatchway. It had two large sky-lights, and on each side three scuttles for air, and was fitted with a false floor cut full of holes to contain the garden-pots, in which the plants were to be brought home. The deck was covered with lead, and at the foremost corners of the cabin were fixed pipes to carry off the water that drained from the plants, into tubs placed below to save it for future use. I had a small cabin on one side to sleep in, adjoining to the great cabin, and a place near the middle of the ship to eat in. The bulk-head of this apartment was at the after-part of the main hatchway, and on each side of it were the births of the mates and midshipmen; between these births the arm-chest was placed. The cabin of the master, in which was always kept the key of the arms, was opposite to mine. This particular description of the interior parts of the ship is rendered necessary by the event of the expedition.

The ship was masted according to the proportion of the navy; but, on my application, the masts were shortened, as I thought them too much for her, considering the nature of the voyage.

On the 3rd of September, the ship came out of dock; but the carpenters and joiners remained on board much longer, as they had a great deal of work to finish.

The next material alteration made in the fitting out, was, lessening the quantity of iron and other ballast.—I gave directions that only nineteen tons of iron should be taken on board, instead of the customary proportion, which was forty-five tons. The stores and provisions I judged would be fully sufficient to answer the purpose of the remainder; for I am of opinion, that many of the misfortunes which attend ships in heavy storms of wind, are occasioned by too much dead weight in their bottoms.

The establishment of men and officers for the ship were as follows:—1 Lieutenant to command; 1 Master; 1 Boatswain; 1 Gunner; 1 Carpenter; 1 Surgeon; 2 Master's Mates; 2 Midshipmen; 2 Quarter Masters; 1 Quarter Masters' Mate; 1 Boatswain's Mate; 1 Gunner's Mate; 1 Carpenter's Mate; 1 Carpenter's Crew; 1 Sailmaker; 1 Armourer; 1 Corporal; 1 Clerk and Steward; 23 able seamen—Total 44.

Two skilful and careful men were appointed, at Sir Joseph Banks's recommendation, to have the management of the plants intended to be brought home: the one, David Nelson, who had been on similar employment in Captain Cook's last voyage; the other, William Brown, as an assistant to him.—With these two, our whole number amounted to forty-six.

It was proposed, that our route to the Society Islands should be round Cape Horn; and the greatest despatch became necessary, as the season was already far advanced: but the shipwrights not being able to complete their work by the time the ship was ready in other respects, our sailing was unavoidably retarded. However, by the 4th of October the pilot came on board to take us down the river; on the 9th we fell down to Long Reach, where we received our gunner's stores, and guns, four 4-pounders and ten swivels.

The ship was stored and victualled for eighteen months. In addition to the customary allowance of provisions, we were supplied with sour kroust, portable soup, essence of malt, dried malt, and a proportion of barley and wheat in lieu of oatmeal. I was likewise furnished with a quantity of iron-work and trinkets, to serve in our intercourse with the natives in the South Seas: and from the Board of Longitude I received a time-keeper, made by Mr. Kendal.

On the 15th I received orders to proceed to

Spithead; but the winds and weather were so unfavourable that we did not arrive there till the 4th of November. On the 24th I received from Lord Hood, who commanded at Spithead, my final orders. The wind, which for several days before had been favourable, was now turned directly against us. On the 28th the ship's company received two months' pay in advance, and on the following morning we worked out to St. Helen's, where we were obliged to anchor.

We made different unsuccessful attempts to get down channel, but contrary winds and bad weather constantly forced us back to St. Helen's, or Spithead, until Sunday the 23rd of December, when we sailed with a fair wind.

The object of all the former voyages to the South Seas, undertaken by the command of his present majesty, has been the advancement of science, and the increase of knowledge. This voyage may be reckoned the first, the intention of which has been to derive benefit from those distant discoveries. For the more fully comprehending the nature and plan of the expedition, and that the reader may be possessed of every information necessary for entering on the following sheets, I shall here lay before him a copy of the instructions I received from the Admiralty, and likewise a short description of the bread-fruit.

*By the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.*

Whereas the king, upon a representation from the merchants and planters interested in his majesty's West India possessions, that the introduction of the bread-fruit tree into the islands of those seas, to constitute an article of food, would be of very essential benefit to the inhabitants, hath, in order to promote the interests of so respectable a body of his subjects (especially in an instance which promises general advantage) thought fit that measures should be taken for the procuring some of those trees, and conveying them to the said West India islands: and whereas the vessel under your command hath, in consequence thereof, been stored and victualled for that service, and fitted with proper conveniences and necessaries for the preservation of as many of the said trees as, from her size, can be taken on board her; and you have been directed to receive on board her the two gardeners named in the margin\*, who, from their knowledge of trees and plants, have been hired for the purpose of selecting such as shall appear to be of a proper species and size:

You are, therefore, in pursuance of his majesty's pleasure, signified to us by Lord Sydney, one of his principal secretaries of state, hereby required and directed to put to sea in the vessel you command, the first favourable opportunity of wind and weather, and proceed with her, as expeditiously as possible, round Cape Horn, to the Society Islands, situate in the southern ocean, in the latitude of about eighteen degrees south, and longitude of about two hundred and ten degrees east from Greenwich, where, according to the accounts given by the late Capt. Cook, and persons who accompanied him during his voyages, the bread-fruit tree is to be found in the most luxuriant state.

Having arrived at the above-mentioned islands, and taken on board as many trees and plants as may be thought necessary (the better to enable you to do which, you have already been furnished with such articles of merchandise and trinkets as it is supposed will be wanted to satisfy the natives) you are to proceed from thence through Endeavour Straights (which separate New Holland from New Guinea) to Prince's Island, in the Straights of Sunda, or, if it should happen to be more convenient, to pass on the

\* David Nelson, William Brown.

eastern side of Java to some port on the north side of that island, where any bread-fruit trees which may have been injured, or have died, may be-replaced by mangosteens, durians, jacks, nancas, lansas, and other fine fruit trees of that quarter, as well as the rice plant which grows upon dry land; all of which species (or such of them as shall be judged most eligible) you are to purchase on the best terms you can from the inhabitants of that island, with the ducats with which you have also been furnished for that purpose; taking care, however, if the rice plants above-mentioned cannot be procured at Java, to touch at Prince's Island for them, where they are regularly cultivated.

From Prince's Island, or the Island of Java, you are to proceed round the Cape of Good Hope to the West Indies (calling on your way thither at any places which may be thought necessary) and deposit one half of such of the above-mentioned trees and plants as may be then alive at his majesty's botanical garden at St. Vincent, for the benefit of the Windward Islands, and then go on to Jamaica: and, having delivered the remainder to Mr. East, or such person or persons as may be authorised by the governor and council of that island to receive them; refreshed your people, and received on board such provisions and stores as may be necessary for the voyage, make the best of your way back to England; repairing to Spithead, and sending to our secretary an account of your arrival and proceedings.

And whereas you will receive herewith a copy of the instructions which have been given to the above-mentioned gardeners for their guidance, as well in procuring the said trees and plants, and the management of them after they shall be put on board, as for bringing to England a small sample of each species, and such others as may be prepared by the superintendent of the botanical garden at St. Vincent's, and by the said Mr. East, or others, for his majesty's garden at Kew; you are hereby required and directed to afford, and to give directions to your officers and company to afford, the said gardeners every possible aid and assistance, not only in the collecting of the said trees and plants at the places before-mentioned, but for their preservation during their conveyance to the places of their destination.

Given under our hands the 20th November, 1787.—HOWE, CHAS. BRETT, RD. HOPKINS, J. LEVESON GOWER.

*To Lieut. W. Bligh, commanding H.M.'s armed vessel the Bounty, at Spithead.*

By command of their Lordships, P. STEVENS.

In the foregoing orders it is to be observed, that I was particularly directed to proceed round Cape Horn; but, as the season was so far advanced, and we were so long detained by contrary winds, I made application to the Admiralty for discretionary orders on that point; to which I received the following answer:—

*By the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c.*

The season of the year being now so far advanced as to render it probable, that your arrival, with the vessel you command, on the southern coast of America, will be too late for your passing round Cape Horn without much difficulty and hazard; you are, in that case, at liberty (notwithstanding former orders) to proceed in her to Otahete, round the Cape of Good Hope.

Given under our hands the 18th December, 1787.—HOWE, CHAS. BRETT, BAVHAM.

*To Lieut. W. Bligh, commanding H.M.'s armed vessel Bounty, Spithead.*

By command of their Lordships, P. STEVENS.

The bread-fruit is so well known and described, that to attempt a new account of it would be unnecessary and useless. However, as it may contribute to the convenience of the reader, I have given the following extracts respecting it.

Extract from the account of Dampier's Voyage round the World, performed in 1688.

"The bread-fruit (as we call it,) grows on a large tree, as big and high as our largest apple-trees. It hath a spreading head, full of branches and dark leaves. The fruit grows on the boughs like apples; it is as big as a penny-loaf when wheat is at five shillings the bushel; it is of a round shape, and hath a thick tough rind. When the fruit is ripe, it is yellow and soft, and the taste is sweet and pleasant. The natives of Guam use it for bread. They gather it, when full-grown, while it is green and hard; then they bake it in an oven, which scorseth the rind and makes it black; but they scrape off the outside black crust, and there remains a tender thin crust; and the inside is soft, tender, and white like the crumb of a penny-loaf. There is *neither seed nor stone* in the inside, but all is of a pure substance, like bread. It must be eaten new; for, if it is kept above twenty-four hours, it grows harsh and choaky; but it is very pleasant before it is too stale. This fruit lasts in season *eight months* in the year, during which the natives eat *no other sort of food of bread kind*. I did never see of this fruit any where but here. The natives told us, that there is plenty of this fruit growing on the rest of the Ladrone islands: and I *did never hear of it any where else.*"

Extract from the account of Lord Anson's Voyage, published by Mr. Walter.

"There was, at Tinian, a kind of fruit, peculiar to these (Ladrone) islands, called by the Indians *rhymay*, but by us the *bread-fruit*; for it was constantly eaten by us, during our stay upon the island\*, instead of bread; and so *universally preferred*, that no ship's bread was expended in that whole interval. It grew upon a tree which is somewhat lofty, and which towards the top divides into large and spreading branches. The leaves of this tree are of a remarkable deep green, are notched about the edges, and are generally from a foot to eighteen inches in length. The fruit itself is found indifferently on all parts of the branches; it is, in shape, rather elliptical than round; it is covered with a tough rind, and is usually seven or eight inches long; each of them grows singly, and not in clusters. This fruit is fittest to be used when it is full-grown, but still green; in which state, after it is properly prepared by being roasted in the embers, its taste has some distant resemblance to that of an artichoke's bottom, and its texture is not very different, for it is soft and spongy."

Extracts from the account of the first Voyage of Captain Cook. Hawkesworth, Vol. II.

#### IN THE SOCIETY ISLANDS.

"The bread-fruit grows on a tree that is about the size of a middling oak; its leaves are frequently a foot and a half long, of an oblong shape, deeply sinuated like those of the fig-tree, which they resemble in consistence and colour, and in the exuding of a white milky juice upon being broken. The fruit is about the size and shape of a child's head, and the surface is reticulated not much un-

\* About two months; viz. from the latter end of August to the latter end of October, 1742.

like a truffle: it is covered with a thin skin, and has a core about as big as the handle of a small knife. The eatable part lies between the skin and the core; it is as white as snow, and somewhat of the consistence of new bread: it must be roasted before it is eaten, being first divided into three or four parts. Its taste is insipid, with a slight sweetness somewhat resembling that of the crumb of wheaten bread mixed with a Jerusalem artichoke."

"Of the many vegetables that have been mentioned already as serving them for food, the principal is the bread-fruit, to procure which costs them no trouble or labour but climbing a tree. The tree which produces it does not indeed shoot up spontaneously; but, if a man plants ten of them in his life-time, which he may do in about an hour, he will as completely fulfil his duty to his own and future generations as the native of our less temperate climate can do by ploughing in the cold winter, and reaping in the summer's heat, as often as these seasons return; even if, after he has procured bread for his present household, he should convert a surplus into money, and lay it up for his children.

"It is true, indeed, that the bread-fruit is not always in season; but cocoa-nuts, bananas, plantains, and a great variety of other fruits, supply the deficiency."

Extract from the account of Captain Cook's last Voyage.

#### IN THE SOCIETY ISLANDS.

"I (Captain Cook) have inquired very carefully into their manner of cultivating the bread-fruit tree at Otaheite; but was always answered, that they never planted it. This, indeed, must be evident to every one who will examine the places where the young trees come up. It will be always observed, that they spring from the roots of the old ones, which run along near the surface of the ground. So that the bread-fruit trees may be reckoned those that would naturally cover the plains, even supposing that the island was not inhabited; in the same manner that the white-barked trees, found at Van Diemen's Land, constitute the forests there. And from this we may observe, that the inhabitant of Otaheite, instead of being obliged to plant his bread, will rather be under the necessity of preventing its progress; which, I suppose, is sometimes done, to give room for trees of another sort, to afford him some variety in his food."

#### IN THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

"The bread-fruit trees are planted, and flourish with great luxuriance, on rising grounds."—"Where the hills rise almost perpendicularly in a great variety of peaked forms, their steep sides and the deep chasms between them are covered with trees, amongst which those of the bread-fruit were observed particularly to abound."

"The climate of the Sandwich Islands differs very little from that of the West India Islands, which lie *in the same latitude*. Upon the whole, perhaps, it may be rather more temperate."

"The bread-fruit trees thrive in these islands, not in such abundance, but produce double the quantity of fruit they do on the rich plains of Otaheite. The trees are nearly of the same height, but the branches begin to strike out from the trunk much lower, and with greater luxuriance."

## CHAPTER II.

DEPARTURE FROM ENGLAND—ARRIVAL AT TENERIFFE—SAIL FROM THENCE—ARRIVAL OFF CAPE HORN—SEVERITY OF THE WEATHER—OBLIGED TO BEAR AWAY FOR THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

ON Sunday morning, the 23d of December 1787, we sailed from Spithead, and, passing through the Needles, directed our course down channel, with a fresh gale of wind at east. In the afternoon one of the seamen, in furling the main-top-gallant sail, fell off the yard, and was so fortunate as to save himself by catching hold of the main-top-mast-stay in his fall. At night the wind increased to a strong gale, with a heavy sea. It moderated, however, on the 25th, and allowed us to keep our Christmas with cheerfulness; but the following day it blew a severe storm of wind from the eastward, which continued till the 29th, in the course of which we suffered greatly. One sea broke away the spare yards and spars out of the star-board main chains. Another heavy sea broke into the ship, and stove all the boats. Several casks of beer that had been lashed upon deck were broke loose and washed overboard, and it was not without great difficulty and risk that we were able to secure the boats from being washed away entirely. On the 29th we were in latitude 39° 35' N. and longitude 14° 26' W. when the gale abated, and the weather became fair. Besides other mischief done to us by the storm, a large quantity of our bread was damaged and rendered useless, for the sea had stove in our stern, and filled the cabin with water. From this time to our arrival at Teneriffe we had moderate weather, and winds mostly from the northward.

January 4th. This forenoon we spoke a French ship bound to the Mauritius. The next day, at nine in the forenoon, we saw the island of Teneriffe, bearing W.S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. about twelve leagues distant. It was covered with a thick haze, except the north-westernmost part, which is a remarkable headland, resembling a horse's head, the ears very distinct. To the eastward of this head lie two round rocks, the northern boundary of Teneriffe. A Spanish packet, bound to Coruma, an American brig, and several other vessels, were lying here.

As soon as the ship was anchored, I sent an officer (Mr. Christian) to wait on the governor, and to acquaint him I had put in to obtain refreshments, and to repair the damages we had sustained in bad weather. To this I had a very polite answer from the governor\*, that I should be supplied with whatever the island afforded. I had also directed the officer to acquaint him that I would salute, provided an equal number of guns were to be returned; but, as I received an extraordinary answer to this part of my message, purporting that his excellency did not return the same number but to persons equal in rank to himself, this ceremony was omitted.

During this interval I was visited by the port-master (Captain Adams), and shortly afterwards several officers came on board from his excellency, to compliment me on my arrival. As soon as the ship was moored, I went on shore, and paid my respects to him.

On Monday morning I began to forward the

ship's business with the utmost dispatch, and gave the necessary directions to Messrs. Collogan and Sons, the contractors, for the supplies I wanted. I also got leave of the governor for Mr. Nelson to range the hills and examine the country in search of plants and natural curiosities.

As there was a great surf on the shore, I bargained for every thing I wanted to be brought off by the shore boats, and agreed to give five shillings per ton for water. Very good wine was bought at ten pounds per pipe, the contract price; but the superior quality was fifteen pounds; and some of this was not much inferior to the best London Madeira. I found this was an unfavourable season for other refreshments: Indian corn, potatoes, pumpkins, and onions, were all very scarce, and double the price of what they are in summer. Beef also was difficult to be procured, and exceedingly poor; the price nearly sixpence farthing per pound. The corn was three current dollars per fanega, which is full five shillings per bushel; and biscuit at twenty-five shillings for the hundred pounds. Poultry was so scarce that a good fowl cost three shillings. This is, therefore, not a place for ships to expect refreshments at a reasonable price at this time of the year, wine excepted; but from March to November supplies are plentiful, particularly fruit; of which at this time we could procure none, except a few dried figs and some bad oranges.

The landing on the beach is generally impracticable with our own boats, at least without great risk; but there is a very fine pier, on which people may land without difficulty if there is not much swell in the road. To this pier the water is conveyed by pipes for the use of shipping, and for which all merchant-ships pay.

There is a degree of wretchedness and want among the lower class of people, which is not any where so common as among the Spanish and Portuguese settlements. To alleviate these evils, the present governor of Teneriffe has instituted a most charitable society, which he takes the trouble to superintend; and by considerable contributions, a large airy dwelling, that contains one hundred and twenty poor girls, and as many men and boys, has been built, and endowed with a sufficiency of land round it, not only for all present purposes, but for enlarging the building for more objects of charity as their funds increase. I had the honour to be shown by his excellency this asylum, (Hospicio they call it,) where there appeared in every countenance the utmost cheerfulness and content. The decency and neatness of the dress of the young females, with the order in which they were arranged at their spinning-wheels and looms, in an extensive airy apartment, was admirable. A governess inspected and regulated all their works, which were the manufacturing of ribbons of all colours, coarse linens, and tapes; all which were managed and brought to perfection by themselves, from the silk and flax in their first state; even the dyeing of the colours is performed by them. These girls are received for five years, at the end of which they are at liberty to marry, and have for their portions their wheel and loom, with a sum of money proportioned to the state of the fund, which is assisted by the produce of their labour, and at this time was estimated at two thousand dollars per annum.

\* Marquis de Brancheforté.

The men and boys are not less attended to: they are employed in coarser work, blanketing and all kinds of common woollens: if they become infirm, they spend the remainder of their days here comfortably, and under a watchful inspector, who attends them in the same manner as the governess does the girls. They are all visited every day by the governor, and a clergyman attends them every evening. By this humane institution a number of people are rendered useful and industrious, in a country where the poor, from the indulgence of the climate, are too apt to prefer a life of inactivity, though attended with wretchedness, to obtaining the comforts of life by industry and labour.

The number of inhabitants in the island, I was informed, were estimated at between eighty and one hundred thousand. Their annual export of wine is twenty thousand pipes, and of brandy half that quantity. Vessels are frequently here from St. Eustatia, and from thence a great quantity of Teneriffe wine is carried to the different parts of the West Indies, under the name of Madeira.

Teneriffe is considered of more value than all the other Canaries: the inhabitants, however, in scarce seasons receive supplies from the Grand Canary; but their vineyards here are said to be greatly superior. Their produce of corn, though exceedingly good, is not sufficient for their consumption; and, owing to this, the Americans have an advantageous trade here for their flour and grain, and take wine in return.

The town of Santa Cruz is about half a mile in extent each way, built in a regular manner, and the houses in general large and airy, but the streets are very ill paved. I am told that they are subject to few diseases; but if any epidemic distemper breaks out, it is attended with the most fatal consequences, particularly the small-pox, the bad effects of which they now endeavour to counteract by inoculation. For this reason they are very circumspect in admitting ships to have communication with the shore without bills of health.

A sloop from London, called the Chance, William Meredith, master, bound to Barbadoes, out nineteen days from the Downs, came into the road the day before we sailed. She had suffered much by the bad weather; but, having brought no bill of health, the governor would not allow any person to come on shore, unless I could vouch for them that no epidemic disease raged in England at the time they sailed, which I was able to do, it being nearly at the same time that I left the land; and by that means they had the governor's permission to receive the supplies they wanted, without being obliged to perform quarantine.

Having finished our business at Teneriffe, on Thursday the 10th, we sailed with the wind at S.E., our ship's company all in good health and spirits.

I now divided the people into three watches, and gave the charge of the third watch to Mr. Fletcher Christian, one of the mates.—I have always considered this as a desirable regulation, when circumstances will admit of it, on many accounts; and am persuaded that unbroken rest not only contributes much towards the health of a ship's company, but enables them more readily to exert themselves in cases of sudden emergency.

As it was my wish to proceed to Otaheite without stopping, I ordered every body to be at two-

thirds allowance of bread; I also directed the water for drinking to be filtered through drip-stones that I had bought at Teneriffe for that purpose.

We ran all night towards the S.S.W., having the wind at S.E. The next morning we could see nothing of the land. I now made the ship's company acquainted with the intent of the voyage; and, having been permitted to hold out this encouragement to them, I gave assurances of the certainty of promotion to every one whose endeavours should merit it.

The winds, for some days after leaving Teneriffe, were mostly from the southward. Fishing-lines and tackle were distributed amongst the people, and some dolphins were caught.

On the 17th the wind came round to the N.E., and continued steady in that quarter till the 25th, on which day, at noon, we were in  $3^{\circ} 54' N.$  As the cloudiness of the sky gave us reason to expect much rain, we prepared the awnings with hoses for the convenience of saving water, in which we were not disappointed. From this time to our meeting with the S.E. trade wind we had much wet weather, the air close and sultry, with calms, and light variable winds, generally from the southward.

On the 29th there was so heavy a fall of rain that we caught seven hundred gallons of water.

On the 31st, latitude at noon,  $2^{\circ} 5' N.$ , found a current setting to the N.E., at the rate of fourteen miles in the twenty-four hours. The thermometer was at  $82^{\circ}$  in the shade, and  $81\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  at the surface of the sea, so that the air and the water were within half a degree of the same temperature. At eight o'clock in the evening we observed a violent rippling in the sea, about half a mile to the N.W. of us, which had very much the appearance of breakers. This I imagine to have been occasioned by a large school (or multitude) of fish, as it was exactly in the track the ship had passed, so that if any real shoal had been there, we must have seen it at the close of the evening, when a careful look-out was always kept. However, if it had appeared ahead of us, instead of astern, I should certainly have tacked to avoid it. To such appearances I attribute the accounts of many shoals within the tropics, which cannot be found anywhere but in maps. Our latitude at this time was  $2^{\circ} 8' N.$ , and longitude  $19^{\circ} 43' W.$  The next day we had more of these appearances, from the number of schools of fish by which the ship was surrounded.

Saturday the 2nd. This morning we saw a sail to the N.N.W., but at too great a distance to distinguish what she was.

Monday the 4th. Had very heavy rain; during which we nearly filled all our empty water casks. So much wet weather, with the closeness of the air, covered every thing with mildew. The ship was aired below with fires, and frequently sprinkled with vinegar; and every little interval of dry weather was taken advantage of to open all the hatchways, and clean the ship, and to have all the people's wet things washed and dried.

With this weather, and light unsteady winds, we advanced but  $2\frac{1}{2}$  degrees in twelve days; at the end of which time we were relieved by the S.E. trade wind, which we fell in with on the 6th at noon, in latitude  $1^{\circ} 21' N.$ , and longitude  $20^{\circ} 42' W.$

The next afternoon we crossed the equinoctial line, in longitude  $21^{\circ} 50' W.$  The weather became fine, and the S.E. trade wind was fresh and steady, with which we kept a point free from the wind, and got to the southward at a good rate.

The weather continuing dry, we put some of our bread in casks, properly prepared for its reception, to preserve it from vermin: this experiment, we afterwards found, answered exceedingly well.

On the 16th, at daylight, we saw a sail to the southward. The next day we came up with her, and found her to be the British Queen, Simon Paul, master, from London, bound to the Cape of Good Hope on the whale-fishery. She sailed from Falmouth the 5th of December, eighteen days before I left Spithead. By this ship I wrote to England. At sunset she was almost out of sight astern.

Monday the 18th. At noon we were in latitude  $20^{\circ} 44' S.$ , and longitude  $31^{\circ} 23' W.$  In our advances towards the south, the wind had gradually veered round to the east, and was at this time at E.N.E. The weather, after crossing the Line, had been fine and clear, but the air so sultry as to occasion great faintness, the quicksilver in the thermometer, in the day-time, standing at between 81 and 83 degrees, and one time at 85 degrees. In our passage through the northern tropic, the air was temperate, the sun having then high south declination and the weather being generally fine till we lost the N.E. trade wind; but such a thick haze surrounded the horizon, that no object could be seen, except at a very small distance. The haze commonly cleared away at sunset, and gathered again at sunrise. Between the N.E. and S.E. trade winds, the calms and rains, if of long continuance, are very liable to produce sickness, unless great attention is paid to keeping the ship clean and wholesome, by giving all the air possible, drying between decks with fires, and drying and airing the people's clothes and bedding. Besides these precautions, we frequently wetted with vinegar; and every evening the pumps were used as ventilators. With these endeavours to secure health, we passed the low latitudes without a single complaint.

The currents we met with were by no means regular, nor have I ever found them so in the middle of the ocean. However, from the channel to the southward, as far as Madeira, there is generally a current setting to the S.S.E.

On the evening of the 21st, a ship was seen in the N.E., but at too great a distance to distinguish of what country. The next day the wind came round to the N. and N.W., so that we could no longer consider ourselves in the trade wind. Our latitude at noon was  $25^{\circ} 55' S.$ , longitude  $36^{\circ} 29' W.$  Variation of the compass three degrees east.

Sat. 23rd, towards night the wind died away, and we had some heavy showers of rain, of which we profited, by saving a ton of good water. The next day we caught a shark and five dolphins.

Tuesday, 26th, we bent new sails, and made other necessary preparations for encountering the weather that was to be expected in a high latitude. Our latitude at noon was  $29^{\circ} 38' S.$ , longitude  $41^{\circ} 44' W.$  Variation  $7^{\circ} 13' E.$  In the afternoon, the wind being westerly, and blowing strong in

squalls, some butterflies, and other insects, like what we call horse-flies, were blown on board of us. No birds were seen except sheerwaters. Our distance from the coast of Brazil at this time was above 100 leagues.

Sunday, March 2nd, in the forenoon, after seeing that every person was clean, divine service was performed, according to my usual custom on this day. I gave to Mr. Fletcher Christian, whom I had before directed to take charge of the third watch, a written order to act as lieutenant.

Saturday, 8th. We were at noon in latitude  $36^{\circ} 50' S.$ , and longitude  $52^{\circ} 53' W.$  The last four days, we several times tried for soundings, without finding bottom, though considerably to the westward of Captain Wallis's track, who had soundings at fifty-four fathoms depth, in latitude  $35^{\circ} 40' S.$ , and longitude  $49^{\circ} 54' W.$  This day we tried with two hundred and forty fathoms of line, but did not find bottom; at the same time, observing a rippling in the water, we tried the current by mooring a keg with one hundred fathoms of line, by which it appeared to run to the N.N.W., at the rate of a mile and a half per hour. By the noon observation, however, we were eighteen miles to the southward of our reckoning. In the afternoon we saw a turtle floating, and, not having much wind, hoisted a boat out, and sent after it; but it was found to be in a putrid state, with a number of crabs feeding upon it.

The change of temperature began now to be sensibly felt, there being a variation in the thermometer, since yesterday, of eight degrees. That the people might not suffer by their own negligence, I gave orders for their light tropical clothing to be put by, and made them dress in a manner more suited to a cold climate. I had provided for this before I left England, by giving directions for such clothes to be purchased as were necessary.

Monday, 10th. In the forenoon we struck soundings at eighty-three fathoms depth; our latitude  $40^{\circ} 8' S.$ , and longitude  $55^{\circ} 40' W.$  This I conclude to have been near the edge of the bank; for, the wind being at S.S.W., we stood towards the S.E.; and, after running fourteen miles in that direction, we could find no bottom with one hundred and sixty fathoms of line. In the night we stood towards the W.S.W., with a southerly wind, and got again into soundings. The next day we saw a great number of whales of an immense size, that had two spout-holes on the back of the head.—Upon a complaint made to me by the master, I found it necessary to punish Matthew Quintal, one of the seamen, with two dozen lashes, for insolence and mutinous behaviour. Before this, I had not had occasion to punish any person on board.

On the 12th, we caught a porpoise, by striking it with the grains. Every one ate heartily of it; and it was so well liked, that no part was wasted.

On the 14th, in the afternoon, we saw a land-bird like a lark, and passed part of a dead whale that had been left by some whalers after they had taken the blubber off. Saw, likewise, two strange sail.

On the 19th, at noon, by my account, we were within twenty leagues of Port Desire; but the wind blowing fresh from the N.W. with thick foggy weather, I did not attempt to make the



land. We passed a good deal of rock-weed, and saw many whales, and albatrosses and other sea-birds.

On the 20th, in the afternoon, the wind, which had for some time past been northerly, suddenly shifted to the W.S.W. and blew hard. We steered to the S.S.E.; and on the 23rd, at two o'clock in the morning, we discovered the coast of Terra del Fuego bearing S.E. At nine in the forenoon we were off Cape St. Diego, the eastern part of Terra del Fuego. The wind being unfavourable, I thought it more advisable to go round to the eastward of Staten Land, than to attempt passing through Straits le Maire. The two opposite coasts of the Straits exhibited very different appearances. The land of Terra del Fuego hereabouts, though the interior parts are mountainous, yet near the coast is of a moderate height, and, at the distance we were from it, had not an unpromising appearance. The coast of Staten Land, near the Straits, is mountainous and craggy, and remarkable for its high peaked hills. Straits le Maire is a fair opening, which cannot well be mistaken; but if any doubt could remain, the different appearances of the opposite shores would sufficiently make the Straits known.

I did not sail within less than six leagues of the coast, that we might have the wind more regular, and avoid being exposed to the heavy squalls that came off from the land.

The sight of New Year's Harbour almost tempted me to put in; but the lateness of the season, and the people being in good health, determined me to lay aside all thoughts of refreshment, until we should reach Otaheite. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the easternmost of New Year's Isles, where Captain Cook observed the latitude to be 55° 40' S., bore from us south four leagues. We saw the entrance isles of New Year's harbour; at the back of which the land is very craggy and mountainous. This must be a very convenient port to touch at, as the access to it is safe and easy.

About two leagues to the westward of Cape St. John, I observed the separation of the mountains that Captain Cook has taken notice of, which has the appearance of Staten Land being there divided into two islands.

Monday, 24th. We had stood to the southward all night, with the wind at W.S.W. and S.W. At eight in the morning, Cape St. John bore N.W., ten leagues distant. Soon after we lost sight of the land.

From the time we lost sight of the land, to the end of the month, we were struggling with bad weather and contrary winds: but on the morning of the 31st the wind came to the N.N.E., and made us entertain great hopes that we should be able to accomplish our passage round the Cape without much difficulty. At noon we were in latitude 60° 1' S., and in 71° 45' W. longitude, which is 8° 26' W. of the meridian of Cape St. John. This flattering appearance was not of long continuance: in the night the wind became variable, and next day settled again in the W. and N.W., with very bad weather.

On April 2nd, in the morning, the wind, which had blown fresh all night from the N.W., came round to the S.W., and increased to a heavy gale. At six in the morning the storm exceeded what I

had ever met with before; and the sea, from the frequent shifting of the wind, running in contrary directions, broke exceeding high. Our ship, however, lay to very well, under a main and fore stay-sail. The gale continued, with severe squalls of hail and sleet, the remainder of this, and all the next day.—On the 4th, the wind was less violent, but far from moderate. With so much bad weather, I found it necessary to keep a constant fire, night and day; and one of the watch always attended to dry the people's wet clothes: and this, I have no doubt, contributed as much to their health as to their comfort.

Our companions in this inhospitable region, were albatrosses, and two beautiful kinds of birds, the small blue petterel, and pintada. A great many of these were frequently about the wake of the ship, which induced the people to float a line with hooks baited, to endeavour to catch them; and their attempts were successful. The method they used, was to fasten the bait a foot or two before the hook, and, by giving the line a sudden jerk when the bird was at the bait, it was hooked in the feet or body.

On the 6th the weather was moderate, and continued so till the 9th, with the wind veering between the N.W. and S.W.; of which we were able to take advantage.

On the 10th we saw some fish, which appeared spotted, and about the size of bonetos: these were the only fish we had seen in this high latitude.

The stormy weather continued with a great sea. The ship now began to complain, and required to be pumped every hour; which was no more than we had reason to expect from such a continuance of gales and high seas. The decks also became so leaky, that I was obliged to allot the great cabin, of which I made little use, except in fine weather, to those people who had wet births, to hang their hammocks in; and by this means the between-decks was less crowded.

Every morning all the hammocks were taken down from where they hung, and when the weather was too bad to keep them upon deck, they were put in the cabin; so that the between-decks were cleaned daily, and aired with fires, if the hatchways could not be opened. With all this bad weather, we had the additional mortification to find, at the end of every day, that we were losing ground; for notwithstanding our utmost exertions, and keeping on the most advantageous tacks, (which, if the weather had been at all moderate, would have sufficiently answered our purpose) yet the greater part of the time, we were doing little better than drifting before the wind.

Birds, as usual, were about the ship, and some of them caught; and, for the first time since we left Staten Land, we saw some whales. This morning, owing to the violent motion of the ship, the cook fell and broke one of his ribs, and another man, by a fall, dislocated his shoulder. The gunner, who had the charge of a watch, was laid up with the rheumatism: and this was the first sick list that appeared on board the ship. The time of full moon, which was approaching, made me entertain hopes, that, after that period, we should experience some change of wind or weather in our favour; but the event did not at all answer our expectations. The latitude, at noon this day, was 58° 9' S., and longitude 76° 1' W.

As we caught a good many birds, but which were all lean, and tasted fishy, we tried an experiment upon them which succeeded admirably. By keeping them cooped up, and cramming them with ground corn, they improved wonderfully in a short time; so that the pintada birds became as fine as ducks, and the albatrosses were as fat, and not inferior in taste to fine geese. Some of the latter birds were caught that measured seven feet between the extremities of the wings, when spread. This unexpected supply came very opportunely; for none of our live stock remained except hogs, the sheep and poultry not being hardy enough to stand the severity of the weather.

This morning, the wind died away, and we had a calm for a few hours, which gave us hopes that the next would be a more favourable wind. A hog was killed for the ship's company, which gave them an excellent meal. Towards noon, to our great disappointment, the wind sprung up again from the westward, and in the afternoon blew strong, with snow and hail storms.

This was the second day after the full moon; but, as I have remarked before, it had no influence on the weather. At noon our latitude was  $58^{\circ} 31'$  S., and longitude  $70^{\circ} 7'$  W., which is near seven degrees to the eastward of our situation on the morning of the ninth instant, when we had advanced the farthest in our power to the westward, being then in  $76^{\circ} 58'$  W., three degrees to the west of Cape Descada, the west part of the Straits of Magellan; and at this time we were  $3^{\circ} 52'$  to the east of it, and hourly losing ground.

It was with much concern I saw how hopeless, and even unjustifiable it was, to persist any longer in attempting a passage this way to the Society Islands. We had been thirty days in this tempestuous ocean. At one time we had advanced so far to the westward as to have a fair prospect of making our passage round; but from that period hard gales of westerly wind had continued without intermission, a few hours excepted, which, to borrow an expression in Lord Anson's voyage, were "like the elements drawing breath to return upon us with redoubled violence." The season was now too far advanced for us to expect more favourable winds or weather, and we had sufficiently experienced the impossibility of beating round against the wind, or of advancing at all without the help of a fair wind, for which there was little reason to hope. Another consideration, which had great weight with me, was, that if I persisted in my attempt this way, and should, after all, fail to get round, it would occasion such a loss of time, that our arrival at Otaheite, soon enough to return in the proper season by the East Indies, would be rendered precarious. On the other hand, the prevalence of the westerly winds in high southern latitudes, left me no reason to doubt of making a quick passage to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence to the eastward round New Holland. Having maturely considered all circumstances, I determined to bear away for the Cape of Good Hope; and at five o'clock on the evening of the 22d, the wind then blowing strong at west, I ordered the helm to be put a-weather, to the great joy of every person on board. Our sick list at this time had increased to eight, mostly with rheumatic complaints: in other respects the people were in good health, though exceedingly jaded.

The passage round Cape Horn, into the South Seas, during the summer months, has seldom been attended with difficulty, and is to be preferred, in the moderate seasons, to the more distant route to the eastward, round the Cape of Good Hope and New Holland. If we had been one month earlier, or perhaps less, I doubt not but we should have effected our passage.

### CHAPTER III.

PASSAGE TOWARDS THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE—ARRIVAL AT FALSE BAY—OCCURRENCES THERE—REPORTS CONCERNING THE GROSVENOR'S PEOPLE—DEPARTURE FROM THE CAPE.

The westerly winds and stormy weather continuing, gave me no reason to repent of my determination. On the 25th at noon, we were in latitude  $54^{\circ} 16'$  S., and longitude  $57^{\circ} 4'$  W. The nearest of the Falkland Islands, by my reckoning, then bore N.  $13^{\circ}$  W.; distance 23 leagues. Our stock of water being sufficient to serve us to the Cape of Good Hope, I did not think it worth while to stop at these islands, as the refreshment we might obtain there would scarce repay us for the expense of time: we therefore continued our course towards the N.E. and E.N.E.

Thursday 22, at two in the afternoon, we saw the Table Mountain of the Cape of Good Hope. As it is reckoned unsafe riding in Table Bay at this time of the year, I steered for False Bay. The next evening we anchored in the outer part, and on the forenoon of the 24th got the ship secured in Simon's Bay, which is in the inner part of False Bay. We found lying here, one outward-bound Dutch Indiaman, five other Dutch ships, and a French ship.

After saluting the fort, which was returned by an equal number of guns, I went on shore, and dispatches were sent away to Cape Town, to acquaint the governor of our arrival. A Dutch ship at this time lying in Table Bay, bound for Europe, I sent letters by her to the Admiralty. It is very unusual for ships to be in Table Bay so late in the year, on account of the strong N.W. winds. April is the time limited.

I gave the necessary directions for getting our wants supplied. The ship required to be caulked in every part, for she was become so leaky, that we had been obliged to pump every hour in our passage from Cape Horn. This we immediately set about, as well as repairing our sails and rigging. The severe weather we had met with, and the leakiness of the ship, made it necessary to examine into the state of all the stores and provisions. Of the latter, a good deal was found damaged, particularly the bread.—The time-keeper I took on shore to ascertain its rate, and other instruments, to make the necessary astronomical observations.—Fresh meat, with soft bread, and plenty of vegetables, were issued daily to the ship's company, the whole time we remained here. A few days after our arrival, I went over to Cape Town, and waited on his excellency M. Vander Graaf, the governor, who obligingly arranged matters so much to our advantage, that we scarcely felt the inconvenience of being at a distance from the Cape Town, whence we received all our supplies.

During our stay here, I took care to procure seeds and plants that would be valuable at Otaheite, and the different places we might touch at in our

way thither. In this I was greatly assisted by Colonel Gordon, the commander of the troops. In company with this gentleman, the loss of the Grosvenor East Indiaman was mentioned: on this subject, Colonel Gordon expressed great concern, that, from anything he had said, hopes were still entertained to flatter the affectionate wishes of the surviving friends of those unfortunate people. He said that, in his travels into the Caffre country, he had met with a native who described to him, that there was a white woman among his countrymen, who had a child, and that she frequently embraced the child, and cried most violently. This was all he (the colonel) could understand; and, being then on his return home, with his health much impaired by fatigue, the only thing that he could do, was to make a friend of the native, by presents, and promises of reward, on condition that he would take a letter to this woman, and bring him back an answer. Accordingly he wrote letters in English, French, and Dutch, desiring, that some sign or mark might be returned, either by writing with a burnt stick, or by any means she should be able to devise, to satisfy him that she was there; and that on receiving such token from her, every effort should be made to ensure her safety and escape. But the Caffre, although apparently delighted with the commission which he had undertaken, never returned, nor has the colonel ever heard any thing more of him, though he had been instructed in methods of conveying information through the Hottentot country.

To this account, that I may not again have occasion to introduce so melancholy a subject, I shall add the little information I received respecting it, when I re-visited the Cape, in my return towards Europe.—A reputable farmer, of the name of Holhousen, who lives at Swellendam, eight days' journey from the Cape, had information from some Caffre Hottentots, that at a crawl, or village, in their country, there were white men and women. On this intelligence, Mr. Holhousen asked permission of the governor to make an expedition, with some of the farmers, into the country, requiring a thousand rix-dollars to bear his expenses. The governor referred him to Mr. Woecke, the landros of Graverennet, a new colony, in his way. But from the place where Mr. Holhousen lives, to the landros Mr. Woecke's residence, is a month's journey, which he did not choose to undertake at an uncertainty, as Mr. Woecke might have disapproved of the enterprise. It was in October last that Mr. Holhousen offered to go on this service. He was one of the party who went along the sea-coast in search of these unfortunate people, when a few of them first made their appearance at the Cape. I am, however, informed, that the Dutch farmers are fond of making expeditions into the country, that they may have opportunities of taking away cattle; and this, I apprehend, to be one of the chief reasons why undertakings of this kind are not encouraged.

On the 13th of June, the Dublin East Indiaman arrived from England; on board of which ship was a party of the 77th regiment, under the command of Colonel Balfour.

On the 29th, being ready for sea, I took the time-keeper and instruments on board. The error of the time-keeper was 3' 33", 2 too slow for the

mean time at Greenwich, and its rate of going 3" per day, losing. The thermometer, during our stay here, was from 51 to 66 degrees.

We had been thirty-eight days at this place, and my people had received all the advantage that could be derived from the refreshments of every kind that are here to be met with. We sailed at four o'clock this afternoon, and saluted the platform with thirteen guns as we ran out of the bay, which were returned.

#### CHAPTER IV.

PASSAGE TOWARDS VAN DIEMEN'S LAND—MAKE THE ISLAND OF ST. PAUL—ARRIVAL IN ADVENTURE BAY—NATIVES SEEN—SAIL FROM VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

We lost sight of the land the day after leaving False Bay, and steered towards the E.S.E., having variable winds the first week, with much thunder, lightning, and rain. The remainder of this passage, the winds were mostly between the S. and W., blowing strong. There were almost every day great numbers of pintada, albatrosses, blue petterles, and other oceanic birds, about us; but it was observed, that if the wind came from the northward, only for a few hours, the birds generally left us, and their presence again was the forerunner of a southerly wind.

On Sunday the 22nd, at noon, we were scudding under the fore-sail and close-reefed main-top-sail, the wind blowing strong from the west. An hour after noon the gale increased, and blew with so much violence, that the ship was almost driven fore-castle under, before we could get the sails clewed up. As soon as the sails were taken in, we brought the ship to the wind, lowered the lower yards, and got the top-gallant-masts upon deck, which eased the ship very much. We remained lying to till eight the next morning, when we bore away under a reefed fore-sail. In the afternoon the sea ran so high, that it became very unsafe to stand on: we therefore brought to the wind again, and remained lying to all night, without accident, excepting that the man at the steerage was thrown over the wheel, and much bruised. Towards noon, the violence of the storm abated, and we again bore away under the reefed fore-sail. In the afternoon saw some whales.

We continued running to the eastward, it being my intention to make the island St. Paul. On Monday the 28th, at six in the morning, we saw the island, bearing E. by N., 12 leagues distant: between 10 and 11 o'clock, we ran along the south side, at about a league distant from the shore. There was a verdure that covered the higher parts of the land; but I believe it was nothing more than moss, which is commonly found on the tops of most rocky islands in these latitudes. We saw several whales near the shore. The extent of this island is five miles from E. to W.; and about two or three from N. to S. As we passed the east end, we saw a remarkable high sugar-loaf rock, abreast of which, I have been informed, is good anchorage in 23 fathoms, the east point bearing S.W. by S., by true compass. I had this information from the captain of a Dutch packet, in which I returned to Europe. He likewise said there was good fresh water on the island, and a hot spring, which boiled fish in as great perfection as on a fire.

At noon, we were three leagues past the island. We kept on towards the E.S.E., and for several days continued to see rock-weed, which is remarked to be generally the case after ships pass St. Paul's; but to the westward of it, very seldom any is seen.

We had much bad weather, with snow and hail, and in our approach to Van Diemen's Land, nothing was seen to indicate the nearness of the coast, except a seal, when we were within the distance of 20 leagues.

At two o'clock this afternoon, we saw the rock named the Mewstone, that lies near the S.W. cape of Van Diemen's Land, bearing N.E. about six leagues. The wind blew strong from the N.W. As soon as we had passed the Mewstone, we were sheltered from a very heavy sea, which ran from the westward. At eight o'clock at night we were abreast of the south cape, when the wind became light and variable. Saw several fires inland.

All the 20th, we were endeavouring to get into Adventure Bay, but were prevented by variable winds. The next morning, at five o'clock, we anchored in the outer part, and at sun-rise weighed again: at noon, we anchored well in the bay, and moored the ship.

In our passage from the Cape of Good Hope, the winds were mostly from the westward, with very boisterous weather: but one great advantage, that this season of the year has over the summer months is, in being free from fogs. I have already remarked, that the approach of strong southerly winds is announced by many kinds of birds of the albatross or petterel tribe, and the abatement of the gale, or a shift of wind to the northward, by their keeping away. The thermometer also very quickly shows when a change of these winds may be expected, by varying sometimes six and seven degrees in its height. I have reason to believe, that after we passed the island St. Paul, there was a westerly current; the ship being every day to the westward of the reckoning, which in the whole, from St. Paul to Van Diemen's Land, made a difference of four degrees between the longitude by the reckoning and the true longitude.

The ship being moored, I went in a boat to look out for the most convenient place to wood and water at, which I found to be at the west end of the beach: for the surf, though considerable, was less there than at any other part of the bay. The water was in a gully about sixty yards from the beach; it was perfectly good, but being only a collection from the rains, the place is always dry in the summer months; for we found no water in it when I was here with Captain Cook in January, 1777.—We had very little success in hauling the seine; about twenty small flounders, and flat-headed fish, called foxes, were all that were taken.

I found no signs of the natives having lately frequented this bay, or of any European vessels having been here since the Resolution and Discovery in 1777. From some of the old trunks of trees, then cut down, I saw shoots about twenty-five feet high, and fourteen inches in circumference.

In the evening, I returned on board. The next morning, 22nd, at daylight, a party was sent on shore for wooding and watering, under the command of Mr. Christian and the gunner; and I directed that one man should be constantly em-

ployed in washing the people's clothes. There was so much surf that the wood was obliged to be rafted off in bundles to the boat. Mr. Nelson informed me, that, in his walks to-day, he saw a tree, in a very healthy state, which he measured, and found to be thirty-three feet and a half in girth; its height was proportioned to its bulk.

Saturday the 23rd. The surf was rather greater than yesterday, which very much interrupted our wooding and watering. Nelson to-day picked up a male opossum that had been recently killed, or had died, for we could not perceive any wound, unless it had received a blow on the back, where there was a bare place about the size of a shilling. It measured fourteen inches from the ears to the beginning of the tail, which was exactly the same length.

Most of the forest trees were at this time shedding their bark. There are three kinds, which are distinguished from each other by their leaves, though the wood appears to be the same. Many of them are full one hundred and fifty feet high; but most of those that we cut down, were decayed at the heart. There are, besides the forest trees, several other kinds that are firm good wood, and may be cut for most purposes, except masts; neither are the forest trees good for masts, on account of their weight, and the difficulty of finding them thoroughly sound. Mr. Nelson asserted that they shed their bark every year, and that they increase more from the seed than by suckers.

I found the tide made a difference of full two feet in the height of the water in the lake, at the back of the beach. At high water, it was very brackish, but at low tide, it was perfectly fresh to the taste, and soap showed no sign of its being the least impregnated. We had better success in fishing on board the ship, than by hauling the seine on shore; for, with hooks and lines, a number of fine rock cod were caught.—I saw to-day several eagles, some beautiful blue-plumaged herons, and a great variety of paroquets. A few oyster-catchers and gulls were generally about the beach, and in the lake a few wild ducks.

Being in want of plank, I directed a saw-pit to be dug, and employed some of the people to saw trees into plank. The greater part of this week the winds were moderate, with unsettled weather. On Friday it blew strong from the S.W., with rain, thunder, and lightning. We continued to catch fish in sufficient quantities for every body, and had better success with the seine.—We were fortunate, also, in angling in the lake, where we caught some very fine tench. Some of the people felt a sickness from eating muscles, that were gathered from the rocks; but I believe it was occasioned by eating too many. We found some spider-crabs, most of them not good, being the female sort, and out of season. The males were tolerably good, and were known by the smallness of their two fore-claws, or feeders. We saw the trunk of a dead tree, on which had been cut "A. D. 1773." The figures were very distinct; even the slips made with the knife were discernible. This must have been done by some of captain Furneaux's people, in March, 1773, fifteen years before. The marks of the knife remaining so unaltered, I imagine the tree must have been dead when it was cut; but it serves to show the durability of the wood, for it was perfectly sound at this time. I shot two gan-

nets: these birds were of the same size as those in England; their colour is a beautiful white, with the wings and tail tipped with jet black, and the top and back of the head of a very fine yellow. Their feet were black, with four claws, on each of which was a yellow line, the whole length of the foot. The bill was four inches long, without nostrils, and very taper and sharp-pointed.

The east side of the bay being not so thick of wood as the other parts, and the soil being good, I fixed on it, at Nelson's recommendation, as the most proper situation for planting some of the fruit-trees which I had brought from the Cape of Good Hope. A circumstance much against any thing succeeding here, is, that in the dry season, the fires made by the natives are apt to communicate to the dried grass and underwood, and to spread in such a manner as to endanger every thing that cannot bear a severe scorching. We, however, chose what we thought the safest situations, and planted three fine young apple-trees, nine vines, six plantain-trees, a number of orange and lemon-seed, cherry-stones, plum, peach, and apricot-stones, pumpkins, also two sorts of Indian corn, and apple and pear kernels. The ground is well adapted for the trees, being of a rich loamy nature. The spot where we made our plantation was clear of underwood; and we marked the trees that stood nearest to the different things which were planted. Nelson followed the circuit of the bay, planting in such places as appeared most eligible. I have great hopes that some of these articles will succeed. The particular situations I had described in my survey of this place, but I was unfortunately prevented from bringing it home. Near the watering place, likewise, we planted on a flat, which appeared a favourable situation, some onions, cabbage-roots, and potatoes.

For some days past, a number of whales were seen in the bay. They were of the same kind as those we had generally met with before, having two blow-holes on the back of the head.

On the night of the 1st of September, we observed, for the first time, signs of the natives being in the neighbourhood. Fires were seen on the low land, near Cape Frederick Henry, and at daylight, we saw the natives with our glasses. As I expected they would come round to us, I remained all the forenoon near the wooding and watering parties, making observations, the morning being very favourable for that purpose. I was, however, disappointed in my conjecture, for the natives did not appear, and there was too great a surf for a boat to land on the part where we had seen them.

The natives not coming near us, I determined, on the 2nd, to go after them, and we set out, in a boat, towards Cape Frederick Henry, where we arrived about eleven o'clock. I found landing impracticable, and therefore came to a grapnel, in hopes of their coming to us, for we had passed several fires. After waiting near an hour, I was surprised to see Nelson's assistant come out of the wood: he had wandered thus far in search of plants, and told me that he had met with some of the natives. Soon after we heard their voices like the cackling of geese, and twenty persons came out of the wood, twelve of whom went round to some rocks, where the boat could get nearer to the shore than we then were. Those who remained behind were women.

We approached within twenty yards of them, but there was no possibility of landing, and I could only throw to the shore, tied up in paper, the presents which I intended for them. I showed the different articles as I tied them up, but they would not untie the paper till I made an appearance of leaving them. They then opened the parcels, and, as they took the articles out, placed them on their heads. On seeing this, I returned towards them, when they instantly put every thing out of their hands, and would not appear to take notice of any thing that we had given them. After throwing a few more beads and nails on shore, I made signs for them to go to the ship, and they, likewise, made signs for me to land; but as this could not be effected, I left them, in hopes of a nearer interview at the watering place.

When they first came in sight, they made a prodigious clattering in their speech, and held their arms over their heads. They spoke so quick, that I could not catch one single word they uttered. We recollected one man, whom we had formerly seen among the party of the natives that came to us in 1777, and who is particularised in the account of Captain Cook's last voyage, for his humour and deformity. Some of them had a small stick, two or three feet long, in their hands, but no other weapon.

Their colour, as Captain Cook remarks, is a dull black: their skin is scarified about their shoulders and breast. They were of a middle stature, or rather below it. One of them was distinguished by his body being coloured with red ochre, but all the others were painted black, with a kind of soot, which was laid on so thick over their faces and shoulders, that it is difficult to say what they were like.

They ran very nimbly over the rocks, had a very quick sight, and caught the small beads and nails, which I threw to them, with great dexterity. They talked to us sitting on their heels, with their knees close into their armpits, and were perfectly naked.

In my return towards the ship, I landed at the point of the harbour near Penguin Island, and from the hills, saw the water on the other side of the low isthmus of Cape Frederick Henry, which forms the bay of that name. It is very extensive, and in, or near, the middle of the bay, there is a low island. From this spot, it has the appearance of being a very good and convenient harbour.

The account which I had from Brown, the botanist's assistant, was, that in his search for plants, he had met an old man, a young woman, and two or three children. The old man at first appeared alarmed, but became familiar on being presented with a knife. He nevertheless sent away the young woman, who went very reluctantly. He saw some miserable wigwags, in which were nothing but a few kangaroo skins spread on the ground, and a basket made of rushes.

Among the wood that we cut here, we found many scorpions and centipes, with numerous black ants that were an inch long. We saw no musquitos, though in the summer months they are very troublesome.

What is called the New Zealand tea plant, grew here in great abundance; so that it was not only gathered and dried to use as tea, but made excellent brooms. It bears a small pointed leaf, of

a pleasant smell, and its seed is contained in a berry, about the size of a pea, notched into five equal parts on the top. The soil, on the west and south sides of the bay, is black mould, with a mixture of fine white sand, and is very rich. The trees are lofty and large, and the underwood grows so close together, that in many places it is impassable. The east side of the bay is a rich loamy soil; but, near the tops of the hills, is very much encumbered with stones and rocks: the underwood thinly placed and small. The trees on the S.S.E. and S.W. sides of the hills, grow to a larger size than those that are exposed to the opposite points; for the sides of the trees open or exposed to the north winds are naked, with few branches; while the other sides are in a flourishing state. From this I do not infer, that the equatorial are more hurtful than the polar winds; but that the trees, by their situation, were more sheltered from the one than from the other.

A calm prevented our sailing to-day. The friendly interview which we had had with the natives, made me expect that they would have paid us a visit; but we saw nothing more of them, except fires in the night, upon the low land to the northward.

This forenoon, having a pleasant breeze at N.W., we weighed anchor, and sailed out of Adventure Bay.

#### CHAPTER V.

ROCKY ISLANDS DISCOVERED—SEE THE ISLAND MAITEA, AND ARRIVE AT OTAHEITE—SHIP CROWDED BY THE NATIVES.

BEING clear of the land, we steered towards the E.S.E., it being my intention to pass to the southward of New Zealand, as I expected in that route to meet with constant westerly winds; in which, however, I was disappointed, for they proved variable, and frequently from the eastward blowing strong, with thick misty weather. The thermometer varied from 41 to 46 degrees.

On the 14th, at noon, we were in 49° 24' S. latitude, and in 168° 3' E. longitude, which is on the same meridian with the south end of New Zealand. We altered our course, steering to the northward of east, and frequently saw rock-wood, which I supposed to have drifted from New Zealand. The sea now became rougher, from our being exposed to a long swell, which came from the N.E.

On the 19th, at day-light, we discovered a cluster of small rocky islands, bearing east by north four leagues distant from us. We had seen no birds, or any thing to indicate the nearness of land, except patches of rock-wood, for which the vicinity of New Zealand sufficiently accounted. The wind being at N.E. prevented our near approach to these isles; so that we were not less than three leagues distant in passing to the southward of them. The weather was too thick to see distinctly: their extent was only three and a half miles from east to west, and about half a league from north to south: their number, including the smaller ones, was thirteen. I could not observe any verdure on any of them: there were white spots like patches of snow; but, as Captain Cook, in

describing the land of New Zealand, near Cape South, says, in many places there are patches like white marble, it is probable that what we saw might be of the same kind as what he had observed. The westernmost of these islands is the largest; they are of sufficient height to be seen at the distance of seven leagues from a ship's deck. While in sight of the islands, we saw some penguins, and a white kind of gull with a forked tail. Captain Cook's track, in 1773, was near this spot, but he did not see the islands: he saw seals and penguins hereabouts, but considered New Zealand to be the nearest land. I have named them after the ship, the Bounty Isles.

On Sunday, the 21st, we saw a seal, some rock-wood, and a great many albatrosses.

October 2nd, Thursday, it being calm, and a number of small blubbers about the ship, I took up some in a bucket, but I saw no difference between them and the common blubbers in the West Indies. We frequently, in the night-time, observed the sea to be covered with luminous spots, caused by prodigious quantities of small blubbers, that, from the strings which extend from them, emit a light like the blaze of a candle, while the body continues perfectly dark.

The 3rd, in the morning, we saw a seal. Captain Cook has remarked seeing sea-wood, when nearly in the same place. Our latitude 40° 21' S., longitude 215° E. Being now well to the eastward of the Society Islands, I steered more to the northward.

We continued to have the southern oceanic birds accompany us, and a few whales. The people caught albatrosses, and fattened them in the same manner which they had done when off Cape Horn. Some of these measured near eight feet between the tips of the wings, when spread.

On Thursday, the 9th, we had the misfortune to lose one of our seamen, James Valentine, who died in the night, of an asthmatic complaint. This poor man had been one of the most robust people on board, until our arrival at Adventure Bay, where he first complained of some slight indisposition, for which he was bled, and got better. Some time afterwards, the arm in which he had been bled, became painful and inflamed: the inflammation increased, with a hollow cough, and extreme difficulty of breathing, to his death.

The 13th, in the afternoon, we saw two land birds, like what are called sand-larks. Our latitude at this time was 28° 3' S., and longitude 223° 26' E. The next morning we saw a tropic bird, and some fish. The winds were light and variable, with calms, from this time to the 19th, when a breeze sprung up from the N.E., which gradually came round to the eastward, and proved to be the trade wind.

On the 25th, at half past seven in the morning, we saw the Island Maitea, called Osnaburg by Captain Wallis, who first discovered it. As Captain Wallis and Captain Cook had both passed near the south side, I ran along the north side, which is remarkably steep. The island is high and round, and not more than three miles in its greatest extent. The south side, where the declivity from the hill is more gradual, is the chief place of residence of the natives; but the north side, from the very summit down to the sea, is so steep, that it can afford no support to the inha-

bitants. We steered pretty close in to the northward of the east end, where we saw but few habitations: a very neat house on a small eminence, delightfully situated in a grove of cocoa-nut-trees, particularly attracted our notice. About twenty of the natives followed us along shore, waving and showing large pieces of cloth; but the surf on the shore was too high to think of having any communication with them. I observed a great number of cocoa-nut-trees, but did not see one plantain-tree. There were other trees, but of what kind we could not distinguish: near the east end are two remarkable rocks, and a reef runs off to the eastward about half a league.

We continued our course to the westward, and at six in the evening saw Otaheite, bearing W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  S.; the island Maitea, then in sight, bearing E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S., eight leagues distant. As there was great probability that we should remain a considerable time at Otaheite, it could not be expected that the intercourse of my people with the natives should be of a very reserved nature: I therefore ordered that every person should be examined by the surgeon, and had the satisfaction to learn, from his report, that they were all perfectly free from any venereal complaint.

On the 26th, at four o'clock in the morning, having run twenty-five leagues from Maitea, we brought to till day-light, when we saw Point Venus bearing S.W. by W., distant about four leagues. As we drew near, a great number of canoes came off to us. Their first enquiries were, if we were *tyos*, which signifies friends; and whether we came from *Pretanie*, (their pronunciation of Britain) or from Lima: they were no sooner satisfied in this, than they crowded on board in vast numbers, notwithstanding our endeavours to prevent it, as we were working the ship in; and in less than ten minutes, the deck was so full that I could scarce find my own people. At nine in the forenoon, we were obliged to anchor in the outer part of Matavai Bay, in thirteen fathoms, being prevented by light variable winds from placing the ship in a proper berth.

This passage of fifty-two days from Van Diemen's land may be rated as moderate sailing. We passed New Zealand with the spring equinox, and the winds, though strong, were at no time violent. To the southward of 40° 0' S. they were variable; between the latitudes of 40 and 33° S., the wind kept in the N.W. quarter; afterwards, till we got into the trade, the winds were variable, mostly from the eastward, but light, and inclinable to calms. The ship was 3° 22' in longitude to the eastward of the dead reckoning, which the time-keeper almost invariably proved to be owing to a current giving us more easting than the log. Our track was as distant from any course of former ships as I could conveniently make it; and though we made no new discoveries, except the small cluster of islands near New Zealand, yet in other parts of the track, as has been noticed, we met with signs of being in the neighbourhood of land.

It may not be unworthy of remark, that the whole distance which the ship had run by the log, in direct and contrary courses, from leaving England to our anchoring at Otaheite, was twenty-seven thousand and eighty-six miles, which, on an average, is at the rate of a hundred and eight miles each twenty-four hours.

## CHAPTER VI.

ACCOUNT OF AN ENGLISH SHIP LATELY SAILED FROM OTAHEITE—DEATH OF OMAI—CAPTAIN COOK'S PICTURE SENT ON BOARD—OTOO VISITS THE SHIP—HIS VISIT RETURNED—NATIVES WELL DISPOSED TOWARDS US—ACCOUNT OF THE CATTLE LEFT BY CAPTAIN COOK—BREAD-FRUIT PLANTS PROMISED—VISIT TO THE EARKE RAHIE—PRESENTS MADE TO THE ARROYES.

THE ship being anchored, Sunday, 26th, our number of visitors continued to increase; but as yet we saw no person that we could recollect to have been of much consequence. Some inferior chiefs made me presents of a few hogs, and I made them presents in return. We were supplied with cocoa-nuts in great abundance, but bread-fruit was scarce.

Many inquiries were made after Captain Cook, Sir Joseph Banks, and many of their former friends. They said a ship had been here, from which they had learnt that Captain Cook was dead; but the circumstances of his death they did not appear to be acquainted with; and I had given particular directions to my officers and ship's company, that they should not be mentioned. The ship spoken of, they informed me, staid at Otaheite one month, and had been gone four months, by some of their accounts; according to others, only three months. The captain they called Tonah. I understood likewise from them, that Lieutenant Watts was in the ship; who, having been here in the Resolution with Captain Cook, was well known to them.—One of my first enquiries, as will naturally be imagined, was after our friend Omai\*; and it was a sensible mortification and disappointment to me to hear that not only Omai, but both the New Zealand boys who had been left with him, were dead. Every one agreed in their information that they died a natural death. Otoo, who was the chief of Matavai when Captain Cook was here the last time, was absent at another part of the island; they told me messengers were sent to inform him of our arrival, and that he was expected to return soon. There appeared among the natives in general great goodwill towards us, and they seemed to be much rejoiced at our arrival. This whole day we experienced no instance of dishonesty. We were so much crowded, that I could not undertake to remove to a more proper station, without danger of disobliging our visitors, by desiring them to leave the ship: this business was therefore deferred till the next morning.

Early in the morning of Monday, before the natives began to flock off to us, we weighed anchor, to work farther into the bay, and moored at about a quarter of a mile distance from the shore; the ship lying in seven fathoms water.

Several chiefs now came on board, and expressed great pleasure at seeing me. Among these were Otow, the father of Otoo, and Oreepyah, his brother; also another chief of Matavai, called Poeno: and to these men I made presents. Two messengers likewise arrived from Otoo, to acquaint me of his being on his way to the ship; each of whom brought me, as a present from Otoo, a small pig, and a young plantain-tree, as a token of

\* Carried to England by Captain Cook.

friendship. The ship was now plentifully supplied with provisions; every person having as much as he could consume.

As soon as the ship was secured, I went on shore with the chief Poeno, and accompanied by a multitude of the natives. He conducted me to the place where we had fixed our tents in 1777, and desired that I would now appropriate the spot to the same use. We then went across the beach, and through a walk delightfully shaded with bread-fruit trees, to his own house. Here we found two women at work staining a piece of cloth red. These I found were his wife and her sister. They desired me to sit down on a mat, which was spread for the purpose, and with great kindness offered me refreshments. I received the congratulations of several strangers, who came to us and behaved with great decorum and attention. The people, however, thronged about the house in such numbers; that I was much incommoded by the heat, which being observed, they immediately drew back. Among the crowd I saw a man who had lost his arm just above the elbow; the stump was well covered, and the cure seemed as perfect as could be expected from the greatest professional skill.

I made inquiries about the cattle that had been left here by Captain Cook, but the accounts I received were very unfavourable, and so various, that for the present I shall forbear speaking of them. After staying about an hour, I got up to take leave, when the women, in a very obliging manner, came to me with a mat, and a piece of their finest cloth, which they put on me after the Otaheite fashion. When I was thus dressed, they each of them took one of my hands, and accompanied me to the water-side, and at parting promised that they would soon return my visit.

In this walk I had the satisfaction to see that the island had received some benefit from our former visits. Two shaddocks were brought to me, a fruit which they had not till we introduced it; and among the articles which they brought off to the ship, and offered for sale, were capsicums, pumpkins, and two young goats.

On my return to the ship, I found that a small disturbance had been occasioned by one of the natives making an attempt to steal a tin pot; which, on being known to Oreepyah, he flew into a violent rage, and it was with some difficulty that the thief escaped with his life. He drove all his countrymen out of the ship; and when he saw me, he desired if at any time I found a thief, that I would order him to be tied up and punished with a severe flogging.

This forenoon a man came on board with Capt. Cook's picture, which had been drawn by Mr. Webber in 1777, and left with Otoo. It was brought to me to be repaired. The frame was broken, but the picture no way damaged, except a little in the back ground. They called it *Toote* (which has always been their manner of pronouncing Captain Cook's name) *Earee no Otaheite*, chief of Otaheite. They said *Toote* had desired Otoo, whenever any English ship came, to show the picture, and it would be acknowledged as a token of friendship. The youngest brother of Otoo, named Whydooh, visited me this afternoon: he appeared stupefied with drinking ava. At sunset all our male visitors left the ship.

The next morning early I received a message from Otoo, to inform me of his arrival, and requesting that I would send a boat for him; which I immediately did, with an officer (Mr. Christian) to conduct him on board. He came with numerous attendants, and expressed much satisfaction at our meeting. After introducing his wife to me, we joined noses, the customary manner of saluting, and, to perpetuate our friendship, he desired we should exchange names. I was surprised to find that, instead of Otoo, the name by which he formerly went, he was now called Tinah. The name of Otoo, with the title of *Earee Rahie*, I was informed had devolved to his eldest son, who was yet a minor, as is the custom of the country. The name of Tinah's wife was *Iddeah*: with her was a woman, dressed with a large quantity of cloth, in the form of a hoop, which was taken off and presented to me, with a large hog, and some bread-fruit. I then took my visitors into the cabin, and after a short time produced my presents in return. The present I made to Tinah (by which name I shall hereafter call him) consisted of hatchets, small adzes, files, gimblets, saws, looking-glasses, red feathers, and two shirts. To *Iddeah* I gave ear-rings, necklaces, and beads; but she expressed a desire also for iron, and therefore I made the same assortment for her as I had for her husband. Much conversation took place among them on the value of the different articles, and they appeared extremely satisfied; so that they determined to spend the day with me, and requested I would show them all over the ship, and particularly the cabin where I slept. This, though I was not fond of doing, I indulged them in, and the consequence was, as I had apprehended, that they took a fancy to so many things, that they got from me nearly as much more as I had before given them. Afterwards, Tinah desired me to fire some of the great guns: this I likewise complied with, and, as the shot fell into the sea at a great distance, all the natives expressed their surprise by loud shouts and acclamations.

I had a large company at dinner; for, besides Tinah and his wife, there was Otoo, the father of Tinah, Oreepyah, and Whydooh, two of his brothers, Poeno, and several other chiefs. Tinah was a very large man, much above the common stature, being not less than six feet four inches in height, and proportionally stout: his age about thirty-five. His wife (*Iddeah*) I judged to be about twenty-four years of age: she was likewise much above the common size of the women at Otaheite, and had a very animated and intelligent countenance. Whydooh, the younger brother of Tinah, was highly spoken of as a warrior, but had the character of being the greatest drunkard in the country; and, indeed, to judge from the withered appearance of his skin, he must have used the pernicious drink called *ava*, to great excess. Tinah was fed by one of his attendants, who sat by him for that purpose, this being a particular custom among some of the superior chiefs; and I must do him the justice to say, he kept his attendant constantly employed: there was indeed little reason to complain of want of appetite in any of my guests. As the women are not allowed to eat in presence of the men, *Iddeah* dined with some of her companions about an hour afterwards, in private, except that her husband Tinah favoured



them with his company, and seemed to have entirely forgotten that he had already dined.

Provisions were brought off to the ship in the greatest plenty; and, to prevent as much as possible anything which might occasion disputes, I desired Mr. Peckover, the gunner, to undertake the management of our traffic with the natives. Some of the hogs brought to-day weighed 200 lbs., and we purchased several for salting. Goats were likewise brought off for sale, and I bought a she-goat and kid for less than would have purchased a small hog. Our friends here expressed much disappointment that there was no portrait painter on board; Tinah in particular, who wished to have had pictures of his father and family.

An intimacy between the natives and our people was already so general, that there was scarce a man in the ship who had not his *tyo* or friend. Tinah continued with me the whole afternoon, in the course of which he ate four times of roast pork, besides his dinner. When he left the ship, he requested I would keep for him all the presents I had given to him, as he had not, at Matavai, a place sufficiently safe to secure them from being stolen; I therefore showed him a locker in my cabin for his use, and gave him a key to it. This is perhaps not so much a proof of his want of power, as of the estimation in which they hold European commodities, and which makes more than the common means of security necessary to prevent theft.

I had sent Nelson and his assistant to look for plants, and it was no small pleasure to me to find, by their report, that, according to appearances, the object of my mission would probably be accomplished with ease. I had given directions to every one on board not to make known to the islanders the purpose of our coming, lest it might enhance the value of the bread-fruit plants, or occasion other difficulties. Perhaps so much caution was not necessary; but at all events I wished to reserve to myself the time and manner of communication. Nelson met with two fine shaddock-trees, which he had planted in 1777: they were full of fruit, but not ripe.

Wednesday, 29th.—In the morning I returned Tinah's visit, for I found he expected it. He was in a small shed about a quarter of a mile to the eastward of Matavai Point, with his wife and three children, not their own, but who they said were relations. In my walk I had picked up a numerous attendance, for every one I met followed me; so that I had collected such a crowd that the heat was scarce bearable, every one endeavouring to get a look to satisfy their curiosity: they, however, carefully avoided pressing against me, and welcomed me with cheerful countenances, and great good-nature.

I made Tinah understand that my visit was particularly to him, and gave him a second present, equal to the first, which he received with great pleasure; and to the people of consequence that were about him I also presented some article or other. There were great numbers of children; and, as I took notice of the little ones that were in arms, and gave them beads, both small and great, but with much drollery and good-humour, endeavoured to benefit by the occasion. Boys of ten and twelve years old were caught up in arms and brought to me, which created much laughter; so

that in a short time I got rid of all I had brought on shore.

In my return I called on Poeno and an elderly chief, a relation of his, called Moannah, the principal men of this district, and with whom I judged it my interest to be on good terms. I gave them several valuable articles; and as the situation here was eligible for a garden, I planted melon, cucumber, and salad-seeds. I told them many other things should be sown for their use; and they appeared much pleased when they understood I intended to plant such things as would grow to be trees and produce fruit. I saw large patches of tobacco growing without culture, and many pumpkin vines. The bread-fruit trees and cocoa-nut trees at this time were full of fruit.

I went on board to dinner, and Moannah accompanied me. In the afternoon I returned to Poeno's, with some additional seeds to improve the little garden I had begun to make in the forenoon. While I was giving directions, I received a message from Tinah, inviting me to come to him at his brother Oreepyah's house, which was near the beach. At this place I found a great number of people collected, who, on my appearance, immediately made way for me to sit down by Tinah. The crowd being ordered to draw back, a piece of cloth about two yards wide and forty-one yards in length was spread on the ground; and another piece of cloth was brought by Oreepyah, which he put over my shoulders and round my waist, in the manner the chiefs are clothed. Two large hogs, weighing each above two hundred pounds, and a quantity of baked bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, were then laid before me, as a present, and I was desired to walk from one end of the cloth spread on the ground to the other, in the course of which, *Tyo* and *Ehoah*\* were repeated with loud acclamations. This ceremony being ended, Tinah desired I would send the things on board, which completely loaded the boat; we therefore waited till she came back, and then I took them on board with me; for I knew they expected some return. The present which I made on this occasion was equal to any that I had made before; but I discovered that Tinah was not the sole proprietor of what he had given to me, for the present I gave was divided among those who I guessed had contributed to support his dignity; among whom were Moannah, Poeno, and Oreepyah; Tinah, however, kept the greatest part of what I had given, and every one seemed satisfied with the proportion he allotted them.

The Otahete breed of hogs seems to be supplanted by the European. Originally they were of the China sort, short, and very thick-necked; but the superior size of the European has made them encourage our breed.

Thursday, 30th.—At break of day, Tinah and his wife came again to the ship, and as their attendants were numerous, I provided a breakfast for them of broiled and roasted pork, which they preferred to tea. Our arrival being known all over the island, we had this day a great number of strangers on board, who came from the most remote parts, and in the forenoon some hooks and thimbles were cut out from the blocks. This induced me to order all the natives out of the ship, except

\* *Tyo* and *Ehoah* are words of the same signification; i. e. *friend*.

the chiefs and their attendants. In executing these orders, a daring fellow attacked the sentinel, but escaped among the crowd. Every one knew the consequence of offending the sentinel, and were exceedingly alarmed at the appearance of anger I thought necessary to assume.

Among those who visited us to-day were two chiefs of great consequence, Marremarre and his son Poohaitaiah Otee, Earees of the districts of Itceah and Attahooro. Otee was fed at dinner in the same manner as Tinah. It was evident that the attention which I showed to these chiefs seemed to give uneasiness to Tinah. At sunset my visitors took leave, and were carried on shore by one of the ship's boats, which has always been regarded as a mark of distinction, and on that account preferred by them to going in their own canoes. At their request a race was rowed between our five-oared cutter and one of their double canoes with four paddles. Great exertions were used on both sides, but the cutter first reached the shore. In their return to the ship, Oreepyah stopped them, till a large piece of cloth that he had sent for was brought, which he tied to the boat-hook, and desired should be carried off as a trophy of their victory.

The next morning, at sunrise, Moannah came on board with a message from Tinah, to acquaint me that he was *mattoo* (afraid to see me) till he had recovered some things that had been stolen from the ship, and which he had sent after. I knew there was something wrong, as no canoes came off to us, and, on looking about, we found the buoy of the best bower anchor had been taken away, I imagine, for the sake of some iron hoops that were on it. That this might not create any coolness, I sent a boat to Tinah, to invite him and his friends to come on board; which they immediately did, and were no longer under any apprehensions. I had made an appointment with Oreepyah, for him to go with me to Oparre this morning; but the accident just mentioned caused him to break his engagement, he having gone, I was informed, in search of what had been stolen.

Oparre is the district next to the westward of Matavai. One of my reasons for going to Oparre, was to see if Nelson would be able to procure plants there; but I gave the credit of my visit to young Otoo, the son of Tinah, who was the Earee Rahie, and lived with the rest of Tinah's children at Oparre. I prepared a magnificent present for this youth, who was represented to me as the person of the greatest consequence, or rather of the highest rank, in the island. At noon I left the ship, accompanied by Tinah, his wife Iddeah, and Poeno. Moannah was to have been of the party, but he insisted on remaining in the ship, to prevent his countrymen from attempting to steal anything.

After half an hour's sailing, we arrived at Oparre. During this time, Tinah gave me a more circumstantial account of the cattle and sheep, that had been left with him: he related, that after five years from the time of Captain Cook's departure (counting sixty-three moons) the people of the island Eimeo joined with those of Attahooro, a district of Otaheite, and made a descent on Oparre: that after some resistance, by which many men were killed, Tinah and his people fled to the mountains, leaving all their property to the mercy of the victorious party, who destroyed almost every thing which they found not convenient to take

away with them. Some of the cattle were killed and eaten, but the greater part were taken to Eimeo. The cows, he said, had produced eight calves, and the ewes ten young ones. The ducks, among which they classed the geese, had greatly increased; but the turkeys and peacocks, whatever was the cause, had not bred. It seemed to give Tinah great pleasure to observe how much I was concerned for the destruction of so many useful animals; but the cause of his satisfaction, I found, did not proceed from any expectation that I should replace them, but from the belief that I would take vengeance on the people who had deprived him of them; for with respect to the loss of the cattle, he appeared so unconcerned and indifferent, that I was very angry with him. There is, however, sufficient excuse for his resentment against the people of Eimeo; for the large extensive houses, which we had seen in this part of Otaheite, in the year 1777, were all destroyed, and at present they had no other habitations than light sheds, which might be taken by the four corners, and removed by four men; and of the many large canoes which they then had, not more than three remained. Tinah, understanding from my conversation, that I intended visiting some of the other islands in this neighbourhood, very earnestly desired I would not think of leaving Matavai. "Here," said he, "you shall be supplied plentifully with every thing you want. All here are your friends, and friends of king George: if you go to the other islands, you will have every thing stolen from you." I replied, that on account of their good-will, and from a desire to serve him and his country, King George had sent out those valuable presents to him; "and will not you, Tinah, send something to King George in return?"—"Yes," he said, "I will send him any thing I have;" and then began to enumerate the different articles in his power, among which he mentioned the bread-fruit. This was the exact point to which I wished to bring the conversation; and, seizing an opportunity, which had every appearance of being undesigned and accidental, I told him the bread-fruit trees were what King George would like; upon which he promised me a great many should be put on board, and seemed much delighted to find it so easily in his power to send any thing that would be well received by King George.

On landing at Oparre, an immense crowd of natives, as usual, immediately thronged about us. I inquired for Oreepyah, whom I expected to have met me here, but he was not yet returned from his search after the thieves; we therefore went under a shed of his to wait for him, and in about a quarter of an hour he joined us, bringing with him an iron scraper, and one of the hoops of the buoy. I thanked him for the trouble which he had taken, and assured him that I was perfectly satisfied; for he still seemed apprehensive of my displeasure.

We took leave, for a short time, of Oreepyah, and I proceeded with Tinah to make my visit to the young Otoo, the *Earee Rahie*. When we had walked about five minutes, Tinah stopped, and informed me that no person could be permitted to see his son, who was covered above the shoulders. He then took off his upper garments, and requested I would do the same. I replied, that I had no objection to go as I would to my own king, who was the greatest in all the world; and pulling off my

hat, he threw a piece of cloth round my shoulders, and we went on. About a quarter of a mile farther towards the hills, through a delightful shade of bread-fruit trees, we stopped at the side of a small serpentine river: here I was in view of a house on the other side, at about fifty yards distance. From this house the young king was brought out on a man's shoulders, clothed in a piece of fine white cloth, and I was desired by Tinah to salute him by the name of *Too Earee Rahie*. The present which I had prepared was divided into three parts, and two other children made their appearance in the same manner. The first present I gave to a messenger who attended for that purpose; and I was instructed by Tinah to say, that it was for the *Earee Rahie*; that I was his friend; that I hated thieves; and that I came from Britannia. The second present was sent in the same manner, with a similar message, to one of the other children; and likewise the third.

As I could not see the *Earee Rahie* distinctly, I desired to be permitted to go over the river to him; but this, it seems, could not be complied with: therefore, after seeing the presents delivered, I returned with Tinah towards Oreepyah's house. I was informed that Tinah had four children by his wife, Iddeah. Otoo, or Too, the *Earee Rahie*, appeared to be about six years old: the second is a girl, named Terrenah Oroah: the third, a boy, Terretappanoai; and a fourth, an infant girl, whom I did not see, named Tahamydooah.

When we came to the place where we had first stopped, Tinah took the cloth from my shoulders, and desired me to put my hat on; I expressed a desire to see more of the place, and he took me back by a different way. On passing a trunk of a tree, rudely carved, I was desired again to pull my hat off, and all uncovered their shoulders. This I discovered to be nothing more than the boundary of the king's land; on which, whoever set their feet, uncovered themselves out of respect.

We stopped at a house belonging to Tinah, where I was treated with a concert of one drum and three flutes, with singing by four men. I made some presents to the performers, and we removed to Oreepyah's house, where, after paying my compliments to him, which I found was expected, Tinah made me a present of a large hog, and some cocoa-nuts. He then introduced an uncle of his, called Mowworoah, a very old man, much tattooed, and almost blind. To this chief I made a present; and soon after I embarked, with Tinah, Oreepyah, their wives, and Poeno. A vast number of people were collected on the beach to see us depart; and as soon as the boat had put off, Tinah desired me to fire my pocket-pistol, the *poopooe etc etc*, as he called it: the report seemed to electrify the whole crowd; but finding no harm done, they gave great shouts of approbation.

Nelson, who accompanied me in this expedition, had but little opportunity to search after plants, the natives having crowded so much about him: he was enough, however, to assure him that they were to be procured here as plentifully as at Matavai.

In our passage to the ship, which we rowed in one hour, nothing but *Britannie* was inquired after, and of the number of ships and guns. When I told them we had ships of a hundred guns, they could not believe it, till I drew one on paper: they then asked me if it was not as big as *Tarrah*,

which is a high projecting headland, half way between Matavai and Oparae, called by us One-tree Hill. Tinah much wished that one of these large ships should be sent to Otaheite, and that myself should come in her, and bring him a number of things that he wanted; among which he particularly desired beds and high-backed elbow chairs might not be forgotten: a request perfectly according with the indolent character of Tinah.

Saturday, November 1st.—As we had occasion to fix a tent on Point Venus, this morning we moved the ship nearer to it, and moored again in six fathoms, the point bearing N.N.E.

Tinah and several other chiefs dined on board with me. After dinner I went on shore with Tinah, and made a visit to his father Otow. I likewise went to the garden which I had made near Poeno's house, and found every thing had been taken care of. After this, I was invited to an entertainment called *Heiva*, which Tinah had ordered, and which consisted of singing and dancing by three men and a young girl. When this performance was finished I returned to the ship.

Sunday, 2nd.—At daylight I sent Mr. Christian with a party to erect our tent, and soon after followed myself with Tinah, Moannah, and Poeno. With their consent I fixed a boundary, within which the natives were not to enter without leave, and the chiefs cautioned them against it.

The principal use of the tents on shore was for a lodgment for the plants; and I had now, instead of appearing to receive a favour, brought the chiefs to believe that I was doing them a kindness in carrying the plants as a present from them to the *Earee Rahie no Britanee*. The party at the tent consisted of nine persons, including Nelson and his assistant.

Tinah dined with me on board, and was to-day my only visitor: nevertheless, the ceremony of being fed he so scrupulously observed, that, even after all the attendants were sent away, and we were left by ourselves, I was obliged to lift the wine to his mouth. The wives of the *Earees* are sometimes subject to this restriction after the birth of a child, but are released after a certain time, on performing a ceremony called *Oammo*.

After dinner, Tinah invited me to accompany him with a present of provisions to a party of the *Arreogs*, a society described in the accounts of the former voyages;\* in this ceremony, he made me the principal person. Our way to the place where the offering was to be made, was by the side of a river, along the banks of which I had always walked before this time; but on the present occasion a canoe was provided for me, and dragged by eight men. On arriving at the landing-place, I saw a large quantity of bread-fruit, with some hogs ready dressed, and a quantity of cloth. At about forty yards distance sat a man, who, I was informed, was a principal *Arreogy*. A lane being made by the crowd, he was addressed by one of Tinah's people, standing on the canoe, in a speech composed of short sentences, which lasted about a quarter of an hour. During this, a piece of cloth was produced, one end of which I was desired to hold, and five men, one with a sucking pig, and the others having each a basket of bread-fruit,

\* A licentious society admitting both men and women, between whom the intercourse is promiscuous: all children born in this society are immediately destroyed.

prepared to follow me. In this order we advanced to the *Arreoy*, and laid the whole down before him. I then spoke several sentences dictated to me by Tinah, the meaning of which I did not understand; and my pronunciation not being very exact, caused a great deal of mirth. This speech being finished, I was shown another *Arreoy*, who had come from Ulietea, and to him likewise I was required to deliver an oration. Tinah, understanding from me, that I had children in my own country, he desired me to make one more offering on their account. There still remained three baskets of bread-fruit, a small pig, and another piece of cloth: with these, assisted as before, I made the offering in favour of my children to the man whom I had first addressed. He made no reply to all my fine speeches, but sat with great gravity, and received every thing as a matter of right, and not of courtesy.

All that I could make out of this strange ceremony was, that the *Arreoy*s are highly respected, and that the society is chiefly composed of men distinguished by their valour or some other merit, and that great trust and confidence is reposed in them; but I could not comprehend what this had to do with my children, or why it should be imagined that an offering made on their account to a society of men, who destroy all their children, should be propitious. I learnt from Tinah, in talking about his children, that his first-born child was killed as soon as it came into the world, he being then an *Arreoy*; but before his second child was born, he quitted the society. The *Arreoy*s are allowed great latitude in their amours, except in times of danger. Then, as they are almost all fighting men (*tata toa*) they are restricted, that they may not weaken or enervate themselves.

These ceremonies being ended, I returned to the ship.

Such of the natives, as I conversed with about the institution of so extraordinary a society as the *Arreoy*, asserted that it was necessary, to prevent an over population. *Worrow worrow no te mydidde, worrow worrow te tata*. We have too many children, and too many men, was their constant excuse. Yet it does not appear, that they are apprehensive of too great an increase of the lower class of people, none of them being ever admitted into the *Arreoy* society. The most remarkable instance, related to me, of the barbarity of this institution, was of Teppahoo, the Earee of the district of Tettaha, and his wife, Tetteehowdeeah, who is sister to Otow, and considered as a person of the first consequence. I was told that they have had eight children, every one of which was destroyed as soon as born. That any human beings were ever so devoid of natural affection, as not to wish to preserve alive one of so many children, is not credible. It is more reasonable to conclude, that the death of these infants was not an act of choice in the parents; but that they were sacrificed in compliance with some barbarous superstition, with which we are unacquainted. What strengthens this conjecture is, that they have adopted a nephew as their heir, of whom they are excessively fond.

In countries so limited as the islands in the South Seas, the natives of which, before they were discovered by European navigators, probably had not an idea of the existence of other lands, it is

not unnatural that an increasing population should occasion apprehensions of universal distress. Orders of celibacy, which have proved so prejudicial in other countries, might perhaps in this have been beneficial; so far at least as to have answered their purpose by means not criminal. The number of inhabitants at Otaheite have been estimated at above one hundred thousand. The island, however, is not cultivated to the greatest advantage: yet, were they continually to improve in husbandry, their improvement could not, for a length of time, keep pace with an unlimited population.

An idea here presents itself, which, however fanciful it may appear at first sight, seems to merit some attention:—While we see among these islands so great a waste of the human species, that numbers are born only to die; and, at the same time, a large continent so near them as New Holland, in which there is so great a waste of land uncultivated, and almost destitute of inhabitants; it naturally occurs, how greatly the two countries might be made to benefit each other; and gives occasion to regret that the islanders are not instructed in the means of emigrating to New Holland, which seems as if designed by nature to serve as an asylum for the superflux of inhabitants in the islands. Such a plan of emigration, if rendered practicable to them, might not only be the means of abolishing the horrid custom of destroying children, as it would remove the plea of necessity, but might lead to other important purposes. A great continent would be converted from a desert to a populous country; a number of our fellow-creatures would be saved; the inhabitants of the islands would become more civilized; and it is not improbable, but that our colonies in New Holland would derive so much benefit as to more than repay any trouble or expense, that might be incurred in endeavouring to promote so humane a plan.

The latter, however, is a remote consideration, for the intertropical parts of New Holland are those most suited to the habits and manner of living of the islanders; and likewise the soil and climate are the best adapted to their modes of agriculture. Man placed by his Creator in the warm climates, perhaps would never emigrate into the colder, unless under the tyrannous influence of necessity; and ages might elapse before the new inhabitants would spread to our settlers, though they are but barely within the limits of frost, that great cause of nine tenths of the necessities of Europeans. Nevertheless, besides forwarding the purposes of humanity and general convenience, in bringing a people without land to a land without people, the benefit of a mutual intercourse with a neighbouring and friendly colony, would in itself be no inconsiderable advantage.

Among people so free from ostentation as the Otaheiteans, and whose manners are so simple and natural, the strictness with which the punctions of rank are observed, is surprising. I know not if any action, however meritorious, can elevate a man above the class in which he was born, unless he were to acquire sufficient power to confer dignity on himself. If any woman of the inferior classes has a child by an Earee, it is not suffered to live. Perhaps the offspring of Teppahoo and Tetteehowdeeah were destined to satisfy some cruel adjustment of rank and precedence.

## CHAPTER VII.

A THEFT COMMITTED—DESCRIPTION OF THE PAINTED HEAD—CONVERSATION WITH A PRIEST—A WRESTLING MATCH—REPORTS OF THE NATIVES CONCERNING OTHER ISLANDS—SOME ACCOUNT OF OMAI.

MONDAY, November 3rd.—The trade for provisions I directed to be carried on at the tent by Mr. Peckover, the gunner. Moannah likewise resided there, as a guard over his countrymen; but though it appeared to be the wish of all the chiefs, that we should remain unmolested, it was not possible entirely to prevent them from pilfering.

My table at dinner was generally crowded. Tinah, Oreepyah, Pocono, and Moannah, were my regular guests, and I was seldom without some chiefs from other districts. Almost every individual of any consequence has several names, which makes it frequently perplexing, when the same person is spoken of, to know who is meant. Every chief has perhaps a dozen or more names in the course of thirty years; so that the person who has been spoken of by one visitor, will not perhaps be known to another, unless other circumstances lead to a discovery. The father of Tinah, at this time called Otow, was known in 1769 by the name of Whappai.

I showed Tinah the preparations I was making to take on board the bread-fruit plants, which pleased him exceedingly, but he did not forget to remind me, that when the next ship came out he hoped King George would send him large axes, files, saws, cloth of all kinds, hats, chairs, and bedsteads, with arms, ammunition, and in short every thing he could think of mentioning.

This afternoon, the gudgeon of the rudder belonging to the large cutter, was drawn out and stolen, without being perceived by the man that was stationed to take care of her. Several petty thefts having been committed by the natives, mostly owing to the negligence of our own people; and as these kind of accidents generally created alarm, and had a tendency to interrupt the good terms on which we were with the chiefs, I thought it would have a good effect to punish the boat-keeper in their presence, many of them happening to be then on board; and accordingly I ordered him a dozen lashes. Tinah, with several of the chiefs, attended the punishment, and interceded very earnestly to get it mitigated: the women showed great sympathy, and that degree of feeling which characterises the amiable part of their sex.

The natives brought off to-day two different kinds of roots that grow like yams; one they call Ettee, which is a sweet root, common also to the Friendly Islands, and may be eaten as a sweet-meat: the other they call Appay, a root like the Tyah or Eddie in the West Indies. A fruit called Ayyah, which is the jambo of Batavia, was likewise brought off to us: they are as large as middle-sized apples, very juicy and refreshing, and may be eaten in large quantities. Also some Avees, which are the real Otaheite apple; but they were not yet in season. These are a delicious high-flavoured fruit, and before they are ripe, answer the culinary purposes of our apples.

Tuesday, 4th.—A chief called Tootaha, who came from the island Ulietea, was introduced to me to-day, by Tinah, as one of his particular friends. I was told that he was a priest, and a person of

great knowledge. I desired Tinah to take what he thought proper as a present for him; and I must do Tinah the justice to say, he was more sparing than I should have been. I likewise received a visit to-day from Oedidee, the man who had been at sea with Captain Cook in 1773 and 1774, as related in the account of that voyage. He still retained some of the English words which he had learnt in that expedition.

Wednesday, 5th.—The weather variable, with lightning, and frequent showers of rain. Wind E.N.E.

This was the first day of our beginning to take up plants: we had much pleasure in collecting them, for the natives offered their assistance, and perfectly understood the method of taking them up and pruning them.

The crowd of natives was not so great as hitherto it had been: the curiosity of strangers was satisfied; and, as the weather began to be unsettled and rainy, they had almost all returned to their homes; so that only the people of Matavai and Oparre remained with us, except a few chiefs from other islands: our supplies however were abundant; and what I considered as no small addition to our comforts, we ceased to be incommoded, when on shore, by the natives following us, and could take our walks almost unnoticed. In any house that we wished to enter, we always experienced a kind reception, and without officiousness. The Otaheiteans have the most perfect easiness of manners, equally free from forwardness and formality. When they offer refreshments, if they are not accepted, they do not think of offering them the second time; for they have not the least idea of that ceremonious kind of refusal which expects a second invitation. In like manner, at taking leave, we were never troubled with solicitations to prolong our visit, but went without ceremony, except making use of a farewell expression at parting. Another advantage, seldom found in warm countries, was, in this part of Otaheite, being free from muskitoes, though, at particular times of the year, the inhabitants are pestered with great numbers of flies.

Moannah continued our constant friend at the tent, and, with Tinah and all his friends, dined with me every day.

The ship's barber had brought with him from London, a painted head, such as the hair-dressers have in their shops, to show the different fashions of dressing hair; and it being made with regular features, and well coloured, I desired him to dress it, which he did with much neatness, and with a stick, and a quantity of cloth, he formed a body. It was then reported to the natives that we had an English woman on board, and the quarter-deck was cleared of the crowd, that she might make her appearance. Being handed up the ladder, and carried to the after-part of the deck, there was a general shout of "*Huaheine no Brittanne myty.*" Huaheine signifies woman, and myty, good. Many of them thought it was living, and asked if it was my wife. One old woman ran with presents of cloth and bread-fruit, and laid them at her feet; at last they found out the cheat; but continued all delighted with it, except the old lady, who felt herself mortified, and took back her presents, for which she was laughed at exceedingly. Tinah and all the chiefs enjoyed the joke, and, after making

many inquiries about the British women, they strictly enjoined me, when I came again, to bring a ship full of them.

Some very fine sugar-cane was brought to me; each of the pieces was six inches round. I had before told Tinah that our sugar was made of it, and he was very desirous to discover the means; for they were so fond of our loaf sugar, that a present to any chief would have been incomplete without a piece of it. Another article in great estimation, and likewise expected to make part of a present, was scissors, which they made use of to keep their beards in order.

By this time Nelson had, with assistance from the ship, completed a large garden near the tents; in which were sown seeds of different kinds, that we had collected at the Cape of Good Hope. I likewise distributed fruit-stones and almonds for planting, among the chiefs, who, I hope, will endeavour to make them succeed: and, as they are very fond of sweet-smelling flowers, with which the women delight to ornament themselves, I gave them some rose-seed.

Thursday, 6th.—We had very variable weather, much rain, and some westerly winds; so that a considerable swell ran into the bay, and a number of spotted white and black porpoises made their appearance. I had the mortification to see that our garden-ground had been much trod over; and what was worse, the chiefs appeared but little concerned at it. To this kind of carelessness and indifference I attribute the miscarriage of many of the plants left here by Captain Cook. I had now in a flourishing state, two orange plants, some vines, a fig-tree, and two pine-apple plants, which I gave to Pocono, whose residence is a place favourable for their growth.

We got on successfully with our plants, having a hundred potted at the tent, and in a fair way of doing well. The cabin also was completed, and ready to receive them on board.

I have before remarked that my friend Tinah was rather of a selfish disposition, and this afternoon he showed a stronger instance of it than I was witness to at any time before or after. His brother Oreepyah sent on board to me a present of a large hog and a quantity of bread-fruit; but these kind of presents are much more expensive than purchasing at the market. Soon after Oreepyah himself came on board. Tinah was with me at the time, and whispered me to tell Oreepyah not to bring any more hogs or fruit, and to take those back which he had sent. This advice, as may be supposed, did not produce the effect intended. Oreepyah appears to be a man of great spirit, and is highly respected by his countrymen. Among other visitors to-day was one of the men who had been to Lima in 1776.

Saturday, 8th.—Our plants had now increased to 252: as they were all kept on shore at the tent I augmented the guard there, though, from the general conduct of the natives, there did not appear the least occasion for so much caution.

While I was at dinner, Tinah desired I would permit a man to come down into the cabin, whom he called his *Taowah*, or priest; for I was obliged to keep a sentinel at the hatchway to prevent being incommoded at my meals with too much company; a restriction which pleased the chiefs, who always asked leave for any particular person

to be admitted of whom they wished me to take notice. The company of the priest brought on a religious conversation. He said their great God was called Oro; and that they had many others of less consequence. He asked me if I had a God!—if he had a son? and who was his wife? I told them he had a son, but no wife. Who was his father and mother? was the next question. I said he never had father or mother; at this they laughed exceedingly. You have a God then who never had a father or mother, and has a child without a wife! Many other questions were asked, which my little knowledge of the language did not enable me to answer.

The weather was now fine again, and a great number of people were come from other parts of the island. Tinah informed me that there was to be a *heiva* and a wrestling match on shore, and that the performers waited for our attendance; we therefore set off with several of our friends, and about a quarter of a mile from the tents we found a great concourse of people formed into a ring. As soon as we were seated, a dancing *heiva* began, which was performed by two girls and four men: this lasted half an hour, and consisted of wanton gestures and motions, such as have been described in the account of former voyages. When the dance ended, Tinah ordered a long piece of cloth to be brought; his wife *Iddeah* and myself were desired to hold the two first corners, and, the remaining part being supported by many others, we carried it to the performers and gave it them. Several other chiefs made a like present or payment. The performers were strollers, that travelled about the country as in Europe.

After this the wrestling began, and the place soon became a scene of riot and confusion. A party of the *Arreos* also began to exercise a privilege, which it seems they are allowed, of taking from the women such of their clothes as they thought worth it; so that some of them were left little better than naked. One young woman, who was attacked, opposed them with all her strength, and held fast her cloth, though they almost dragged her along the ground. Observing that I took notice of her, she held out her hand, and begged my assistance; and at my request she escaped being pillaged.

Soon after a ring was again made, but the wrestlers were so numerous within it, that it was impossible to restore order. In the challenges, they lay one hand upon their breast, and on the bending of the arm at the elbow, with the other hand they strike a very smart blow, which, as the hand is kept hollow, creates a sound that may be heard at a considerable distance; and this they do so frequently, and with such force, that the flesh becomes exceedingly bruised, and, the skin breaking, bleeds considerably. At this time, the sound from so many resembled that of a number of people in a wood felling trees. This is the general challenge; but when any two combatants agree to a trial, they present their hands forward, joining them only by the extremities of the fingers. They begin by watching to take an advantage; at length they close, seize each other by the hair, and are most commonly parted before either receives a fall. Only one couple performed any thing like the part of good wrestlers; and, as they were an equal match, this conflict lasted longer than any of the others; but they also were parted.

Iddeah was the general umpire, and she managed with so much address as to prevent any quarrelling, and there was no murmuring at her decisions. As her person was large, she was very conspicuous in the circle. Tinah took no part in the management. Upon the whole, this performance gave me a better opinion of their strength than of their skill or dexterity.

For some time past Tinah had talked of going to the island of Tethuroa, which lies eight or ten leagues north from Otaheite, to fetch his mother; but I found I had only half understood him, for this morning he inquired when we were to sail there in the ship; however he seemed to feel no great disappointment at my not complying with his wish. Tethuroa, he informed me, is the property of his family. He likewise spoke to me about an island called Roo-opow, the situation of which he described to be to the eastward of Otaheite four or five days' sail, and that there were large animals upon it with eight legs. The truth of this account he very strenuously insisted upon, and wished me to go thither with him. I was at a loss to know whether or not Tinah himself gave credit to this whimsical and fabulous account; for though they have credulity sufficient to believe any thing, however improbable, they are at the same time so much addicted to that species of wit which we call humbug, that it is frequently difficult to discover whether they are in jest or earnest. Their ideas of geography are very simple; they believe the world to be a fixed plane of great extent, and that the sun, moon, and stars are all in motion round it. I have been frequently asked by them if I have not been as far as the sun and moon; for they think we are such great travellers that scarce any undertaking is beyond our ability.

Another island, called Tappuhoi, situated likewise to the eastward, was described to me by Tinah, the inhabitants of which were said to be all warriors, and that the people of Otaheite did not dare to go there. He told me, that very lately a canoe from Tappuhoi was at the island Maitea; that as soon as they landed they began to fight with the people of Maitea, who killed them all except a young lad and a woman, who have since been at Otaheite. I saw the boy, but could get no information from him. It is most probable, that this unfortunate visit of the canoe from Tappuhoi was not designed, but occasioned by adverse winds, which forced them so far from their own island; and that the people of Maitea began the attack, taking advantage of their superior numbers on account of some former quarrel.

Thursday, 13th.—I had a large company to dine with me to-day. Some of my constant visitors had observed that we always drank His Majesty's health as soon as the cloth was removed, but they were by this time become so fond of wine, that they would frequently remind me of the health in the middle of dinner, by calling out King George Earee no Brittanee, and would banter me if the glass was not filled to the brim. Nothing could exceed the mirth and jollity of these people when they met on board.

I was assured by Oediddee and several others, that the vines planted at the island Huaheine by Captain Cook had succeeded and bore fruit; and that some of the other plants, both at Huaheine and at Oaitepeha, a district on the S.E. part of

Otaheite, had been preserved, and were in a thriving state. I was likewise informed that there was a bull and a cow alive at Otaheite, but on different parts of the island; the former at a place called Itteah, the latter at the district of Tettaha. All the rest were taken away or destroyed by the people of Eimeo. As Tettaha was at no great distance, I determined to go thither myself the first opportunity, and make inquiries, in hopes that the breed might still be preserved.

I had much discourse with my guests about Omai: they confirmed to me that he died about thirty months after Captain Cook left the islands. Soon after Captain Cook's departure from Huaheine, there were some disputes between the people of that island and those of Ulietea, in which also the natives of Bolabola took a part. Omai, who was become of consequence from the possessing three or four muskets and some ammunition, was consulted on the occasion. Such was his opinion and assurances of success, that a war was determined on, and took place immediately.—Victory soon followed, through the means of those few arms, and many of the Ulietea and Bolabola men were killed. In this contest their flints proved bad, or probably the locks of the muskets had got out of order: this they remedied by a lighted stick, one man presenting the musket, and another with the burnt stick setting fire to the priming; without which contrivance their arms would have proved useless. This expedition, it seems, consumed all their ammunition. Peace was soon after established, but I did not understand that Omai had increased his possessions or his rank. Nevertheless, I have reason to conclude, that he was in some degree of favour with his countrymen, from the general good character which they give of him. It appears that he always remembered England with kindness; for his accounts to his countrymen have been such as to give them, not only a great idea of our power and consequence, but of our friendship and goodwill towards him.

Tyvarooah, the eldest of the New Zealand boys that were left with him, died a short time after Omai. About Coah, the youngest, I had always doubtful accounts till I came to Huaheine, where I learnt that he likewise was dead.

## CHAPTER VIII.

EXPEDITION TO TETTAHA AFTER A HEIFER—EXTRAORDINARY DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENTS—TINAH'S MOTHER VISITS THE SHIP—A SHEEP BROUGHT FROM ULIETEA—HEAVY STORM—DEATH OF THE SURGEON—TAOWNE AND TOARBOAH HARBOURS EXAMINED.

AFTER dinner I went on shore, and while I was at the tents, from having exposed myself too much in the sun, I was taken ill, and continued in much pain for near an hour. This was soon known among the natives, and I was exceedingly surprised to see Tinah and all the principal people, both men and women, collecting round me and offering their assistance. For this short illness I was made ample amends, by the pleasure I received from the attention and appearance of affection in these kind people.

Friday, 14th November.—This morning I had numberless inquiries after my health. The wea-

ther being fine, I invited Tinah, Oreepyah, and Poeno, to accompany me to Tettaha, in order to inquire after the cow, and soon after sunrise we set off in the launch. Tettaha is nearly four leagues from Point Venus. On our arrival, Tinah sent a man to give notice of our visit. The chief of the district, whose name was Teppahoo, did not appear, but sent a messenger to demand, if I came only to see the cow, or to take it away with me? In answer to this, I sent assurances that I only desired to see it; and the chiefs who were with me spoke to the same effect. I was then desired to proceed in the boat further along shore to the westward. In our way Tinah made me stop among some fishing canoes to purchase fish for him, which he ate raw, with salt water for sauce. When we arrived at the landing-place, a great number of people had collected, and soon after Teppahoo arrived. Oreepyah and I went with him about a quarter of a mile, when I was shown one of the most beautiful heifers I ever saw. I asked if they had any more, but they all said there was no other than a bull at Itteah, as before-mentioned. I could not refrain from expressing my displeasure at the destruction and the foolish separation of these fine animals. I had shared with Captain Cook in the trouble of this business, and had been equally anxious for the success.

The district of Tettaha is not so luxuriant and fruitful as the country about Matavai. As I saw nothing of consequence to detain me, I made a present to Teppahoo, and, after inviting him to visit me on board the ship, which he promised to do, I took leave. Tinah had remained all this time in the boat. I observed that no respect was shown to him at this place, nor was he able to procure a cocoa-nut, or a bread-fruit, otherwise than by purchasing it. The heifer being here is a proof of this district not having been friendly to the people of Matavai and Oparre.

In our way back, having to row against the wind, we stopped to refresh at Oparre, and it was eight o'clock by the time we arrived at the ship. I kept my fellow-travellers on board to supper, and they did not fail to remind me of the king's health.

Monday, 17th.—Our collection of bread-fruit plants at the tents continued increasing. This morning I sent twelve on board, in pots, to discover where they would thrive the best, the air being more temperate on board the ship than on shore. While I was absent from the ship, Teppahoo had been on board, and left a hog as a present for me.

After dinner to-day, Tinah, who was my constant visitor, left the table sooner than usual. When he was gone, Oreepyah, his brother, and Oedidde, told me a piece of scandal, which had been before hinted to me, but which till now I had not heard of with certainty: this was, that Iddeah, Tinah's wife, kept a gallant, who was a *town*, or servant, and the very person who always fed Tinah at dinner: and this was so far from being without Tinah's knowledge or consent, that they said it was by his desire. They added many other circumstances, and, as I appeared to doubt, they took several opportunities, in the course of the day, of mentioning it to other people, who all declared it was true.

Tuesday, 18th.—This afternoon, I saw Teppa-

hoo, and invited him on board: before we parted, I bargained with him for the heifer, which he promised to bring in five days. My intention was, that if I got the heifer, I would endeavour to purchase the bull at Itteah: but if that could not be done, then I could send the heifer as a present to the possessor of the bull, which might equally well answer my purpose.

It has been mentioned, that Tinah had a place in my cabin to keep those things which I gave him, as being more secure on board than on shore. I had remarked lately, that his hoard seemed to diminish the more I endeavoured to increase it: at length I discovered that Iddeah kept another hoard in the master's cabin, which she regularly enriched from her husband's, whenever I made him a present, apprehending that I should cease giving, when I saw Tinah's locker full. At his request, I set the carpenters to work to make him a chest large enough for himself and wife to sleep on. Captain Cook had formerly given him such a chest, but it had been taken from him by the Eimeo people.

Friday, 21st.—This forenoon, I received a message from Teppahoo, to acquaint me the heifer was brought to Matavai. I immediately went on shore, and found that he had been as good as his word. The purchase money was paid, which consisted of a shirt, a hatchet, a spike-nail, a knife, a pair of scissors, a gimlet, and file; to which was added, a small quantity of loaf-sugar. Teppahoo appeared well pleased with his bargain; and I sent the heifer to Poeno's residence, near which was plenty of grass.

In the afternoon, I was invited to a heiva, the most extraordinary part of which was an oration, with some ceremonies in compliment to us. Twelve men were divided into four ranks, with two women in the front; behind them all stood a priest, who made a speech which lasted ten minutes, and which was listened to with some attention. During this, the picture of Captain Cook, which had been brought for that purpose, was placed by my side. When the priest left off speaking, a piece of white cloth was wrapt round the picture, and another piece round me. The priest then spoke again for a short time, and an old man placed a piece of plaited cocoa-nut leaf at my feet; the same was done to Tinah, and one piece was put under the picture. After this the dancing began, which was in the same style that we had already seen.

The head of the ship was the figure of a woman, and not ill carved. As we were painting the ship's upper works, I directed this figure to be painted in colours, with which the islanders were much pleased. Not only the men, but the women, desired me to bring English women when I came again. To-day Oedidde, thinking I was not convinced of the truth of what he had told me about Iddeah, mentioned the affair to the lady herself in my hearing, at which she laughed, but said he did ill to tell me of it. However, it was evident she was not much offended; for they were both very much diverted in discoursing upon the subject.

I find it is not at all uncommon for brothers to have connexion with the wives of each other, particularly elder brothers with the wives of their younger brothers, which is generally allowed, and no offence taken: but if any person, not belonging



to the family, endeavours at the same intimacy, it is resented as an injury. Inclination seems to be the only binding law of marriage at Otaheite.

As I purposed to get instruments on shore at Point Venus, to make observations, I desired Tinah to order a house to be brought there for me; which was done, and fixed in half an hour, being only a light shed supported by posts.

Monday, 24th, I bought a turtle, that was caught on the reefs. As Tinah was going to leave me for a few days, I had it dressed for his dinner. He told me that his mother, Oberree-roah, was arrived from the island Tethuroa, and begged that I would send for her in the morning, and take care of her till he returned; which I willingly promised.

Tuesday, 25th.—This morning, I sent a boat to Oparre, which returned in the afternoon with Oberree-roah, and two women, her servants. As she was old and corpulent, it was with difficulty that we helped her up the ship's side. As soon as she was in the ship, she sat down on the gangway, and, clasping my knees in her arms, expressed her pleasure at seeing me by a flood of tears. Her servants then produced three pieces of cloth, which, with a large hog, some bread-fruit, plantains, and cocoa-nuts, she had brought as a present. As she was fatigued by her journey, she wished to remain on board all night; and I directed accommodations to be prepared, which was done with little trouble, as nothing more was necessary than a mat, and some cloth spread on the deck. She had with her a favourite cat, bred from one that had been given her by Captain Cook. She told me all the misfortunes that had befallen her son and friends, since Captain Cook left Otaheite. All the accounts agree in some of the cattle being now alive at the island Eimeo: in the number they differ; but that there are eight, is the least account. In the morning, Oberree-roah being desirous to go on shore, I made her a present of several things, which she did not care to take with her then, but requested that I would keep them safe for her. Only Moannah and Poeno dined with me to-day. They told me that Tinah and his brother Oreepyah were not on good terms together; and it was imagined that they would fight as soon as the ship was gone. I had observed a coolness between them, and had at times endeavoured to make them more cordial, but with very little effect. Their quarrel has arisen from a disagreement between their wives.

In the afternoon, a canoe from Ulitea arrived, in which was an Earee, or chief, of that island, who is a nephew to Oberree-roah. He brought a sheep with him: the poor animal was infected with the mange, and in very poor condition. The climate had not, as far as I could judge, altered the quality of the wool, with which he was well covered, except a part about the shoulders. I imagine this animal to be the English ewe left by Captain Cook. The owner assured me that there were ten sheep at Huaheine; the truth of which I much doubted. I was surprized, and rather mortified, to find that he set so little value on this, as to let me have it, at the first word, for a small adze. I sent it to be kept at Poeno's, with the heifer.

Friday, 28th.—Tinah and his wife returned to Matavai, and, from appearances which I have no reason to mistrust, were sincerely glad to see me again after their short absence. They brought,

as usual, a present of a hog and fruit. This morning there was an eclipse of the sun, but the weather was so cloudy, that I had only an opportunity of observing the end of the eclipse, which was at 19<sup>h</sup> 43' 53".

Saturday, 29th, I sent a man to shear the ewe, by which a remedy could more easily be applied to cure the disease with which it was infected. The garden made near the tents was not in a prosperous condition: most of the melons and cucumbers were destroyed by insects; and the soil, being sandy, was not favourable to the other seeds. I therefore chose another spot of ground, farther from the sea-side, and had an assortment of seeds sown.

Monday, December 1st.—In the night, the rudder of one of the boats was stolen from the tents. On landing in the morning, neither Tinah nor any of his family came near me, being, I was informed, afraid of my displeasure. As the loss was not great, I immediately sent to assure them that I had no anger, except against the person who committed the theft. In consequence of this message, Tinah and some of the other chiefs came to the tents, and promised that they would exert themselves to discover the thief, and get the rudder restored. This was the first theft, of any consequence, that had been committed since the tents were on shore; and my suspicions fell chiefly on the people who were here from some of the other islands. Tinah had just begun to build a house for himself, and I promised that our carpenters should assist him. Whydoah, the youngest brother of Tinah, had lately been one of my constant visitors, and seemed to have left off his former custom of getting drunk with the Ava. He was esteemed one of their best warriors; and I was told that in the quarrel with the people of Eimeo, he killed Maheine, the chief of that island.

Friday, 5th.—The weather for some time past had been very unsettled. This afternoon, the wind blew fresh from the N.W., which occasioned the sea to break very high across the Dolphin bank; and in the night such a heavy broken sea came into the bay, that we were obliged to batten all the hatchways down, and to keep everybody upon deck all night, though the rain came down in torrents. The ship rolled in a most violent manner. In the morning the wind increasing, and there being no possibility of putting to sea, we struck yards and topmasts, and trusted to our anchors. The river swelled so much with the rain, that the point of land on which the tents stood became an island; and, to preserve the bread-fruit plants from being endangered, the people were obliged to cut a passage for the river through a part of the beach, at a distance from the tents. The sea broke very high on the beach; nevertheless, a canoe put off, and, to my surprise, Tinah, his wife, and Moannah, made their way good through the surf, and came on board to see me. There was no other person in the canoe, for the weather did not admit of useless passengers: each of them had a paddle, which they managed with great activity and skill. These kind people embraced me with many tears, and expressed their apprehensions for the safety of the ship. Towards noon, however, the sea abated considerably, but the wind continued to blow

strong from the N. W. At sun-set, Iddeah went on shore, but Tinah would remain with me the whole night.

Sunday, 7th.—The wind continued between the N. and N. W., but had so much moderated, that I no longer considered our situation to be alarming. At noon, Iddeah returned to the ship, with a large hog, and a supply of bread-fruit, and cocoa-nuts; and soon after, she and Tinah left the ship, having exacted a promise from me, that if the weather was moderate, I would go on shore in the morning, and visit their parents and sister, who, they told me, had been much alarmed on our account. I received a visit likewise from Poeno and his wife. This woman had always shown great regard for us; and now, on our meeting, before I could be aware of it, she began beating her head violently with a shark's tooth, so that her face was covered with blood in an instant. I put a stop to this as soon as I could, and, with the drying up of the blood, her agitation subsided. This ceremony is frequently performed, upon occasions either of joy or grief. Her husband said, that, if any accident happened to the ship, I should live with him, and that they would cut down trees, and build me another ship.

From this sample of the weather, and the information of the natives, I was convinced it would not be safe to continue in Matavai Bay much longer; and I determined to get every thing ready for sailing as speedily as I could.

The night proved moderate; and in the morning, I went on shore, where I was received by Oberree-roah, and several other friends, with great affection.

The plants received no injury from the bad weather, having been carefully covered from the spray of the sea: some were in a dormant state, and others were striking out young shoots. Nelson thought that it was better to refrain a few days from taking them on board; I therefore consented to defer it. He was of opinion that the plants could be propagated from the roots only, and I directed some boxes to be filled, as we could stow them where no others could be placed.

Tuesday, 9th.—This afternoon, in hauling the launch on shore to be repaired, many of the natives assisting, one of them, a fine boy about ten years old, was thrown down, and a roller which was placed under the boat went over him. The surgeon being ill, I sent off for his assistant. Fortunately no limb was broken, nor did he receive any material injury. The surgeon had been a long time ill, the effect of intemperance and indolence. He had latterly scarce ever stirred out of his cabin, but was not apprehended to be in a dangerous state; nevertheless, this evening he appeared to be so much worse than usual, that it was thought necessary to remove him to some place where he could have more air; but to no effect, for he died in an hour afterwards. This unfortunate man drank very hard, and was so averse to exercise, that he never would be prevailed on to take half a dozen turns upon deck at a time, in the whole course of the voyage.

Wednesday, 10th.—As I wished to bury the surgeon on shore, I mentioned it to Tinah; who said there would be no objection, but that it would be necessary to ask his father's consent first; which he undertook to do, and immediately left

me for that purpose. By this circumstance it appears, that though the eldest son of an Eearce succeeds to the title and honours of the father as soon as he is born, yet a considerable portion of authority remains with the father, even after the son is of age. When Tinah returned, I went with him to the spot intended for the burial place, taking with us two men to dig the grave; but on our arrival, I found the natives had already begun it. Tinah asked me, if they were doing right? "There," says he, "the sun rises, and there it sets." The idea that the grave should be east and west, I imagine they learnt from the Spaniards, as the captain of one of their ships was buried at Oeitepeha in 1774. Certain it is, they had not the information from any body belonging to our ship; for I believe we should not have thought of it. The grave, however, was marked out very exactly. At four in the afternoon, the body was interred: the chiefs, and many of the natives, came to see the ceremony, and showed great attention during the service. Some of the chiefs were very inquisitive about what was to be done with the surgeon's cabin, on account of apparitions. They said, when a man died in Otaheite, and was carried to the Tupapow, that as soon as night came, he was surrounded by spirits, and if any person went there by himself, they would devour him: therefore they said that not less than two people together should go into the surgeon's cabin for some time. I did not endeavour to dissuade them from this belief, otherwise than by laughing, and letting them know that we had no such apprehensions.

In the afternoon, the effects of the deceased were disposed of, and I appointed Mr. Thomas Denham Ledward, the surgeon's mate, to do duty as surgeon.

Sunday, 14th.—This forenoon, we performed divine service. Many of the principal natives attended, and behaved with great decency. Some of the women at one time betrayed an inclination to laugh at our general responses; but, on my looking at them, they appeared much ashamed. After the service, I was asked if no offering was to be made for the Eatua to eat.

The weather had been fair all the last week, and at this time appeared quite settled; so that I was under no apprehensions of danger from continuing a little longer in Matavai bay.

## CHAPTER IX.

A WALK INTO THE COUNTRY—THE PEEAH ROAH—PREVAILED ON, BY THE KINDNESS OF THE CHIEFS, TO DEFER OUR DEPARTURE—BREAD-FRUIT PLANTS COLLECTED—MOVE THE SHIP TO TOAHROAH HARBOUR—FISHING—THREE OF THE SHIP'S COMPANY DESERT—INDISCRETION OF OUR PEOPLE ON SHORE—INSTANCES OF JEALOUSY—MOURNING—BULL BROUGHT TO OPAAR BY A PROPHET—THE DESERTERS RECOVERED—TINAH PROPOSES TO VISIT ENOLAND.

WEDNESDAY, 17th Dec.—This morning I took a walk into the country, accompanied by Nelson and my old friend Moannah. The breadth of the border of low land, before we arrived at the foot of the hills, was near three miles. This part of our journey was through a delightful country, well covered with bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, and strewed with houses, in which were swarms

of children. We then proceeded along a valley, still among houses, with plantations of yams, tarro, the cloth-plant, and their favourite root the Ava: there were bread-fruit trees on the sides of the hills, which were dwarfs in comparison of those on the low land. Our walk was very much interrupted by a river, the course of which was so serpentine, that we had to cross it several times, being carried over on men's shoulders.

On arriving at a Morai, I saw a number of the natives collected, and was informed that the priests were performing their devotions. Sixteen men were sitting on their heels; in the front was a pole covered with a plaited cocoa-nut branch, and before each of the men there was a number of small pieces of the same leaf plaited, which they call *hahyree*, and each had likewise a piece round his wrist. One, who appeared to be the chief priest, prayed aloud, and was answered by all the rest together: after a few short sentences and responses, they rose, and each carried an *hahyree*, which they placed at the foot of the pole, and returned to prayer: this was repeated till all the *hahyree* were delivered, and then the ceremony ended. I must not forget to mention, that they had placed, near the pole, an offering of plantains and bread-fruit, which they left for the Eatua. They very kindly asked us to partake of a roasted hog, that had been prepared for them whilst they were praying; but as I wished to make the most of the morning, before the sun was too high, I declined their offer, and Moannah bespoke refreshments to be ready for us when we returned.

We continued our walk up the valley, which became very narrow, and had advanced a considerable way beyond all the houses and plantations, when we were suddenly stopped by the cascade, that fell into the river from a height of above 200 feet: the fall at this time was not great, but in the heavy rains must be considerable. The natives look upon this as the most wonderful sight in the island. The fall of water is the least curious part; the cliff, over which it comes, is perpendicular, forming an appearance as if supported by square pillars of stone, and with a regularity that is surprising. Underneath is a pool eight or nine feet deep, into which the water falls; and in this place all the natives make a point of bathing once in their lives, probably from some religious idea.

The hills here approach each other within a few yards, and are well covered with wood. As the road appeared difficult, I did not care to proceed towards the mountain. I cannot with certainty say how far this curious precipice is from the bay, but think, in the road by which we went, it cannot be less than seven miles. It is called *Peeah Roah*.

In our return, we found a young pig prepared for us, and we made a hearty meal. We dined in the house of an old acquaintance of Nelson's; for whom he had, in 1777, planted the two shad-dock plants, formerly mentioned, which he had brought from the Friendly Islands. These we had the satisfaction to see were grown to fine trees, and full of fruit.

In their plantations they do not take much pains, except with the Ava and the cloth-plant, both of which they are careful to keep clear of weeds. Many of the plantations of the cloth-plant were fenced with stone, and surrounded with a ditch.

The yams and plantains are mostly on the higher grounds. As soon as we had finished our dinner, we returned towards the ship. I was much delighted, in this walk, with the number of children that I saw in every part of the country: they are very handsome and sprightly, and full of antic tricks. They have many diversions that are common with the boys in England; such as flying kites, cat's eradle, swinging, dancing or jumping in a rope, walking upon stilts, and wrestling.

Friday, 19th.—The wind to-day blew fresh, but continued regular from the E. and E.S.E. We had likewise much rain, and a long swell set into the bay. I had not yet determined, whether, on leaving Matavai bay, I would go to the island Eimeo, or to the harbour of Toahroah near Oparre: this uncertainty made Tinah, and the rest of my friends, very anxious; and they appeared much distressed on my desiring them, this afternoon, to send on board all the things which they wished to have repaired by the forge, without delay, that what they wanted might be done before the ship left Matavai, which I told them would be in a few days. They very earnestly intreated I would stay one month longer. I represented this as impossible, and asked Tinah if he would not go with me to Eimeo; but he said, that, notwithstanding my protection, he was certain the Eimeo people would watch for an opportunity to kill him. He remained on board with me all night, but his wife went on shore, and returned early in the morning, bringing with her some axes, and other things, that were in need of repair.

When I went on shore, I found Otow, Oberree-roah, Moannah, and several others, in great tribulation at the thoughts that we were so soon to leave them. All the people of Matavai, I saw, were much concerned at my intention of going to Eimeo, and took every opportunity to prejudice me against the people of that island; to which I paid very little attention, as their motive was obvious. Their expressions of friendship and affection for me, however, I could not disregard, as I had no doubt of their being genuine and unaffected; and I felt my unwillingness to leave these kind people so much increased, that the next day, I sent the master in the launch to re-examine the depth of water between this bay and Toahroah harbour. He returned in the evening, and acquainted me, that he found a good bottom, with not less than sixteen fathoms depth all the way. The harbour of Toahroah appearing every way safe, I determined to get the ship there as speedily as possible, and I immediately made my intention public, which occasioned great rejoicing.

Wednesday, 24th.—This day, we took the plants on board, being 774 pots, all in a healthy state; for whenever any plant had an unfavourable appearance, it was replaced by another. The number of those rejected was, 302, of which not one in ten but was found to be growing at the root.

The natives reckon eight kinds of the bread-fruit tree, each of which they distinguish by a different name. 1. *Patteah*. 2. *Eroroo*. 3. *Awanna*. 4. *Mi-re*. 5. *Oree*. 6. *Powerro*. 7. *Appeere*. 8. *Row-deeah*. In the first, fourth, and eighth class, the leaf differs from the rest; the fourth is more sinuated; the eighth has a large broad leaf, not at all sinuated. The difference of the fruit is

principally in the first and eighth class. In the first, the fruit is rather larger and more of an oblong form: in the eighth, it is round and not above half the size of the others. I inquired if plants could be produced from the seed, and was told they could not, but that they must be taken from the root. The plants are best collected after wet weather, at which time the earth balls round the roots, and they are not liable to suffer by being moved.

The most common method of dividing time at Otaheite is by moons; but they likewise make a division of the year into six parts, each of which is distinguished by the name of the kind of bread-fruit then in season. In this division they keep a small interval called *Tavaa*, in which they do not use the bread-fruit. This is about the end of February, when the fruit is not in perfection; but there is no part of the year in which the trees are entirely bare.

Thursday, 25th.—At day-light we unmoored, and I sent the tents in the launch to Oparre, with directions that after landing them, the launch should meet the ship in the entrance of Toahroah harbour, to show the safest part of the channel. At half past ten, we got the ship under sail, and ran down under top-sails: when we were near the launch, it fell calm, and the ship shot past her. We immediately let the anchor go, but, to our great surprise, we found the ship was aground forwards. She had run on so easy, that we had not perceived it at the time. This accident occasioned us much trouble, as we were obliged to send anchors out astern to get the ship afloat: in doing this, one of the cables swept a rock, and was not got clear again without much difficulty. When the ship was moored, point Venus bore N. 46° E. The east point of the harbour N. 65° E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile. Our distance from the shore half a cable's length; depth of water 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms.

The next morning, on my landing, I was welcomed by all the principal people; I may say by the whole crowd, and congratulated on the safety of the ship. Tinah showed me a house near the water side, abreast the ship, which he desired I would make use of, and which was large enough for all our purposes. He and his brother Oreeyah then desired I would stay and receive a formal address and present, which they called *Otee*. To this I assented, and a stool was brought for me to sit on. They then left me with Moannah, and in a short time I saw Tinah returning with about twenty men, who all made a stop at some distance, and a priest said a short prayer to the *Eatua*, to which the rest made reply. A man was then sent to me three several times, at each time bringing me a small pig, and the stem of a plantain leaf. The first they told me was for the God of Brittanee, the next for King George, and the last for myself. Moannah then got up, and, without being dictated to, made an oration for me; the purport of which I understood to be, that I received their offering with thanks; that we were good people and friends; and therefore he exhorted them to commit no thefts: he told them to bring their pigs, cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit, and they would receive good things in return; that we took nothing without their consent; and finally, that every man was to quit the place (the house we occupied) at night; for if they made

any visit in the dark, they would be killed. With this speech the ceremony ended.

I found this a delightful situation, and in every respect convenient. The ship was perfectly sheltered by the reefs in smooth water, and close to a fine beach without the least surf. A small river, with very good water, runs into the sea about the middle of the harbour. I gave directions for the plants to be landed, and the same party to be with them as at Matavai. Tinah fixed his dwelling close to our station.

Monday, 29th.—Some of the natives took advantage of the butcher's negligence, and stole his cleaver. I complained of this to the chiefs who were on board, and they promised that they would endeavour to recover it; but an article so valuable as this was to the natives, I had no great expectation of seeing restored.

The ship continued to be supplied by the natives as usual. Cocoa-nuts were in such plenty, that I believe not a pint of water was drunk on board the ship in the twenty-four hours. Bread-fruit began to be scarce, though we purchased, without difficulty, a sufficient quantity for our consumption: there was, however, another harvest approaching, which they expected would be fit for use in five or six weeks. The better kind of plantains also were become scarce; but a kind which they call *Vayhee* were in great plenty. This fruit does not hang on the trees like the other kinds, but grows upon an upright stalk of considerable strength and substance. Though this plantain is inferior in quality to most of the others, it affords great subsistence to the natives. We received, almost every day, presents of fish, chiefly dolphin and albacore, and a few small rock fish. Their fishing is mostly in the night, when they make strong lights on the reefs, which attract the fish to them. Sometimes, in fine weather, the canoes are out in such numbers, that the whole sea appears illuminated. In the canoes they fish with hook and line, and on the reefs they strike the fish with a spear. Some likewise carry out small nets, which are managed by two men. In the day-time their fishing canoes go without the reefs, sometimes to a considerable distance, where they fish with rods and lines, and catch bonetas, and other fish. Whenever there is a show of fish, a fleet of canoes immediately proceeds to sea. Their hooks being bright, are used without bait, in the manner of our artificial flies. Their rods are made of bamboo; but when there are any very large fish, they make use of an outrigger over the fore part of the canoe, about twenty-five feet in length, which has two prongs at the extremity, to each of which is fastened a hook and line; and when a fish takes the hook, it is raised by ropes managed by two men in the stern of the canoe.

1789. January 1st.—Contrary to my expectation, Tinah, this afternoon, brought on board the cleaver that had been stolen. The thief had taken it to Attahooroo, and Tinah told me, which I could easily believe, that it was given up with great reluctance. The next morning I offered Tinah a present of axes, and other things; but, as he suspected this was meant by way of return for getting the cleaver restored, he would not be prevailed with to accept a single article.

I had constantly the company of Tinah, his wife, and some of his relations; but the royal children,

though so near us, never came in sight of the ship. The river separated them from the place occupied by our people on shore; and, for fear of giving alarm or offence, I gave strict orders that no one should attempt to go near their place of residence.

Monday, 5th.—At the relief of the watch, at four o'clock this morning, the small cutter was missing. I was immediately informed of it, and mustered the ship's company; when it appeared, that three men were absent, Charles Churchill, the ship's corporal, and two of the seamen, William Musprat, and John Millward; the latter of whom had been sentinel from twelve to two in the morning. They had taken with them eight stand of arms and ammunition; but what their plan was, or which way they had gone, no one on board seemed to have the least knowledge. I went on shore to the chiefs, and soon received information, that the boat was at Matavai; and that the deserters had departed in a sailing canoe for the island Tethuroa. On this intelligence, I sent the master to Matavai to search for the small cutter, and one of the chiefs went with him; but before they had got half way, they met the boat with five of the natives, who were bringing her back to the ship. This service, rendered me by the people of Matavai, pleased me much, and I rewarded the men accordingly.

I told Tinah, and the other chiefs, that I expected they would get the deserters brought back; for that I was determined not to leave Otaheite without them. They assured me, that they would do every thing in their power to have them taken; and it was agreed, that Oreopyah and Moannah should depart the next morning for Tethuroa. Oreopyah inquired if they had pocket pistols, "for," said he, "though we may surprize and seize them before they can make use of their muskets; yet, if they have pistols, they may do mischief, even while they are held." I quieted these apprehensions, by assuring them that the deserters had no pistols with them.

At day-light, Oreopyah and Moannah set off in two canoes for Tethuroa, but the weather became so boisterous, that they were obliged to return in the forenoon, and I was happy to see them get safe in, as the sea ran very high without the harbour. From the first of this month, the weather and winds had been much unsettled, with a great deal of rain. Our former station at Matavai appeared not at all safe, the sea at times breaking high over the Dolphin bank, and making a great swell in the bay. Oreopyah and Moannah both promised me, that they would sail again as soon as the weather should be fine.

Friday, 9th.—The wind continued to blow strong at sea, though in the harbour we had, at times, but light breezes. Poeno from Matavai, came to see me to-day: he said, he was apprehensive that I was displeased with him, on account of our deserters having been carried to Tethuroa, by a canoe from Matavai. This, he declared, had been done before he heard of it; and that the only service in his power, he had not neglected to do for me, which was the sending our boat back. As this was really an act of friendship, I received him with great cordiality; and he assured me, that there could be no doubt, from the directions Tinah had given, of the deserters being brought to the ship, as soon as the weather would admit canoes to go after them.

Saturday, 10th.—One of the officers, this morning, on shore, inadvertently plucked a branch from a tree called Tutuee, that bears the oil nut, which was growing at a Morai. On entering with it into the house occupied by our people, all the natives, both men and women, immediately went away. When I went on shore, I found this branch tied to one of the posts of the house, although the effect it had on the natives was known. I was much displeased at this piece of wantonness, and ordered the branch to be taken away; but the natives, notwithstanding, would not come near the place. They said the house was *taboo*, which I understand to signify interdicted, and that none of them might approach it till the *taboo* was taken off, which could only be done by Tinah. To take any thing away from a Morai is regarded as a kind of sacrilege, and, they believe, gives great offence to the Eatua. At my request, Tinah took off the *taboo*, but not before the afternoon. This was performed by an offering of a plantain leaf at the Morai, and a prayer made to the Eatua. After this ceremony, the house was resorted to by the natives, as usual.

I had not yet given up the hope of obtaining the bull from Itteah, though I had hitherto received no satisfactory answer to the messages which Tinah had sent at my desire: I therefore spoke to Poeno, who undertook to negotiate this business, and I commissioned him to make very liberal offers. He left me after dinner, to return to Matavai. In the evening, a messenger arrived from him, to acquaint me, that, in his absence, the sheep which I had trusted to his care, had been killed by a dog; and that he had sent the culprit, hoping that I would kill him for the offence he had committed. This poor sheep had been so much diseased, that I could not help suspecting he died without the dog's assistance, and that the story of the dog was invented to prevent my attributing it to want of care. This doubt did not appear in my answer; as for the dog, I told the messenger to do with him what he pleased.

Tuesday, 13th.—This morning, the weather being more moderate than it had been for some days past, Oreopyah sailed with two canoes for Tethuroa. Some business prevented Moannah from accompanying him, but he followed the next day with two other canoes. The wood that we had got at Matavai being expended, I applied to Tinah, who sent three trees down to the water side before night, which when cut up made a good launch load.

I saw two instances of jealousy to-day, one of which had nearly produced fatal consequences. A man was detected with a married woman, by the husband, who stabbed him in the belly with a knife: fortunately the intestines escaped, and the wound did not prove dangerous. The other instance was, a girl, who had constantly lived with my coxswain, beating another girl, that she discovered to have been too intimate with him.

Friday, 16th.—In walking to-day with Tinah near a Tupapow, I was surprised by a sudden outcry of grief. As I expressed a desire to see the distressed person, Tinah took me to the place, where we found a number of women, one of whom was the mother of a young female child that lay dead. On seeing us their mourning not only immediately ceased, but to my astonishment, they all burst into an immoderate fit of laughter, and, while we re-

mained, appeared much diverted with our visit. I told Tinah the woman had no sorrow for her child, otherwise her grief would not have so easily subsided; on which he jocosely told her to cry again: they did not, however, resume their mourning in our presence. This strange behaviour would incline us to think them hard-hearted and unfeeling, did we not know that they are fond parents, and, in general, very affectionate: it is therefore to be ascribed to their extreme levity of disposition; and it is probable, that death does not appear to them with so many terrors, as it does to people of a more serious cast.

Sunday, 18th.—I received a message from Poeno, to acquaint me that he had been successful in his negotiation for the bull, which he had driven part of the way by land, but could not get farther on account of the rivers, and therefore desired a boat should be sent for him. I accordingly ordered the launch to be got ready, and at two o'clock the next morning, Mr. Fryer, the master, set off in her.

In the afternoon, the launch returned with the bull, and my friend Poeno. For the night I directed that the bull should remain at Oparre, and the next day he was taken to the cow at Matavai.

Wednesday, 21st.—To-day, Poeno brought to me the person from whom he had the bull, to receive the stipulated payment, which was one of every article of traffic that I had in my possession. This man, whose name was Oweevee, they told me, was inspired by a divine spirit; and that in all matters of consequence he was consulted, for that he conversed with the Eatua. It was, they said, the Eatua that ordered him to demand the bull from Tinah, which not to have complied with, would have been the height of impiety. I endeavoured to convince them of the roguery of this man, thinking I had a fair argument to prove, it by his selling that which the Eatua had ordered him to keep; but here I was easily defeated, for it seems the Eatua told him to sell me the beast. This being the case, I said I would not give the animals to any person; that they were now mine, and that I would leave them under the protection of Poeno and Tinah, who I hoped would take care of them for me till I returned. They both entered into my views, and promised the animals should be attended to, and told me, that while they were considered as my property, no one would attempt to take them away.

Thursday, 22nd.—This afternoon, I received a message from Teppahoo, to inform me that our deserters had passed this harbour, and were at Tettaha, about five miles distant. I ordered the cutter to be got ready, and a little before sun-set left the ship, taking Oedidee with me. By his advice I landed at some distance from the place where the deserters were; but thinking it necessary to have the boat within call, and Oedidee assuring me that there was safe landing farther on, I directed the boat to proceed along shore, whilst Oedidee and I walked along the beach. The night was very dark and windy, and the shore being rocky, I soon lost sight of the boat. A few of the natives had joined us in our walk; and, from their manner, I had reason to suspect them of a design to close upon us, with an intention, no doubt, to plunder: I was provided with pocket-pistols, and

on producing one, they left us. Oedidee was so much alarmed that I could scarcely prevail on him to proceed. When we arrived at Teppahoo's house, we were very kindly received by him and his wife. The cutter was arrived, but, there being a very high surf, she could not come within a hundred yards of the shore.

The deserters, I was informed, were in a house close to us, and I imagined there would be no great difficulty in securing them, with the assistance of the natives. They had, however, heard of my arrival; and when I was near the house, they came out, without their arms, and delivered themselves up. I sent directions off to the boat for one of my people to come on shore, and for the boat to return to the place where I landed. My next business was to secure the arms, which I delivered to Teppahoo to take charge of for the night. One musket and two bayonets were missing, which they said were lost, by the canoe in which they came from Tethuroa having overset. I then took leave of Teppahoo, who presented us with a plentiful supply of provisions, and we proceeded with the deserters towards the boat; but as the wind had increased, and it rained hard, I determined to remain on shore till the morning; and having found shelter for the people, we passed the remainder of the night without accident. At daylight, I sent for the arms, and we returned to the ship.

I learnt from the deserters, that at Tethuroa they had seen Oreepyah and Moannah, who had made an attempt to secure them. They said it was their intention to have returned to the ship; and it is probable that they were so much harassed by the natives watching for an opportunity to surprise them, that they might wish to have the merit of returning of their own accord, to avoid the disgrace of being seized and brought back. At the time they delivered themselves up to me, it was not in their power to have made resistance, their ammunition having been spoiled by the wet.

In consequence of my having been kept all night from the ship by the tempestuous weather, the time-keeper went down at 10h. 5m. 36s. Its rate, previous to this, was 1", 7 losing in 24 hours, and its error from the mean time at Greenwich was 7' 29", 2 too slow. I set it going again by a common watch, corrected by observations, and endeavoured to make the error the same as if it had not stopped; but being over cautious, made tedious in setting it in motion, and increased the error from mean time at Greenwich. The rate of going I did not find to have altered.

At dinner Tinah congratulated me on having recovered my men, but expressed some concern that they had not been brought by Oreepyah and Moannah; lest I should imagine they had not done every thing in their power. To this I replied, that I was perfectly satisfied of their good intentions to serve me, and that I considered myself under great obligations to them for the trouble they had been at on my account. I learnt afterwards that they had actually seized and bound the deserters, but had been prevailed upon, by fair promises of their returning peaceably to the ship, to let them loose: the deserters, however, finding an opportunity to get possession of their arms again, set the natives at defiance.

Friday, 30th.—This afternoon I punished one

of the seamen, Isaac Martin, with nineteen lashes, for striking an Indian. This was a transgression of so serious a nature, and such a direct violation of my orders, that I would on no account be prevailed on to forgive it, though great intercession was made by some of the chiefs.

Oreepyah and Moannah were not yet returned from Tethuroa. This place is resorted to by the principal people of this part of Otaheite, at particular seasons, when fish are in great plenty there. It was described to me to be a group of small keys, surrounded by a reef: their produce is chiefly cocoa-nuts and plantains. During the season, bread-fruit and other provisions are daily carried over from Otaheite. Not less than a hundred sail of canoes were at Tethuroa when our deserters were there.

Teppahoo and his wife were become my constant visitors: he had for some time past been ill, and had made Oparre his place of residence, for the benefit of our surgeon's advice and assistance. At this time he complained of a hoarseness and sore-throat. Mr. Ledward, on examining him, discovered there had been two holes in the roof of his mouth, which, though healed, had the appearance of having been large: the adjacent parts appeared sound, yet the surgeon was of opinion that they were cancerous, and would in the end occasion his death.

Saturday, 31st.—This morning I ordered all the chests to be taken on shore, and the inside of the ship to be washed with boiling water to kill the cockroaches. We were constantly obliged to be at great pains to keep the ship clear of vermin, on account of the plants.—By the help of traps and good cats, they were freed from rats and mice. When I was at Otaheite with Captain Cook, there were great numbers of rats about all the houses, and so tame, that they flocked round the people at their meals for the offals, which were commonly thrown to them; but, at this time, we scarce ever saw a rat, which must be attributed to the industry of a breed of cats left here by European ships.

After breakfast, I walked with Tinah to Matavai, to see the cattle and the gardens. Tinah had already taken so large a dose of the Ava, that he was perfectly stupefied. Iddeah, however, was with us, and she is one of the most intelligent persons I met with at Otaheite.

We went first to Poeno's house, and saw the bull and cow together in a very fine pasture. I was informed that the cow had taken the bull; so that, if no untoward accident happens, there is a fair chance of the breed being established. In the garden, near Poeno's house, many things had failed. The Indian corn was in a fine state, and I have no doubt but they will cultivate it all over the country. A fig-tree was in a very thriving way, as were two vines, a pine-apple plant, and some slips of a shaddock-tree. From this place we walked to the garden at Point Venus; but I had the mortification to find almost every thing there destroyed by the hogs. Some underground peas and Indian corn had escaped, and likewise the caliloo green and oera of Jamaica.

We returned to the ship; and after dinner I was not a little surprised to hear Tinah seriously propose that he and his wife should go with me to England. He said he would only take two servants; that he much wished to see King George,

who, he was sure, would be glad to see him. Tinah and many of his countrymen were become extremely eager to get a knowledge of other countries, and were continually inquiring about the situations of the islands which we told them of in these seas. To quiet his importunity, I was obliged to promise that I would ask the king's permission to carry them to England, if I came again; that then I should be in a larger ship, and could have accommodations properly fitted up. I was sorry to find, that Tinah was apprehensive he should be attacked by his enemies, as soon as our ship left Otaheite, and that if they joined, they would be too powerful for him. The illness of Teppahoo, with whom he was on good terms, gave him much uneasiness; Teppahoo's wife being a sister of Otow's and aunt to Tinah. They have no children, as has been before related; and if Teppahoo were to die, he would be succeeded, as Earee of the district of Tettaha, by his brother, who is an enemy to Tinah. I have on every occasion endeavoured to make the principal people believe that we should return again to Otaheite, and that we should revenge any injury done in our absence to the people of Matavai and Oparre.

The wife of Oedidee is likewise an aunt to Tinah, and sister to Otow. His native place is Ulietea, where he has some property; but which, I imagine, is not of such consequence to him as the countenance of the chiefs with whom he is connected at Otaheite.

## CHAPTER X.

THE SHIP'S CABLE CUT IN THE NIGHT—COOLNESS WITH THE CHIEFS ON THAT ACCOUNT—VISIT TO AN OLD LADY—DISTURBANCE AT A HEIVA—TINAH'S HOSPITALITY—A THIEF TAKEN, AND PUNISHED—PREPARATIONS FOR SAILING.

TUESDAY, February 3d.—I was present, this afternoon, at a wrestling match, where a young man, by an unlucky fall, put his arm out of joint at the elbow: three stout men immediately took hold of him, and two of them fixing their feet against his ribs, replaced it. I had sent for our surgeon, but before he arrived, all was well, except a small swelling of the muscles in consequence of the strain. I inquired what they would have done if the bone had been broken; and, to show me their practice, they got a number of sticks and placed round a man's arm, which they bound with cord. That they have considerable skill in surgery is not to be doubted. I have before mentioned an instance of an amputated arm being perfectly healed, and which had every appearance of having been treated with great propriety.

The part of the beach nearest the ship, was become the general place of resort towards the close of the day. An hour before sunset, the inhabitants began to collect, and here they amused themselves with exercising the lance, dancing, and various kinds of merriment, till nearly dark, when they retired to their homes. Of this cheerful scene, we were spectators and partakers, every fine evening.

Friday, 6th.—An occurrence happened to-day that gave me great concern, not only on account of the danger with which the ship had been threatened, but as it tended greatly to diminish the confidence and good understanding which had hitherto been

constantly preserved between us and the natives. The wind had blown fresh in the night, and at day-light we discovered that the cable, by which the ship rode, had been cut near the water's edge in such a manner, that only one strand remained whole. While we were securing the ship, Tinah came on board. I could not but believe he was perfectly innocent of the transaction; nevertheless, I spoke to him in a very peremptory manner, and insisted upon his discovering and bringing to me the offender. I was wholly at a loss how to account for this malicious act. My suspicions fell chiefly, I may say wholly, on the strangers that came to us from other parts of the island; for we had, on every occasion, received such unreserved and unaffected marks of goodwill from the people of Matavai and Oparre, that in my own mind I entirely acquitted them. The anger which I expressed, however, created so much alarm, that old Otow and his wife (the father and mother of Tinah) immediately quitted Oparre, and retired to the mountains in the midst of heavy rain, as did Teppahoo and his family. Tinah and Iddeah remained, and expostulated with me on the unreasonableness of my anger against them. He said that he would exert his utmost endeavours to discover the guilty person; but it might possibly not be in his power to get him delivered up, which would be the case, if he was either of Tiarraboo, Attahooroo, or of the island Eimeo. That the attempt might have been made as much out of enmity to the people of Matavai and Oparre as to me; every one knowing the regard I had for them, and that I had declared I would protect them against their enemies. All this I was inclined to believe; but I did not think proper to appear perfectly satisfied, lest Tinah, who was naturally very indolent, should be remiss in his endeavours to detect the offender. To guard as much as possible against future attempts of this kind, I directed a stage to be built on the fore-castle, so that the cables should be more directly under the eye of the sentinel; and I likewise gave orders that one of the midshipmen should keep watch forward.

In the afternoon, Oreopyah returned from Tethuroa. He told me, that Moannah and himself had narrowly escaped being lost in the bad weather, and that Moannah had been obliged to take shelter at Eimeo. Several canoes had been lost lately in their passage to or from Tethuroa. The oversetting of their canoes is not the only risk they have to encounter, but is productive of another danger more dreadful; for at such times many become a prey to the sharks, which are very numerous in these seas. I was informed likewise, that they were sometimes attacked by a fish, which, by their description, I imagine to be the barracoota, as they attribute to it the same propensity.

Saturday passed without my seeing any thing of Tinah the whole day. The next morning, he and Iddeah came to me, and assured me that they had made the strictest inquiries concerning the injury intended us, but had not been able to discover any circumstance which could lead them to suspect who were concerned in it. This was not at all satisfactory, and I behaved towards them with great coolness, at which they were much distressed; and Iddeah, at length, gave

vent to her sorrow by tears. I could no longer keep up the appearance of mistrusting them; but I earnestly recommended to them, as they valued the King of England's friendship, that they would exert their utmost endeavours to find out the offenders; which they faithfully promised. Our reconciliation accordingly took place, and messengers were sent to acquaint Otow and Teppahoo, and to invite them to return.

It has since occurred to me, that this attempt to cut the ship adrift, was most probably the act of some of our own people; whose purpose of remaining at Otaheite might have been effectually answered, without danger, if the ship had been driven on shore. At the time, I entertained not the least thought of this kind, nor did the possibility of it enter into my ideas, having no suspicion that so general an inclination, or so strong an attachment to these islands, could prevail among my people, as to induce them to abandon every prospect of returning to their native country.

A messenger came to me this afternoon, from the Earee of Tiarraboo, the S.E. division of Otaheite, with an invitation for me to visit him. I excused myself on account of the distance, and, at Tinah's request, sent back by the messenger a handsome present, which I hope Tinah will get the credit of. I observed, with much satisfaction, that a great part of what Tinah had received from me, he had distributed; to some, out of friendship and esteem, and to others, from motives of political civility.

Tuesday, 30th.—Teppahoo and his family left us to-day to go to Tettaha, where a grand heiva was to be performed, at which their presence was required.

Wednesday, 11th.—A small party of heiva people passed through Oparre this morning, in their way to Tettaha, where they were going by appointment. They had the civility to send me word, that, if I chose, they would stay to perform a short heiva before me; and I immediately attended. It began by a dance of two young girls, to the music of drums and flutes, which lasted no long time; at the conclusion, they suddenly dropped all their dress, which was left as a present for me, and went off without my seeing them any more. After this, the men danced: their performance was more indecent than any I had before seen, but was not the less applauded on that account by the natives, who seemed much delighted.

After this entertainment, I went with Tinah and Iddeah, to pay a visit to an old lady named Wanow-ooro, widow to Towah, the late Earee of Tettaha, who conducted the expedition against Eimeo, when Captain Cook was here in 1777. The old lady had just landed, and we found her sitting on the beach, by the head of her canoe. With Tinah was a priest and three men, who carried a young dog, a fowl, and two young plantain boughs: these were intended for the offering, or present, called Otee. Tinah and his party seated themselves at about ten yards distance from Wanow-ooro, and were addressed by her in short sentences for a few minutes, and received her Otee, which was exactly the same as his. Tinah's priest, in return, made a short prayer, and his offering was presented to the old lady. Tinah then rose and went to her, and embraced her in a very affectionate manner; and she returned his kindness with



tears, and many expressions which I could not understand. Soon after he conducted her to a shed, and we remained with her till it was time to go on board to dinner. I invited her to be of the party, but she excused herself on account of age and infirmity. Tinah gave directions for her and her attendants to be supplied with whatever they had occasion for, and we went off to the ship.

Friday, the 13th.—This forenoon Tinah sent to inform me, that many strangers were arrived from all parts, to be present at a grand heiva, which he had prepared in compliment to me. I accordingly went on shore, and found a great crowd of people collected together. A ring was made at a little distance from our post, and Tinah and several other chiefs came to meet me. When we were all seated, the heiva began by women dancing; after which a present of cloth, and a tawme or breast-plate, was laid before me. This ceremony being over, the men began to wrestle, and regularity was no longer preserved. Old Otow came to me, and desired I would help to put a stop to the wrestling, as the people came from different districts, some of which were ill-disposed towards others. What Otow had apprehended was not without reason, for in an instant the whole was tumult: every man took to his arms, and, as I found my single interference could be of no service, I retired to our post, and ordered all my people there under arms. At the time the disturbance began, Tinah and Iddeah were absent: their first care was for me, and Iddeah came to see if I was safe at the post. She had a double covering of cloth round her, and her waist was girded with a large rope. I desired her to stay under my protection: this she would not consent to, but said she would return as soon as all was over; and away she went.

I immediately gave orders for two guns to be fired from the ship without shot, which had a good effect: and, as no chief was concerned in the tumult, but, on the contrary, all of them exerted their influence to prevent mischief, every thing was soon quiet, and Tinah and Iddeah returned to let me know that all was settled. They went on board, with some other chiefs, and dined with me.

After dinner, I went on shore with Tinah and his friends; and I found three large hogs dressed, and a quantity of bread-fruit, which he had ordered to be prepared before he went on board, and now desired I would present them to the different parties that had come to see the entertainment:—one to the chief people of Attahoeroo, one to the Arrecoys, and a third to the performers of the heiva. I presented them according to his directions, and they were received with thankfulness and pleasure. This I looked upon as very handsomely done on the part of Tinah, and I was glad to see that it was regarded in the same light by his guests. These instances of liberality make full amends for the little slips which I have formerly noticed in Tinah. At this time, a day seldom passed, that he did not give proofs of his hospitality, by entertaining the principal people that came from different parts of the island to visit him, or to see the ship. Some of the chiefs he commonly invited to dine on board, and made provision for others on shore. Scarce any person of consequence went away without receiving some present from him. This I encouraged, and was glad it

was in my power to assist him. But, besides the political motives that I have alluded to, it would be unjust to Tinah not to acknowledge that his disposition seemed improved: he was more open and unreserved in his manners than formerly, and his hospitality was natural and without ostentation.

Monday, the 16th.—I was present this afternoon, at a wrestling-match by women. The manner of challenging, and method of attack, were exactly the same as among the men. The only difference that I could observe, was not in favour of the softer sex; for in these contests they showed less temper, and more animosity than I could have imagined them capable of. The women, I was told, not only wrestle with each other, but sometimes with the men; of this I have never seen an instance, and imagine it can happen but seldom, as the women in general are small, and by no means masculine. Iddeah is said to be very famous at this exercise.

Tuesday, the 17th.—I walked with Tinah towards the hills, to see his country residence, which was at a very neat house, pleasantly situated, and surrounded with plantations. From this place we saw the island Tethuroa. The next morning, I went to Matavai, to look after the Indian corn, which I judged would be full ripe for gathering; but, on my arrival, I found that the natives had been beforehand with me, the whole being taken away. This I was not at all sorry for, as it shows that they value it too much to neglect cultivating it.

Monday, 23rd.—Iddeah sent on board, for our dinners to-day, a very fine tarro pudding; and Tinah brought a bunch of bananas, that weighed eighty-one pounds, on which were two hundred and eighty-six fine fruit: ten had broken off in the carriage. The tarro pudding is excellent eating, and easily made: I shall describe this piece of cookery, as the knowledge of it may be useful in the West Indies. The tarro being cleared of the outside skin, is grated down, and made up in rolls of about half a pound each, which they cover neatly with leaves, and bake for near half an hour. An equal quantity of ripe cocoa-nut meat is likewise grated, from which, through a strainer, the rich milky juice is expressed. This juice is heated, by putting smooth hot stones in the vessel that contains it, and the tarro is then mixed with it, and kept constantly stirring to prevent burning, till it is ready, which is known by the cocoa-nut juice turning to a clear oil.

Wednesday, 25th.—Iddeah was very uneasy to-day, on account of her youngest child being ill. She would not accept of assistance from our surgeon, but said she had sent to Tettaha for a man, who she expected would come and tell her what to do. These physical people are called *Tatu rapaow*.

Thursday, 26th.—This morning, a man died of a consumption, about two miles from our post. I was informed of it by Mr. Peckover, the gunner, who I had desired to look out for such a circumstance. I therefore went, accompanied by Iddeah, in hopes of seeing the funeral ceremony; but before we arrived, the body was removed to the Toopapow. It lay bare, except a piece of cloth round the loins, and another round the neck: the eyes were closed: the hands were placed, one over the pit of the stomach, and the other upon his breast. On a finger of each hand was a ring, made of platted fibres of the cocoa-nut tree, with a small bunch of red feathers. Under the Toopa-

pow, a hole was dug, in which, at the end of a month, the corpse was to be buried. The deceased was of the lower class; the Toopapow, however, was neat, and offerings of cocoa-nuts and platted leaves lay on the ground.

The dead are sometimes brought to the Toopapow in wooden coffins, which are not shaped like ours, but are simply a long box. This custom, Iddeah informed me, they learnt from the Europeans, and is not very common, as making plank is a work of great labour.

Monday, March 2nd.—When I landed this morning, I found the inhabitants, that lived near to us, had left their houses, and retired towards the mountains; and was informed that in the night a water-cask, part of an azimuth compass, and Mr. Peckover's bedding, had been stolen from the post on shore; the knowledge of which had caused a general alarm. I sent a message to complain of this theft to Tinah, who did not come near me. About two hours elapsed, during which time I went on board to breakfast, and returned, when I saw Tinah and Oreepyah, with a number of people, at a house at some distance; and soon after they all marched to the eastward, passing close by our post. Oedidee, who was with me, told me that they had intelligence of the thief, and were gone in quest of him: and in less than an hour, news was brought that they had taken him. Shortly after, the whole party appeared, with the water-cask and compass. Tinah had hold of the thief by the arm, and, showing him to me, desired that I would kill him. The bedding, he said, he had not heard of, but would go in search of it. I applauded him for the pains he had taken in this business, and explained, with some success, the injustice of stealing from us: that if any of our people committed the least offence against them, it did not pass unnoticed; and that friendship required on their part, that those who injured us should not be protected by them. Tinah stopped me from saying more by embracing me, and the whole crowd cried out *Tyo mity* (i. e. good friend). Tinah then left me, to enquire after the bedding, and I sent the offender on board, whom I punished with a severe flogging. I was glad to find this man was not of Oparre or Matavai.

The fine fruit, called Avee, was just coming into season: it was likewise in season at the time of our arrival in October. The bread-fruit trees, I have no doubt, bear all the year round: we have seen a scarcity of bread-fruit, but have never been wholly without it. Some fern-root was shown to me, which, in scarce seasons, is used by the natives as bread. It bears a long even-edged leaf, about an inch wide; the taste somewhat resembled that of a yam. I was informed by our people, that in their walks they saw, in many places, patches of Indian corn just making their appearance through the ground. This convinces me that the corn taken from Matavai could not have been better disposed of.

Goats are frequently offered for sale, but I rather discouraged the buying of them, for fear of injuring the breed. The natives will not eat them, neither will they taste the milk; and ask, with some appearance of disgust, why we do not milk the sows? I endeavoured to prevail on Tinah and Iddeah to eat the goats' milk, by mixing it with fruit, but they would only try one spoonful.

We had begun to make preparations for sailing; and Tinah supplied us with a sufficient stock of wood, by ordering trees to be brought down from the country. He had frequently expressed a wish that I would leave some fire-arms and ammunition with him, as he expected to be attacked after the ship sailed; and, perhaps, chiefly on account of our partiality to him: I, therefore, thought it but reasonable to attend to his request; and I was the more readily prevailed on, as he said his intentions were to act only on the defensive. This indeed seems most suited to his disposition, which is neither active nor enterprising. If Tinah had spirit in proportion to his size and strength, he would probably be the greatest warrior in Otaheite: but courage is not the most conspicuous of his virtues. When I promised to leave with him a pair of pistols, which they prefer to muskets, he told me, that Iddeah would fight with one, and Oedidee with the other. Iddeah has learnt to load and fire a musket with great dexterity, and Oedidee is an excellent marksman. It is not common for women in this country to go to war, but Iddeah is a very resolute woman, of a large make, and has great bodily strength.

Friday, 6th.—I sent Mr. Fryer, the master, to sound Taowne harbour. The knowledge that we intended shortly to sail, having spread among the natives, a great many broken iron tools were brought from all parts of the island, to be repaired at our forge; and this morning, a messenger arrived from Waheataua, the Earee of Tiarraboo, with several pieces of Spanish iron, which he desired to have made into small adzes. This request was, of course, complied with.

## CHAPTER XI.

ARRIVAL OF AN ARREOY WOMAN FROM TETHUROA—A PRESENT DELIVERED BY TINAH FOR HIS MAJESTY—OTHER OCCURRENCES TO THE TIME OF THE SHIP'S DEPARTURE FROM OTAHEITE.

1789. March.—From the 5th to the 14th of this month, the wind blew constantly from between the N.W. and S.W., with a great deal of rain. This was the longest continuance of westerly winds without interruption, that we experienced. On the 13th, several canoes arrived here, and at Matavai, from Tethuroa: in these were a large tribe of the Arrecoys, and among them Huheine Moyere, the wife of Oreepyah, who is an Arreoy woman, and remained at Tethuroa after Oreepyah came away. On her arrival, a ceremony was performed, called Hoecipippe, which seemed to be designed as a public visit to all their friends, who are collected on the occasion. In this ceremony, there was nothing remarkable: the Arreoy men took their opportunity to plunder the women who were near them, and Iddeah made a present of some cloth to Huheine Moyere, and a baked hog to the Arrecoys.

After this ceremony, a present was produced from many of the principal people, for young Otoo, the Earee Rabie; which was received by Iddeah, Tinah being absent. This present consisted of five hogs, and forty-eight baskets filled with bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, tarro, and different kinds of puddings. The baskets were decorated with slips of cloth, stained with variety of colours, and carried by 24 men, each of whom had a

pole on his shoulder, at each end of which was a basket.

I have seldom spoken of Otoo, who was too young to have any share in the management of affairs, and with whom we were not permitted to have any intercourse, except speaking to him now and then, across a river; at which times, I did not neglect to send the children some little presents, so that they always rejoiced to see me. I might have been admitted to a nearer acquaintance, if I would have gone with my shoulders uncovered, as his parents did, but this I declined. The children do not all live under the same roof, the two sisters eating and sleeping in a separate house, though at other times they are generally together.

The island Tethuroa may very properly be compared to some of our watering-places in England, producing a similar effect upon those who visit it. Many, who went there covered with scurf, returned plump and fair, and scarce like the same people. This alteration for the better, is in a great measure to be attributed to the discontinuance of the Ava, which Tethuroa does not produce: the coconut trees, likewise, which supply them with their only beverage, growing on low sandy keys, and having their roots below the level of the sea, may probably have qualities different from the coconuts of Otaheite; which, with a plenty of fish, that at other times they are not accustomed to, must no doubt contribute to the amendment described.

Saturday, 14th.—I was visited to-day by a very old man, an uncle to Tupia, the person who went from these islands in the Endeavour, in the year 1769, and who died at Batavia. He appeared to be near 70 years old, and was treated with much respect by the natives. He made several inquiries concerning his nephew, and requested that when I came again, I would bring his hair. At the time that Tinah mentioned to me his desire of visiting England, I asked what account I could give to his friends, if he should not live to return; to which he replied, that I must cut off his hair, and carry it to them, and they would be perfectly satisfied.

On the 16th, I was informed, that a stop was put to the sale of hogs, in the district of Teppahoo. Teppahoo, the Earee of that district, told me that they had very few hogs left there, and that it was necessary, for a certain time, to prohibit every person from killing or selling, that they might have time to breed. I did not think it reasonable to solicit any indulgence on this head: my friends at Matavai and Oparre promised to supply us, as long as we remained here, though we had considerably thinned their stock. After our departure, the same restriction was to take place in these districts, and it being delayed on our account, certainly deserves to be regarded among their acts of friendship towards us.

As it was generally known that we were preparing to sail, a number of the natives from other parts of the island were constantly with us, and petty thefts were committed, whenever the negligence of our people afforded an opportunity: but no attempt of any consequence was made.

Thursday, 19th.—This evening, Mr. Samuel, my clerk, returned from an excursion to the mountains, having been two days absent. He described the hills to be well clothed with wood, except the tops of the higher mountains, which only produced bushes and fern. The birds he saw, were blue

parroquets and green doves, except one, which he found burrowing in the ground, and brought to me. This bird was about the size of a pigeon, and proved to be a white-bellied peterel, of the same kind as those seen in high latitudes, which are called shearwaters. He likewise brought a branch of a plant, like the New Zealand tea-plant, and which, at Van Diemen's Land, we had made use of for brooms. From the hills he saw the islands Maitea and Huaheine, which are situated nearly in opposite directions from Otaheite, and are 70 leagues distant from each other.

Friday, 27th.—For some days past, Tinah had been busied in getting two *parais*, or mourning-dresses, made, which he intended as a present to King George. Being finished, they were this morning hung up in his house, as a public exhibition, and a long prayer made on the occasion; the substance of which was, that the King of England might for ever remain his friend, and not forget him. When he presented the *parais* for me to take on board, he could not refrain from shedding tears. During the short remainder of our stay here, there appeared among the natives an evident degree of sorrow that we were so soon to leave them, which they showed by unusual kindness and attention.

We began, this afternoon, to remove the plants to the ship. They were in excellent order: the roots had appeared through the bottom of the pots, and would have shot into the ground, if care had not been taken to prevent it.

The weather was considerably altered for the better, and the trade-wind appeared settled. The rainy and bad season of the year, may be reckoned to begin towards the end of November, and to continue till near the end of March. During this time, the winds are variable, and often westerly, though we seldom found them to blow strong in that direction. We likewise experienced frequent intervals of fine weather; but, during these months, so open a road as Matavai bay is not a safe anchoring-place for ships that intend remaining any length of time at Otaheite.

Tuesday, the 31st.—To-day, all the plants were on board, being in 774 pots, 39 tubs, and 24 boxes. The number of bread-fruit plants were 1015: besides which, we had collected a number of other plants. The *avee*, which is one of the finest flavoured fruits in the world. The *ayyah*, which is a fruit not so rich, but of a fine flavour and very refreshing. The *ratah*, not much unlike a chestnut, which grows on a large tree, in great quantities; they are singly in large pods, from one to two inches broad; and may be eaten raw, or boiled in the same manner as Windsor beans, and so dressed, are equally good. The *orai-ah*, which is a very superior kind of plantain. All these I was particularly recommended to collect, by my worthy friend, Sir Joseph Banks. I had also taken on board some plants of the *ettow* and *matte*, with which the natives here make a beautiful red colour; and a root called *peeah*, of which they make an excellent pudding.

I now made my last presents to several of my friends with whom I had been most intimate, particularly to Teppahoo. Several people expressed great desire to go with us to England. Oedidee, who was always very much attached to us, said, he considered it as his right, having formerly left his native place, to sail with Captain Cook. Scarce

any man belonging to the ship was without a *tyo*, who brought to him presents, chiefly of provisions for a sea store.

Friday, the 3rd of April.—Tinah and his wife, with his parents, brothers, and sister, dined with me to-day, and, as I meant to sail early the next morning, they all remained on board for the night. The ship was crowded the whole day with the natives, and we were loaded with cocoa-nuts, plantains, bread-fruit, hogs, and goats. In the evening, there was no dancing or mirth on the beach, such as we had been accustomed to, but all was silent.

Saturday, 4th.—At day-light, we unmoored: the stock of the best bower anchor was so much eaten by the worms, that it broke in stowing the anchor: the small bower had an iron stock; and in these voyages, it is very necessary that ships should be provided with iron anchor-stocks. At half past six, there being no wind, we weighed, and, with our boats and two sweeps, towed the ship out of the harbour. Soon after, the sea breeze came, and we stood off towards the sea.

The outlet of Toahroah harbour being narrow, I could permit only a few of the natives to be on board: many others, however, attended in canoes, till the breeze came, when I was obliged to leave them. We stood off and on, almost all the remainder of the day. Tinah and Iddeah pressed me very strongly to anchor in Matavai bay, and stay one night longer; but, as I had already taken leave of most of my friends, I thought it better to keep to my intention of sailing. After dinner, I ordered the presents which I had reserved for Tinah and his wife, to be put in one of the ship's boats, and, as I had promised him fire-arms, I gave him two muskets, a pair of pistols, and a good stock of ammunition. I then represented to them, the necessity of their going away, that the boat might return to the ship before it was dark; on which they took a most affectionate leave of me, and went into the boat. One of their expressions, at parting, was "*Yourah no t' Eatua tee everah.*" "May the Eatua protect you, for ever and ever."

All the time that we remained at Otaheite, the picture of Captain Cook, at the desire of Tinah, was kept on board the ship. On delivering it to him, I wrote on the back, the time of the ship's arrival and departure, with an account of the number of plants on board.

Tinah had desired that I would salute him, at his departure, with the great guns, which I could not comply with, for fear of disturbing the plants; but, as a parting token of our regard, we manned ship with all hands, and gave him three cheers. At sunset, the boat returned, and we made sail, bidding farewell to Otaheite, where for twenty-three weeks we had been treated with the utmost affection and regard, and which seemed to increase in proportion to our stay. That we were not insensible to their kindness, the events which followed more than sufficiently prove: for to the friendly and endearing behaviour of these people, may be ascribed the motives for that event which effected the ruin of an expedition, that there was every reason to hope, would have been completed in the most fortunate manner.

To enter into a description of the island, or its inhabitants, I look upon as superfluous. From the accounts of former voyages, and the facts

which I have related, the character of the people will appear in as true a light, as by any description in my power to give. The length of time that we remained at Otaheite, with the advantage of having been there before, gave me opportunities of making, perhaps, a more perfect vocabulary of the language, than has yet appeared; but I have chosen to defer it for the present, as there is a probability that I may hereafter be better qualified for such a task.

## CHAPTER XII.

AT THE ISLAND HUAHEINE—A FRIEND OF OMAI VISITS THE SHIP—LEAVE THE SOCIETY ISLANDS—A WATER-SPOUT—THE ISLAND WHYTOOTACKEE DISCOVERED—ANCHOR IN ANNAMOOKA ROAD—OUR PARTIES ON SHORE ROBBED BY THE NATIVES—SAIL FROM ANNAMOOKA—THE CHIEFS DETAINED ON BOARD—PART FRIENDLY.

SUNDAY, 5th April 1789.—We steered towards the Island Huahine, which we got sight of the next morning. At noon we brought to, near the entrance of Owlharre harbour, it not being my intention to anchor. We could see every part of the harbour distinctly, but my attention was particularly directed to the spot where Omai's house had stood, no part of which was now visible. It was near three o'clock before any canoes came off to us, for the people on shore imagined that the ship was coming into the harbour. The first that arrived, had three men in it, who brought a few cocoa-nuts. I enquired about the chief, or *Earee Rahie*; and one of the fellows, with great gravity, said, he was the *Earee Rahie*, and that he had come to desire I would bring the ship into the harbour. I could not help laughing at his impudence: however, I gave him a few nails for his cocoa-nuts, and he left us. Immediately after, a double canoe, in which were ten men, came alongside; among them was a young man, who recollected and called me by my name. Several other canoes arrived, with hogs, yams, and other provisions, which we purchased. My acquaintance told me that he had lived with our friend Omai. He confirmed the account that has already been given; and informed me, that, of all the animals which had been left with Omai, the mare only remained alive. He said that Omai and himself had often rode together; and I observed, that many of the islanders, who came on board, had the representation of a man on horseback tattooed on their legs. After the death of Omai, his house was broken to pieces, and the materials stolen. The fire-arms were at Ulietea, but useless. I enquired after the seeds and plants, and was informed that they were all destroyed, except one tree; but of what kind that was, I could not make out from their description. I was much pressed to take the ship into the harbour, and Omai's companion requested me to let him go to England. When they found that I would not stop among them, they seemed jealous of our going to Ulietea, and it appeared to give them some satisfaction, when I told them that I should not go near that island.

The canoes had left us, and we were making sail, when we discovered an Indian in the water, swimming towards the shore, which in all probability he would not have been able to reach. We took him up, and, luckily, another canoe coming alongside, we put him in her. The people of the

canoe said that the man was insane ; but how he came to be swimming so far from the land, we could not conjecture. At six o'clock we made sail, and ran all night to the S. W., and S. W. by S., between the Islands Huaheine and Ulietea. The next morning, I altered the course, steering more to the westward, for the Friendly Islands.

On the 9th, at nine o'clock in the morning, the weather became squally, and a body of thick black clouds collected in the east. Soon after, a water-spout was seen at no great distance from us, which appeared to great advantage from the darkness of the clouds behind it. As nearly as I could judge, it was about two feet diameter at the upper part, and about eight inches at the lower. I had scarce made these remarks, when I observed that it was advancing rapidly towards the ship. We immediately altered our course, and took in all the sails, except the foresail ; soon after which, it passed within ten yards of our stern, making a rustling noise, but without our feeling the least effect from its being so near us. The rate at which it travelled I judged to be about ten miles per hour, going towards the west in the direction of the wind. In a quarter of an hour after passing us, it dispersed. I never was so near a water-spout before: the connection between the column, which was higher than our mast-heads, and the water below, was no otherwise visible, than by the sea being disturbed in a circular space of about six yards in diameter, the centre of which, from the whirling of the water round it, formed a hollow ; and from the outer parts of the circle, the water was thrown up with much force, in a spiral direction, and could be traced to the height of fifteen or twenty feet. At this elevation we lost sight of it, and could see nothing of its junction with the column above. It is impossible to say what injury we should have suffered, if it had passed directly over us. Masts, I imagine, might have been carried away, but I do not apprehend it would have endangered the loss of a ship.

As we sailed very near the track made in former voyages, I had little reason to expect that we should at this time make any new discovery ; nevertheless, on the 11th, at day-light, land was seen to the S. S. W., at about five leagues' distance, which appeared to be an island of a moderate height. On the north part was a round hill : the N. W. part was highest and steep : the S. E. part sloped off to a low point.

The wind had been westerly since the preceding noon, and at the time we saw the land, the ship was standing to the N. W. At six, we tacked to the southward, and, as we advanced in that direction, discovered a number of low keys, of which at noon we counted nine : they were all covered with trees. The large island first seen had a most fruitful appearance, its shore being bordered with flat land, on which grew innumerable cocoa-nut and other trees ; and the higher grounds beautifully interspersed with lawns. The wind being light and unfavourable, we endeavoured all day, but without success, to get near the land. In the night we had a heavy squall, which obliged us to clew up all our sails, and soon after it fell calm.

On the 12th, the winds were light and variable all day, with calms. At two in the afternoon, we were within three miles of the southernmost key,

and could see a number of people within the reefs. Shortly after, a canoe, in which were four men, paddled off to us, and came alongside, without showing any signs of apprehension or surprise. I gave them a few beads, and they came into the ship. One man, who seemed to have an ascendancy over the others, looked about the ship with some appearance of curiosity, but none of them would venture to go below. They asked for some boiled fresh pork, which they saw in a bowl, belonging to one of the seamen, and it was given them to eat, with boiled plantains. Being told that I was the *Earee* or chief of the ship, the principal person came and joined noses with me, and presented to me a large mother-of-pearl shell, which hung with platted hair round his neck ; this he fastened round my neck, with signs of great satisfaction.

They spoke the same language as at Otaheite, with very little variation, as far as I could judge. In a small vocabulary, that I made whilst conversing with these men, only four words, out of twenty-four, differed from the Otaheite. The name of the large island, they told me, was Wytootackee, and the *Earee* was called Lomakkayah. They said that there were no hogs, dogs, or goats upon the island, nor had they yams, or tarro ; but that plantains, cocoa-nuts, fowls, bread-fruit, and avees, were there in great abundance. Notwithstanding they said that no hogs were on the island, it was evident they had seen such animals ; for they called them by the same name as is given to them at Otaheite, which made me suspect that they were deceiving me. However, I ordered a young boar and sow to be put into their canoe, with some yams and tarro, as we could afford to part with some of these articles. I also gave to each of them a knife, a small adze, some nails, beads, and a looking-glass. The latter they examined with great curiosity ; but with the iron-work they appeared to be acquainted ; calling it *aouree*, which is the common name for iron among the islands where it is known.

As they were preparing to leave us, the chief of the canoe took possession of every thing that I had given to the others. One of them showed some signs of dissatisfaction ; but, after a little altercation, they joined noses, and were reconciled. I now thought they were going to leave the ship ; but only two of them went into the canoe, the other two purposing to stay all night with us, and to have the canoe return for them in the morning. I would have treated their confidence with the regard it merited, but it was impossible to say how far the ship might be driven from the island in the night. This I explained to them, and they reluctantly consented to leave us. They were very solicitous that somebody from the ship should go on shore with them ; and just before they quitted us, they gave me a wooden spear, which was the only thing, the paddles excepted, they had brought with them in the canoe. It was a common long staff, pointed with the *toa* wood.

The people that came off to us did not differ in appearance from the natives of Hervey's Islands, seen in Captain Cook's last voyage, though much more friendly and inoffensive in their manners. They were tattooed across the arms and legs, but not on the loins or posteriors, like the people of

Otaheite. From their knowledge of iron, they have doubtless communication with Hervey's Islands, which are not more than eighteen leagues distant from them.

In the night, a breeze sprung up from the south, and we continued our course to the westward.

On the 18th, at sunset, we saw Savage Island; and in the night, passed by to the southward of it.

At eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the 21st, we saw the island Caow, from the mast-head, bearing N.W. by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W. This island is a high mountain, with a sharp-pointed top, and is the northwesternmost of all the Friendly Islands. At noon we saw it very distinctly from the deck, it being then nineteen leagues distant from us.

The wind being to the southward, we could not fetch Annamooka, at which island I intended to stop, before the evening of the 23rd, when we anchored in the road, in twenty-three fathoms; the extremes of Annamooka bearing E. by N. and S. by E., our distance from the shore being half a league. In the middle of the day, a canoe had come off to us from the island Mango, in which was a chief, named Latoony-lange, who dined with me. Immediately on our anchoring, several canoes came alongside, with yams and cocoa-nuts, but none of the natives offered to come on board, without first asking permission. As yet, I had seen no person with whom I could recollect to have been formerly acquainted. I made enquiries after some of our old friends, particularly the chiefs, but I found myself not sufficiently master of the language to obtain the information I wanted.

Friday, 24th.—Our station being inconvenient for watering, at daylight we weighed, and worked more to the eastward, where we anchored in twenty-one fathoms; our distance from the shore being half a league. Sounded all round the ship, and found the ground to be a coarse coral bottom, but with even soundings.

By this time, some large sailing canoes were arrived from different islands in the neighbourhood of Annamooka; and an old lame man, named Tapa, whom I had known in 1777, and immediately recollected, came on board. Two other chiefs, whose names were Noocaboo and Kuno-cappo, were with him. Tapa having formerly been accustomed to our manner of speaking their language, I found I could converse with him tolerably well. He informed me, that Poulaho, Feenow, and Tubow, were alive, and at Tongataboo, and that they would come hither as soon as they heard of our arrival, of which he promised to send them immediate notice. He said that the cattle which we had left at Tongataboo had all bred, and that the old ones were yet living. He enquired after several people who were here with Captain Cook. Being desirous to see the ship, I took him and his companions below, and showed them the bread-fruit and other plants, at seeing which they were greatly surprised. I made each of them a present; and, when they had satisfied their curiosity, I invited them to go on shore with me in the ship's boat.

I took Nelson with me to procure some bread-fruit plants, one of our stock being dead, and two or three others a little sickly. When we landed, there were about two hundred people on the

beach, most of them women and children. Tapa showed me a large boat-house, which, he told me, we might make use of; thinking we should have a party on shore, as our ships had formerly. I went with him in search of water, but could find no better place than where Captain Cook had watered, which is a quarter of a mile inland from the east end of the beach. I next walked to the west point of the bay, where some plants and seeds had been sown by Captain Cook; and had the satisfaction to see, in a plantation close by, about twenty fine pine-apple plants, but no fruit, this not being the proper season. They told me, that they had eaten many of them, that they were fine and large, and that at Tongataboo there were great numbers.

When I returned to the landing-place, I was desired to sit down, and a present was brought me, which consisted of some bundles of cocoa-nuts only. This fell short of my expectations; however, I appeared satisfied, and distributed beads and trinkets to the women and children near me.

Numerous were the marks of mourning with which these people disfigure themselves, such as bloody temples, their heads deprived of most of the hair, and, what was worse, almost all of them with the loss of some of their fingers. Several fine boys, not above six years old, had lost both their little fingers; and some of the men, besides these, had parted with the middle finger of the right hand.

The chiefs went off with me to dinner, and I found a brisk trade carrying on at the ship for yams; some plantains and bread-fruit were likewise brought on board, but no hogs. In the afternoon, more sailing canoes arrived, some of which contained not less than ninety passengers. We purchased eight hogs, some dogs, fowls, and shaddock. Yams were in great abundance, very fine and large; one yam weighed above forty-five pounds. Among the people that came this afternoon, were two of the name of Tubow, which is a family of the first distinction among the Friendly Islands; one of them was chief of the island Lefooga; with him and Tapa I went on shore to see the wooding-place. I found a variety of sizeable trees; but the kind which I principally pitched upon, was the *Barringtonia*, of Forster. I acquainted Tapa with my intention of sending people to cut wood, which meeting with his approbation, we parted.

On the 25th, at daylight, the wooding and watering parties went on shore. I had directed them not to cut the kind of tree\* which, when Captain Cook wooded here in 1777, blinded, for a time, many of the wood-cutters. They had not been an hour on shore, before one man had an axe stolen from him, and another an axe. Tapa was applied to, who got the axe restored, but the adze was not recovered. In the evening we completed wooding.

Sunday, 26th.—In the morning, Nelson went on shore to get a few plants; but, no principal chief being among the people, he was insulted, and a spade taken from him. A boat's grapnel was likewise stolen from the watering party.

\* *Excæcaria Agallocha* Linn. Sp. Pl., called in the Malay language, *Caju Mata Boota*, which signifies, the tree that wounds the eyes.

Tepa recovered the spade for us; but the crowd of natives was become so great, by the number of canoes that had arrived from different islands, that it was impossible to do anything, where there was such a multitude of people, without a chief of sufficient authority to command the whole. I therefore ordered the watering party to go on board, and determined to sail; for I could not discover that any canoe had been sent to acquaint the chiefs of Tongataboo of our being here. For some time after the thefts were committed, the chiefs kept away, but before noon, they came on board.

At noon, we unmoored, and at one o'clock, got under sail. The two Tubows, Kunocappo, Latoomy-lange, and another chief, were on board, and I acquainted them, that, unless the grapnel was returned, they must remain in the ship. They were surprised, and not a little alarmed. Canoes were immediately dispatched after the grapnel, which, I was informed, could not possibly be brought to the ship before the next day, as those who had stolen it immediately sailed with their prize to another island. Nevertheless, I detained them till sunset, when their uneasiness and impatience increased to such a degree, that they began to beat themselves about the face and eyes, and some of them cried bitterly. As this distress was more than the grapnel was worth, and I had no reason to imagine that they were privy to, or in any manner concerned in the theft, I could not think of detaining them longer, and called their canoes alongside. I then told them they were at liberty to go, and made each of them a present of a hatchet, a saw, with some knives, gimblets, and nails. This unexpected present, and the sudden change in their situation, affected them not less with joy than they had before been with apprehension. They were unbounded in their acknowledgments; and I have little doubt but that we parted better friends than if the affair had never happened.

We stood to the northward all night, with light winds, and on the next day, the 27th, at noon, were between the islands Tofoa and Kotoo. Latitude observed 19° 18' S.

Thus far the voyage had advanced in a course of uninterrupted prosperity, and had been attended with many circumstances equally pleasing and satisfactory. A very different scene was now to be experienced. A conspiracy had been formed, which was to render all our past labour productive only of extreme misery and distress. The means had been concerted and prepared with so much secrecy and circumspection, that no one circumstance appeared to occasion the smallest suspicion of the impending calamity.

### CHAPTER XIII.

#### A MUTINY IN THE SHIP.

MONDAY, 27th April, 1789.—We kept near the island Kotoo all the afternoon, in hopes that some canoes would come off to the ship; but in this I was disappointed. The wind being northerly in the evening, we steered to the westward, to pass to the south of Tofoa. I gave directions for this course to be continued during the night. The master had the first watch, the gunner the middle

watch, and Mr. Christian the morning watch. This was the turn of duty for the night.

Tuesday, 28th.—Just before sun-rising, while I was yet asleep, Mr. Christian, with the master-at-arms, gunner's mate, and Thomas Burkitt, seaman, came into my cabin, and, seizing me, tied my hands with a cord behind my back, threatening me with instant death if I spoke or made the least noise. I, however, called as loud as I could in hopes of assistance; but they had already secured the officers who were not of their party, by placing sentinels at their doors. There were three men at my cabin door, besides the four within; Christian had only a cutlass in his hand, the others had muskets and bayonets. I was hauled out of bed and forced on deck in my shirt, suffering great pain from the tightness with which they had tied my hands. I demanded the reason of such violence, but received no other answer than abuse for not holding my tongue. The master, the gunner, the surgeon, Mr. Elphinstone, master's mate, and Nelson, were kept confined below, and the fore-hatchway was guarded by sentinels. The boatswain and carpenter, and also the clerk, Mr. Samuel, were allowed to come upon deck, where they saw me standing abaft the mizen-mast, with my hands tied behind my back, under a guard, with Christian at their head. The boatswain was ordered to hoist the launch out, with a threat, if he did not do it instantly, *to take care of himself*.

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

The master by this time had sent to request that he might come on deck, which was permitted; but he was soon ordered back again to his cabin.

I continued my endeavours to turn the tide of affairs, when Christian changed the cutlass which he had in his hand for a bayonet that was brought to him, and, holding me with a strong gripe by the cord that tied my hands, he with many oaths threatened to kill me immediately, if I would not be quiet; the villains round me had their pieces cocked and bayonets fixed. Particular people were called on to go into the boat, and were hurried over the side, whence I concluded that with these people I was to be set adrift. I therefore made another effort to bring about a change, but with no other effect than to be threatened with having my brains blown out.

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

The mutineers having forced those of the seamen whom they meant to get rid of into the boat, Christian directed a dram to be served to each of his own crew. I then unhappily saw that nothing could be done to effect the recovery of the ship;

there was no one to assist me, and every endeavour on my part was answered with threats of death.

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

Isaac Martin, one of the guard over me, I saw had an inclination to assist me, and as he fed me with shaddock (my lips being quite parched), we explained our wishes to each other by our looks; but this being observed, Martin was removed from me. He then attempted to leave the ship, for which purpose he got into the boat; but with many threats they obliged him to return.

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

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

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

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

Much altercation took place among the mutinous crew during the whole business: some swore "I'll be damned if he does not find his way home, if he gets anything with him," (meaning me); and, when the carpenter's chest was carrying away, "Damn my eyes, he will have a vessel built in a month;" while others laughed at the helpless situation of the boat, being very deep, and so little room for those who were in her. As for Christian, he seemed as if meditating destruction on himself and every one else.

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

The officers and men being in the boat, they only waited for me, of which the master-at-arms informed Christian; who then said—"Come, Captain Bligh, your officers and men are now in the

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

I had with me in the boat the following persons:

| <i>Names.</i>                 | <i>Stations.</i>       |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| JOHN FAYER . . . . .          | Master.                |
| THOMAS LEDWARD . . . . .      | Acting Surgeon.        |
| DAVID NELSON . . . . .        | Botanist.              |
| WILLIAM PECKOVER . . . . .    | Gunner.                |
| WILLIAM COLE . . . . .        | Boatswain.             |
| WILLIAM PURCELL . . . . .     | Carpenter.             |
| WILLIAM ELPHINSTONE . . . . . | Master's Mate.         |
| THOMAS HAYWARD . . . . .      | } Midshipmen.          |
| JOHN HALLET . . . . .         |                        |
| JOHN NORTON . . . . .         | } Quarter Masters.     |
| PETER LINKLETTER . . . . .    |                        |
| LAWRENCE LEDGOUE . . . . .    | Sailmaker.             |
| JOHN SMITH . . . . .          | } Cooks.               |
| THOMAS HALL . . . . .         |                        |
| GEORGE SIMPSON . . . . .      | Quarter Master's Mate. |
| ROBERT TINKLER . . . . .      | A Boy.                 |
| ROBERT LAMB . . . . .         | Butcher.               |
| MR. SAMUEL . . . . .          | Clerk.                 |

There remained on board the *Bounty*:

|                                        |                   |
|----------------------------------------|-------------------|
| FLETCHER CHRISTIAN . . . . .           | Master's Mate.    |
| PETER HEYWOOD . . . . .                | } Midshipmen.     |
| EDWARD YOUNG . . . . .                 |                   |
| GEORGE STEWART . . . . .               |                   |
| CHARLES CHURCHILL . . . . .            | Master at Arms.   |
| JOHN MILLS . . . . .                   | Gunner's Mate.    |
| JAMES MORRISON . . . . .               | Boatswain's Mate. |
| THOMAS BURKITT . . . . .               | Able Seaman.      |
| MATTHEW QUINTAL . . . . .              | Ditto.            |
| JOHN SUMNER . . . . .                  | Ditto.            |
| JOHN MILLWARD . . . . .                | Ditto.            |
| WILLIAM M <sup>c</sup> KOY . . . . .   | Ditto.            |
| HENRY HILLBRANT . . . . .              | Ditto.            |
| MICHAEL BYRNE . . . . .                | Ditto.            |
| WILLIAM MUSPRAT . . . . .              | Ditto.            |
| ALEXANDER SMITH . . . . .              | Ditto.            |
| JOHN WILLIAMS . . . . .                | Ditto.            |
| THOMAS ELLISON . . . . .               | Ditto.            |
| ISAAC MARTIN . . . . .                 | Ditto.            |
| RICHARD SKINNER . . . . .              | Ditto.            |
| MATTHEW THOMPSON . . . . .             | Ditto.            |
| WILLIAM BROWN . . . . .                | Gardener.         |
| JOSEPH COLEMAN . . . . .               | Armourer.         |
| CHARLES NORMAN . . . . .               | Carpenter's Mate. |
| THOMAS M <sup>c</sup> INTOSH . . . . . | Carpenter's Crew. |

In all twenty-five hands, and the most able men of the ship's company.

Having little or no wind, we rowed pretty fast towards Tofoa, which bore N. E. about ten leagues from us. While the ship was in sight, she steered to the W.N.W., but I considered this only as a feint; for when we were sent away—"Huzza for Otaheite," was frequently heard among the mutineers.

Christian, the chief of the mutineers, was of a respectable family in the north of England. This



was the third voyage he had made with me; and as I found it necessary to keep my ship's company at three watches, I had given him an order to take charge of the third, his abilities being thoroughly equal to the task; and by this means the master and gunner were not at watch and watch.

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

Young was well recommended, and had the look of an able stout seaman: he, however, fell short of what his appearance promised.

Stewart was a young man of creditable parents, in the Orkneys; at which place, on the return of the Resolution from the South Seas, in 1780, we received so many civilities, that, on that account only, I should gladly have taken him with me; but, independent of this recommendation, he was a seaman, and had always borne a good character.

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

As soon as I had time to reflect, I felt an inward satisfaction, which prevented any depression of my spirits: conscious of my integrity, and anxious solicitude for the good of the service in which I had been engaged, I found my mind wonderfully supported, and I began to conceive hopes, notwithstanding so heavy a calamity, that I should one day be able to account to my King and my country for the misfortune.—A few hours before, my situation had been peculiarly flattering. I had a ship in the most perfect order, and well stored with every necessary both for service and health: by early attention to those particulars I had, as much as lay in my power, provided against any accident in case I could not get through Endeavour Straits, as well as against what might befall me in them; add to this, the plants had been successfully preserved in the most flourishing state: so that upon the whole, the voyage was two thirds completed, and the remaining part, to all appearance, in a very promising way; every person on board being in perfect health, to establish which was ever amongst the principal objects of my attention.

It will very naturally be asked, what could be the reason for such a revolt? in answer to which I can only conjecture, that the mutineers had flattered themselves with the hopes of a more happy life among the Otaheiteans, than they could possibly enjoy in England; and this, joined to some female connexions, most probably occasioned the whole transaction.

The women at Otaheite are handsome, mild and cheerful in their manners and conversation, possessed of great sensibility, and have sufficient delicacy to make them admired and beloved. The chiefs were so much attached to our people, that

they rather encouraged their stay among them than otherwise, and even made them promises of large possessions. Under these, and many other attendant circumstances, equally desirable, it is now perhaps not so much to be wondered at, though scarcely possible to have been foreseen, that a set of sailors, most of them void of connexions, should be led away: especially when, in addition to such powerful inducements, they imagined it in their power to fix themselves in the midst of plenty, on one of the finest islands in the world, where they need not labour, and where the allurements of dissipation are beyond anything that can be conceived. The utmost, however, that any commander could have supposed to have happened is, that some of the people would have been tempted to desert. But if it should be asserted, that a commander is to guard against an act of mutiny and piracy in his own ship, more than by the common rules of service, it is as much as to say that he must sleep locked up, and when awake, be girded with pistols.

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

The secrecy of this mutiny is beyond all conception†. Thirteen of the party, who were with me, had always lived forward among the seamen; yet neither they, nor the messmates of Christian, Stewart, Heywood and Young, had ever observed any circumstance that made them in the least suspect—what was going on. To such a close-planned act of villany, my mind being entirely free from any suspicion, it is not wonderful that I fell a sacrifice. Perhaps, if there had been marines on board, a sentinel at my cabin-door might have prevented it; for I slept with the door always open, that the officer of the watch might have access to me on all occasions, the possibility of such a conspiracy being ever the farthest from my thoughts. Had their mutiny been occasioned by any grievances, either real or imaginary, I must have discovered symptoms of their discontent, which would have put me on my guard: but the case was far otherwise. Christian, in particular, I was on the most friendly terms with: that very day he was engaged to have dined with me; and the preceding night, he excused himself from supping with me on pretence of being unwell; for which I felt concerned, having no suspicions of his integrity and honour.

† From subsequent disclosures it does not appear that any conspiracy had been entered into, but that the mutiny was solely occasioned by a sudden determination taken by Christian, who had received insulting language from Captain Bligh on several occasions, and particularly on the previous afternoon, and he was but too readily seconded by many of the people, particularly the men who had deserted at Otaheite. The motives which Captain Bligh ascribes to the crew generally, without doubt actuated many when the explosion occurred, but there is no reason to believe that any previous intention of mutiny existed. Heywood and Stewart, who were left behind, took no part in the affair. See Appendix.

\* See Appendix.

## CHAPTER XIV.

PROCEED IN THE LAUNCH TO THE ISLAND TOFOA—DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING SUPPLIES THERE—TREACHEROUS ATTACK OF THE NATIVES—ESCAPE TO SEA, AND BEAR AWAY FOR NEW HOLLAND.

My first determination was to seek a supply of bread-fruit and water at Tofoa, and afterwards to sail for Tongataboo, and there risk a solicitation to Pouliaho, the king, to equip our boat, and grant us a supply of water and provisions, so as to enable us to reach the East Indies.

The quantity of provisions I found in the boat, was 150lb. of bread, 16 pieces of pork, each piece weighing 2lb., 6 quarts of rum, 6 bottles of wine, with 28 gallons of water, and four empty barrecoes.

Fortunately it was calm all the afternoon, till about four o'clock, when we were so far to windward, that, with a moderate easterly breeze which sprung up, we were able to sail. It was nevertheless dark when we got to Tofoa, where I expected to land; but the shore proved to be so steep and rocky, that we were obliged to give up all thoughts of it, and keep the boat under the lee of the island with two oars; for there was no anchorage. Having fixed on this mode of proceeding for the night, I served to every person half a pint of grog, and each took to his rest as well as our unhappy situation would allow.

Wednesday, April 29th.—In the morning, at dawn of day, we rowed along shore in search of a landing-place, and about ten o'clock we discovered a cove with a stony beach, at the N.W. part of the island, where I dropt the grapnel within twenty yards of the rocks. A great surf ran on the shore; but, as I was unwilling to diminish our stock of provisions, I landed Mr. Samuel, and some others, who climbed the cliffs and got into the country to search for supplies. The rest of us remained at the cove, not discovering any other way into the country, than that by which Mr. Samuel had proceeded. It was great consolation to me to find, that the spirits of my people did not sink, notwithstanding our miserable and almost hopeless situation. Towards noon, Mr. Samuel returned, with a few quarts of water which he had found in holes; but he had met with no spring, or any prospect of a sufficient supply in that particular, and had seen only the signs of inhabitants. As it was uncertain what might be our future necessities, I only issued a morsel of bread, and a glass of wine, to each person for dinner.

I observed the latitude of this cove to be 19° 41' S. This is the N.W. part of Tofoa, the north-westernmost of the Friendly Islands.

The weather was fair, but the wind blew so strong from the E.S.E., that we could not venture to sea. Our detention made it absolutely necessary to endeavour to obtain something towards our support; for I determined, if possible, to keep our first stock entire. We therefore weighed, and rowed along shore to see if anything could be got; and at last discovered some cocoa-nut trees; but they were on the top of high precipices, and the surf made it dangerous landing: both one and the other, we however got the better of. Some of the people, with much difficulty, climbed the cliffs, and got about twenty cocoa-nuts, and others slung them to ropes, by which we hauled them through the surf into the boat. This was

all that could be done here; and, as I found no place so safe as the one we had left, to spend the night at, I returned to the cove, and, having served a cocoa-nut to each person, we went to rest again in the boat.

Thursday, 30th.—At daylight, we attempted to put to sea; but the wind and weather proved so bad, that I was glad to return to our former station; where, after issuing a morsel of bread and a spoonful of rum to each person, we landed, and I went off with Mr. Nelson, Mr. Samuel, and some others, into the country, having hauled ourselves up the precipice by long vines, which were fixed there by the natives for that purpose; this being the only way into the country.

We found a few deserted huts, and a small plantain walk, but little taken care of; from which we could only collect three small bunches of plantains. After passing this place, we came to a deep gully that led towards a mountain, near a volcano; and, as I conceived that in the rainy season very great torrents of water must pass through it, we hoped to find sufficient for our use remaining in some holes of the rocks; but, after all our search, the whole that we collected was only nine gallons. We advanced within two miles of the foot of the highest mountain in the island, on which is the volcano that is almost constantly burning. The country near it is covered with lava, and has a most dreary appearance. As we had not been fortunate in our discoveries, and saw nothing to alleviate our distresses, except the plantains and water abovementioned, we returned to the boat, exceedingly fatigued and faint. When I came to the precipice whence we were to descend into the cove, I was seized with such a dizziness in my head, that I thought it scarce possible to effect it: however, by the assistance of Nelson and others, they at last got me down, in a weak condition. Every person being returned by noon, I gave about an ounce of pork and two plantains to each, with half a glass of wine. I again observed the latitude of this place 19° 41' south. The people who remained by the boat I had directed to look for fish, or what they could pick up about the rocks; but nothing eatable could be found: so that, upon the whole, we considered ourselves on as miserable a spot of land as could well be imagined.

I could not say positively, from the former knowledge I had of this island, whether it was inhabited or not; but I knew it was considered inferior to the other islands, and I was not certain but that the Indians only resorted to it at particular times. I was very anxious to ascertain this point; for, in case there had been only a few people here, and those could have furnished us with but very moderate supplies, the remaining in this spot to have made preparations for our voyage, would have been preferable to the risk of going amongst multitudes, where perhaps we might lose everything. A party, therefore, sufficiently strong, I determined should go another route, as soon as the sun became lower; and they cheerfully undertook it.

About two o'clock in the afternoon the party set out; but, after suffering much fatigue they returned in the evening, without any kind of success.

At the head of the cove, about 150 yards from the water-side, there was a cave; the distance across the stony beach was about 100 yards, and

from the country into the cove there was no other way than that which I have already described. The situation secured us from the danger of being surprised, and I determined to remain on shore for the night, with a part of my people, that the others might have more room to rest in the boat with the master; whom I directed to lie at a grapnel, and be watchful, in case we should be attacked. I ordered one plantain for each person to be boiled; and, having supped on this scanty allowance, with a quarter of a pint of grog, and fixed the watches for the night, those whose turn it was, laid down to sleep in the cave, before which we kept up a good fire; yet notwithstanding we were much troubled with flies and mosquitoes.

Friday, May 1st.—At dawn of day, the party set out again in a different route, to see what they could find; in the course of which they suffered greatly for want of water: they, however, met with two men, a woman and a child: the men came with them to the cove, and brought two cocoa-nut shells of water. I endeavoured to make friends of these people, and sent them away for bread-fruit, plantains, and water. Soon after, other natives came to us; and by noon there were thirty about us, from whom we obtained a small supply; but I could only afford one ounce of pork, and a quarter of a bread-fruit to each man for dinner, with half a pint of water; for I was fixed in my resolution not to use any of the bread or water in the boat.

No particular chief was yet among the natives: they were, notwithstanding, tractable, and behaved honestly, exchanging the provisions they brought for a few buttons and beads. The party who had been out, informed me of their having seen several neat plantations; so that it remained no longer a doubt of there being settled inhabitants on the island; for which reason I determined to get what I could, and to sail the first moment that the wind and weather would allow us to put to sea.

I was much puzzled in what manner to account to the natives for the loss of my ship: I knew they had too much sense to be amused with a story that the ship was to join me, when she was not in sight from the hills. I was at first doubtful whether I should tell the real fact, or say that the ship had overset and sunk, and that we only were saved: the latter appeared to be the most proper and advantageous for us, and I accordingly instructed my people, that we might all agree in one story. As I expected, inquiries were made about the ship, and they seemed readily satisfied with our account; but there did not appear the least symptom of joy or sorrow in their faces, although I fancied I discovered some marks of surprise. Some of the natives were coming and going the whole afternoon, and we got enough of bread-fruit, plantains, and cocoa-nuts for another day; but of water they only brought us about five pints. A canoe also came in with four men, and brought a few cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit, which I bought as I had done the rest. Nails were much inquired after, but I would not suffer any to be shown, as they were wanted for the use of the boat.

Towards evening, I had the satisfaction to find our stock of provisions somewhat increased; but the natives did not appear to have much to spare. What they brought was in such small quantities,

that I had no reason to hope we should be able to procure from them sufficient to stock us for our voyage. At sun-set all the natives left us in quiet possession of the cove. I thought this a good sign, and made no doubt that they would come again the next day with a better supply of food and water, with which I hoped to sail without farther delay: for if, in attempting to get to Tongataboo, we should be driven to leeward of the islands, there would be a larger quantity of provisions to support us against such a misfortune.

At night, I served a quarter of a bread-fruit and a cocoa-nut to each person for supper; and, a good fire being made, all but the watch went to sleep.

Saturday 2nd.—At day-break, the next morning, I was pleased to find every one's spirits a little revived, and that they no longer regarded me with those anxious looks, which had constantly been directed towards me since we lost sight of the ship: every countenance appeared to have a degree of cheerfulness, and they all seemed determined to do their best.

As there was no certainty of our being supplied with water by the natives, I sent a party among the gullies in the mountains, with empty shells, to see what could be found. In their absence the natives came about us, as I expected, and in greater numbers; two canoes also came in from round the north side of the island. In one of them was the elderly chief, called Maeca-ackavow. Soon after, some of our foraging party returned, and with them came a good-looking chief, called Egijeefow, or perhaps more properly Eefow, Egij or Eghee, signifying a chief. To each of these men I made a present of an old shirt and a knife, and I soon found they had either seen me, or had heard of my being at Annamooka. They knew I had been with Captain Cook, whom they inquired after, and also Captain Clerk. They were very inquisitive to know in what manner I had lost my ship. During this conversation, a young man, named Nageete, appeared, whom I remembered to have seen at Annamooka: he expressed much pleasure at our meeting. I inquired after Poulaho and Feenow, who, they said, were at Tongataboo; and Eefow agreed to accompany me thither, if I would wait till the weather moderated. The readiness and affability of this man gave me much satisfaction.

This, however, was but of short duration, for the natives began to increase in number, and I observed some symptoms of a design against us. Soon after they attempted to haul the boat on shore, on which I brandished my cutlass in a threatening manner, and spoke to Eefow to desire them to desist; which they did, and everything became quiet again. My people, who had been in the mountains, now returned with about three gallons of water. I kept buying up the little bread-fruit that was brought to us, and likewise some spears to arm my men with, having only four cutlasses, two of which were in the boat. As we had no means of improving our situation, I told our people I would wait till sun-set, by which time, perhaps, something might happen in our favour: for if we attempted to go at present, we must fight our way through, which we could do more advantageously at night; and that in the mean time we would endeavour to get off to the boat what we had bought. The beach was lined with the natives, and we heard nothing but the

knocking of stones together, which they had in each hand. I knew very well this was the sign of an attack. At noon I served a cocoa-nut and a bread-fruit to each person for dinner, and gave some to the chiefs, with whom I continued to appear intimate and friendly. They frequently impertuned me to sit down, but I as constantly refused: for it occurred both to Nelson and myself, that they intended to seize hold of me, if I gave them such an opportunity. Keeping, therefore, constantly on our guard, we were suffered to eat our uncomfortable meal in some quietness.

After dinner, we began by little and little to get our things into the boat, which was a troublesome business, on account of the surf. I carefully watched the motions of the natives, who continued to increase in number; and found that, instead of their intention being to leave us, fires were made, and places fixed on for their stay during the night. Consultations were also held among them, and every thing assured me we should be attacked. I sent orders to the master that when he saw us coming down he should keep the boat close to the shore, that we might the more readily embark.

I had my journal on shore with me, writing the occurrences in the cave, and in sending it down to the boat, it was nearly snatched away, but for the timely assistance of the gunner.

The sun was near setting, when I gave the word, on which every person, who was on shore with me, boldly took up his proportion of things, and carried them to the boat. The chiefs asked me if I would not stay with them all night, I said, "No, I never sleep out of my boat; but in the morning we will again trade with you, and I shall remain till the weather is moderate, that we may go, as we have agreed, to see Poulaho, at Tongataboo." Macca-ackavow then got up, and said, "You will not sleep on shore? then Mattie," (which directly signifies we will kill you) and he left me. The onset was now preparing; every one, as I have described before, kept knocking stones together, and Eefow quitted me. All but two or three things were in the boat, when I took Nageete by the hand, and we walked down the beach, every one in a silent kind of horror.

While I was seeing the people embark, Nageete wanted me to stay to speak to Eefow; but I found he was encouraging them to the attack, and it was my determination, if they had then begun, to have killed him for his treacherous behaviour. I ordered the carpenter not to quit me till the other people were in the boat. Nageete, finding I would not stay, loosed himself from my hold and went off, and we all got in the boat except one man, who while I was getting on board, quitted it, and ran up the beach to cast the sternfast off, notwithstanding the master and others called to him to return, while they were hauling me out of the water.

I was no sooner in the boat than the attack began by about two hundred men; the unfortunate poor man who had run up the beach was knocked down, and the stones flew like a shower of shot. Many Indians got hold of the stern rope, and were near hauling the boat on shore; which they would certainly have effected, if I had not had a knife in my pocket, with which I cut the rope. We then hauled off to the grapnel, every one being more or less hurt. At this time, I saw five of the na-

tives about the poor man they had killed, and two of them were beating him about the head with stones in their hands.

We had no time to reflect, for to my surprise, they filled their canoes with stones, and twelve men came off after us, to renew the attack, which they did so effectually as nearly to disable us all. Our grapnel was foul, but Providence here assisted us; the fluke broke, and we got to our oars, and pulled to sea. They, however, could paddle round us, so that we were obliged to sustain the attack without being able to return it, except with such stones as lodged in the boat, and in this I found we were very inferior to them. We could not close, because our boat was lumbered and heavy, of which they well knew how to take advantage: I therefore adopted the expedient of throwing overboard some clothes, which, as I expected, they stopped to pick up; and, as it was by this time almost dark, they gave over the attack, and returned towards the shore, leaving us to reflect on our unhappy situation.

The poor man killed by the natives was John Norton: this was his second voyage with me as a quarter-master, and his worthy character made me lament his loss very much. He has left an aged parent, I am told, whom he supported.

I once before sustained an attack of a similar nature, with a smaller number of Europeans, against a multitude of Indians: it was after the death of Captain Cook, on the Morai at Owhyhee, where I was left by Lieutenant King. Yet, notwithstanding this experience, I had not an idea that the power of a man's arm could throw stones, from two to eight pounds weight, with such force and exactness as these people did. Here unhappily we were without fire-arms, which the Indians knew; and it was a fortunate circumstance that they did not begin to attack us in the cave; for in that case our destruction must have been inevitable, and we should have had nothing left for it but to sell our lives as dearly as we could; in which I found every one cheerfully disposed to concur. This appearance of resolution deterred them, supposing they could effect their purpose without risk after we were in the boat.

Taking this as a sample of the disposition of the natives, there was but little reason to expect much benefit by persevering in the intention of visiting Poulaho; for I considered their good behaviour formerly to have proceeded from a dread of our fire-arms, and which, therefore, was likely to cease, as they knew we were now destitute of them: and, even supposing our lives not in danger, the boat and everything we had, would most probably be taken from us, and thereby all hopes precluded of ever being able to return to our native country.

We set our sails, and steered along shore by the west side of the island Tofoa; the wind blowing fresh from the eastward. My mind was employed in considering what was best to be done, when I was solicited by all hands to take them towards home: and, when I told them that no hopes of relief for us remained (except what might be found at New Holland) till I came to Timor, a distance of full twelve hundred leagues, where there was a Dutch settlement, but in what part of the island I knew not; they all agreed to live on one ounce of bread, and a quarter of a pint of water, per day.

Therefore, after examining our stock of provisions, and recommending to them, in the most solemn manner, not to depart from their promise, we bore away across a sea, where the navigation is but little known, in a small boat, twenty-three feet long from stem to stern, deep laden with eighteen men. I was happy, however, to see that every one seemed better satisfied with our situation than myself.

Our stock of provisions consisted of about one hundred and fifty pounds of bread, twenty-eight gallons of water, twenty pounds of pork, three bottles of wine, and five quarts of rum. The difference between this and the quantity we had on leaving the ship, was principally owing to our loss in the bustle and confusion of the attack. A few cocoa-nuts were in the boat, and some bread-fruit, but the latter was trampled to pieces.

## CHAPTER XV.

PASSAGE TOWARDS NEW HOLLAND—ISLANDS DISCOVERED IN OUR ROUTE—OUR GREAT DISTRESSES—SEE THE REEFS OF NEW HOLLAND, AND FIND A PASSAGE THROUGH THEM.

It was about eight o'clock at night when we bore away under a reefed lug foresail: and, having divided the people into watches, and got the boat in a little order, we returned God thanks for our miraculous preservation, and, fully confident of his gracious support, I found my mind more at ease than it had been for some time past.

Sunday, 3rd.—At day-break, the gale increased; the sun rose very fiery and red, a sure indication of a severe gale of wind. At eight it blew a violent storm, and the sea ran very high, so that between the seas the sail was becalmed, and when on the top of the sea it was too much to have set: but we could not venture to take in the sail, for we were in very imminent danger and distress, the sea curling over the stern of the boat, which obliged us to bale with all our might. A situation more distressing has, perhaps, seldom been experienced.

Our bread was in bags, and in danger of being spoiled by the wet: to be starved to death was inevitable, if this could not be prevented: I therefore began to examine what clothes there were in the boat, and what other things could be spared; and, having determined that only two suits should be kept for each person, the rest was thrown overboard, with some rope and spare sails, which lightened the boat considerably, and we had more room to bale the water out. Fortunately the carpenter had a good chest in the boat, in which we secured the bread the first favourable moment. His tool chest also was cleared, and the tools stowed in the bottom of the boat, so that this became a second convenience.

I served a tea-spoonful of rum to each person, (for we were very wet and cold) with a quarter of a bread-fruit, which was scarce eatable, for dinner: our engagement was now strictly to be carried into execution, and I was fully determined to make our provisions last eight weeks, let the daily proportion be ever so small.

At noon, I considered our course and distance from Tofoa to be W.N.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W. 86 miles, latitude  $19^{\circ} 27' S$ . I directed the course to the W. N. W., that we might get a sight of the islands called

Feejee, if they lay in the direction the natives had pointed out to me.

The weather continued very severe, the wind veering from N.E. to E.S.E. The sea ran higher than in the forenoon, and the fatigue of baling, to keep the boat from filling, was exceedingly great. We could do nothing more than keep before the sea: in the course of which the boat performed so well, that I no longer dreaded any danger in that respect. But among the hardships we were to undergo, that of being constantly wet was not the least: the night was very cold, and at day-light on Monday, 4th, our limbs were so benumbed, that we could scarce find the use of them. At this time I served a tea-spoonful of rum to each person, from which we all found great benefit.

As I have mentioned before, I determined to keep to the W.N.W., till I got more to the northward; for I not only expected to have better weather, but to see the Feejee Islands, as I have often understood, from the natives of Annamooka, that they lie in that direction. Captain Cook likewise considered them to be N.W. by W. from Tongataboo. Just before noon, we discovered a small flat island, of a moderate height, bearing W.S.W., 4 or 5 leagues. I observed our latitude to be  $18^{\circ} 58' S$ .; our longitude was, by account,  $3^{\circ} 4' W$ . from the island of Tofoa, having made a N.  $72^{\circ} W$ . course, distance 95 miles, since yesterday noon. I divided five small cocoa-nuts for our dinner, and every one was satisfied.

A little after noon, other islands appeared, and at a quarter past three o'clock we could count eight, bearing from S. round by the west to N.W. by N.; those to the south, which were the nearest, being four leagues distant from us.

I kept my course to the N.W. by W., between the islands, the gale having considerably abated. At six o'clock, we discovered three other small islands to the N.W., the westernmost of them bore N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. 7 leagues. I steered to the southward of these islands, a W.N.W. course for the night under a reefed sail.

Served a few broken pieces of bread-fruit for supper, and performed prayers.

The night turned out fair, and, having had tolerable rest, every one seemed considerably better in the morning, Tuesday, 5th, and contentedly breakfasted on a few pieces of yams that were found in the boat. After breakfast we examined our bread, a great deal of which was damaged and rotten; this, nevertheless, we were glad to keep for use.

I had hitherto been scarcely able to keep any account of our run; but we now equipped ourselves a little better, by getting a log-line marked, and, having practised at counting seconds, several could do it with some degree of exactness.

At noon I observed, in latitude  $18^{\circ} 10' S$ ., and considered my course and distance from yesterday noon, N.W. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., 94 miles; longitude, by account, from Tofoa  $4^{\circ} 29' W$ .

For dinner, I served some of the damaged bread, and a quarter of a pint of water.

About six o'clock in the afternoon, we discovered two islands, one bearing W. by S. 6 leagues, and the other N.W. by N. 8 leagues; I kept to windward of the northernmost, and passing it by 10 o'clock, I resumed our course to the N.W. and W.N.W. for the night.

Wednesday, 6th.—The weather was fair and the

wind moderate all day from the E.N.E. At daylight, a number of other islands were in sight from S.S.E. to the W., and round to N.E. by E.; between those in the N.W. I determined to pass. At noon a small sandy island or key, two miles distant from me, bore from E. to S.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W. I had passed ten islands, the largest of which I judged to be 6 or 8 leagues in circuit. Much larger lands appeared in the S.W. and N.N.W., between which I directed my course. Latitude observed 17° 17' S.; course since yesterday noon N. 50° W.; distance 84 miles; longitude made, by account, 5° 37' W.

Our allowance for the day was a quarter of a pint of cocoa-nut milk, and the meat, which did not exceed two ounces to each person: it was received very contentedly, but we suffered great drought. I durst not venture to land, as we had no arms, and were less capable of defending ourselves than we were at Tofoa.

To keep an account of the boat's run was rendered difficult, from being constantly wet with the sea breaking over us; but, as we advanced towards the land, the sea became smoother, and I was enabled to form a sketch of the islands. Those we were near, appeared fruitful and hilly, some very mountainous, and all of a good height.

To our great joy we hooked a fish, but we were miserably disappointed by its being lost in trying to get it into the boat.

We continued steering to the N.W., between the islands, which, by the evening, appeared of considerable extent, woody and mountainous. At sun-set, the southernmost bore from S. to S.W. by W. and the northernmost from N. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. to N.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. At six o'clock we were nearly mid-way between them, and about six leagues distant from each shore, when we fell in with a coral bank, on which we had only four feet water, without the least break on it, or ruffle of the sea to give us warning. I could see that it extended about a mile on each side of us.

I directed the course W. by N. for the night, and served to each person an ounce of the damaged bread, and a quarter of a pint of water, for supper.

As our lodgings were very miserable, and confined for want of room, I endeavoured to remedy the latter defect, by putting ourselves at watch and watch; so that one half always sat up while the other lay down on the boat's bottom, or upon a chest, with nothing to cover us but the heavens. Our limbs were dreadfully cramped, for we could not stretch them out; and the nights were so cold, and we so constantly wet, that, after a few hours sleep, we could scarce move.

Thursday. 7th.—At dawn of day, we again discovered land from W.S.W. to W.N.W., and another island N.N.W., the latter a high round lump of but little extent: the southern land that we had passed in the night was still in sight. Being very wet and cold, I served a spoonful of rum and a morsel of bread for breakfast.

The land in the west was distinguished by some extraordinary high rocks, which, as we approached them, assumed a variety of forms. The country appeared to be agreeably interspersed with high and low land, and in some places covered with wood. Off the N.E. part lay some small rocky islands, between which and an island 4 leagues to the N.E., I directed my course; but a lee current

very unexpectedly set us very near to the rocky isles, and we could only get clear of it by rowing, passing close to the reef that surrounded them. At this time we observed two large sailing canoes coming 'swiftly after us along shore, and, being apprehensive of their intentions, we rowed with some anxiety, fully sensible of our weak and defenceless state. At noon it was calm and the weather cloudy; my latitude is therefore doubtful to 3 or 4 miles. Our course since yesterday noon N.W. by W., distance 79 miles; latitude by account, 16° 29' S., and longitude by account, from Tofoa, 6° 46' W. Being constantly wet, it was with the utmost difficulty I could open a book to write, and I am sensible that what I have done can only serve to point out where these lands are to be found again, and give an idea of their extent.

All the afternoon, we had light winds at N.N.E.: the weather was very rainy, attended with thunder and lightning. Only one of the canoes gained upon us, which by three o'clock in the afternoon was not more than two miles off, when she gave over chase.

If I may judge from the sail of these vessels, they are of a similar construction with those at the Friendly Islands, which, with the nearness of their situation, gives reason to believe that they are the same kind of people. Whether these canoes had any hostile intention against us must remain a doubt: perhaps we might have benefited by an intercourse with them; but in our defenceless situation, to have made the experiment would have been risking too much.

I imagine these to be the islands called Feejee, as their extent, direction, and distance from the Friendly Islands, answers to the description given of them by those islanders. Heavy rain came on at four o'clock, when every person did their utmost to catch some water, and we increased our stock to 34 gallons, besides quenching our thirst for the first time since we had been at sea; but an attendant consequence made us pass the night very miserably, for being extremely wet, and having no dry things to shift or cover us, we experienced cold shiverings scarce to be conceived. Most fortunately for us, the forenoon, Friday, 8th, turned out fair, and we stripped and dried our clothes. The allowance I issued to-day, was an ounce and a half of pork, and a tea-spoonful of rum, half-a-pint of cocoa-nut milk, and an ounce of bread. The rum, though so small in quantity, was of the greatest service. A fishing-line was generally towing from the stern of the boat, but though we saw great numbers of fish, we could never catch one.

At noon, I observed, in latitude 16° 4' S, and found we had made a course, from yesterday noon, N. 62° W., distance 62 miles; longitude, by account, from Tofoa, 7° 42' W.

In the afternoon we cleaned out the boat, and it employed us till sun-set to get everything dry and in order. Hitherto I had issued the allowance by guess, but I now made a pair of scales, with two cocoa-nut shells; and, having accidentally some pistol-balls in the boat, 25 of which weighed one pound, or 16 ounces, I adopted one\*, as the proportion of weight that each person should receive of bread at the times I served it. I also amused all hands, with describing the situation of

\* It weighed 272 grains.

New Guinea and New Holland, and gave them every information in my power, that in case any accident happened to me, those who survived might have some idea of what they were about, and be able to find their way to Timor, which at present they knew nothing of, more than the name, and some not even that. At night, I served a quarter of a pint of water, and half an ounce of bread, for supper.

Saturday, 9th.—In the morning, a quarter of a pint of cocoa-nut milk, and some of the decayed bread, was served for breakfast; and for dinner, I divided the meat of four cocoa-nuts, with the remainder of the rotten bread, which was only eatable by such distressed people.

At noon, I observed the latitude to be  $15^{\circ} 47'$  S.; course since yesterday N.  $75^{\circ}$  W., distance sixty-four miles; longitude made, by account,  $8^{\circ} 45'$  W.

In the afternoon I fitted a pair of shrouds for each mast, and contrived a canvas weather cloth round the boat, and raised the quarters about nine inches, by nailing on the seats of the stern sheets, which proved of great benefit to us.

The wind had been moderate all day in the S. E. quarter, with fine weather; but, about nine o'clock in the evening, the clouds began to gather, and we had a prodigious fall of rain, with severe thunder and lightning. By midnight we caught about twenty gallons of water. Being miserably wet and cold, I served to the people a tea-spoonful of rum each, to enable them to bear with their distressed situation. The weather continued extremely bad and the wind increased; we spent a very miserable night, without sleep, except such as could be got in the midst of rain. The day brought no relief but its light. The sea broke over us so much that two men were constantly baling; and we had no choice how to steer, being obliged to keep before the waves for fear of the boat filling.

The allowance now regularly served to each person was one 25th of a pound of bread, and a quarter of a pint of water at eight in the morning, at noon, and at sun-set. To-day I gave about half an ounce of pork for dinner, which, though any moderate person would have considered only as a mouthful, was divided into three or four.

The rain abated towards noon, and I observed the latitude to be  $15^{\circ} 17'$  S.; course N.  $67^{\circ}$  W., distance seventy-eight miles; longitude made  $10^{\circ}$  W.

The wind continued strong from S. S. E. to S. E., with very squally weather and a high breaking sea, so that we were miserably wet, and suffered great cold in the night.

Monday, 11th.—In the morning at day-break, I served to every person a tea-spoonful of rum, our limbs being so cramped that we could scarce move them. Our situation was now extremely dangerous, the sea frequently running over our stern, which kept us baling with all our strength.

At noon the sun appeared, which gave us as much pleasure as in a winter's day in England. I issued the 25th of a pound of bread, and a quarter of a pint of water as yesterday. Latitude observed  $14^{\circ} 50'$  S.; course  $71^{\circ}$  W., distance 102 miles; and longitude, by account,  $11^{\circ} 39'$  W. from Tofoa.

In the evening it rained hard, and we again

experienced a dreadful night. At length the day (Tuesday the 12th) came, and showed to me a miserable set of beings, full of wants, without anything to relieve them. Some complained of great pain in their bowels, and every one of having almost lost the use of his limbs. The little sleep we got was no ways refreshing, as we were covered with sea and rain. I served a spoonful of rum at day-dawn, and the usual allowance of bread and water for breakfast, dinner, and supper.

At noon it was almost calm, no sun to be seen, and some of us shivering with cold. Course since yesterday, W. by N., distance eighty-nine miles; latitude, by account,  $14^{\circ} 33'$  S.; longitude made  $13^{\circ} 9'$  W. The direction of our course was to pass to the northward of the New Hebrides.

The wet weather continued, and in the afternoon the wind came from the southward, blowing fresh in squalls. As there was no prospect of getting our clothes dried, I recommended to every one to strip, and wring them through the salt water, by which means they received a warmth that, while wet with rain, they could not have.

This afternoon we saw a kind of fruit on the water, which Nelson told me was the Barringtonia of Forster; and as I saw the same again in the morning, and some men-of-war birds, I was led to believe that we were not far from land.

We continued constantly shipping seas and baling, and were very wet and cold in the night; but I could not afford the allowance of rum at day-break.

Wednesday, 13th.—At noon I had a sight of the sun, latitude  $14^{\circ} 17'$  S.; course W. by N. seventy-nine miles; longitude made  $14^{\circ} 28'$  W. All this day we were constantly shipping water, and suffered much cold and shiverings in the night.

Thursday, 14th.—Fresh gales at S. E., and gloomy weather, with rain and a high sea. At six in the morning we saw land, from S. W. by S. eight leagues, to N. W. by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W. six leagues, which soon after appeared to be four islands, one of them much larger than the others, and all of them high and remarkable. At noon, we discovered a small island and some rocks, bearing N. W. by N. four leagues, and another island W. eight leagues, so that the whole were six in number; the four I had first seen bearing from S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. to S. W. by S.; our distance three leagues from the nearest island. My latitude observed was  $13^{\circ} 29'$  S., and longitude by account, from Tofoa,  $15^{\circ} 49'$  W.; course, since yesterday noon, N.  $63^{\circ}$  W., distance eighty-nine miles. At four in the afternoon we passed the westernmost island.

Friday, 15th.—At one in the morning another island was discovered, bearing W. N. W., five leagues distance, and at eight we saw it for the last time, bearing N. E. seven leagues. A number of gannets, boobies, and men-of-war birds were seen.

These islands lie between the latitude of  $13^{\circ} 16'$  and  $14^{\circ} 10'$  S.: their longitude, according to my reckoning,  $15^{\circ} 51'$  to  $17^{\circ} 6'$  W. from the island Tofoa\*. The largest island I judged to be about

\* By making a proportional allowance for the error afterwards found in the dead reckoning, I estimate the longitude of these islands to be from  $167^{\circ} 17'$  E. to  $168^{\circ} 34'$  E. from Greenwich.

twenty leagues in circuit, the others five or six. The easternmost is the smallest island, and most remarkable, having a high sugar-loaf hill.

The sight of these islands served only to increase the misery of our situation. We were very little better than starving, with plenty in view; yet to attempt procuring any relief was attended with so much danger, that prolonging of life, even in the midst of misery, was thought preferable, while there remained hopes of being able to surmount our hardships. For my own part, I consider the general run of cloudy and wet weather to be a blessing of Providence. Hot weather would have caused us to have died with thirst; and probably, being so constantly covered with rain or sea protected us from that dreadful calamity.

As I had nothing to assist my memory, I could not then determine whether these islands were a part of the New Hebrides or not: I believed them to be a new discovery, which I have since found true; but, though they were not seen either by Monsieur Bougainville or Captain Cook, they are so nearly in the neighbourhood of the New Hebrides, that they must be considered as part of the same group. They are fertile and inhabited, as I saw smoke in several places.

The wind was at S. E., with rainy weather all day. The night was very dark, not a star could be seen to steer by, and the sea broke continually over us. I found it necessary to counteract as much as possible the effect of the southerly winds, to prevent being driven too near New Guinea; for in general we were forced to keep so much before the sea, that if we had not at intervals of moderate weather, steered a more southerly course, we should inevitably, from a continuance of the gales, have been thrown in sight of that coast: in which case there would most probably have been an end to our voyage.

Saturday, the 16th.—In addition to our miserable allowance of one 25th of a pound of bread, and a quarter of a pint of water, I issued for dinner about an ounce of salt pork to each person. I was often solicited for this pork, but I considered it more proper to issue it in small quantities than to suffer it to be all used at once or twice, which would have been done if I had allowed it.

At noon I observed, in  $13^{\circ} 33' S.$ ; longitude made from Tofoa,  $19^{\circ} 27' W.$ ; course,  $N. 82^{\circ} W.$ , distance 101 miles. The sun breaking out through the clouds, gave us hopes of drying our wet clothes; but the sunshine was of short duration. We had strong breezes at S. E. by S., and dark gloomy weather, with storms of thunder, lightning, and rain. The night was truly horrible, and not a star to be seen, so that our steerage was uncertain.

Sunday, the 17th.—At dawn of day I found every person complaining, and some of them solicited extra allowance, which I positively refused. Our situation was miserable; always wet, and suffering extreme cold in the night, without the least shelter from the weather. Being constantly obliged to bale, to keep the boat from filling, was, perhaps, not to be reckoned an evil, as it gave us exercise.

The little rum we had was of great service: when our nights were particularly distressing, I generally served a tea-spoonful or two to each

person: and it was always joyful tidings when they heard of my intentions.

At noon a water-spout was very near on board of us. I issued an ounce of pork, in addition to the allowance of bread and water; but before we began to eat every person stripped, and having wrung their clothes through the sea-water, found much warmth and refreshment. Course since yesterday noon,  $W. S. W.$ , distance 100 miles; latitude, by account,  $14^{\circ} 11' S.$ , and longitude made  $21^{\circ} 3' W.$

The night was dark and dismal; the sea constantly breaking over us, and nothing but the wind and waves to direct our steerage. It was my intention, if possible, to make New Holland, to the southward of Endeavour Straits, being sensible that it was necessary to preserve such a situation as would make a southerly wind a fair one; that we might range along the reefs till an opening should be found into smooth water, and we the sooner be able to pick up some refreshments.

Monday, 18th.—In the morning the rain abated, when we stripped, and wrung our clothes through the sea-water as usual, which refreshed us greatly. Every person complained of violent pain in their bones; I was only surprised that no one was yet laid up. The customary allowance of one 25th of a pound of bread, and a quarter of a pint of water, was served at breakfast, dinner, and supper.

At noon I deduced my situation by account, for we had no glimpse of the sun, to be latitude  $14^{\circ} 52' S.$ ; course, since yesterday noon,  $W. S. W.$ , 106 miles; longitude made from Tofoa  $22^{\circ} 45' W.$  Saw many boobies and noddies, a sign of being in the neighbourhood of land. In the night we had very severe lightning, with heavy rain; and were obliged to keep baling without intermission.

Tuesday, 19th.—Very bad weather and constant rain. At noon, latitude, by account,  $18^{\circ} 37' S.$ ; course since yesterday,  $N. 81^{\circ} W.$ , distance 100 miles; longitude made  $24^{\circ} 33' W.$  With the allowance of bread and water, served half an ounce of pork to each person for dinner.

Wednesday, 20th.—Fresh breezes E. N. E., with constant rain; at times a deluge. Always baling.

At dawn of day, some of my people seemed half dead: our appearances were horrible; and I could look no way, but I caught the eye of some one in distress. Extreme hunger was now too evident, but no one suffered from thirst, nor had we much inclination to drink, that desire, perhaps, being satisfied through the skin. The little sleep we got was in the midst of water, and we constantly awoke with severe cramps and pains in our bones. This morning I served about two tea-spoonfuls of rum to each person, and the allowance of bread and water as usual. At noon the sun broke out, and revived every one. I found we were in latitude  $14^{\circ} 49' S.$ ; longitude made  $25^{\circ} 46' W.$ ; course  $S. 88^{\circ} W.$ , distance, seventy-five miles.

All the afternoon we were so covered with rain and salt water, that we could scarcely see. We suffered extreme cold, and every one dreaded the approach of night. Sleep, though we longed for it, afforded no comfort: for my own part I almost



lived without it. About two o'clock in the morning (Tuesday 21st) we were overwhelmed with a deluge of rain. It fell so heavy that we were afraid it would fill the boat, and were obliged to bale with all our might. At dawn of day I served a larger allowance of rum. Towards noon the rain abated and the sun shone, but we were miserably cold and wet, the sea breaking constantly over us; so that, notwithstanding the heavy rain, we had not been able to add to our stock of fresh water. Latitude, by observation,  $14^{\circ} 29' S.$ , and longitude made, by account from Tofoa,  $27^{\circ} 25' W.$ ; course, since yesterday noon,  $N. 78^{\circ} W.$ , ninety-nine miles. I now considered myself nearly on a meridian with the east part of New Guinea.

Friday, 22nd.—Strong gales from E.S.E. to S.S.E., a high sea, and dark dismal night.

Our situation this day was extremely calamitous. We were obliged to take the course of the sea, running right before it, and watching with the utmost care, as the least error in the helm would in a moment have been our destruction.

At noon it blew very hard, and the foam of the sea kept running over our stern and quarters; I however got propped up, and made an observation of the latitude, in  $14^{\circ} 17' S.$ ; course  $N. 85^{\circ} W.$ , distance 130 miles; longitude made  $29^{\circ} 38' W.$

The misery we suffered this night exceeded the preceding. The sea flew over us with great force, and kept us baling with horror and anxiety. At dawn of day (Saturday 23rd) I found every one in a most distressed condition, and I began to fear that another such night would put an end to the lives of several, who seemed no longer able to support their sufferings. I served an allowance of two tea-spoonfuls of rum; after drinking which, having wrung our clothes, and taken our breakfast of bread and water, we became a little refreshed.

Towards noon the weather became fair, but with very little abatement of the gale, and the sea remained equally high. With some difficulty I observed the latitude to be  $13^{\circ} 44' S.$ : course since yesterday noon  $N. 74^{\circ} W.$ , distance 116 miles; longitude made  $31^{\circ} 32' W.$  from Tofoa.

The wind moderated in the evening, and the weather looked much better, which rejoiced all hands, so that they ate their scanty allowance with more satisfaction than for some time past. The night also was fair; but being always wet with the sea, we suffered much from the cold.—Sunday, 24th. A fine morning, I had the pleasure to see, produce some cheerful countenances; and, the first time for fifteen days past, we experienced comfort from the warmth of the sun. We stripped, and hung our clothes up to dry, which were by this time become so threadbare, that they would not keep out either wet or cold.

At noon I observed in latitude  $13^{\circ} 33' S.$ ; longitude, by account, from Tofoa  $33^{\circ} 28' W.$ ; course  $N. 84^{\circ} W.$ , distance 114 miles. With the usual allowance of bread and water for dinner, I served an ounce of pork to each person. This afternoon we had many birds about us which are never seen far from land, such as boobies and noddies.

As the sea began to run fair, and we shipped but little water, I took the opportunity to examine into the state of our bread, and found, that accord-

ing to the present mode of issuing, there was a sufficient quantity remaining for twenty-nine days' allowance; by which time I hoped we should be able to reach Timor. But as this was very uncertain, and it was possible that, after all, we might be obliged to go to Java, I determined to proportion the allowance so as to make our stock hold out six weeks. I was apprehensive that this would be ill received, and that it would require my utmost resolution to enforce it; for, small as the quantity was which I intended to take away for our future good, yet it might appear to my people like robbing them of life; and some, who were less patient than their companions, I expected would very ill brook it. However on my representing the necessity of guarding against delays that might be occasioned in our voyage by contrary winds, or other causes, and promising to enlarge upon the allowance as we got on, they cheerfully agreed to my proposal. It was accordingly settled, that every person should receive one twenty-fifth of a pound of bread for breakfast, and the same quantity for dinner; so that by omitting the proportion for supper, we had forty-three days' allowance.

Monday, 25th.—At noon some noddies came so near to us, that one of them was caught by hand. This bird was about the size of a small pigeon. I divided it, with its entrails, into eighteen portions, and by a well-known method at sea, of, *Who shall have this* \*? it was distributed, with the allowance of bread and water for dinner, and eat up bones and all, with salt water for sauce. I observed the latitude  $13^{\circ} 32' S.$ ; longitude made  $35^{\circ} 19' W.$ ; course  $N. 89^{\circ} W.$ , distance 108 miles.

In the evening, several boobies flying very near to us, we had the good fortune to catch one of them. This bird is as large as a duck: like the noddy, it has received its name from seamen, for suffering itself to be caught on the masts and yards of ships. They are the most presumptuous proofs of being in the neighbourhood of land of any sea-fowl we are acquainted with. I directed the bird to be killed for supper, and the blood to be given to three of the people who were the most distressed for want of food. The body, with the entrails, beak, and feet, I divided into eighteen shares, and with an allowance of bread, which I made a merit of granting, we made a good supper, compared with our usual fare.

Tuesday, 26th.—Fresh breezes from the S.E., with fine weather. In the morning we caught another booby, so that Providence appeared to be relieving our wants in an extraordinary manner. Towards noon, we passed a great many pieces of the branches of trees, some of which appeared to have been no long time in the water. I had a good observation for the latitude, and found our situation to be in  $13^{\circ} 41' S.$ ; longitude, by account, from Tofoa,  $37^{\circ} 13' W.$ ; course  $S. 85^{\circ} W.$ , 112 miles. The people were overjoyed at the addition to their dinner, which was distributed in the same manner as on the preceding evening; giving the blood to those who were the most in want of food.

\* One person turns his back on the object that is to be divided: another then points separately to the portions, at each of them asking aloud, "Who shall have this?" to which the first answers by naming somebody. This impartial method of division gives every man an equal chance of the best share.

To make the bread a little savoury, most of the people frequently dipped it in salt water; but I generally broke mine into small pieces, and ate it in my allowance of water, out of a cocoa-nut shell, with a spoon; economically avoiding to take too large a piece at a time, so that I was as long at dinner as if it had been a much more plentiful meal.

The weather was now serene, which, nevertheless, was not without its inconveniences, for we began to feel distress of a different kind from that which we had lately been accustomed to suffer. The heat of the sun was so powerful, that several of the people were seized with a languor and faintness, which made life indifferent. We were so fortunate as to catch two boobies in the evening; their stomachs contained several flying-fish and small cuttle-fish, all of which I saved to be divided for dinner the next day.

Wednesday, 27th.—A fresh breeze at E. S. E., with fair weather. We passed much drift-wood this forenoon, and saw many birds; I therefore did not hesitate to pronounce that we were near the reefs of New Holland. From my recollection of Captain Cook's survey of this coast, I considered the direction of it to be N. W., and I was therefore satisfied that, with the wind to the southward of E., I could always clear any dangers.

At noon, I observed in latitude  $13^{\circ} 26' S.$ ; course since yesterday N.  $82^{\circ} W.$ , distance 109 miles; longitude made  $39^{\circ} 4' W.$  After writing my account, I divided the two birds with their entrails, and the contents of their maws, into eighteen portions, and, as the prize was a very valuable one, it was divided as before, by calling out, *Who shall have this?* so that to-day, with the allowance of a twenty-fifth of a pound of bread at breakfast, and another at dinner, with the proportion of water, I was happy to see that every person thought he had feasted.

In the evening, we saw a gannet; and the clouds remained so fixed in the west, that I had little doubt of our being near the land. The people, after taking their allowance of water for supper, amused themselves with conversing on the probability of what we should find.

Thursday, 28th.—At one in the morning, the person at the helm heard the sound of breakers, and I no sooner lifted up my head, than I saw them close under our lee, not more than a quarter of a mile distant from us. I immediately hauled on a wind to the N. N. E., and in ten minutes' time we could neither see nor hear them.

I have already mentioned my reason for making New Holland so far to the southward: for I never doubted of numerous openings in the reef, through which I could have access to the shore: and, knowing the inclination of the coast to be to the N. W., and the wind mostly to the southward of E., I could with ease range such a barrier of reefs till I should find a passage, which now became absolutely necessary, without a moment's loss of time. The idea of getting into smooth water, and finding refreshments, kept my people's spirits up: their joy was very great after we had got clear of the breakers, to which we had approached much nearer than I thought was possible, without first discovering them.

In the morning, at day-light, we could see nothing of the land or of the reefs. We bore

away again, and at nine o'clock, saw the reefs. The sea broke furiously over every part, and we had no sooner got near to them, than the wind came at E., so that we could only lie along the line of the breakers; within which we saw the water so smooth, that every person already anticipated the heart-felt satisfaction he should receive, as soon as we could get within them. I now found we were embayed, for we could not lie clear with the sails, the wind having backed against us; and the sea set in so heavy towards the reef, that our situation was become unsafe. We could effect but little with the oars, having scarce strength to pull them; and I began to apprehend that we should be obliged to attempt pushing over the reef. Even this I did not despair of effecting with success, when happily we discovered a break in the reef, about one mile from us, and at the same time an island of a moderate height within it, nearly in the same direction, bearing W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. I entered the passage with a strong stream running to the westward, and found it about a quarter of a mile broad, with every appearance of deep water.

On the outside, the reef inclined to the N. E. for a few miles, and from thence to the N. W.: on the south side of the entrance, it inclined to the S. S. W. as far as I could see it; and I conjecture that a similar passage to this which we now entered, may be found near the breakers that I first discovered, which are twenty-three miles S. of this channel.

Being now happily within the reefs, and in smooth water, I endeavoured to keep near them to try for fish; but the tide set us to the N. W., I therefore bore away in that direction, and, having promised to land on the first convenient spot we could find, all our past hardships seemed already to be forgotten.

My longitude, made by dead reckoning, from the island Tofoa to our passage through the reef, is  $40^{\circ} 10' W.$  Providential Channel, I imagine, must lie very nearly under the same meridian with our passage; by which it appears we had outrun our reckoning  $1^{\circ} 9'$ .

We now returned God thanks for his gracious protection, and with much content took our miserable allowance of a twenty-fifth of a pound of bread, and a quarter of a pint of water, for dinner.

## CHAPTER XVI.

PROGRESS TO THE NORTHWARD, ALONG THE COAST OF NEW HOLLAND—LAND ON DIFFERENT ISLANDS, IN SEARCH OF SUPPLIES.

As we advanced within the reefs, the coast began to show itself very distinctly, in a variety of high and low land; some parts of which were covered with wood. In our way towards the shore, we fell in with a point of a reef which is connected with that towards the sea, and here we came to a grapnel, and tried to catch fish, but had no success. Two islands lay about four miles to the W. by N., and appeared eligible for a resting-place, if for nothing more; but on our approach to the nearest island, it proved to be only a heap of stones, and its size too inconsiderable to shelter the boat. We therefore proceeded to the next,

which was close to it and towards the main. On the N.W. side of this, I found a bay and a fine sandy point to land at. Our distance was about a quarter of a mile from a projecting part of the main, which bore from S.W. by S., to N.N.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W. We landed to examine if there were any signs of the natives being near us: we saw some old fire-places, but nothing to make me apprehend that this would be an unsafe situation for the night. Every one was anxious to find something to eat, and it was soon discovered that there were oysters on these rocks, for the tide was out; but it was nearly dark, and only a few could be gathered. I determined therefore to wait till the morning, when I should better know how to proceed, and I directed that one half of our company should sleep on shore, and the other half in the boat. We would gladly have made a fire, but, as we could not accomplish it, we took our rest for the night, which happily was calm and undisturbed.

Friday, 29th.—The dawn of day brought greater strength and spirits to us than I expected; for, notwithstanding every one was very weak, there appeared strength sufficient remaining to make me conceive the most favourable hopes of our being able to surmount the difficulties we might yet have to encounter.

As there were no appearances to make me imagine that any of the natives were near us, I sent out parties in search of supplies, while others of the people were putting the boat in order, that we might be ready to go to sea in case any unforeseen cause should make it necessary. One of the gudgeons of the rudder had come out in the course of the night, and was lost. This, if it had happened at sea, might have been attended with the most serious consequences, as the management of the boat could not have been so nicely preserved as these very heavy seas required. I had been apprehensive of this accident, and had in some measure prepared for it, by having grummetts fixed on each quarter of the boat for oars; but our utmost readiness in using them, would not probably have saved us. It appears, therefore, a providential circumstance, that it happened in a place of safety, and that it was in our power to remedy the defect; for by great good luck we found a large staple in the boat, which answered the purpose.

The parties returned, highly rejoiced at having found plenty of oysters and fresh water. I had also made a fire, by the help of a small magnifying glass; and, what was still more fortunate, we found among the few things which had been thrown into the boat and saved, a piece of brimstone and a tinder-box, so that I secured fire for the future.

One of the people had been so provident as to bring away with him from the ship, a copper pot: by being in possession of this article we were enabled to make a proper use of the supply we now obtained; for, with a mixture of bread, and a little pork, we made a stew that might have been relished by people of far more delicate appetites, and of which each person received a full pint.

The general complaints of disease among us, were a dizziness in the head, great weakness of the joints, and violent tenesmus; most of us having had no evacuation by stool since we left the ship. I had constantly a severe pain at my stomach; but none of our complaints were alarming: on the

contrary, every one retained marks of strength, that, with a mind possessed of a tolerable share of fortitude, seemed able to bear more fatigue than I imagined we should have to undergo in our voyage to Timor.

As I would not allow the people to expose themselves to the heat of the sun, it being near noon, every one took his allotment of earth where it was shaded by the bushes, for a short sleep.

The oysters which we found, grew so fast to the rocks, that it was with difficulty they could be broken off; and at length we discovered it to be the most expeditious way to open them where they were fixed. They were of a good size, and well tasted. To add to this happy circumstance, in the hollow of the land there grew some wire-grass, which indicated a moist situation. On forcing a stick, about three feet long, into the ground, we found water, and with little trouble dug a well, which produced as much as our occasions required. It was very good, but I could not determine if it was a spring or not. We were not obliged to make the well deep, for it flowed as fast as we emptied it; which, as the soil was apparently too loose to retain water from the rains, renders it probable to be a spring. On the south side of the island, likewise, we found a small run of good water.

Besides places where fires had been made, there were other signs of the natives sometimes resorting to this island. I saw two ill-constructed huts or wigwams, which had only one side loosely covered; and a pointed stick was found, about three feet long, with a slit in the end of it, to sling stones with; the same as the natives of Van Diemen's Land use.

The track of some animal was very discernible, and Nelson agreed with me that it was the kangaroo; but whether these animals swim over from the main-land, or are brought here by the natives to breed, it is impossible to determine. The latter is not improbable; as they may be taken with less difficulty in a confined spot like this, than on the continent.

The island is about a league in circuit: it is a high lump of rocks and stones covered with wood; but the trees are small, the soil, which is very indifferent and sandy, being barely sufficient to produce them. The trees that came within our knowledge were the manchineal and a species of purou: also some palm-trees, the tops of which we cut down, and the soft interior part or heart of them was so palatable that it made a good addition to our mess. Nelson discovered some fern roots, which I thought might be good roasted, as a substitute for bread, but in this I was mistaken: it however was very serviceable in its natural state to allay thirst, and on that account I directed a quantity to be collected to take into the boat. Many pieces of cocoa-nut shells and husk were found about the shore, but we could find no cocoa-nut trees, neither did I see any on the main.

I had cautioned the people not to touch any kind of berry or fruit that they might find; yet they were no sooner out of my sight than they began to make free with three different kinds, that grew all over the island, eating without any reserve. The symptoms of having eaten too much began at last to frighten some of them; but on questioning others, who had taken a more moderate allowance, their minds were a little quieted.

The others, however, became equally alarmed in their turn, dreading that such symptoms would come on, and that they were all poisoned, so that they regarded each other with the strongest marks of apprehension, uncertain what would be the issue of their imprudence. Fortunately the fruit proved wholesome and good. One sort grew on a small delicate kind of vine; they were the size of a large gooseberry, and very like in substance, but had only a sweet taste: the skin was a pale red, streaked with yellow the long way of the fruit: it was pleasant and agreeable. Another kind grew on bushes, like that which is called the sea-side grape in the West Indies; but the fruit was very different, being more like elder-berries, and grew in clusters in the same manner. The third sort was a blackberry; this was not in such plenty as the others, and resembled a bullace, or large kind of sloe, both in size and taste. When I saw that these fruits were eaten by the birds, I no longer doubted of their being wholesome, and those who had already tried the experiment, not finding any bad effect, made it a certainty that we might eat of them without danger.

Wild pigeons, parrots, and other birds, were about the summit of the island, but, having no fire-arms, relief of that kind was not to be expected, unless we should find some unfrequented spot where the birds were so tame that we might take them with our hands.

The shore of this island is very rocky, except the place at which we landed, and here I picked up many pieces of pumice-stone. On the part of the main nearest to us, were several sandy bays, which at low-water became an extensive rocky flat. The country had rather a barren appearance, except in a few places where it was covered with wood. A remarkable range of rocks lay a few miles to the S.W., and a high peaked hill seemed to terminate the coast towards the sea, with islands to the southward. A high fair cape showed the direction of the coast to the N.W., about seven leagues distant; and two small isles lay three or four leagues to the northward of our present station.

I saw a few bees or wasps, and several lizards; and the blackberry bushes were full of ants' nests, webbed like a spider's, but so close and compact as not to admit the rain. A trunk of a tree, about 50 feet long, lay on the beach; from which I conclude that a heavy sea sets in here, with a north-easterly wind.

This day being the anniversary of the restoration of king Charles the Second, and the name not being applicable to our present situation (for we were restored to fresh life and strength), I named this Restoration Island; for I thought it probable that Captain Cook might not have taken notice of it. The other names which I have presumed to give the different parts of the coast, are meant only to show my route more distinctly.

At noon, I observed the latitude of the island to be  $12^{\circ} 39' S.$ ; our course having been  $N. 66^{\circ} W.$ , distance 18 miles from yesterday noon. The wind was at E.S.E., with very fine weather.

In the afternoon, I sent parties out again to gather oysters, with which and some of the inner part of the palm top, we made another good stew for supper, each person receiving a full pint and a half; but I refused bread to this meal, for I con-

sidered that our wants might yet be very great and was intent on saving our principal support whenever it was in my power. After supper, we again divided, and those who were on shore slept by a good fire.

Saturday, 30th.—In the morning, I discovered a visible alteration in our company for the better, and I sent them away again to gather oysters. We had now only two pounds of pork left. This article, which I could not keep under lock and key as I did the bread, had been pilfered by some inconsiderate person, but every one denied having any knowledge of this act; I therefore resolved to put it out of their power for the future, by sharing what remained, for our dinner. While the party was out picking up oysters, I got the boat in readiness for sea, and filled all our water vessels, which amounted to nearly 60 gallons.

The party being returned, dinner was soon ready, which was as plentiful a meal as the supper on the preceding evening, and with the pork I gave an allowance of bread. As it was not yet noon, I sent the people once more to gather oysters for a sea store, recommending to them to be as diligent as possible, for that I was determined to sail in the afternoon.

At noon, I again observed the latitude  $12^{\circ} 39' S.$ ; it was then high-water, the tide had risen three feet, but I could not be certain from whence the flood came. I deduce the time of high-water at full change to be ten minutes past seven in the morning.

Early in the afternoon, the people returned with the few oysters that they had collected, and every thing was put into the boat. I then examined the quantity of bread remaining, and found thirty-eight days' allowance, according to the last mode of issuing a 25th of a pound at breakfast and at dinner.

Fair weather, and moderate breezes at E.S.E. and S.E.

Being ready for sea, I directed every person to attend prayers. At four o'clock we were preparing to embark; when about twenty of the natives appeared, running and hallooing to us, on the opposite shore. They were each armed with a spear or lance, and a short weapon which they carried in their left hand: they made signs for us to come to them. On the top of the hills we saw the heads of many more: whether these were their wives and children, or others who waited for our landing, meaning not to show themselves, lest we might be intimidated, I cannot say; but, as I found we were discovered to be on the coast, I thought it prudent to make the best of our way, for fear of being pursued by canoes; though, from the accounts of Captain Cook, the chance was that there were very few if any of consequence on any part of the coast. I passed these people as near as I could with safety: they were naked, and apparently black, and their hair or wool bushy and short.

I directed my course within two small islands that lie to the north of Restoration Island, passing between them and the main land, towards Fair Cape, with a strong tide in my favour; so that I was abreast of it by eight o'clock. The coast we passed was high and woody. As I could see no land without Fair Cape, I concluded that the coast inclined to the N.W. and W.N.W.: I therefore

steered more towards the W.; but by eleven o'clock at night we met with low land, which inclined to the N.E.; and at three o'clock in the morning I found that we were embayed, which obliged us to stand back for a short time to the southward.

Sunday the 31st.—At day-break, I was exceedingly surprised to find the appearance of the country entirely changed, as if in the course of the night we had been transported to another part of the world; for we had now a low sandy coast in view, with very little verdure, or any thing to indicate that it was at all habitable to a human being, except a few patches of small trees or brushwood.

Many small islands were in sight to the N.E., about six miles distant. The E. part of the main bore N. four miles, and Fair Cape S.S.E. five or six leagues. I took the channel between the nearest island and the main-land, which were about one mile apart, leaving all the islands on the starboard side. Some of these were very pretty spots, covered with wood, and well situated for fishing: large shoals of fish were about us, but we could not catch any. In passing this strait we saw another party of Indians, seven in number, running towards us, shouting and making signs for us to land. Some of them waved green branches of the bushes which were near them, as a token of friendship; but some of their other motions were less friendly. A little farther off, we saw a larger party, who likewise came towards us. I therefore determined not to land, though I much wished to have had some intercourse with these people. Nevertheless I laid the boat close to the rocks, and beckoned to them to approach; but none of them would come within two hundred yards of us. They were armed in the same manner as the people we had seen from Restoration Island; they were stark naked, their colour black, with short bushy hair or wool, and in their appearance were similar to them in every respect. An island of a good height bore N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., four miles from us, at which I resolved to land, and from thence to take a look at the coast. At this isle we arrived about eight o'clock in the morning. The shore was rocky, but the water was smooth, and we landed without difficulty. I sent two parties out, one to the northward, and the other to the southward, to seek for supplies, and others I ordered to stay by the boat. On this occasion, fatigue and weakness so far got the better of their sense of duty, that some of the people expressed their discontent at having worked harder than their companions, and declared that they would rather be without their dinner than go in search of it. One person, in particular, went so far as to tell me, with a mutinous look, that he was as good a man as myself. It was not possible for me to judge where this might have an end, if not stopped in time; therefore to prevent such disputes in future, I determined either to preserve my command, or die in the attempt: and, seizing a cutlass, I ordered him to take hold of another and defend himself; on which he called out that I was going to kill him, and immediately made concessions. I did not allow this to interfere further with the harmony of the boat's crew, and every thing soon became quiet.

The parties continued collecting what they could

find, which were some fine oysters and clams, and a few small dog-fish that were caught in the holes of the rocks. We also found some rain-water in the hollow of the rocks, on the north part of the island, so that of this essential article we were again so fortunate as to obtain a full supply.

After regulating the mode of proceeding, I walked to the highest part of the island, to consider our route for the night. To my surprise, no more of the main-land could be seen here than from below, the northernmost part in sight, which was full of sand-hills, bearing W. by N., about three leagues. Except the isles to the E.S.E. and S., that we had passed, I could only discover a small key N.W. by N. As this was considerably farther from the main than the spot on which we were at present, I judged it would be a more secure resting-place for the night; for here we were liable to an attack, if the Indians had canoes, as they undoubtedly must have observed our landing. My mind being made up on this point, I returned, after taking a particular look at the island we were on, which I found only to produce a few bushes, and some coarse grass; the extent of the whole not being two miles in circuit. On the north side, in a sandy bay, I saw an old canoe, about thirty-three feet long, lying bottom upwards, and half buried in the beach. It was made of three pieces, the bottom entire, to which the sides were sewed in the common way. It had a sharp projecting prow rudely carved, in resemblance of the head of a fish; the extreme breadth was about three feet, and I imagine it was capable of carrying twenty men. The discovery of so large a canoe, confirmed me in the purpose of seeking a more retired place for our night's lodging.

At noon, the parties were all returned, but had found much difficulty in gathering the oysters, from their close adherence to the rocks, and the clams were scarce: I therefore saw, that it would be of little use to remain longer in this place, as we should not be able to collect more than we could eat. I named this Sunday Island: it lies N. by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W. from Restoration Island; the latitude, by a good observation,  $11^{\circ} 58' S.$

We had a fresh breeze at S.E. by S., with fair weather. At two o'clock in the afternoon, we dined; each person having a full pint and a half of stewed oysters and clams, thickened with small beans, which Nelson informed me were a species of *dolichos*. Having eaten heartily, and completed our water, I waited to determine the time of high-water, which I found to be at three o'clock, and the rise of the tide about five feet. According to this, it is high-water on the full and change, at nineteen minutes past nine in the morning: I observed the flood to come from the southward, though, at Restoration Island, I thought it came from the northward. I think Captain Cook mentions that he found great irregularity in the set of the flood on this coast.

We steered for the key seen in the N.W. by N., where we arrived just at dark, but found it so surrounded by a reef of rocks, that I could not land without danger of staving the boat; and on that account we came to a grapnel for the night.

Monday, June the 1st.—At dawn of day, we got on shore, and tracked the boat into shelter; for the wind blowing fresh without, and the ground

being rocky, it was not safe to trust her at a grapnel, lest she should be blown to sea: I was, therefore, obliged to let her ground in the course of the ebb. From appearances, I expected that if we remained till night we should meet with turtle, as we discovered recent tracks of them. Innumerable birds of the noddy kind made this island their resting-place; so that we had reason to flatter ourselves with hopes of getting supplies in greater abundance than it had hitherto been in our power. Our situation was at least four leagues distant from the main. We were on the north-westernmost of four small keys, which were surrounded by a reef of rocks connected by sand-banks, except between the two northernmost; and there likewise it was dry at low water; the whole forming a lagoon island, into which the tide flowed: at this entrance I kept the boat.

As usual, I sent parties away in search of supplies, but to our great disappointment, we could only get a few clams and some dolichos: with these, and the oysters we had brought from Sunday Island, I made up a mess for dinner, with the addition of a small quantity of bread.

Towards noon, Nelson, and some others, who had been to the easternmost key, returned; but Nelson was in so weak a condition, that he was obliged to be supported by two men. His complaint was a violent heat in his bowels, a loss of sight, much drought, and an inability to walk. This I found was occasioned by his being unable to support the heat of the sun, and that, when he was fatigued and faint, instead of retiring into the shade to rest, he had continued to attempt more than his strength was equal to. I was glad to find that he had no fever; and it was now that the little wine, which I had so carefully saved, became of real use. I gave it in very small quantities, with some pieces of bread soaked in it; and he soon began to recover. The boatswain and carpenter also were ill, and complained of head-ach, and sickness of the stomach. Others, who had not had any evacuations by stool, became shockingly distressed with the tenesmus; so that there were but few without complaints. An idea prevailed, that the sickness of the boatswain and carpenter was occasioned by eating the dolichos. Myself, however, and some others, who had taken the same food, felt no inconvenience; but the truth was, that many of the people had eaten a large quantity of them raw, and Nelson informed me, that they were constantly teasing him, whenever a berry was found, to know if it was good to eat; so that it would not have been surprising if many of them had been really poisoned.

Our dinner was not so well relished as at Sunday Island, because we had mixed the dolichos with our stew. The oysters and soup, however, were eaten by every one, except Nelson, whom I fed with a few small pieces of bread soaked in half a glass of wine, and he continued to mend.

In my walk round the island, I found several cocoa-nut shells, the remains of an old wigwag, and the backs of two turtle, but no sign of any quadruped. One of the people found three sea-fowl's eggs.

As is common on such spots, the soil is little other than sand, yet it produced small toa-trees, and some others, that we were not acquainted with. There were fish in the lagoon, but we could not

catch any. Our wants, therefore, were not likely to be supplied; not even with water for our daily expense: nevertheless, I determined to wait till the morning, that we might try our success in the night for turtle and birds. A quiet night's rest also, I conceived, would be of essential service to those who were unwell.

The wigwag and turtle shell, were proofs that the natives at times visited this place; and that they had canoes, the remains of the large canoe that we saw at Sunday Island, left no room to doubt: but I did not apprehend that we ran any risk by remaining here a short time. I directed our fire, however, to be made in the thicket, that we might not be discovered by its light.

At noon, I observed the latitude of this island to be  $11^{\circ} 47' S$ . The main-land extended towards the N. W., and was full of white sand-hills: another small island lay within us, bearing W. by N.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N., three leagues distant. Our situation being very low, we could see nothing of the reef towards the sea.

The afternoon was advantageously spent in sleep. There were, however, a few not disposed to it, and those were employed in dressing some clams to take with us for the next day's dinner: others we cut up in slices to dry, which I knew was the most valuable supply we could find here; but they were very scarce.

Towards evening, I cautioned every one against making too large a fire, or suffering it after dark to blaze up. Mr. Samuel and Mr. Peckover had the superintendance of this business, while I was strolling about the beach to observe if I thought it could be seen from the main. I was just satisfied that it could not, when on a sudden the island appeared all in a blaze, that might have been discerned at a much more considerable distance. I ran to learn the cause, and found that it was occasioned by the imprudence and obstinacy of one of the party, who, in my absence, had insisted on having a fire to himself; in making which the flames caught the neighbouring grass and rapidly spread. This misconduct might have produced very serious consequences, by discovering our situation to the natives; for, if they had attacked us, we had neither arms nor strength to oppose an enemy. Thus the relief which I expected from a little sleep was totally lost, and I anxiously waited for the flowing of the tide, that we might proceed to sea.

It was high-water at half past five this evening, whence I deduced the time, on the full and change of the moon, to be  $58'$  past ten in the morning: the rise was nearly five feet. I could not observe the set of the flood; but imagined it to come from the southward, and that I was mistaken at Restoration Island, as I found the time of high-water gradually later the more we advanced to the northward.

|                                    |                    |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| At Restoration Island, high-water, |                    |
| full and change . . . . .          | 7 <sup>h</sup> 10' |
| Sunday Island . . . . .            | 9 19               |
| Here . . . . .                     | 10 58              |

After eight o'clock, Mr. Samuel and Mr. Peckover went out to watch for turtle, and three men went to the east key to endeavour to catch birds. All the others complaining of being sick, took their rest, except Mr. Hayward and Mr. Elphinston, whom I directed to keep watch. About midnight the bird party returned, with only twelve noddies,

birds which I have already described to be about the size of pigeons : but if it had not been for the folly and obstinacy of one of the party, who separated from the other two, and disturbed the birds, they might have caught a great number. I was so much provoked at my plans being thus defeated, that I gave this offender\* a good beating. I now went in search of the turtling party, who had taken great pains, but without success. This did not surprise me, as it was not to be expected that turtic would come near us, after the noise which had been made at the beginning of the evening in extinguishing the fire. I therefore desired them to come back, but they requested to stay a little longer, as they still hoped to find some before daylight : however, they returned by three o'clock, without any reward for their labour.

The birds we half dressed, that they might keep the better : and these, with a few clams, made the whole of the supply procured here. I tied a few gilt buttons and some pieces of iron to a tree, for any of the natives that might come after us ; and, finding my invalids much better for their night's rest, we embarked, and departed by dawn of day. Wind at S.E. ; course to the N. by W.

Tuesday, 2nd.—When we had run two leagues to the northward, the sea suddenly became rough, which not having before experienced since we were within the reefs, I concluded to be occasioned by an open channel to the ocean. Soon afterwards, we met with a large shoal, on which were two sandy keys ; between these and two others, four miles to the west, I passed on to the northward, the sea still continuing to be rough.

Towards noon, I fell in with six other keys, most of which produced some small trees and brush-wood. These formed a pleasing contrast with the main-land we had passed, which was full of sand-hills. The country continued hilly, and the northernmost land, the same we had seen from the lagoon island, appeared like downs, sloping towards the sea. Nearly abreast of us, was a flat-topped hill, which on account of its shape, I called Pudding-pan hill ; and a little to the northward were two other hills, which we called the Paps ; and here was a small tract of country without sand, the eastern part of which forms a cape, whence the coast inclines to the N.W. by N.

I divided six birds, and issued one 25th of a pound of bread, with half a pint of water, to each person for dinner, and I gave half a glass of wine to Nelson, who was now so far recovered as to require no other indulgence.

The gunner, when he left the ship, brought his watch with him, by which we had regulated our time till to-day, when unfortunately it stopped ; so that noon, sun-rise, and sun-set, are the only parts of the twenty-four hours of which from henceforward I can speak with certainty as to time.

The wind blew fresh from the S.S.E. and S.E. all the afternoon, with fair weather. As we stood to the N. by W., we found more sea, which I attributed to our receiving less shelter from the reefs to the eastward : it is probable they do not extend so far north as this ; at least it may be

\* Robert Lamb.—This man, when he came to Java, acknowledged he had eaten nine birds raw, after he separated from his two companions.

concluded that there is not a continued barrier to prevent shipping having access to the shore. I observed that the stream set to the N.W., which I considered to be the flood. In some places along the coast we saw patches of wood. At five o'clock, steering to the N.W., we passed a large and fair inlet, into which, I imagine, there is a safe and commodious entrance ; it lies in latitude 11° S. About three leagues to the northward of this is an island at which we arrived about sunset, and took shelter for the night under a sandy point, which was the only part we could land at. This being rather a wild situation, I thought it best to sleep in the boat : nevertheless I sent a party away to see if any thing could be got, but they returned without success. They saw a great number of turtle bones and shells, where the natives had been feasting, and their last visit seemed to be of late date. The island was covered with wood, but in other respects it was a lump of rocks.

Wednesday, 3rd.—We lay at a grapnel till daylight, with a very fresh gale and cloudy weather. We continued steering to the N.W. Several islands and keys were in sight to the northward : the most northerly island was mountainous, having on it a very high round hill ; and a smaller was remarkable for a single peaked hill. I was now tolerably certain that we should be clear of New Holland in the afternoon.

As an addition to our dinner of bread and water, I served to each person six oysters.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, as we were steering to the S.W., towards the westernmost part of the land in sight, we fell in with some large sand-banks that run off from the coast : I therefore called this Shoal Cape. We were obliged to steer to the northward again, till we got round the shoals, when I directed the course to the W.

At four o'clock, the westernmost of the islands to the northward bore N. four leagues ; Wednesday Island E. by N. five leagues ; and Shoal Cape S.E. by E. two leagues. A small island was seen bearing W., at which we arrived before dark, and found that it was only a rock where boobies resort, for which reason I called it Booby Island. Here terminated the rocks and shoals of the N. part of New Holland, for, except Booby Island, no land was seen to the westward of S., after three o'clock this afternoon.

## CHAPTER XVII.

PASSAGE FROM NEW HOLLAND TO THE ISLAND TIMOR—ARRIVE AT COUPANG—RECEPTION THERE.

On Wednesday, June 3rd, at eight o'clock in the evening, we once more launched into the open ocean. Miserable as our situation was in every respect, I was secretly surprised to see that it did not appear to affect any one so strongly as myself ; on the contrary, it seemed as if they had embarked on a voyage to Timor in a vessel sufficiently calculated for safety and convenience. So much confidence gave me great pleasure, and I may venture to assert, that to this cause our preservation is chiefly to be attributed.

I encouraged every one with hopes that eight or ten days would bring us to a land of safety ; and, after praying to God for a continuance of

his most gracious protection, I served an allowance of water for supper, and directed our course to the W.S.W., to counteract the southerly winds, in case they should blow strong.

We had been just six days on the coast of New Holland, in the course of which we found oysters, a few clams, some birds, and water. But perhaps a benefit nearly equal to this we received, by having been relieved from the fatigue of being constantly in the boat, and enjoying good rest at night. These advantages certainly preserved our lives; and small as the supply was, I am very sensible how much it alleviated our distresses. By this time nature must have sunk under the extremes of hunger and fatigue. Some would have ceased to struggle for a life that only promised wretchedness and misery; and others, though possessed of more bodily strength, must soon have followed their unfortunate companions. Even in our present situation, we were most deplorable objects; but the hopes of a speedy relief kept up our spirits. For my own part, incredible as it may appear, I felt neither extreme hunger nor thirst. My allowance contented me, knowing that I could have no more.

Thursday, 4th.—I served one 25th of a pound of bread, and an allowance of water for breakfast, and the same for dinner, with an addition of six oysters to each person. At noon, latitude observed  $10^{\circ} 48' S.$ ; course since yesterday noon, S.  $81^{\circ} W.$ , distance 111 miles; longitude, by account, from Shoal Cape,  $1^{\circ} 45' W.$  A strong trade wind at E.S.E., with fair weather.

This day we saw a number of water-snakes, that were ringed yellow and black, and towards noon we passed a great deal of rock-weed. Though the weather was fair, we were constantly shipping water, which kept two men always employed to bale the boat.

Friday, 5th.—At noon I observed in latitude  $10^{\circ} 45' S.$ ; our course since yesterday W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N., 108 miles; longitude made  $3^{\circ} 35' W.$  Six oysters were as yesterday served to each man, in addition to the usual allowance of bread and water.

In the evening a few boobies came about us, one of which I caught with my hand. The blood was divided among three of the men who were weakest, but the bird I ordered to be kept for our dinner the next day. Served a quarter of a pint of water for supper, and to some, who were most in need, half a pint. In the course of the night, being constantly wet with the sea, we suffered much cold and shiverings.

Saturday, 6th.—At day-light I found that some of the clams, which had been hung up to dry for sea-store, were stolen; but every one solemnly denied having any knowledge of it. This forenoon we saw a gannet, a sand-lark, and some water-snakes, which in general were from two to three feet long.

The usual allowance of bread and water was served for breakfast, and the same for dinner, with the bird, which I distributed in the usual way, of *Who shall have this?* I proposed to make Timor about the latitude of  $9^{\circ} 30' S.$ , or  $10^{\circ} S.$  At noon I observed the latitude to be  $10^{\circ} 19' S.$ ; course N.  $77^{\circ} W.$ , distance, 117 miles; longitude made from the Shoal Cape, the north part of New Holland,  $5^{\circ} 31' W.$

In the afternoon I took an opportunity of

examining our store of bread, and found remaining nineteen days' allowance, at the former rate of serving one 25th of a pound three times a day: therefore, as I saw every prospect of a quick passage, I again ventured to grant an allowance for supper, agreeable to my promise at the time it was discontinued.

We passed the night miserably wet and cold, and in the morning I heard heavy complaints. The sea was high and breaking over us. I could only afford the allowance of bread and water for breakfast; but for dinner I gave out an ounce of dried clams to each person, which was all that remained.

At noon I altered the course to the W.N.W., to keep more from the sea, as the wind blew strong. Latitude observed  $9^{\circ} 31' S.$ ; course N.  $57^{\circ} W.$ , distance, eighty-eight miles; longitude made  $6^{\circ} 46' W.$

The sea ran very high all this day, and we had frequent showers of rain, so that we were continually wet, and suffered much cold in the night. Mr. Ledward, the surgeon, and Lawrence Lebogoe, an old hardy seaman, appeared to be giving way very fast. I could only assist them by a teaspoonful or two of wine, which I had carefully saved, expecting such a melancholy necessity.

Monday, 8th.—Wind at S.E. The weather was more moderate than it had been for some days past. A few gannets were seen. At noon I observed  $8^{\circ} 45' S.$ ; course W. N. W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., 106 miles; longitude made  $8^{\circ} 23' W.$  The sea being smooth, I steered W. by S.

At four in the afternoon we caught a small dolphin, which was the first relief of the kind that we obtained. I issued about two ounces to each person, including the offals, and saved the remainder for dinner the next day. Towards evening the wind freshened, and it blew strong all night, so that we shipped much water and suffered greatly from the wet and cold.

Tuesday, 9th.—At day-light as usual I heard much complaining, which my own feelings convinced me was too well founded. I gave the surgeon and Lebogoe a little wine, but I could afford them no farther relief, except encouraging them with hopes that a very few days longer, at our present fine rate of sailing, would bring us to Timor.

Gannets, boobies, men of war and tropic birds, were constantly about us. Served the usual allowance of bread and water, and at noon we dined on the remains of the dolphin, which amounted to about an ounce per man. I observed the latitude to be  $9^{\circ} 9' S.$ ; longitude made  $10^{\circ} 8' W.$ ; course, since yesterday noon, S.  $76^{\circ} W.$ ; distance 107 miles.

This afternoon I suffered great sickness from the nature of part of the stomach of the fish, which had fallen to my share at dinner. At sunset I served an allowance of bread and water for supper.

Wednesday, 10th.—In the morning, after a very comfortless night, there was a visible alteration for the worse in many of the people; which gave me great apprehensions. An extreme weakness, swelled legs, hollow and ghastly countenances, a more than common inclination to sleep, with an apparent debility of understanding, seemed to me the melancholy presages of an approaching dissolution. The surgeon and Lebogoe in particular,



were most miserable objects. I occasionally gave them a few tea-spoonfuls of wine, out of the little that remained, which greatly assisted them. The hopes of being able to accomplish the voyage was our principal support. The boatswain very innocently told me, that he really thought I looked worse than any one in the boat. The simplicity with which he uttered such an opinion amused me, and I returned him a better compliment.

Our latitude at noon, was  $9^{\circ} 16' S.$  Longitude from the north part of New Holland,  $12^{\circ} 1' W.$  Course since yesterday noon,  $W. \frac{1}{2} S., 111$  miles. Birds and rock-weed showed that we were not far from land; but I expected such signs here, as there are many islands between the east part of Timor and New Guinea. The night was more moderate than the last.

Thursday, 11th. Every one received the customary allowance of bread and water, and an extra allowance of water was given to those who were most in need. At noon I observed in latitude  $9^{\circ} 41' S.;$  course  $S. 77^{\circ} W.,$  distance 109 miles; longitude made  $13^{\circ} 49' W.$  I had little doubt of having now passed the meridian of the eastern part of Timor, which is laid down in  $128^{\circ} E.$  This diffused universal joy and satisfaction.

In the afternoon, we saw gannets, and many other birds, and at sunset we kept a very anxious look-out. In the evening we caught a booby, which I reserved for our dinner the next day.

Friday, 12th.—At three in the morning, with an excess of joy, we discovered Timor bearing from  $W.S.W.$  to  $W.N.W.,$  and I hauled on a wind to the  $N.N.E.$  till day-light, when the land bore from  $S.W.$  by  $S.$  to  $N.E.$  by  $N.$  Our distance from the shore, two leagues.

It is not possible for me to describe the pleasure which the blessing of the sight of this land diffused among us. It appeared scarce credible to ourselves, that in an open boat, and so poorly provided, we should have been able to reach the coast of Timor in forty-one days after leaving Tofoa, having in that time run, by our log, a distance of 3618 miles; and that, notwithstanding our extreme distress, no one should have perished in the voyage.

I have already mentioned, that I knew not where the Dutch settlement was situated; but I had a faint idea that it was at the  $S.W.$  part of the island. I therefore, after day-light, bore away along shore to the  $S.S.W.,$  which I was the more readily induced to do, as the wind would not suffer us to go towards the  $N.E.$  without great loss of time.

The day gave us a most agreeable prospect of the land, which was interspersed with woods and lawns; the interior part mountainous, but the shore low. Towards noon, the coast became higher, with some remarkable head-lands. We were greatly delighted with the general look of the country, which exhibited many cultivated spots and beautiful situations; but we could only see a few small huts, whence I concluded that no European resided in this part of the island. Much sea ran on the shore, which made landing impracticable. At noon, we were abreast of a high head-land; the extremes of the land bore  $S.W. \frac{1}{2} W.,$  and  $N.N.E. \frac{1}{2} E.;$  our distance off shore being three miles; latitude, by observation,  $9^{\circ} 59' S.;$  and my longitude, by dead reckoning from the north part of New Holland,  $15^{\circ} 6' W.$

With the usual allowance of bread and water for dinner, I divided the bird we had caught the night before, and to the surgeon and Lebogue I gave a little wine.

The wind blew fresh at  $E.$  and  $E.S.E.,$  with very hazy weather. During the afternoon, we continued our course along a low shore, covered with innumerable palm-trees, called the fan palm, from the leaf spreading like a fan; but here we saw no signs of cultivation, nor had the country so fine an appearance as to the eastward. This, however, was only a small tract, for by sunset it improved again, and I saw several great smokes where the inhabitants were clearing and cultivating their grounds. We had now run twenty-five miles to the  $W.S.W.$  since noon, and were  $W.$  five miles from a low point, which, in the afternoon, I imagined had been the southernmost land; and here the coast formed a deep bend, with low land in the bight that appeared like islands. The west shore was high; but from this part of the coast to the high cape which we were abreast of at noon, the shore is low, and I believe shoal. I particularly remark this situation, because here the very high ridge of mountains, that run from the east end of the island, terminate, and the appearance of the country changes for the worse.

That we might not run past any settlement in the night, I determined to preserve my station till the morning, and therefore brought to under a close-reefed foresail. We were here in shoal water, our distance from the shore being half a league, the westernmost land in sight bearing  $W.S.W. \frac{1}{2} W.$  Served bread and water for supper, and the boat lying to very well, all but the officer of the watch endeavoured to get a little sleep.

Saturday, 13th.—At two in the morning, we wore, and stood in shore till day-light, when I found we had drifted, during the night, about three leagues to the  $W.S.W.,$  the southernmost land in sight bearing  $W.$  On examining the coast, and not seeing any sign of a settlement, we bore away to the westward, having a strong gale, against a weather current, which occasioned much sea. The shore was high and covered with wood; but we did not run far, before low land again formed the coast, the points of which opening at west, I once more fancied we were on the south part of the island; but at ten o'clock we found the coast again inclining towards the south, part of it bearing  $W.S.W. \frac{1}{2} W.$  At the same time, high land appeared in the  $S.W.;$  but the weather was so hazy, that it was doubtful whether the two lands were separated, the opening only extending one point of the compass. For this reason I stood towards the outer land, and found it to be the island Roti.

I returned to the shore we had left, and brought to a grapnel in a sandy bay, that I might more conveniently calculate my situation. In this place, we saw several smokes, where the natives were clearing their grounds. During the little time we remained here, the master and carpenter very much importuned me to let them go in search of supplies; to which, at length, I assented; but, not finding any other person willing to be of their party, they did not choose to quit the boat. I stopped here no longer than for the purpose just

mentioned, and we continued steering along shore. We had a view of a beautiful-looking country, as if formed by art into lawns and parks. The coast is low, and covered with woods, in which are innumerable fan palm-trees, that look like coconut walks. The interior part is high land, but very different from the more eastern parts of the island, where it is exceedingly mountainous, and, to appearance, the soil better.

At noon, the island Roti bore S.W. by W. seven leagues. I had no observation for the latitude, but by account, we were in  $10^{\circ} 12' S.$ ; our course since yesterday noon being  $S. 77^{\circ} W.$ , 54 miles. The usual allowance of bread and water was served for breakfast and dinner, and to the surgeon and Leboque, I continued to give wine.

We had a strong breeze at E.S.E., with hazy weather, all the afternoon. At two o'clock, having run through a very dangerous breaking sea, the cause of which I attributed to be a strong tide setting to windward, and shoal water, we discovered a spacious bay or sound, with a fair entrance about two or three miles wide. I now conceived hopes that our voyage was nearly at an end, as no place could appear more eligible for shipping, or more likely to be chosen for an European settlement: I therefore came to a grappel near the east side of the entrance, in a small sandy bay, where we saw a hut, a dog, and some cattle; and I immediately sent the boatswain and gunner away to the hut, to discover the inhabitants.

I had just time to make some nautical observations, when I saw the boatswain and gunner returning with some of the natives: I therefore no longer doubted of our success, and that our expectations would be fully gratified. They brought five Indians, and informed me that they had found two families, where the women treated them with European politeness. From these people I learned, that the governor resided at a place called Coupang, which was some distance to the N.E. I made signs for one of them to go in the boat, and show us the way to Coupang, intimating that I would pay him for his trouble: the man readily complied, and came into the boat.

These people were of a dark tawny colour, had long black hair, and chewed a great deal of betel. Their dress was, a square piece of cloth round the hips, in the folds of which was stuck a large knife; a handkerchief wrapped round the head; and another hanging by the four corners from the shoulders, which served as a bag for their betel equipage. They brought us a few pieces of dried turtle, and some ears of Indian corn. This last was the most welcome; for the turtle was so hard, that it could not be eaten without being first soaked in hot water. They offered to bring us some other refreshments if I would wait; but, as the pilot was willing, I determined to push on. It was about half an hour past four when we sailed.

By direction of the pilot, we kept close to the east shore under all our sail; but as night came on, the wind died away, and we were obliged to try at the oars, which I was surprised to see we could use with some effect. At ten o'clock, finding we advanced but slowly, I came to a grappel, and for the first time, I issued double allowance of bread and a little wine to each person.

Sunday, 14th.—At one o'clock in the morning,

after the most happy and sweet sleep that ever men enjoyed, we weighed, and continued to keep the east shore on board, in very smooth water; when at last I found we were again open to the sea; the whole of the land to the westward, that we had passed, being an island, which the pilot called Pulo Samow. The northern entrance of this channel is about a mile and a half or two miles wide, and I had no ground at ten fathoms.

The report of two cannon that were fired, gave new life to every one; and soon after we discovered two square-rigged vessels and a cutter at anchor to the eastward. We endeavoured to work to windward, but were obliged to take to our oars again, having lost ground on each tack. We kept close to the shore, and continued rowing till four o'clock, when I brought to a grappel, and gave another allowance of bread and wine to all hands. As soon as we had rested a little, we weighed again, and rowed till near day-light, when we came to a grappel, off a small fort and town, which the pilot told me was Coupang.

Among the things which the boatswain had thrown into the boat before we left the ship, was a bundle of signal-flags that had been used by the boats to show the depth of water in sounding: with these we had, in the course of the passage, made a small jack, which I now hoisted in the main shrouds, as a signal of distress; for I did not think proper to land without leave.

Soon after day-break, a soldier hailed us to land, which I immediately did, among a crowd of Indians, and was agreeably surprised to meet with an English sailor, who belonged to one of the vessels in the road. His captain, he told me, was the second person in the town; I therefore desired to be conducted to him, as I was informed the governor was ill, and could not then be spoken with.

Captain Spikerman received me with great humanity. I informed him of our distressed situation; and requested that care might be taken of those who were with me, without delay. On which he gave directions for their immediate reception at his own house, and went himself to the governor, to know at what time I could be permitted to see him; which was fixed to be at eleven o'clock.

I now desired my people to come on shore, which was as much as some of them could do, being scarce able to walk; they, however, were helped to the house, and found tea with bread and butter provided for their breakfast.

The abilities of a painter, perhaps, could seldom have been displayed to more advantage, than in the delineation of the two groups of figures, which at this time presented themselves to each other. An indifferent spectator would have been at a loss which most to admire; the eyes of famine sparkling at immediate relief, or the horror of their preservers at the sight of so many spectres, whose ghastly countenances, if the cause had been unknown, would rather have excited terror than pity. Our bodies were nothing but skin and bones, our limbs were full of sores, and we were clothed in rags: in this condition, with the tears of joy and gratitude flowing down our cheeks, the people of Timor beheld us with a mixture of horror, surprise, and pity.

The governor, Mr. William Adrian Van Este,

notwithstanding extreme ill-health, became so anxious about us, that I saw him before the appointed time. He received me with great affection, and gave me the fullest proofs that he was possessed of every feeling of a humane and good man. Sorry as he was, he said, that such a calamity could ever have happened to us, yet he considered it as the greatest blessing of his life that we had fallen under his protection; and, though his infirmity was so great that he could not do the office of a friend himself, he would give such orders as I might be certain would procure us every supply we wanted. A house should be immediately prepared for me, and, with respect to my people, he said, that I might have room for them either at the hospital or on board of Captain Spikerman's ship, which lay in the road; and he expressed much uneasiness that Coupang could not afford them better accommodations, the house assigned to me being the only one uninhabited, and the situation of the few families that lived at this place such, that they could not conveniently receive strangers. For the present, till matters could be properly regulated, he gave directions that victuals for my people should be dressed at his own house.

On returning to Captain Spikerman's house, I found that every kind relief had been given to my people. The surgeon had dressed their sores, and the cleaning of their persons had not been less attended to, several friendly gifts of apparel having been presented to them.

I desired to be shown to the house that was intended for me, which I found ready, with servants to attend. It consisted of a hall, with a room at each end, and a loft over-head, and was surrounded by a piazza, with an outer apartment in one corner, and a communication from the back part of the house to the street. I therefore determined, instead of separating from my people, to lodge them all with me; and I divided the house as follows: One room I took to myself, the other I allotted to the master, surgeon, Mr. Nelson, and the gunner; the loft to the other officers; and the outer apartment to the men. The hall was common to the officers, and the men had the back piazza. Of this disposition I informed the governor, and he sent down chairs, tables, and benches, with bedding and other necessaries, for the use of every one.

The governor, when I took my leave, had desired me to acquaint him with every thing of which I stood in need; but it was only at particular times that he had a few moments of ease, or could attend to any thing; being in a dying state, with an incurable disease. On this account I transacted whatever business I had, with Mr. Timotheus Wanjon, the second of this place, who was the governor's son-in-law; and who also contributed every thing in his power to make our situation comfortable. I had been, therefore, misinformed by the seaman, who told me that Captain Spikerman was the next person in command to the governor.

At noon, a dinner was brought to the house, sufficiently good to make persons, more accustomed to plenty, eat too much. Yet I believe, few in such a situation would have observed more moderation than my people did. My greatest apprehension was, that they would eat too much

fruit, of which there was great variety in season at this time.

Having seen every one enjoy this meal of plenty, I dined myself with Mr. Wanjon; but I felt no extraordinary inclination to eat or drink. Rest and quiet, I considered as more necessary to the re-establishment of my health, and therefore retired soon to my room, which I found furnished with every convenience. But instead of rest, my mind was disposed to reflect on our late sufferings, and on the failure of the expedition; but above all, on the thanks due to Almighty God, who had given us power to support and bear such heavy calamities, and had enabled me, at last, to be the means of saving eighteen lives.

In times of difficulty, there will generally arise circumstances that bear particularly hard on a commander. In our late situation, it was not the least of my distresses, to be constantly assailed with the melancholy demands of my people for an increase of allowance, which it grieved me to refuse. The necessity of observing the most rigid economy in the distribution of our provisions, was so evident, that I resisted their solicitations, and never deviated from the agreement we made at setting out. The consequence of this care was, that at our arrival we had still remaining sufficient for eleven days, at our scanty allowance: and if we had been so unfortunate as to have missed the Dutch settlement at Timor, we could have proceeded to Java, where I was certain that every supply we wanted could be procured.

Another disagreeable circumstance to which my situation exposed me, was the caprice of ignorant people. Had I been incapable of acting, they would have carried the boat on shore, as soon as we made the island of Timor, without considering that landing among the natives, at a distance from the European settlement, might have been as dangerous as among any other Indians.

The quantity of provisions with which we left the ship, was not more than we should have consumed in five days, had there been no necessity for husbanding our stock. The mutineers must naturally have concluded, that we could have no other place of refuge than the Friendly Islands; for it was not likely they should imagine that, so poorly equipped as we were in every respect, there could have been a possibility of our attempting to return homewards; much less can they suspect that the account of their villany has already reached their native country.

When I reflect how providentially our lives were saved at Tofoa, by the Indians delaying their attack; and that, with scarce any thing to support life, we crossed a sea of more than 1200 leagues, without shelter from the inclemency of the weather; when I reflect that in an open boat, with so much stormy weather, we escaped foundering, that not any of us were taken off by disease, that we had the great good fortune to pass the unfriendly natives of other countries without accident, and at last happily to meet with the most friendly and best of people to relieve our distresses; I say, when I reflect on all these wonderful escapes, the remembrance of such great mercies enables me to bear, with resignation and cheerfulness, the failure of an expedition, the success of which I had so much at heart, and which was frustrated at a time when I was congratulating myself on the

fairest prospect of being able to complete it in a manner that would fully have answered the intention of his Majesty, and the humane promoters of so benevolent a plan.

With respect to the preservation of our health, during a course of sixteen days of heavy and almost continual rain, I would recommend to every one in a similar situation, the method we practised, which is, to dip their clothes in the salt water, and wring them out, as often as they become filled with rain: \* it was the only resource we had, and I believe was of the greatest service to us, for it felt more like a change of dry clothes than could well be imagined. We had occasion to do this so often, that at length all our clothes were wrung to pieces: for except the few days we passed on the coast of New Holland, we were continually wet either with rain or sea.

Thus, through the assistance of Divine Providence, we surmounted the difficulties and distresses of a most perilous voyage, and arrived safe in an hospitable port, where every necessary and comfort were administered to us with a most liberal hand.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### AT COUPANG.

July.—FROM the great humanity and attention of the governor, and the gentlemen at Coupang, we received every kind of assistance, and were not long without evident signs of returning health. Shortly after our arrival, I presented to the governor, a formal account of the loss of the *Bounty*; and a requisition, in his Majesty's name, that instructions might be sent to all the Dutch settlements, to stop the ship if she made her appearance. With this a complete descriptive list of the mutineers was given.

I likewise requested, in one of my first visits to the governor, that Nelson might have permission to walk about the country in search of plants, which was readily granted, with an offer of whatever assistance I should think necessary: and the governor assured me that the country was well worth examination, as it abounded with many curious and medicinal plants. From this indulgence I derived no benefit; for Nelson, who since we left New Holland, had been but in a weak condition, about this time was taken ill, in consequence of a cold caused by imprudently leaving off warm clothing.

To secure our arrival at Batavia, before the October fleet sailed for Europe, I gave public notice of my intention to hire a vessel to carry us to Batavia. In consequence of this notice, several offers were made, but none that I thought reasonable; which determined me to purchase a small schooner in the road, that was thirty-four feet long; for which I gave 1000 rix-dollars, and fitted

\* The surgeon of the *Pandora* (the vessel sent to take the mutineers, and which was wrecked on the homeward voyage), makes this observation on the practice here recommended by Captain Bligh: "This is not advisable, if protracted beyond three or four days, as after that time the great absorption from the skin that takes place taints the fluids with the bitter parts of salt water, so that the saliva becomes intolerable in the mouth." The great rains that fell nearly all the time of Captain Bligh's exposure, probably prevented the effects experienced by the crew of the *Pandora*.

her for sea, under the name of His Majesty's schooner *Resource*. As the coast of Java is frequently infested with small piratical vessels, it was necessary that we should be provided with the proper means of defence. In this I was assisted by the friendship of Mr. Wanjon, who supplied me with four brass swivels, fourteen stand of small arms and ammunition, which he obligingly let me have as a loan, to be returned at Batavia.

On the 20th of July, I had the misfortune to lose Mr. David Nelson; he died of an inflammatory fever. The loss of this honest man I very much lamented; he had, with great care and diligence, attended to the object for which he was sent, and had always been ready to forward every plan that was proposed, for the good of the service in which we were engaged. He was not less useful in our voyage hither, in the course of which he gave me great satisfaction, by the patience and fortitude with which he conducted himself.

July 21st.—This day, I was employed attending the funeral of Mr. Nelson. The corpse was carried by twelve soldiers dressed in black, preceded by the minister; next followed myself and the second governor; then ten gentlemen of the town and the officers of the ships in the harbour; and after them my own officers and people.

After reading our burial-service, the body was interred behind the chapel, in the burying-ground appropriated for the Europeans of the town. I was sorry I could get no tombstone to place over his remains.

This was the second voyage Mr. Nelson had undertaken to the South Seas, having been sent out by Sir Joseph Banks, to collect plants, seeds, &c. in Captain Cook's last voyage. And now, after surmounting so many difficulties, and in the midst of thankfulness for his deliverance, he was called upon to pay the debt of nature, at a time least expected.

Our schooner being victualled and ready for sea, on the 20th of August, I took an affectionate leave of the hospitable and friendly inhabitants of Coupang and embarked. In the afternoon we sailed, having the launch, which had so much contributed to our preservation, in tow. We exchanged salutes with the fort and shipping as we ran out of the harbour.

This settlement was formed in the year 1630, and is the only one the Dutch have on the island Timor. They have residents in different parts of the country. On the north side of Timor, there is a Portuguese settlement. The produce of the island is chiefly sandal-wood and bees-wax; the former article is now scarce. Wax they have in great plenty. The bees build their nests in bushes and in the boughs of trees, to which the natives cannot approach but with fire. The honey is put into jars, and the wax is run into blocks of three feet in length, and from twelve to fifteen inches square. The natives, at least those who live in the neighbourhood of Coupang, are of a very indolent disposition, of which the Chinese have taken advantage; for though the Malays are very fond of traffic, most of their trade is carried on in small Chinese vessels, of from ten to thirty tons burthen. There is a market at Coupang for the country people, in which, however, there is little business done. I have seen a man from the country, come to market with two potatoes; and this

is not unusual. These being sold for two doits (equal to a halfpenny English) serve to supply him with betel to chew; and the remainder of the day is passed in lounging about the town. The inland people, who live at a distance from the Europeans, are strong and active; but their want of cleanliness, subjects them to filthy diseases.

The chief of the natives, or king of the island, is by the Dutch styled Keyser (emperor). This prince lives at a place called Backennassy, about four miles distant from Coupang. His authority over the natives is not wholly undisputed; which is by the Dutch attributed to the intrigues of the Portuguese, who are on the north part of Timor. The island has lately suffered much by a competition between the present king and one of his nephews, which caused a civil war, that lasted from the beginning of the year 5786 to 1788, when their differences were settled by a treaty chiefly in favour of the king. The ravages committed in these disputes, have occasioned a scarcity of provisions, that probably, from the want of industry in the natives, will not soon be remedied. I had an opportunity of making a visit to the king. His dwelling was a large house, which was divided into only three apartments, and surrounded by a piazza; agreeably situated, but very dirty, as was all the furniture. The king who is an elderly man, received me with much civility, and ordered refreshments to be set before me, which were, tea, rice, cakes, roasted Indian corn, and dried buffalo flesh, with about a pint of arrack, which I believe was all he had. His dress was a cheque wrapper girded round his waist with a silk and gold belt, a loose linen jacket, and a coarse handkerchief about his head. A few of his chiefs were with him, who partook of our repast; after which the king retired with three of them for a short time, and when he returned, presented me with a round plate of metal about four inches diameter, on which was stamped the figure of a star. As I had been informed that arrack would be an acceptable present, I was prepared to make a return, which was well received. They never dilute their liquor, and, from habit, are able to drink a large quantity of spirits at a time, without being intoxicated.

When a king dies, a large feast is made, to which all the inhabitants are invited. The body, after a few days, is put into a coffin, which is closed up and kept three years before it is interred.

The Dutch have been at some pains to establish Christianity among the natives: but it has not gained much ground, except in the neighbourhood of Coupang. The present king was christened by the name of Barnardus. His Indian name is *Bacchee Bannock*. The Scriptures are translated into the Malay language, and prayers are performed, in the church at Coupang, by a Malay clergyman, in that language.

I met, at Timor, with most of the fruits that are described in Captain Cook's first voyage as natives of Batavia, except the mangostan. The bread-fruit tree, called by the Malays *soccoom*, likewise grows here with great luxuriance, and appears to be as much a native of this island as it is of Otaheite. The fruit is exactly of the same kind, but not so good. A bread-fruit of Timor, weighs half as much more as one of equal size at Otaheite. It is not used here as bread, but generally eaten with milk and sugar. At Backennassy I saw

about twenty of the trees, larger than any I have seen at Otaheite. Here is also a sort of bread-fruit tree, that produces seeds, not unlike Windsor beans, and equally palatable, either boiled or roasted. No other part of the fruit is eatable; and though the tree, I am told, is to all appearance the same as the other, the fruits have but little resemblance; the fruit of this being covered with projecting points, nearly half an inch in length.

I received a present of some fine plants, from the governor, which I was afterwards unfortunately obliged to leave at Batavia, for want of proper room to take care of them, in the packet by which I returned to Europe. Mr. Wanjon likewise favoured me with some seeds for his Majesty's garden at Kew, which I had the good fortune to deliver safe, on my return: and some of the mountain rice, cultivated at Timor, on the dry land, which was forwarded to his Majesty's botanic garden at St. Vincent, and to other parts in the West Indies.

A resemblance of language between the people of the South Sea islands, and the inhabitants of many of the islands in the East Indies, has been remarked in Captain Cook's first voyage. Here, the resemblance appeared stronger than has yet been noticed; particularly in their numerals. But besides the language, I observed some customs among the people of Timor, still more striking for their similarity. They practise the *Tooge-tooge*\* of the Friendly Islands, which they call *Toombok*: and the *Roomee* of Otaheite, which they call *Ramas*. I likewise saw, placed on their graves, offerings of baskets with tobacco and betel.

I left the governor, Mr. Van Este, at the point of death. To this gentleman our most grateful thanks are due, for the humane and friendly treatment that we received from him. His ill state of health only prevented him from showing us more particular marks of attention. Unhappily, it is to his memory only that I now pay this tribute. It was a fortunate circumstance for us, that Mr. Wanjon, the next in place to the governor, was equally humane and ready to relieve us. His attention was unremitting, and, when there was a doubt about supplying me with money, to enable me to purchase a vessel, he cheerfully took it upon himself; without which, it was evident, I should have been too late at Batavia to have sailed for Europe with the October fleet. I can only return such services by ever retaining a grateful remembrance of them. Mr. Max, the town surgeon, likewise behaved to us with the most disinterested humanity: he attended every one with the utmost care; for which I could not prevail on him to receive any payment, or to render me any account, or other answer than that it was his duty.

## CHAPTER XIX.

FROM TIMOR TO BATAVIA.

Thursday, August 20th.—FROM Coupang we steered N.W. by W., having a moderate breeze at S.E. with fair weather.

Saturday, 22d.—At daylight we saw the island Flores to the northward. We steered along the south side of Flores, mostly with light winds and

\* The *Tooge-tooge* and the *Roomee* are described in Captain Cook's last voyage.

hazy weather, so that we did not constantly keep sight of the coast.

Tuesday, 25th.—At noon we were off Toorns island, which bore N.W. by N., three or four leagues distant. There is a curious high peak on the S.W. part: the land near the shore is low and woody.

On the 27th, at noon, we were near the entrance of the Straits of Mangaryn, which not appearing so open and clear as represented in the map, I steered for the Straits of Sapi, intending to pass through; but was obliged to give up this plan, by strong currents setting to the S.E., which there was not sufficient wind to enable us to stem. I therefore again stood for the Straits of Mangaryn, which we ran through in the afternoon of the 29th, being favoured with a fresh breeze from the S.S.E. On the Flores side, there are many good harbours and bays, where vessels may anchor; but the country hereabouts appears burnt up and desolate.

When we had passed the straits, we kept to the westward, running along the north side of the island Sumbawa, where there is a very high mountain near the coast; at the foot of which, I am informed, are many runs of good water, conveniently situated for ships to supply themselves.

In the night of the 31st, several prows were rowing about us, on which account we kept all night under arms.

Thursday, Sept. 3d.—This and the two following days we were sailing along the north side of the island Lomboek, on which is a high mountain. Most of the islands in this route are distinguished by high mountains. Lomboek appears to be well clothed with wood. In the nights we saw fires placed on the high lands, at a distance from the coast.

Sunday, 6th.—In the afternoon we saw the high land of Cape Sandana, which is the N.E. part of Java. The next day we were off Cape Sandana, which is a low cape projecting from the high land already mentioned.

We steered to the westward, along the coast of Java; and on the 10th, at noon, we anchored off Passourwang, a Dutch settlement on the coast of Java, in two fathoms; distant from the shore half a league; the entrance of the river bearing S.W. The coast hereabouts is so shoal, that large ships are obliged to anchor three or four miles from the land. As soon as we were at anchor, I got in my boat and went on shore. The banks of the river, near the entrance, were mud, on which grew a few mangrove bushes. Among them we saw hogs running, and many were lying dead in the mud, which caused a most intolerable stench, and made me heartily repent having come here, but after proceeding about a mile up the river, the course of which was serpentine, we found a very pleasant country, and landed at a small and well-constructed fort; where I was received in a friendly and polite manner by M. Adrian Van Rye, the commandant. By the return of the boat, I sent on board a small bullock, and other provisions. I likewise took a pilot to conduct us to Sourabaya.

The houses at Passourwang are neatly built, and the country appears to be well cultivated. The produce of this settlement is rice, of which they export large quantities. There are but few Dutch here: the Javanese are numerous, and their chief lives with considerable splendour. They have good roads, and posts are established along

the coast; and it appears to be a busy and well-regulated settlement.

The next day, about noon, we sailed; and on the 12th, in the evening, anchored in Sourabaya road, in seven fathoms: distance from the shore one mile. We found riding here, seven square-rigged and several smaller vessels.

It was too late when we anchored to send a boat on shore. The next morning, before daylight, three guard-boats stationed themselves near us, and I was informed that I must not land or send a boat on shore. This restriction, I learnt from the officer of the guard boats, was in conformity to general orders concerning all strange vessels on their first arrival. At nine in the forenoon, leave came off for us to land, and soon after the guard-boats quitted us.

I was received on shore with great civility and friendship by the governor, or Opperhooff, M. Ant. Barkay, and the commandant of the troops, M. de Bose. By these gentlemen I was hospitably entertained, and advised to remain till the 16th, when some vessels were to sail, with whom I might keep company, which they recommended on account of pirates.

Sourabaya is one of the most pleasant places I ever saw. It is situated on the banks of a river, and is a mile and a half distant from the sea shore, so that only the flag-staff can be seen from the road. The river is navigable up to the town for vessels of 100 tons burthen, and the bank on one side is made convenient for tracking. The Chinese carry on a considerable trade here, and have a town or camp on the side of the river opposite to Sourabaya. The country near the town is flat, and the soil light, so that they plough with a single bullock or buffalo (*karrabou*). The interior parts of the country, near the mountains, are infested with a breed of fierce tigers, which makes travelling inland very dangerous. They have here a breed of horses, which are small, but they are handsome and strong.

The Javanese in this neighbourhood are numerous. M. Barkay and M. de Bose took me with them to pay a visit to two of the principal natives, whom we found attended by a number of men armed with pikes, in great military order. We were entertained with a concert of music; the instruments were gongs, drums, and a fiddle with two strings. I hired a pilot here to carry us to Batavia.

On the 17th, we sailed from Sourabaya, in company with three prows. At noon, we anchored at Crissey, which is a town with a small fort belonging to the Dutch. We remained here about two hours and then weighed.

The navigation through the Straits of Madura is so intricate, that, with the little opportunity I had, I am unable to undertake a description of it. The next day (September 18th) having passed the straits, we bore away to the westward, along the coast of Java, in company with the prows before mentioned. We had regular soundings all the way to Samarang, off which place we anchored on the 22d in the afternoon. The shoalness of the coast here, makes the road of Samarang very inconvenient, both on account of the great distance that large ships (of which there were several in the road) are obliged to lie from the shore, and of the landing, which is in a river that cannot be entered before half-flood. This river resembles the one at Passourwang, the shores being low, with offen-

sive dead animals lying about. I was met at the landing-place by the equipage-master, and he furnished me with a carriage to carry me to the governor, whose residence is about two miles from the town of Samarang. I requested, and obtained leave, to have our wants supplied, which were, to recruit our provisions, and to get a new main-mast, having sprung ours in the passage from Sourabaya.

Samarang is a fortified town, surrounded by a wall and ditch; and is the most considerable settlement, next to Batavia, that the Dutch have in Java. Here is a very good hospital, and a public school, chiefly for teaching the mathematics. They have likewise a theatre. Provisions are remarkably cheap here, beef being at ten doits per pound, and the price of a fowl twelve doits.

I experienced great civility from some of the gentlemen at Samarang, particularly from M. le Baron de Bose, a merchant, brother to the M. de Bose, commandant of the troops at Sourabaya; and from M. Abegg, the surgeon of the hospital, to whom we were indebted for advice and medicines, for which he would not consent to receive payment.

On the 26th, we sailed from Samarang; and with us, a galley mounting six swivels, which the governor had directed to accompany us to Batavia.

On the first of October we anchored in Batavia road, where we found riding, a Dutch ship of war, and twenty sail of Dutch East India ships, besides many smaller vessels.

## CHAPTER XX.

### OCCURRENCES AT BATAVIA, AND PASSAGE THENCE TO ENGLAND.

In the afternoon, at four o'clock, I went on shore, and landed at a house by the river, where strangers first stop and give an account who they are, whence they come, &c. From this place, a Malay gentleman took me in a carriage to the Sabandar, Mr. Englehard, whose house was in the environs of the city, on the side nearest the shipping. The Sabandar is the officer with whom all strangers are obliged to transact their business: at least, the whole must go through his hands. With him, I went to pay my respects to the governor-general, who received me with great civility. I acquainted his excellency with my situation, and requested my people might be taken care of, and that we should be allowed to take a passage to Europe in the first ship that sailed. I likewise desired permission to sell the schooner and launch. All this his excellency told me should be granted. I then took leave, and returned with the Sabandar, who wrote down the particulars of my wants, in order to form from them a regular petition, to be presented to the council the next day. I had brought from the governor of Coupang, directed for the governor-general at Batavia, the account of my voyage and misfortune, translated into Dutch, from an account that I had given to Mr. Van Este. So attentive had they been at Timor to every thing that related to us.

There is a large hotel at Batavia, fitted up purposely for the accommodation of strangers, who are not allowed to reside at any other place. It is situated near the great river, in a part of the city that is reckoned the most airy and healthy. Nevertheless, I found the air hot and suffocating, and

was taken ill in the night with a violent pain in my head. The next morning, at nine, the council sat, and I attended, accompanied by the Sabandar; and was informed that the council had complied with all I had requested.

When I returned to the hotel, my head-ach increased, and a violent fever came on. I sent to acquaint the Sabandar of my situation, and was soon after attended by the head surgeon of the town hospital, Mr. Aansorp; by whose care and skill, in less than 24 hours, the fever considerably abated, but a severe head-ach continued. I had an invitation from the governor-general to dine with him; which, of course, I was obliged to decline.

I hired a carriage, which cost three dollars per day, for the benefit of taking an airing. My lodgings at the hotel were so close and hot, that I desired the Sabandar to apply to the governor-general, for leave to hire a house in the country; which request his excellency not only immediately complied with, but gave directions for my being accommodated at the house of the physician or surgeon-general, Mr. Sparling.

One of my people, Thomas Hall, being ill with a flux, I obtained leave for him to be sent to the country hospital, which is a convenient airy building.

Tuesday, 6th.—This morning, at sunrise, I left the hotel, and was carried to Mr. Sparling's house, about four miles distant from the city, and near the convalescent hospital, which at this time had also sick men in it, the whole number of patients amounting to 800. I found every thing prepared for my comfort and convenience. Mr. Sparling would suffer me to take no medicine, though I had still considerable fever with head-ach: but I found so much relief from the difference of the air, that in the evening I was able to accompany Mr. Sparling on a visit to the governor-general, at one of his country seats; where we found many ladies, all dressed in the Malay fashion, some of them richly ornamented with jewels. I had invitations from several gentlemen, and some very kindly pressed me to make their country houses my abode, till my health should be re-established.

My indisposition increasing, Mr. Sparling advised me to quit Batavia as speedily as possible, and represented the necessity of it to the governor-general. I was informed from his excellency, that the homeward bound ships were so much crowded, that there would be no possibility of all my people going in one ship, and that they could be accommodated no other way than by dividing them into different ships. Seeing, therefore, that a separation was unavoidable, I determined to follow the advice of the physician, and, as a packet was appointed to sail for Europe on the 16th instant, I sent to request of the governor that I might be allowed to take a passage in her for myself, and as many of my people as they were able to receive. In answer to this, I was acquainted that myself and two more could be accommodated in the packet, she being too small to admit a greater number; but that I might rest assured of passages being provided for those that remained, by the earliest opportunities.

Friday, 9th.—This day, anchored in the road, the General Elliot, an English ship, commanded by Captain Lloyd. In the Straits of Banca, he had met with some boats belonging to the East India Company's ship Vansittart, that was lost in the Straits of Billaton, by having struck on a rock

that went through her bottom. Captain Wilson, who commanded the *Vansittart*, I was informed, had just finished a survey of those straits, and was hoisting his boat in, when the ship struck. Immediately on receiving the intelligence, Captain Lloyd, in the *General Elliot*, and another ship in company, called the *Nonsuch*, sailed for the wreck. They found the ship had been burnt down to the water's edge by the Malays. They, however, saved 40 chests of treasure, out of 55, which were said to have been on board. Most of the ship's company were saved: one man only was lost in the ship, and five others in a small boat were missing, who were supposed to have taken some of the treasure.—The greater part of the people went with Captain Wilson to China, and some were with Captain Lloyd.

Saturday, 10th.—This morning, the *Resource* was sold by public auction: the custom at Batavia, is to begin high, and to lower the price, till some person bids; and the first bidder is the buyer. She was accordingly put up at 2000 rix-dollars, but, to my great disappointment, no one offered to purchase before the auctioneer had lowered the demand to 295 rix-dollars, for which price she was sold; the purchaser being an Englishman, Captain John Eddie, who commanded an English ship from Bengal. If no strangers had been present at the sale, I imagine they would have let her run down to 200 dollars, in which case I should have had no alternative.

The launch likewise was sold. The services she had rendered us, made me feel great reluctance at parting with her; which I would not have done, if I could have found a convenient opportunity of getting her conveyed to Europe.

Little as the schooner had sold for, I found I was in danger of having the sum lessened; for the Sabandar informed me, that, by an order of the council, there was a duty on the sale of all vessels. With this demand I would by no means comply; for I thought I had sufficiently suffered, in sustaining a loss of 705 rix-dollars out of 1000, by the purchase and sale of the vessel, she having cost 1000 rix-dollars.

This day, Thomas Hall, whom I had sent to be taken care of at the hospital, died. He had been ill of a flux from the time of our arrival at Timor.

Monday, 12th.—I agreed with the captain of the packet for a passage to Europe, for myself, my clerk, and a servant. The Sabandar informed me, it was necessary that my officers and people should be examined before a notary, respecting the loss of the *Bounty*, as otherwise the governor and council were not legally authorized to detain her, if she should be found in any of the Dutch settlements. They were therefore, at my desire, examined; and afterwards made affidavit before the governor and council at the Stadt-house.

My officers complaining to me of the unreasonableness of some tradesmen's bills, I spoke to the Sabandar. A bill of 51 dollars for five hats, he reduced to 30 dollars, and in other articles made proportionable deductions.

Paper money is the currency of Batavia, and is so understood in all bargains. At this time, paper was at 28 per cent. discount: there is likewise a difference in the value of the ducatoin, which at Batavia is 80 stivers, and in Holland only 63 stivers: this occasions a loss of 21½ per cent. on

remittance of money. It therefore follows, that if any person at Batavia remits money by bills of exchange to Europe, they lose by the discount and the exchange 49¼ per cent.

Those who have accounts to pay, and can give unexceptionable bills on Europe, will find a considerable saving by negotiating their bills with private people; who are glad to give for them a premium of 20 per cent. at the least. This discovery, I made somewhat too late to profit by.

One of the greatest difficulties that strangers have to encounter, is, their being obliged to live at the hotel. This hotel was formerly two houses, which by doors of communication have been made one. It is in the middle of a range of buildings, more calculated for a cold country than for such a climate as Batavia. There is no free circulation of air, and what is equally bad, it is always very dirty; and there is great want of attendance. What they call cleaning the house, is another nuisance; for they never use any water to cool it or to lay the dust, but sweep daily with brooms, in such a manner, that those in the house are almost suffocated by a cloud of dust.

The months of December and January are reckoned the most unhealthy of the year, the heavy rains being then set in.—The account of the seasons, as given to me here, I believe may be relied on.

The middle of November, the west monsoon begins, and rain.

December and January.—Continual rain with strong westerly wind.

February.—Westerly wind. Towards the end of this month the rain begins to abate.

March.—Intervals of fine weather. Wind westerly.

April.—In this month the east monsoon begins. Weather generally fine, with showers of rain.

May. East monsoon fixed. Strong east.

June and July. Clear weather. Heavy east wind.

August and September. Wind more moderate.

October. In this month, the wind begins to be variable, with showers of rain.

The current is said always to run with the wind. Nevertheless I found the reverse in sailing from Timor to Java. Between the end of October and the beginning of the ensuing year, no Dutch ship bound for Europe is allowed to sail from Batavia, for fear of being near the Mauritius, at the time of the hurricanes, which are frequent there in December and January.

My illness prevented me from gaining much knowledge of Batavia. Of their public buildings, I saw nothing that gave me so much satisfaction as their country hospital for seamen. It is a large commodious and airy building, about four miles from the town, close to the side of the river, or rather in the river: for the ground on which it stands has, by labour, been made an island of, and the sick are carried there in a boat: each ward is a separate dwelling, and the different diseases are properly classed. They have sometimes 1400 patients in it: at this time there were 800, but more than half of these were recovered and fit for service, of whom 300 were destined for the fleet that was to sail for Europe. I went through most of the wards, and there appeared great care and attention. The sheets, bedding, and linen, of the sick were perfectly neat and clean. The



house of the physician, Mr. Sparling, who has the management of the hospital, is at one extremity of the building : and here it was that I resided. To the attention and care of this gentleman, for which he would receive no payment, I am probably indebted for my life.

The hospital in the town is well attended, but the situation is so ill chosen, that it certainly would be the saving of many lives to build one in its stead up the river ; which might be done with great advantage, as water carriage is so easy and convenient. A great neglect in some of the commanders of the shipping here, was suffering their people to go dirty, and frequently without frock, shirt, or any thing to cover their bodies ; which, besides being a public nuisance, must probably be productive of ill health in the most robust constitution.

The governor-general gave me leave to lodge all my people at the country hospital, which I thought a great advantage, and with which they were perfectly satisfied. The officers, however, at their own request, remained in the town.

The time fixed for the sailing of the packet approaching, I settled my accounts with the Sabandar, leaving open the victualling account, to be closed by Mr. Fryer, the master, previous to his departure ; whom I likewise authorised to supply the men and officers left under his command, with one month's pay, to enable them to purchase clothing for their passage to England.

I had been at great pains to bring living plants from Timor, in six tubs ; which contained jacks, nancas, karambolas, namnams, jambos, and three thriving bread-fruit plants. These I thought might be serviceable at the Cape of Good Hope, if brought no farther : but I had the mortification of being obliged to leave them all at Batavia. I took these plants on board at Coupang, on the 20th of August : they had experienced a passage of forty-two days to my arrival here. The bread-fruit plants died to the root, and sprouted afresh from thence. The karambolas, jacks, nancas, and namnams, I had raised from the seed, and they were in fine order. No judgment can hence be formed of the success of transporting plants, as in the present trial they had many disadvantages.

This morning, Friday 16th, before sun-rise, I embarked on board the Vlyde packet, commanded by Captain Peter Couvret, bound for Middleburgh. With me likewise embarked Mr. John Samuel, clerk, and John Smith, seaman. Those of our company who staid behind, the governor promised me should follow in the first ships, and be as little divided as possible.—At seven o'clock the packet weighed, and sailed out of the road.

On the 18th we spoke the Rambler, an American brig, belonging to Boston, bound to Batavia. After passing the Straits of Sunda, we steered to the north of the Cocos Isles. These islands, Captain Couvret informed me, are full of cocoa-nut trees : there is no anchorage near them, but good landing for boats.

In the passage to the Cape of Good Hope there occurred nothing worth remark. I cannot, however, forbear noticing the Dutch manner of navigating. They steer by true compass, or rather endeavour so to do, by means of a small moveable central card, which they set to the meridian : and whenever they discover the variation has altered

$2\frac{1}{2}$  degrees since the last adjustment, they again correct the central card. This is steering within a quarter of a point, without aiming at greater exactness. The officer of the watch likewise corrects the course for lee-way, by his own judgment, before it is marked down in the log board. They heave no log : I was told that the Company do not allow it. Their manner of computing their run, is by means of a measured distance of forty feet along the ship's side : they take notice of any remarkable patch of froth, when it is abreast the foremost end of the measured distance, and count half seconds till the mark of froth is abreast the after end. With the number of half seconds thus obtained, they divide the number forty-eight, taking the product for the rate of sailing in geographical miles in one hour, or the number of Dutch miles in four hours.

It is not usual to make any allowance to the sun's declination, on account of being on a different meridian from that for which the tables are calculated : they in general compute with the numbers just as they are found in the table. From all this it is not difficult to conceive the reason why the Dutch are frequently above ten degrees out in their reckoning. Their passages likewise are considerably lengthened by not carrying a sufficient quantity of sail.

December 16th, in the afternoon we anchored in Table Bay. The next morning I went on shore, and waited on his Excellency M. Vander Graaf, who received me in the most polite and friendly manner. The Guardian, commanded by Lieut. Riou, had left the Cape about eight days before, with cattle and stores for Port Jackson. This day anchored in Table Bay, the Astrée, a French frigate, commanded by the Count de St. Rivel, from the Isle of France, on board of which ship was the late governor, the Chevalier d'Entrecasteaux. Other ships that arrived during my stay at the Cape, were, a French forty gun frigate, an East India ship, and a brig of the same nation : likewise two other French ships, with slaves from the coast of Mosambique, bound to the West Indies : a Dutch packet from Europe, after a four months' passage : and the Harpy, a South Sea whaler, with 500 barrels of spermaceti, and 400 of seal and other oils. There is a standing order from the Dutch East India Company, that no person who takes a passage from Batavia for Europe, in any of their ships, shall be allowed to leave the ship before she arrives at her intended port ; according to which regulation, I must have gone to Holland in the packet. Of this I was not informed till I was taking leave of the governor-general, at Batavia, when it was too late for him to give the captain an order to permit me to land in the channel. He however desired I would make use of his name to Governor Vander Graaf, who readily complied with my request, and gave the necessary orders to the captain of the packet, a copy of which his Excellency gave to me ; and at the same time, commendatory letters to people of consequence in Holland, in case I should be obliged to proceed so far.

I left a letter at the Cape of Good Hope, to be forwarded to Governor Phillips, at Port Jackson, by the first opportunity ; containing a short account of my voyage, with a descriptive list of the pirates : and from Batavia I had written to Lord

Cornwallis ; so that every part of India will be prepared to receive them.

We sailed from the Cape, on Saturday, 2nd January, 1790, in company with the *Astrée* French frigate. The next morning neither ship nor land was in sight. On the 15th, we passed in sight of the island St. Helena. The 21st, we saw the Island Ascension. On the 10th of February, the wind being at N. E., blowing fresh, our sails were covered with a fine orange-coloured dust. Fuego, the westernmost of the Cape de Verd islands, and the nearest land to us, on that day at noon bore N.E. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., distance 140 leagues. On the 13th of March, we saw the Bill of Portland, and on the evening of the next day, Sunday March the 14th, I left the packet, and was landed at Portsmouth, by an Isle of Wight boat.

Those of my officers and people whom I left at

Batavia, were provided with passages in the earliest ships ; and at the time we parted, were apparently in good health. Nevertheless they did not all live to quit Batavia. Mr. Elphinstone, master's mate, and Peter Linkletter, seaman, died within a fortnight after my departure ; the hardships they had experienced having rendered them unequal to cope with so unhealthy a climate as that of Batavia. The remainder embarked on board the Dutch fleet for Europe, and arrived safe at this country, except Robert Lamb, who died on the passage, and Mr. Ledward, the surgeon, who has not yet been heard of. Thus of nineteen who were forced by the mutineers into the launch, it has pleased God that twelve should surmount the difficulties and dangers of the voyage, and live to revisit their native country.

## APPENDIX ;

CONTAINING

ADDITIONAL PARTICULARS RESPECTING THE MUTINY ON BOARD THE BOUNTY, AND A RELATION OF THE FATE OF THE MUTINEERS, AND OF THE SETTLEMENT IN PITCAIRN'S ISLAND.\*

CAPTAIN BLIGH'S account of his voyage has been given precisely as he published it, in 1792, without any alteration, saving the suppression of those parts where he records his observations of the latitude, longitude, bearings and soundings of particular places, of no interest to any but the mariner, and even to him now rendered almost, if not quite useless, by subsequent and more accurate surveys.

The superiority of the pleasure derived from reading a journal of facts, recorded day by day while the *immediate* impression remains, over a formal narrative, is so great, as to render it very desirable that the original should be presented to the public, rather than a vamped and tinselled substitute. In many cases however, the original is not adapted for that purpose ; but the present is far otherwise, and we trace the daily progress of the skilful mariner, on whose life the existence of his fellow sufferers depended, with earnest hope and eager expectation. His narrative is like a moving picture ; full of horrors, it is true, but of horrors that fix our gaze upon them.

Captain Bligh's character stood deservedly high in his profession, in which he afterwards rose to the rank of a flag officer, but his temper was infirm, and when under its influence he suffered himself to use language both to his crew and officers, which it is now surprising to believe was not quite *uncommon* at that period, even from gentlemen holding the rank he did, at the time of the mutiny.

Disputes began early between him and his officers and crew, and appear to have originated from the circumstance of the commander combining in his

own person, as was usual in small vessels, the offices of captain and purser. Many irritating altercations occurred, which were met by Captain Bligh with much heat of temper, but when passed, though forgotten by him, were remembered by others. His conduct in the voyage out, when his judicious regulations preserved the health of his ship's company in a very trying season, and the remarkable steadiness of his management of his men, when exposed in the boat, and tried to the utmost by their behaviour, even then unruly, prove him to have been not only fully equal, but worthy to command. Six months' relaxation from the strict reins of discipline on the fascinating shores of Otaheite, were not calculated to make the renewed curb sit easy. Disputes again began, and the captain's temper again got the better of him. Christian, who had received kindness from the captain with one hand and insults with the other, took a sudden resolution which he afterwards repented bitterly ; he found ready help-mates, but none rallied round the captain. All save the captain's clerk on the one side, and those whom Christian had, in the first instance, called on, on the other, were for a time paralysed, and slowly took their determination biased by fear or hatred in all their actions, but none by love, if we except the compassionate sailor who fed the captain with shaddock.

Captain Bligh considered the mutiny as the result of a conspiracy, but no evidence to support that opinion was ever produced ; on the contrary, in a journal kept by Morrison the boatswain's mate, an account of its origin is given, professedly from Christian's own relation, and this is the only distinct narrative of it that has ever been made public. It appears that Christian, feeling himself much aggrieved at the captain's treatment, had formed the resolution of quitting the ship on the evening

\* The authorities chiefly relied on are the papers of Capt. Heywood, first made public in 1835 ; the narrative of the voyage of the *Pandora*, by Mr. Hamilton ; the voyage of the *Briton*, by Mr. Shillibeer ; and the narrative of Capt. Beechey's voyage in the *Blossom*.

preceding the mutiny, and for that purpose had provided himself with a stout plank, to which he had fixed several staves. On this frail raft he determined to trust himself, hoping to reach the island of Tofoa; and with this view had, with the assistance of two midshipmen, Stewart and *Hayward*, who were privy to his design, filled a bag with provision. The ship making very little way, prevented him from executing his design. About half past three he lay down to sleep, and at four was roused to take the watch. On going on deck he found his mate, Mr. Hayward, asleep, and the other officer, Mr. Hallett, did not appear. He instantly determined to seize the ship, went forward, spoke to some of the crew he thought he could trust, put arms in their hands, and proceeded as Captain Bligh relates.

This appears from all the various accounts of the evidence on the Court Martial, afterwards held on the mutineers, to have been the true state of the case; but the moral obligation of obedience to discipline in a ship, must have been totally forgotten by both officers and crew, when such a sudden determination was thought capable of execution, and not one soul stepped forward to oppose it.

When the boat containing Captain Bligh and his companions was cast off, there remained on board the *Bounty*—

FLETCHER CHRISTIAN, Master's Mate, and acting Lieutenant, afterwards murdered at Pitcairn's Island.

PETER HEYWOOD, Midshipman, surrendered himself to Captain Edwards of the *Pandora*; was tried, condemned, pardoned, and afterwards attained the rank of captain in the service.

EDWARD YOUNG, Midshipman, died at Pitcairn's Island.

GEORGE STEWART, do., drowned on board the *Pandora*.

CHARLES CHURCHILL, Master-at-Arms, murdered by Thompson, at Otaheite.

JOHN MILLS, Gunner's Mate, murdered at Pitcairn's Island.

JAMES MORRISON, Boatswain's Mate, tried, condemned, and pardoned.

THOMAS BURKITT, Seaman, tried, condemned, and executed.

MATTHEW QUINTAL, do., put to death by Adams and Young at Pitcairn's Island.

JOHN SUMNER, do., drowned on board the *Pandora*.

JOHN MILLWARD, do., tried, condemned, and executed.

WILLIAM M'KAY, do., committed suicide at Pitcairn's Island.

HENRY HILLBRANT, do., drowned on board the *Pandora*.

MICHAEL BYRNE, do., tried and acquitted.

WILLIAM MUSPRAT, do., tried, condemned, and pardoned.

ALEXANDER SMITH (alias JOHN ADAMS), do., died at Pitcairn's Island in 1829.

JOHN WILLIAMS, do., murdered at Pitcairn's Island.

THOMAS ELLISON, do., tried, condemned, and executed.

ISAAC MARTIN, do., murdered at Pitcairn's Island.

RICHARD SKINNER, do., drowned on board the *Pandora*.

MATTHEW THOMPSON, do., put to death by the natives at Otaheite, for the murder of Churchill.

WILLIAM BROWN, Gardener, murdered at Pitcairn's Island.

JOSEPH COLEMAN, Armourer, tried and acquitted.

CHARLES NORMAN, Carpenter's Mate, do. do.

THOMAS M'INTOSH, Carpenter's Crew, do. do.

When Captain Bligh's boat was cast off, Christian assumed the command of the *Bounty*; he steered for Toobouai, an island situated in latitude 20° 13' S., and longitude 149° 35' W., where they anchored on the 25th May, 1789. All the bread-fruit plants were thrown overboard, and the property of the officers and men sent adrift was divided among the mutineers. Here they intended

to form a settlement; but, in consequence of quarrels among themselves, and with the natives, and the want of many things which could be procured at Otaheite, but which could not be obtained at Toobouai, they determined to go to Otaheite, but with no intention of remaining there. On their arrival (on the 6th of June) they told the Otaheiteans that Captain Bligh had fallen in with their old friend Captain Cook, who was engaged in forming a settlement on an island called Whytootakee, and that Captain Bligh and the rest of the crew had stopped with him; that the command of the vessel had been transferred to Christian, who had been sent to obtain a fresh supply of stores. This story was readily believed by the Otaheiteans, who immediately set about collecting provisions, and in a few days sent on board 312 hogs, 38 goats, 8 dozen of fowls, a bull, and a cow, and a large quantity of bread-fruit, plantains, bananas, and other fruits. Christian peremptorily forbade any person to remain at Otaheite, and his partisans kept so close a watch on those who were suspected of any inclination to leave them, that none could contrive to escape; and as soon as the stores were all on board, they again set sail and returned to Toobouai, where they again went to work to build a fort, but finding it impossible to agree together, it was at last determined to abandon Toobouai, take the ship back to Otaheite, and land all who chose to quit her there. They arrived in Matavai Bay on the 20th of September, when sixteen men were put on shore; the small arms, powder, and stores, were equally divided between the two parties; and on the night of the 21st September, Christian and his companions again set sail, carrying with them seven Otaheitean men, and twelve women. Where they intended to go was not known, but Christian had been heard to say, that he should seek for an uninhabited island, where there was no harbour, and should there run the ship ashore and break her up.

The natives treated their guests with the greatest hospitality, and several of the Englishmen married Otaheitean women, and when they were seized in 1789, many of them had children. Mr. Stewart, in particular, had married the daughter of a chief, who possessed a very large tract of country; and when the *Pandora* arrived was living with her as a man of property and consequence\*. Morrison, Heywood, and Stewart, when at Toobouai, had formed a plan of seizing the ship's boat, and escaping to Otaheite, but abandoned the design, finding that the condition of the boat was too bad to give them a chance of success. Morrison now undertook to build a schooner, which, with the assistance of the carpenter, the cooper, and some others, he completed. His object was to reach Batavia in time to join the next fleet bound to Holland, and he and six of his companions actually set sail, but found themselves obliged to return, as their stores proved too small for so long an expedition, and the natives, who did not wish to part with them, refused to give them more. This schooner ac-

\* The parting of poor Stewart and his wife and child is described in the first missionary voyage of the ship *Duff* as having been heart-rending. His wife died of a broken heart two months after his departure.

accompanied the Pandora when she left Otaheite, parted company with her near the Palmerston Islands, but arrived safely at Samarang, in Java, after a voyage in which the crew suffered dreadfully from want of water and provisions. She was an admirable sailer, and was afterwards employed in the sea-otter trade, and subsequently bought at Canton by the late Captain Broughton, to assist in the survey of the coast of Tartary.

Stewart and Heywood did not join Morrison in this expedition, considering it much better to remain at Otaheite, where it was certain that some European vessel would touch before a long time elapsed.

When Captain Bligh arrived in England and the account of the mutiny was given to the world, a universal feeling of sympathy for the sufferers, and of indignation against the mutineers, took possession of the public mind. It was felt, and justly, that any breach of that discipline which is the main stay of the navy, the bulwark of Britain, is deserving of severe punishment; and that the perpetrators of so flagrant a violation of the first of a seaman's duties should be pursued even to the uttermost parts of the earth, and brought back to answer for their crime to their injured country. The Admiralty were fully possessed of these sentiments, and determined to make every effort to secure the offenders: with this view the Pandora frigate, Capt. Edward Edwards, mounting twenty-four guns and manned by a crew of 124 men, was commissioned, and so well victualled that, to use the expression of Mr. Hamilton the surgeon, who has written an amusing, though rather coarse account, of a most disastrous voyage, "they were obliged to eat a hole in their bread before they had room to lie down." They sailed in August, 1790, with orders to proceed in the first instance to Otaheite, and, not finding the mutineers there, to visit the different groups of the Society and Friendly Islands, and the others in the neighbouring parts of the Pacific; using their best endeavours to seize and bring home in confinement the whole or such part of the delinquents as they might be able to discover.

On the voyage the crew suffered much from an infectious fever, and at one time thirty-five men were laid up sick in their hammocks. An alarm of a Spanish frigate bearing down, put them to much inconvenience from the lumbered state of the vessel; but when the bulk-heads were all down and the ship cleared for action, the supposed enemy turned out to be a good friend, his Majesty's ship the Shark.

They touched at Rio Janeiro, where Captain Edwards was entertained by the viceroy. His palace was handsome, and its interior decorations were very beautiful and singularly appropriate. In various apartments, paintings on the ceilings displayed all the objects of natural history peculiar to the country. In one apartment appeared the quadrupeds, in another the fishes, in a third the birds and shells were displayed in groups and borderings. This elegant mode of adorning rooms is well worthy of imitation.

The voyage from Rio was prosperous, and the vessel arrived in Matavai Bay on the 23rd of March, 1791. Immediately on her arrival, Coleman, the armourer of the Bounty, put off in a canoe, and went on board; he was quickly followed

by Stewart and Heywood, who voluntarily surrendered themselves; they, however, met with a very ungracious reception from Captain Edwards, who ordered them to be put in irons immediately. A party was sent after the rest of the mutineers, who were soon secured; and the whole were lodged together in a small prison erected for the purpose on the quarter-deck, the only entrance to which was by a scuttle in the roof, about eighteen inches square, and confined with both legs and feet in irons. "The prisoners' wives," says Mr. Hamilton, in his account of the Pandora's voyage, "visited the ship daily, and brought their children, who were permitted to be carried to their unhappy fathers. To see the poor captives in irons weeping over their tender offspring, was too moving a scene for any feeling heart. Their wives brought them ample supplies of every delicacy that the country afforded while we lay there, and behaved with the greatest fidelity and affection to them."

Sixteen men had left the Bounty at Otaheite; fourteen were now on board the Pandora; the remaining two had both died violent deaths. One of these, Churchill, was murdered by his companion Thompson, for some insult he had received; and Thompson was in return stoned to death by the natives, the friends of the murdered man, who had attained the rank of a chief.

The Pandora set sail on the 8th May, and proceeded to make a search, prolonged for three months, among the various groups of islands, but without meeting with any trace of Christian and his companions, except on one of the Palmerston Islands, where a mast and some spars belonging to the Bounty were found. On the 29th of August they arrived off New Holland, and ran along the barrier reef, a boat being sent out to look for an opening, but in the night the ship struck, and she immediately began to fill with water; all hands were employed at the pumps and baling from the hatchways, but to no effect; the leak increased, and the ship beat over the reef into the deep water on the other side. It was evident that she was sinking, and the people took to the boats. Three only of the prisoners had been liberated to work at the pumps, but the prayers of the others to be allowed to assist were totally disregarded; the guard over them had been doubled, and all would have been drowned if the armourer, either by accident or from design, had not dropped his keys into the prison, and with them they set themselves free; by one of the sailors, at the risk of his life, held on by the coombings, and drew out the long shackle bolts, and thus all but four, who miserably perished, saved themselves at the moment that the ship went down, and when the whole deck was under water. Stewart was one of those who were thus unfortunately lost.

All who had contrived to escape made for a sandy key about three miles from the wreck, and on mustering the hands it was found that 89 of the ship's company and ten of the mutineers, were saved; but thirty-one of the ship's company, and four of the mutineers, had gone down with the wreck.

The survivors were now distributed in the boats, and after a miserable voyage arrived at Coupang on the 15th of August, where they remained three weeks. Here the prisoners were again confined in irons in the castle, and were treated in the same way

at Batavia, whither they were transported in a Dutch ship. From thence they set sail in a Dutch Indian-man, but falling in with the Gorgon man-of-war at the Cape, they were transferred to that vessel, and arrived at Spithead on the 19th June, 1792.

The Court-Martial met on the 12th of September, and after an investigation which lasted six days, gave their judgment that the charges had been proved against Peter Heywood, James Morrison, Thomas Ellison, Thomas Burkiitt, John Millward, and William Musprat; but recommended Heywood and Morrison to mercy. Norman, Coleman, M'Intosh, and Byrne, all of whom had expressed their desire to go into the boat, were acquitted. Eventually, a free pardon was granted to Heywood, Morrison, and Musprat; but the other three suffered the penalty of their crime, and were hung on board the Brunswick, on the 29th of October.

The case of Heywood was particularly hard, and was generally so considered. He had done no act which could be construed into assisting in the mutiny; but his case is an instance which should never be forgotten by the seaman, of that salutary rule, which determines that he who does not oppose a mutiny, makes himself a party to it. There were, however, so many extenuating circumstances in Heywood's case, as almost to take it out of the reach of even this strict interpretation. He was only fifteen years of age, and this was his first voyage; waked from his sleep by the news of a mutiny, he came on deck, found the captain a prisoner, heard two of the officers (Hayward and Fryer, who were afterwards forced into the boat) terrified at the idea of being turned adrift, entreat to be left in the ship, and saw that no effort was made by his superiors or any other to oppose the mutineers. He at first very naturally determined rather to risk himself in the ship than in the boat, of whose safety he despaired; but he changed this determination, and had with Stewart gone to his berth to get some things together, when, by order of the mutineers, the two young men were confined below, and not permitted to come upon deck till the boat with Captain Bligh had put off. All these circumstances were duly appreciated; Mr. Heywood was permitted, against the usual practice in such cases, to resume his profession,\* in which his career was prosperous and honourable. He saw much hard service, and attained the rank of captain. He died in the year 1825.

It is now time to return to Christian, and pursue his unfortunate career. All the accounts of his proceedings and of the fate of his companions, are derived from Alexander Smith, or as he afterwards called himself, though from what cause is not known, John Adams. His varying statements to the different persons who saw him at Pitcairn's Island regarding Christian, though apparently not very consistent, may perhaps be both true, especially as no motive for falsehood is apparent. To Captains Staines and Pipon, who first visited him, he stated that Christian was never happy, that he appeared full of shame and misery, after the desperate act he had performed; and that on the voyage to Pitcairn's Island, he shut himself up in his cabin, scarcely ever appeared, and when he did,

seemed sunk in the deepest melancholy: yet he told Captain Beechey that Christian was always cheerful; that his example was of the greatest service in exciting his companions to labour; that he was naturally of a happy ingenious disposition, and won the good opinion and respect of all who served under him. It does not seem improbable that before he had effected his object, and whilst he was in continual dread of seizure by some British vessel, doubts and fear might cloud his mind, and deaden his spirit, yet that when he found himself as he believed free from all danger and in the full command of those from whom he exacted and received obedience, he should become all that Adams stated him to be to Captain Beechey.

It has generally been supposed that he was a prey to remorse, and that this feeling continually weighing upon and irritating his mind, rendered him morose and savage, and that the indulgence of such feelings cost him his life. This idea was grounded upon Captain Bligh's statement in his narration, "that when he reproached Christian with his ingratitude, he replied, 'That is what it is, Mr. Bligh; I am in hell, I am in hell!'" and upon Adams's statement of his conduct on the voyage to Pitcairn's Island. The evidence on the Court Martial shows that Captain Bligh was quite mistaken in the words of Christian and their import. The master, Mr. Fryer, in his evidence stated that on coming on deck he said to Christian, "Consider what you are about," to which he replied, "Hold your tongue, sir! I have been in hell for weeks past: Captain Bligh has brought all this on himself;" alluding to the frequent quarrels that they had had, and the abuse he had received from Captain Bligh. With respect to Christian's seclusion and apparent melancholy on the subsequent voyage, that has already been noticed and an explanation attempted.

Again, it has been stated that Christian's own act, in forcibly taking away the wife of one of the Otaheitan, was the occasion of his death; that he was shot by the injured husband. It will be seen in the subsequent narration, that this was not the case; that Williams and not Christian was the offending party, and that his crime was the immediate, though not the only cause, of a general insurrection of the black men against the whites, in which Christian fell; not a single victim, but with others. It is also worthy of remark, that on the visit of the English to Pitcairn's Island the young natives on being questioned concerning religion, said it had been first taught by *Christian's* order. The mid-day prayer which they said he appointed is remarkable: "I will arise and go to my father and say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son." This prayer, or rather confession, they said Christian had appointed to be said every day at noon, and that the practice was never neglected.

All this tends to prove that Christian's feelings were more those of healthy repentance than morbid remorse.

From this digression we will now return to our narrative.

When Christian left Otaheite, there were on board, besides himself, eight of the most desperate of the mutineers, and six men and twelve

\* Lord Hood, who sat as President on his trial, received him as a midshipman on board the Victory.

women, natives of Otaheite and Toobouai. His object was to seek out an uninhabited island, out of the track of voyagers, where he intended to break up his vessel, and live with his companions secluded from the world. He fell in with an island first discovered by Captain Carteret, and named by him Pitcairn's Island. It was by him laid down 3 degrees of longitude out of its true position, which is 25° 4' S. lat., and 130° 25' W. long.

Here Christian and his companions ran the ship on the rocks, and after getting out every thing useful, set her on fire. The English divided the whole island among them, reserving nothing for the Otaheiteans, whom they treated as servants. They, however, lived together peaceably for two years, built houses for themselves, and cultivated the ground; but a quarrel now broke out between the white and the black men. Williams, one of the Englishmen, had lost his wife, who fell from the rocks while gathering birds' eggs; and he now insisted on having another wife, or leaving the island in one of the ship's boats which had been preserved. As he was a useful man, the English wished to keep him, and made one of the black men give up his wife. The blacks determined on revenge, and laid a plot to murder all the English. Their plan was discovered by the women, who were more attached to the whites than to their own countrymen, and the affair ended in the death of two of the natives, who were treacherously killed in the woods by their companions on a promise of pardon for themselves.

Another interval of quiet now took place, but the tyranny of their masters again drove the Otaheiteans to rebellion. Christian, Williams, and Mills, fell victims to this attack; Quintal and M'Koy fled to the mountains; Young was saved by the women; and Smith, or as he now called himself, Adams, after being wounded, made his peace with the natives. After this execution, the Otaheiteans proceeded to choose wives for themselves, from the widows of the murdered men; but violent disputes arose, and in the end, all the native men fell by the hands of the women, except one who was shot by Young. The men who had fled to the mountains, now returned, and the four, Adams, Young, M'Koy, and Quintal, lived peaceably for some years.

M'Koy, who was a Scotchman, and could not forget his beloved whiskey, was continually trying experiments on the *tee* root, and at last succeeded in manufacturing a spirituous liquor; the consequence of this was, that he and Quintal were constantly intoxicated, and in his own case this proceeded so far as to produce delirium, and in one of the fits he threw himself from a cliff, and was killed on the spot. This was about 1798.

In the course of next year Quintal's wife was killed from a fall from the rocks, and nothing would satisfy him but the wife of one of his companions, although there were several unmarried women to choose from; Young and Adams would not give up their wives, and in revenge Quintal attempted to murder them. His design was prevented, but he swore he would carry it into execution. Young and Adams now considered themselves justified in putting Quintal to death, to secure their own lives; and accordingly they executed their purpose by cutting him down with a hatchet.

Two men alone were now left of all who had landed on the island; their situation, and the dreadful scenes they had witnessed—scenes of guilt which entailed their own punishment, appear to have had their due effect. Young, who was of a respectable family, was tolerably educated, and Adams, who was a man of considerable abilities, both applied themselves in earnest to manage their little settlement with regularity and order. They studied the bible, and from its pages learnt and taught the good lessons of correct life in this world and the steadfast hope of a happier future. They read the church prayers every Sunday, and instructed the children. Young died about a year after Quintal, and Adams was now left the solitary survivor. He steadily pursued the good course he had begun, and was looked up to by all as their chief; he was their friend, adviser, comforter, instructor, and governor. He regulated every thing, and under his rule they prospered.

Thus they lived on, unknown to the world, but happy in their own society, and pure from the follies and wickedness which disturb the tranquillity of others, till the year 1808 (eighteen years from the foundation of the settlement), when an American vessel, the *Topaz*, Capt. Folger, touched at the island. Capt. Folger was astonished at discovering the descendants of the mutinous crew of the *Bounty*, in a race of young people rapidly springing up to manhood, and speaking both English and Otaheitean fluently. He found the little settlement in great order and harmony; their number was about thirty-five, who all looked upon Adams as their father and commander. Captain Folger did not publish any account of his discovery, which was first noticed in the newspapers, and afterwards authenticated by a communication made by him to Lieutenant Fitzmaurice at Valparaiso.

No more was heard of Pitcairn's Island or its inhabitants, till 1814, when two frigates, the *Briton*\* and *Tagus*, commanded by Sir Thomas Staines, and Captain Pipon, cruising in the Pacific, came to Pitcairn's Island, which, from the error in the charts before alluded to, they were surprised at meeting with in that position. Their astonishment was increased when they were hailed by the crew of a canoe which had put off to them, with "Won't you heave us a rope now?" After some difficulty, for the rope could not be made fast to the canoe, the crew came on board; they were fine young men, about five feet ten inches high, with manly features, partaking somewhat of the Otaheitean cast of countenance, and with long black hair. Their dress was a mantle tied round the waist by a girdle; one end being thrown over the shoulders, and the other hanging to the knees, very much in the fashion of the belted plaid of the ancient Highlanders. They wore straw hats ornamented with feathers. The young women have invariably beautiful teeth, fine eyes, and an open expression of countenance, with an engaging air of simple innocence and sweet sensibility; and their manners, far from displaying the licentiousness common to the inhabitants of other South Sea islands, were simple and unsophisticated, but perfectly modest.

\* An account of the voyage of the *Briton* was published by Mr. Shillibeer, one of her lieutenants.

A few questions put and answered on both sides explained every thing, and one of the visitors proved to be son of Christian, who was the first born on the island, and christened Thursday October, and another was the son of Young. They were naturally delighted and astonished at all they saw in the ship, but were greatly puzzled with the cow, and could not determine whether it was a huge goat or a horned pig, those being the only two quadrupeds they were acquainted with.

They were asked into the cabin to breakfast, but before partaking of the meal, both stood up, and one of them, putting his hands in a posture of devotion, asked a blessing; and they were surprised to observe that this practice, which they said was taught them by Adams, was not attended to by their new acquaintance.

Sir Thomas Staines and Captain Pipon determined to go on shore, which they effected through a considerable surf, which thoroughly wetted them; and when Adams found that there was no intention of seizing him, and that the two captains had come ashore unarmed, he came down to the beach. He was a fine looking old man, between fifty and sixty. He took the captains to his own house, which stood at one end of the square, round which the houses, which all exhibit traces of European construction, are placed; the centre is a green, fenced in for the poultry, of which they have a large stock.

Sir Thomas Staines made a proposal to Adams to go home with him, which he appeared anxious to do; but when he spoke of his desire to his family, a touching scene of sorrow was immediately displayed, and his daughter flinging her arms round his neck, asked him "who would then take care of all his little children?" He could not resist such entreaties, and although it was perhaps the strict duty of the captains to take him, yet they felt themselves justified in waiving its execution in this peculiar case.

They found every thing regulated with the most exact order; every family possessed its separate property, which was well cultivated, John Adams leading the young men and women to work every day. He did not encourage marriage before some property was got together for the support of a family; a rule that was willingly submitted to, and in no case had the slightest tendency to libertinism been observed.

Adams was accustomed to perform the ceremonies of baptism and marriage, but had not ventured to administer the sacrament.

After a stay of two days only, the Briton and Tagus departed, and the next account of the island is that of Captain Beechey, who visited it in 1825; he gives an equally pleasing account of the people or as it may not improperly be described, the family of Pitcairn's Island, and of the patriarch Adams. He found a new-comer among them, a man named Buffett, who had belonged to a whaler, but was so much delighted with the society of this little settlement, that he begged to remain. He was a man of a religious turn of mind, and being possessed of some information made himself very useful both as schoolmaster and clergyman. Captain Beechey attended church, where John Adams read the prayers of the Church of England and Buffett preached, but for fear any of his sermon might be forgotten he repeated it three times over.

All the inhabitants were particular in their religious observances, never omitting their morning and evening prayer and hymn.

The furniture of their houses was very good; they manufactured bedsteads, chests, tables, and stools. The cloth for their sheets and dresses is manufactured from the paper mulberry tree. Their houses were large and strongly built of wood, thatched with the leaves of the palm-tree; they build them with two stories, the upper one being the sleeping room, and the lower the eating room.

The peculiar and unprecedented condition of these happy islanders, has always excited the most lively interest in all who have visited their hospitable village; uniting all the simplicity of the untaught savage, with the regular industry and religious feelings of cultivated society, they presented an anomaly in the human race which had never before been presented to the eye of the philosopher.

All their feelings and habits were moulded upon the patriarchal model; Adams was looked on as their chief and father, from a natural feeling of reverence for him, the oldest of the community, whose wisdom taught them how to supply those wants which they felt, and how to secure the happiness they experienced by pursuing a life of peace and concord. Being himself taught by example, his pupils profited by his experience without being exposed to the snares and temptations of corrupt society.

What would have been the result, had this society been permitted to remain unmolested on their sea-girt and rock-embattled fortress for two or three generations, it is impossible to determine; the enemy have surprised the fort, the wolf has found his way into the sheepfold!

When John Adams was dying, he called his children, as the islanders may not improperly be termed, around him, and after exhorting them to remember the good counsels he had given them, and never to fail in their religious and moral duties, he recommended them, when he was gone, to choose one from among them who should be their chief.

They did not follow this advice of the venerable patriarch, and the reason is obvious. At this time three other Englishmen, besides Adams, were residing on the island, each of whom, from his presumed superior knowledge, was by the unsophisticated simplicity of the islanders considered better fitted to command than one of themselves, and who would probably have refused to obey one of those whom they considered as their pupils. Had a choice been made among the Englishmen, there was (from their character and various pretensions) every probability of a contest for power. One of them, by marriage with Adams's daughter, was possessed of property in the island, and as such might perhaps have claimed the succession as the legitimate representative of the last chief; Buffett had long lived among them, exercising the honoured offices of their schoolmaster and spiritual teacher; whilst George Nunn Hobbs, who appears to have been an ignorant fanatic, was already disputing the latter function with Buffett.

They feared that discord and contention would result from any choice under these circumstances, and as ambition had not yet lighted her unhal-

lowed flame on the pure altar of their innocent hearts, none among themselves attempted to claim superiority, and from the death of Adams they continued without a chief, or any authorised check upon disorder. The natural results have succeeded, and the once happy family is scattered and divided.

The island is from six to seven miles in circumference, and contains an area of about 2500 acres, one-twelfth of which only was cultivated at the time of Captain Waldegrave's visit in 1830. The population was then only 79, and Captain Waldegrave computed that the soil, if fully cultivated, would support one thousand souls, which is perhaps an excessive estimate. The soil naturally produces the cocoa-nut, plantains, bananas, yams, sweet potatoes, taro-root, the cloth-tree, the ban-yan (*ficus Indicus*), and the mulberry; the bread-fruit (brought by Christian), water-melons, pumpkins, potatoes, tobacco, the lemon, and orange, had been cultivated with success.

From remains of ancient morais, or burying-places, and some rudely carved images, and hatchets found on the island, it appears to have been formerly inhabited, but abandoned, either from the population exceeding the means of supply, or, which is quite as likely, from the death of all the inhabitants.

The dread of over-peopling their islands seems quite a disease among the inhabitants of the Polynesian islands; and to this may be attributed the institution of the detestable society of Arreoyo, whose professed object is to lessen the population, which it does very effectually. Their wars are also a constant drain, and their indolent and intemperate life induces maladies which also serve to thin the population. All these causes have operated so efficiently, that there is every reason to believe that the population of the various islands was as great, if not larger, two or three hundred years ago, as it is at present; yet the dread of over-population still continues.

How different was it with the natives of Pitcairn! bred up in temperance and virtue (for the fate of Quintal and M'Koy produced its due effect), they were as remarkable for vigorous health and extraordinary muscular power, as for the rectitude of their moral conduct. It was an easy feat for the men to swim round their island; and the women, whose beauty and engaging man-

ners have been already noticed, were scarcely inferior to the men. George Young and Edward Quintal, two of the islanders, have each carried, at one time, a kedge-anchor, two sledge-hammers, and an armourer's anvil, weighing together upwards of six hundred pounds; and Quintal once carried a boat twenty-eight feet in length. They had begun to build regular keeled boats, instead of canoes, and if left to themselves would have found means of emigration when the time came, and a surplus population made such a proceeding necessary; but by their more recent visitors they appear to have been inoculated with this foolish fear of exhausting their resources, and if any are now left they are but a remnant.

In consequence of a representation made by Captain Beechey, a supply of various articles of dress and agricultural tools were sent out from Valparaiso in the Seringatam, Capt. the Hon. W. Waldegrave, who arrived in March 1830. He found that two new visitors had come among them, John Evans, the son of a coach-maker in Long Acre, and George Nunn Hobbs; this latter had assumed the office of clergyman and schoolmaster, before exercised by Buffett, and had in fact created a sort of schism in the once peaceful society, whilst the religious doctrines he taught appeared to savour more of cant than true piety. Captain Waldegrave found that Adams had died in the preceding year, 1829. The population at the time of Captain Waldegrave's visit was estimated at 79, and already the people had begun to speculate on removing to a larger island. This idea has since been encouraged by the missionaries engaged in the South Sea Islands; and it is understood that, about three years ago, the design was carried into execution, and the inhabitants transported to Otaheite and other neighbouring islands. The destruction of such a society, so pure and so happy, cannot be contemplated without a sigh. Never perhaps was there an instance of such good seed springing from so evil a stock; and the example of Adams, who from a man of violence and blood became the venerated patriarch of a thriving colony, who owed all they knew to his care and instruction, may serve to teach a useful lesson, proving as it does that man, having the will, still has the power to retrace his steps in the path of evil, and to turn them, though tardily yet surely, to the path of good.

THE END.









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